

THE SPEECH ACT OF GREETINGS IN TSHIVENDA

BY

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

Signature

Date

ABSTRACT

The use of interpersonal verbal routines such as greetings is a universal phenomenon of human languages. All human speech communities have such formulas, although their character and the incidence of their use may vary enormously from one society to another.

For several decades, greetings have been a recurrent object of inquiry for linguists and other human communication. Greetings are part of phatic communion, whereby people create ties of union and avoid silence, which is always alarming and dangerous. Communion among humans will often be marked in speech "phatically".

There is widespread evidence that greetings are an important part of the communicative competence necessary for being a member of any speech community. Greetings regularize patterns among members. Greeting has been often treated as if it was spontaneous emotional reaction to the coming together of people carrying overtly its own social message.

Greeting expressions constitute an important part of the polite language. By greeting the speaker, indicates his attitude towards the addressee or starts a conversation with him.

Greetings are often patterned expressions, which may vary among different nations. Most greetings perform primarily a phatic communion function; some greetings are used to convey information. Some culture does not operate non-verbal demonstration of respect of difference like bowing, or prostrating and kneeling, it makes up for this by insistence on the proper execution of verbal greetings, for example: Igbo culture does not operate non-verbal, whereas Japanese, Yoruba and even Venda they do practice these non-verbal demonstrations.

Cultural performances are influenced by social variables such as the ages, sex and status of the interactants.

OPSOMMING

Die gebruik van interpersoonlike mondelingse roetines, soos die handeling van groet, is 'n universiële fenomeen van menslike taal. Alle menslike gemeenskappe het formules, alhoewel hulle karakter en die voorkoms van hulle gebruik, mag verskil van een gemeenskap tot 'n ander.

Vir dekades, was groet 'n herhaalde onderwerp van ondersoek van taalkenners saam met ander aspekte van persoonlike kommunikasie. Die handeling van groet is 'n deel van fatiese kommunikasie, waarby mense bande skep, en stilte vermy wat angswekkend kan wees. Kommunikasie tussen mense sal altyd na verwys word as faties in taalverskynsels.

Daar is wydverspreide bewyse dat die handeling van groet 'n belangrike deel van kommunikatiewe kompetensie is, wat noodsaaklik is vir 'n lid van enige gemeenskap geld. Groet reguleer voorbeelde van wedersydse verhoudings tussen groepelede. Groet is dikwels hanteer asof dit 'n spontane emosionele reaksie by die saamkom van mense is wat hulle eie sosiale boodskap oordra.

Die spraakhandeling van groet vorm 'n belangrike deel van beleefdheidtaal. Deur te groet, bewys die persoon sy houding teenoor die ander persoon of begin om met die persoon 'n gesprek te voer.

Die spraakhandeling van groet is dikwels voorbeelde van uitdrukkings wat verskil tussen verskillende taalgroepe. Die meeste groetvorme het 'n primêre fatiese gemeenskaps funksie, sommige begroetings word gebruik om informasie te verskaf. Sommige kulture maak nie gebruik van nie-verbale demonstrasies van respek of verskille soos neerbuiging of kniel, dit maak op vir die aandrang op behoorlike gebruik van mondelinge begroeting, byvoorbeeld: Igbo kultuur maak nie gebruik van nie-verbale demonstrasies, waar Venda-kultuur gebruik maak van hierdie nie-verbale demonstrasies.

Kulturele belewenis van die groetvorm word beïnvloed deur sosiale veranderlikes soos ouderdom, geslag en status.

MAHUMBULWA

U shumiswa ha maipfi a bulwaho nga mulomo lwa tshifhinga tshothe u fana na u lumelisana, ndi zwithu zwi itwaho kha nyambo dzothe dza vhathu lifhasini lothe nga vhuphara.

Nyambo dzothe dza vhathu lifhasini lothe dzi na maitete o raloho, naho kubulelwe na hune dza shumiswa hone zwi sa fani ngauri dzitshaka na dzone dzo fhambana.

U bva minwahani minzhi yo fhelaho, ndila ine vhathu vha lumelisana ngayo, tsho vha tshone tshi shumi swa tshe vhagudi vha dzinyambo vha tshishumisa tshifhinga tshothe u sedzulusa ndila ine vhathu vha amba ngayo (u davhidzana nga ho).

U lumelisana zwi tanganya vhathu duvha linwe na linwe. Hu ita uri vhathu vha vhe tshithu tshithihi zwa dovha hafhu zwa thivhela uri vhathu vha dzule vho fhumula (kana u ita tshilomo ndundundu) ngauri maitete a u dzula vhathu vha sa ambi vhothe a a tshuwisa na hone a khombo vhukuma. Vhushaka vhu wanalaho vhukati ha vhathu vhu vhonala nga nyambedzano ya duvha linwe na linwe.

Hu na tsumbo dzi re khagala dzi sumbedzaho uri u lumelisana ndi tshithu tsha vhuthogwa tshi sumbedzaho uri muthu u kona u amba luambo u guma ngafhi na uri u murado wa luambo lukene naa. U lumelisana zwi sumbedzisa uri muthu u wela kha tshigwada tshifhio tsha luambo.

Maitete a u lumelisana a dzhiwa sa zwithu zwine vhathu vha sokou zwiita nga tshifhinga tshenetsho, zwi tshi khou bva kha zwipfi (vhupfiwa) havho musi vha tshi tangana nahone ulumelisa hu itiwa khagala ngauri hu na mulaedza wa matshilisano khaho.

Maitete a u lumelisana a vhumba tshipida tsha vhuthogwa kha luambo lwa vhulenda. Nga u tou lumelisa fhedzi muambi u vha a tshi khou sumbedza zwine a dzhiisa zwone hoyo ane a khou amba nae kana a mbo di thoma u ita nyambedzano nae.

Kha u lumelisa, hu tou vha na kuambe kune vhathu vha lumelisi sana ngakwo – zwi tshi bva kha uri ndi lushaka lufhio. Maitete a u lumelisa kanzhi a shuma u tanganya vhathu kha duvha nga duvha, ngeno kha vhanwe u lumelisa zwitshi shumiswa u fhirisa mulaedza.

Lunwe lushaka a lu shumisi maitele a u sa amba musi a tshi sumbedza thonifho zwi tshi ya ngauri muthu ndinnyi, u fana na u kwatama, u shuvhama kana u gwadama, lu imelela na u khwathisa maitele a u lumelisa nga u tou amba, tsumbo: Lushaka lwa Igbo a lu shumisi maitele a u samba, ngeno vha Japani, vha Yoruba na vhavenda vha tshi shumisa maitele a u sa amba.

Tshaka dza ita zwi tutuwedzwa nga u fhambana ha matshilele, mbeu, murafho na tshileme tsha u tanganelana ha vhathu.

*I dedicate my thesis to my dearest husband, Nnditsheni Nelson Sibadela,
who encouraged me to continue during those moments of despair.*

Without him, there would be no success.

*Our beloved children, Hakhakhi Harriet and Mulinda Martin,
who let me continue my studies without any disturb*

Glory to GOD!

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 AIM

The research is concerned with the speech act of greeting in Tshivenda, i.e. the communication between two persons in greeting each other (Yimam, 1997; Ferguson, 1976; Raver, 1979; Song-Cen, 1992; Duranti, 1992; Coupland, 1992). There seems to be well-defined criteria in the literature for such greetings, which are acknowledged as ritualised language in some instances. It is the aim of this study to show that greetings in Tshivenda follow a pattern, which reflects the communal values in the society, specifically those pertaining to **ubuntu** or **vhuthu** (humanness). It will also be shown that such greetings in Tshivenda are based on a number of issues. A question that arises is whether these issues need to be addressed by the hearer, or whether some inherent politeness gives rise to these greetings. Greetings in Tshivenda may entail commenting or questioning on two or five different everyday problems experienced by society and/or the individual. The main question is, however, why such elaborate greetings are undertaken.

1.2 APPROACH

The study will be conducted within the theoretical framework of pragmatics (Mey, 1993; Leech, 1983; Davis, 1991; Green, 1989) and, more specifically, speech acts (Searle, 1969, 1979; Austin, 1975; Bach & Harnish, 1979). Such actions consist of three related acts: locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts. This study will focus on the illocutionary force of an utterance, i.e. on greeting. In this regard illocutionary force indicating devices and felicity conditions will be investigated. Lastly, the performative hypothesis will also be considered as well as the difference between direct and indirect speech acts and speech events. One question that will be examined is how speakers can assure that the intended illocutionary voice will be recognised by the hearer.

Various examples of greetings in Tshivenda will be collected by means of tape recordings. These conversations will then be transcribed and analysed within the framework of speech act theory outlined above.

1.3 SIGNIFICANCE

Very little research has been done on pragmatics in South Africa and no study on greetings in this context has been attempted for any African language. The significance of the extended type of greeting which is common in the African languages of South Africa is not known. The results of the study will therefore add to our knowledge of the pragmatics of the African language in South Africa, and contribute to a better understanding of cultural linguistics. This study presents a line of enquiry, which will hopefully also lead to an extension of pragmatics of the African languages.

CHAPTER 2

SPEECH ACTS AND POLITENESS THEORY

2.1 SPEECH ACTS

According to Thomas (1995), JL Austin played an important role to highlight the speech act. He says there is a lot more to a language than meaning of its words. Austin stresses the fact that the language must not be used in order to pass information but it can be used to perform actions.

According to Thomas (1995) the aim of Austin was to refine language, removing its perceived imperfections and illogicalities and create an ideal language. Ordinary people should manage to communicate extremely effectively and relatively unproblematically with language just the way it is, instead of striving to rid everyday language of its imperfections.

As far as Thomas is concerned, there is little disagreement between the ordinary language philosophers and logical positivist philosophers of language. Logical positivism is a philosophical system, which maintains that the only meaningful statements are those that are analytic or can be tested empirically. Logical positivist philosophers of language were principally concerned with the properties of sentences, which could be evaluated in terms of truth or falsity, for example:

1. An invisible car came out of nowhere, hit my car and vanished
2. Everyone hates Aileen Elkinshaw because she's so popular
3. I sleep all the time, Doctor

Examples (1) and (2) in relation to their underlying propositions will be seen to be false. Cars are not invisible and cannot come from nowhere. Example (3) is anomalous in a different way. The speaker was clearly awake while talking to the doctor.

According to JL Austin ordinary language makes a distinction between commanding, ordering, requesting and inviting. There is a good chance that these distinctions are important to the user of language.

The performative hypothesis demonstrates neatly the distinction between a truth-conditional approaches to meaning (It illustrates very clearly how and why pragmatics came into being) and constitutes a very interesting subset of illocutionary verbs.

As far as JL Austin is concerned performative shows utterances, and most utterances have no truth conditions, usually they are not statements or questions but actions that is why Austin finally termed them “performative verbs”, for example:

4. (i) I drive a white car
- (ii) I apologize
- (iii) I name the ship “The Albatross”
- (iv) I bet you R5 it will rain

All the above examples are similar, all are in the first person, declarative, indicative active and in simple present tense.

Pragmatically the first sentence is very different from the other three, because it is a statement and one can respond by saying it is not true, the car is not white it is red.

In case of examples ii – iv is difficult for one to respond to them by saying “That is not true”, because the verbs in sentences do not make statements, which can be judged true or false.

5. (i) I say I withdraw (my complaint)
- (ii) I protest I declare (the meeting open)
- (iii) I say that John is a liar
- (iv) I plead not guilty

The above examples are self-verifying, because whatever words follow “I say that” cannot in strictly logical terms be untrue, for example: I plead not guilty is regularly (and legally and truthfully) used by people who know full well that they are guilty as charged.

Thomas argues that although performatives are not subject to truth conditions, yet they can “go wrong”. If the felicity conditions apply particularly to performatives associated with various rituals or very formal events. Ritual performatives are highly cultural dependent.

Examples of such ritual performatives are:

6. (i) I sentence you to ten years...
- (ii) I absolve you from your sins.
- (iii) I baptize you...
- (iv) I name this Ship....

Each of these can only appropriately and successfully be uttered by a specified person in a specified situation, for example: (i) by a judge in a court of law; (ii) by a priest.

Ritual performatives can be divided into two conditions.

(a) Felicity condition

JL Austin contends that felicity conditions must be a conventional procedure having a conventional effect. The circumstances and persons must be appropriate. Procedure must be executed correctly and completely. The person must have the requisite thoughts, feelings and intentions if the consequent conduct is specified, then the relevant parties must do it.

(b) Explicit reference to felicity conditions

Condition like explicit reference is very important and interesting because the statements are clearly and fully expressed without any hidden or implied agenda. (This is something, which often happens in pragmatics). The speakers make reference to felicity conditions, which allow them to perform a particular act.

Some performatives are jointly made because assistance may be required and this may be called collaborative performatives where you find two people helping each other to guarantee the success.

According to Thomas group performatives are very important, because decisions taken by a group is more valid than an individual one, the group decision have more reasons to support decision taking. Even in case of problem solving, it is easy to get solutions if you

solve it in a group, it is easier to detect the advantages and disadvantages of the resolution than when you do it alone.

Examples of group performatives:

7. (i) We do not judge you to be guilty of professional misconduct
- (ii) We agree to hire the equipment to you on the following terms and conditions...
- (iii) Please check all the details, if you are happy with them, simply sign both copies of the Agreement, keep the white copy and send the blue copy back to us in the return envelope.
- (iv) As the final sentence makes clear, British Telecom cannot agree to the hire unilaterally. It only becomes an agreement when indicate consent.

It is now clear that some categories may not be self-contained, they are there, because they have been balanced by other categories. For instance, collaborative performatives also fall within the category of ritual performatives (bequeathing).

According to Thomas it is very clear that each culture behaves differently from the other one, for instance, if you live in a country/culture, which does not have baptism, there will be no performative form "I baptize you.." or the verb may exist, but cannot be used performatively. This is also the case with the verb to divorce. In Britain divorce exists but (no matter what your religion is) you cannot felicitously use the utterance "I divorce you" to separate yourself legally and permanently from your spouse.

JL Austin argues that people must not use language just to make statements about the world, they may also use language to perform actions, actions that affect or change the world in some way. The effect of Austin's insight revolutionized the way people look at language and led directly to the development of pragmatics as an area of linguistic investigation.

Austin's performative hypothesis collapses for a number of rather different sorts of reasons:

- i. There is no formal (grammatical) way of distinguishing performative verbs from other sorts of verbs.
- ii. The presence of a performative verb does not guarantee that the specified action is performed.
- iii. There are ways of doing things with words, which do not involve using performative verbs.

Austin saw that the grammatical basis on which he had initially tried to distinguish between performatives and other sorts of utterances could be sustained, for example:

8. (i) I hereby resign as chief of staff to the President of South Africa. Respectfully yours, M Dlalali.
- (ii) The author assents the moral right to be identified as the author of this work.

According to Thomas “ritual” and “collaborative” performatives may “fail” because the requisite felicity conditions do not exist. It also became apparent that the supposedly self-verifying “metalinguistic” performative may fail, for example: I promise I’ll come over there and hit you if you don’t shut up!

This utterance performs an action, but not the one specified by the performative verb. In or out of context it is difficult to see how this could be taken as other than a “threat” in spite of the “promise” explicitly mentioned in the utterance.

There are times where the speaker may try to be open, though others believe that honesty is not the best policy. This expression may be determined by the person you are talking to, even the topic you are discussing, may cause bad results or turn to be an insult to the hearer even though it may be determined by how close you are with that person. By so doing some may prefer to be implicit in order to avoid unnecessary disappointments, disputes or enmity between the two.

As far as Thomas is concerned performative form would only seem to be necessary in a situation where there seems to be a degree of doubt in the mind of the loved one. It might also be a second attempt at reassuring someone. We often find that a speaker will first try an implicit performative only if the first attempt fails. People often avoid using an explicit

performative since in many circumstances it seems to imply an unequal power relationship or a particular set of rights on the part of the speaker.

Austin abandons the original distinction between statements and all forms of performative utterances. Statements seem to have a performative aspect, and what is now needed is to distinguish between the truth-conditional aspect of what a statement is and the action it performs, between the meaning of the speaker's words and their illocutionary force.

JL Austin made a three-fold distinction:

- (a) Locution : The actual words uttered
- (b) Illocution : The force or intention behind the words
- (c) Perlocution : The effect of the illocution on the hearer.

Austin argues that the term "speech act" refers to an utterance and the total situation in which the utterance is issued, but today the term "speech act" is used to mean the same as "illocutionary act", "illocutionary force" pragmatic force or just force, all used to mean the same thing, although the use of one rather than another may imply different theoretical positions. The same words can be used to perform different speech acts, so different words can be used to perform the same speech act.

The following utterances illustrate different ways to performing the speech act of requesting someone to close the door:

- (a) Shut the door!
- (b) Could you shut the door?
- (c) Did you forget the door?
- (d) Put the wood in the hole

2.2 THEORY OF POLITENESS

Politeness theory is also taken as a sub-discipline of pragmatics. According to Thomas (1995) people use the same terms in very different ways and operate with different definitions of politeness. In order to try to end the confusion with the term politeness, Thomas comes with five separate sets of phenomena:

- (a) Politeness as real-world goal
- (b) Deference
- (c) Register
- (d) Politeness as a surface level phenomenon
- (e) Politeness as an illocutionary phenomenon

Politeness as a pragmatic phenomenon.

Brown and Levinson (1987) take politeness as a pragmatic phenomenon. They interpret politeness as a strategy used by a speaker to achieve a variety of goals, such as promoting or maintaining harmonious relations. They say these strategies may include the strategic use of conventional politeness strategies but also includes other strategies.

Politeness explained in terms of principles and maxims. Politeness is also regarded as crucial in explaining why people are often so indirect in conveying what they mean and rescuing the co-operative principle because politeness can explain exceptions to and apparent deviation from the CP.

Ambivalence and politeness

An utterance is the one, which has more than one potential pragmatic force. Thomas argues that by employing an utterance which is ambivalent it is possible to convey messages which the hearer is liable to find disagreeable without causing undue offence, for example: Notice in the Junior Common Room, Queens College, Cambridge:

“These newspapers are for all the students, not the privileged few who arrive first.”

The pragmatic force from this example is left to the readers to decide what the precise force of the message is and whether or not it applies to them.

Pragmatic principles:

The politeness principle run as follows: minimize the expression of impolite beliefs; maximize the expression of polite beliefs.

Thomas thinks that the politeness principle rescues by explaining why speakers do not always observe the Gricean maxims. In his discussions, Thomas also includes the expressions of impoliteness: beliefs which a person is thinking or implying is different and that it is perfectly clear that the speakers have impolite thoughts or feelings, which is conveyed indirectly. Below does Leech postulate different maxims as:

The tact maxim

This maxim states: minimize the expression of beliefs, which imply cost to other, maximize the expressions of beliefs, which imply benefits to others. This maxim relates to the aspects of the size of imposition, for example:

Just pop upstairs and ...

Hang on a second!

I've got a bit of a problem.

Another aspect is that of mitigating the effect of a request by offering optionally. This aspect resembles rules of politeness.

Another aspect of tact maxim is the cost or benefit scale. It says that if something is perceived as being to the hearer's benefit, X-can be expressed politely without employing indirectness.

The generosity Maxim

Leech's generosity maxim states: minimize the expression of benefit to self; maximize the expression of cost to self. This maxim helps to explain why it is not a problem to say "You must come and have dinner with us", while the proposition that "We will come and have dinner with you" requires to be expressed indirectly.

It further explains that languages or cultures vary in the degree to which you are expected to apply this maxim. Leech emphasized the fact that there is no suggestion that members of another culture attach more importance to the generosity maxim than do others.

The approbation maxim

This maxim states: minimize the expression of beliefs which express disapproval of others, maximize the expression of beliefs, which express approval of others. This operation works like this: all things being equal we prefer to praise others and if we cannot do so, to give some sort of minimal response or to remain silent.

The modesty maxim

This maxim states: minimize the expression of praise of self; maximize the expression of dispraise of self. Leech argues that the operation of this maxim may lead someone to reject a compliment, which had been paid to him.

The agreement maxim

This maxim states: minimize the expression of disagreement between self and other; maximize the expression of agreement between self and other. This maxim considers the relationship between the speaker and hearer and the nature of the interaction in which they are involved. Leech claims that people usually avoid disagreement but they are more direct in expressing their agreement.

The Pollyanna principle

The Pollyanna principle encourages the use of minimizes such as "bit" and simply has other aspects, which relate to relexicalization, replacing an unpleasant term with a supposedly less unpleasant one, for example:

The speaker had just "lost" two hours work on the word-processor.

"Ah well, I'll probably write it better the second time around."

Problems with Leech's approach: There appears to be no motivated way of restricting the number of maxims, but Thomas insists that the approach was good to make specific cross-cultural comparisons and to explain cross cultural differences in the perception of politeness and the use of politeness strategies.

Thomas further argues that Leech could have overcome the unrefinement of her approach, if she had seen her maxims as a series of socio-psychological constraints influencing to a greater or lesser degree – the choices made within the pragmatic parameters.

Politeness and the management of face

Thomas insists that central to Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness is the concept of face. Thomas takes face as every individual's feeling of self-worth or self-image, but this image can be damaged, maintained or enhanced through interaction with others.

Face has a positive and negative aspect. An individual's positive face is reflected in his/her desire to be liked, approved or respected and appreciated by others. An individual's negative face is reflected in the desire not to be put upon, to have the freedom to act as one chooses.

Face-threatening acts:

According to Thomas, these are certain illocutionary acts, which are liable to damage or threaten another person's face. An illocutionary act has the potential to damage the hearer's positive face or hearer's negative face or the illocutionary act may potentially damage the speaker's own positive face or speaker's negative face.

Thomas suggests that in order to reduce the possibility of damage to hearer's face or the speaker's own face, he/she may adopt certain strategies. The choice of strategy will be made on basis of the speaker's assessment of the size of the face-threatening act. The speaker can calculate the size of the face-threatening act on the basis of the parameters of power, distance and rating of imposition. When the above are combined they determine the overall weightiness of the face-threatening act, which in turn influences the strategy used.

Superstrategies for performing face-threatening acts

According to Thomas, the first decision to be made is whether to perform the face-threatening act or not. If the speaker decides to perform them, there are four possibilities, three sets of on-record superstrategies and one set of off-record strategies. On-record

superstrategies include performing the face-threatening acts using negative politeness. If the speaker decides that the degrees of face threatening is too great, he/she may decide to avoid the face threatening act altogether.

Performing a FTA without any redress

Thomas postulates that sometimes external factors constrain an individual to speak very differently, for example: when there is an emergency of some sort, when there is some form of channel limitation. The speaker is likely to focus on the propositional content of the message and pays little attention to the interpersonal aspect of what is said during emergencies or in highly task-orientated situations such as teaching some-one to drive, for example: The speaker knows a bomb has been planted in the stands at his racecourse. He thinks his young nephew is hiding in the stands: "...Toby, get off the stands. The stands are not safe. Toby, for Christ's sake, do what I say. This is not a game. Come on, you little bugger... for once in your life, be told."

If the mother decides that the overall weightiness of FTA is very small, the request may be made bold-on-record.

Thomas furthermore, argues that sometimes no attempt is made to mitigate the FTA with no regard of the rating of the imposition, for example: When the power differential is great. It is then that powerful participants will often employ directness.

Performing an FTA with redress (positive politeness)

Thomas insists that when you want to speak to someone you may orient yourself towards that individual's positive face and employ politeness, for example: Male first-year student calling to female-first year student (whom he didn't know) in their college bar during "fresher's" week: "Hey Blondie, what are you studying, then? French and Italian? Join the club!"

The young man used positive politeness strategies.

Performing an FTA with redress (negative politeness)

Thomas postulates that negative politeness is oriented towards a hearer's negative face, which appeals to the hearers desire not to be put upon, to be left free to act as they choose. It manifests itself in the use of conventional politeness markers, for example: This is an extract from a note that was sent to me by an academic from another University. She was visiting Lancaster for a conference and we had arranged to meet on Friday, but unfortunately I forgot our appointment:

Dear Jenny Thomas,

I'm sorry I missed you today. I wanted to discuss with your.....

I know it is a terrible imposition, but if you had any time, Sat pm we could perhaps meet in Lancaster for a coffee?

I'd be very grateful

Best wishes

[name deleted]

The speaker here has employed negative politeness. He become conventional indirect by saying we could because he wanted to.

Performing an FTA using off-record politeness

Thomas points out strategies for performing off-record politeness. Such strategies include "give hints", use metaphors, be ambiguous or vague, for example: One student to another: "That isn't a crème egg I can see you eating, is it?"

Do not perform FTA

As far as Thomas is concerned this appears to be self-explanatory. There are times when something is potentially so face-threatening that you don't say it. She says there are times when the speakers decide to say nothing.

Criticism of Brown and Levinson

Thomas postulates that description of the FTA implies that act is threatening to the face of either the speaker or the hearer, in fact many acts can be seen to threaten the face of both the speaker and the hearer simultaneously. But apology threatens the speaker's face and it can be the source of considerable embarrassment to the hearer.

A single utterance can be oriented to both positive and negative face simultaneously but Brown and Levinson claim that positive and negative politeness are mutually exclusive.

This model appears to predict that the greater the degree of face-threatening the greater will be the degree of indirectness. But many counter-examples are readily available.

Brown and Levinson also argues that some speech acts are inherently face-threatening, but it has been concluded that some utterances pose no threat at all. It has also been agreed that saying anything at all, is potentially face-threatening.

Brown and Levinson also argues that some speech acts are inherently face-threatening, but it has been concluded that some utterances pose no threat at all. It has also been agreed that saying anything at all, is potentially face-threatening.

John R Searle like others (Austin and Grice) distinguishes between propositional content and illocutionary force and later proposes a detailed classification of major categories of speech acts. Searle points out the necessity of taking into account in the analysis of a speech act the social institution within which it was produced.

Searle contributes much in pragmatics where the theory of indirect speech acts was analysed. An indirect speech act, in Searle's terms is one performed by means of another, for example: (This notice is displayed in the changing rooms at the swimming pool at the university of Warwick): "Would users please refrain from spitting."

This is a directive (don't spit) performed by means of an interrogative. All speech acts (except explicit performatives) are indirect to some degree and are performed by means of another speech act. For instance in making the assertion "It is going to change", Searle

performs the speech act of “warning” and to this extent Searle’s introduction of new term seems an unnecessary refinement.

Searle tried to establish a set of rules, while explaining how a speech act works. Searle attempted to systematic and formalize Austin’s work. Austin gave an example: “I promise I’ll come over there and hit you if you don’t shut up!” This example is problematic, it is an utterance, which contains a performative verb and performs an action, the action it performs is not the one specified by the speech act verb (promise) it is a threat.

Here are Searle’s rules for promising:

- Propositional act: Speaker (S) predicates a future act (A) of speaker.
- Preparatory act: Speaker believes that doing act A is in hearer’s best interest and that speaker can do A.
- Sincerity condition: Speaker intends to do act A.
- Essential condition: Speaker undertakes an obligation to do act A.

Example: Suppose that Francis says to Helen: “I’ll cook you a curry for dinner tonight”

Propositional act: The speaker (Francis) says something about a future act (cooking a curry tonight), which the speaker himself will perform.

Preparatory act: Francis believes that cooking a curry for Helen is to Helen’s benefit (something which Helen will enjoy)

Sincerity condition: Francis truly intends to make a curry for Helen.

Essential condition: In uttering the words “I’ll cook you a curry”, Francis undertakes an obligation to make a curry for Helen.

Searle’s rules would indeed explain why “I promise I’ll come over there and hit you if you don’t shut up!” is infelicitous: the preparatory condition is not met.

Searle offer eight further examples of rules for speech acts: requesting, asserting, questioning, thanking, advising, warning, greeting and congratulating.

Problems arise from Searle's work:

- It is not always possible to distinguish fully between one speech act and another (partly because the conditions specified by Searle tend to cover only the central or most typical usage of a speech act verb)
- If we attempt to plug all the gaps in Searle's rules, we end up with a hopelessly complex collection of ad hoc conditions.
- The conditions specified by Searle may exclude perfectly normal instances of a speech act but permit anomalous uses.
- The same speech act verb may cover a range of slightly different phenomena and some speech acts "overlap".

According to Thomas it is not possible to distinguish among speech acts which, although in some sense are related to one another using Searle's rules. Example of these related speech acts: ask, request, order, command and suggest.

Searle's additional preparatory rule in fact applies to many other speech acts: an understanding of the nature of the power relationships, which obtain between speaker and hearer in order to interpret the illocutionary force of many utterances.

As far as Thomas is concerned, Searle's rules are circular because they fail to distinguish between speech acts and they cover only paradigm cases of speech acts, for example: Pat says to Michael: "I'm sorry I broke your nose"

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| Propositional act: | The speaker (Pat) expresses regret for a past act (breaking Michael's nose), which the speaker himself performed. |
| Preparatory condition: | Pat believes that breaking Michael's nose was not in Michael's best interest. |
| Sincerity condition: | Pat is sorry he broke Michael's nose. |
| Essential condition: | In uttering the words "I'm sorry I broke your nose"; Pat apologize to Michael. |

Prepositional act

Thomas postulates that in many culture's it is possible to apologize on behalf of someone or something else. It is not unusual to hear people apologizing for things over which they have no control, such as behaviour of their compatriots, for instance: In Britain you will frequently hear people saying "sorry" when someone bumps into them, or apologize to overseas visitors for the weather.

Preparatory condition

According to Thomas it is difficult for the speaker to believe that the act was/is/will be to the hearer's disadvantage, for instance: Her friend from Japan knows that she loves Japanese stationary, but she routinely apologized for her gift, even though she knows that she will be delighted with it.

Sincerity condition:

As far as Thomas is concerned people frequently say they are sorry when they are not. So, does this mean that they have not apologized?

Essential condition

That which makes a thing what it is most important or indispensable quality of something, but it is in fact absolutely essential to utter certain words.

According to Thomas, on the face of it, Searle has achieved that odd distinction of producing sets of conditions, which are simultaneously overspecific and over-general, which exclude valid instances of a speech act and include invalid or anomalous ones. One reason for this is that Searle treats speech acts as if they were clearly defined categories with clear-cut boundaries.

Thomas argues that there are certain contexts in which people do not expect the truth to be told. Satirical comedy and funeral orations are two contexts in which people do not generally expect to hear the whole unvarnished truth. Then again, there are some culturally-specific situations in which the whole truth is not expected. Sometimes the

speaker does not tell the whole truth in order to avoid hurting the hearer's feelings or to avoid revealing something learned in confidence.

Coleman and Kay argues in their most interesting article that people's reasons for classifying something as a lie or not a lie, are extremely complex. Sometimes the way in which people classify a speech act may be influenced by considerations which are culturally-specific (or context-specific) or which relate to the speaker's goal in speaking in a particular way.

Searle's rules by his own admission are capable of coping only with the most typical or central instances of a speech act and fail to distinguish adequately between one speech act and another.

Thomas argues that within linguistics there is a powerful push towards formalization, formalism give an impression of intellectual rigor. When applied to most areas of pragmatics, it has proved to be almost entirely illusory.

2.3 YULE

This is the power or act of speaking / manner of speaking (in other words it s a formal talk given to an audience). Speech act is like a piece of work in which one is ordered to do or something one has agreed to do. It's an idea or suggestion that is based on known facts and is used as a basis for reasoning or further investigation. Man is the only animal that has the faculty of speech, for instance: when the woman give birth, she was surrounded by midwife and doctors, so immediately when the child is born, he started to cry and this is the sign or an indication that the child is alive.

We can express our thoughts by speech, for instance: his illness left him without the power of speech. We normally say we have freedom of speech, meaning that there is freedom to say openly in public what one thinks, on social and political questions.

According to JL Austin (1960:52) the term "speech act" refers to an utterance and the total situation in which the utterance is issued. Austin made the distinction between what the speakers say and what they mean.

George Yule suggests that speech act is used to mean the same as illocutionary act, in fact, you will find the term speech act as illocutionary act, illocutionary force, pragmatic force. All used to mean the same thing although the use of one rather than another may imply different theoretical positions. Yule emphasizes the fact that in any occasion, the action of utterance is very important. It comprises of three related acts: That is the way of using words (the locutionary act). Locutionary act is the basic act of utterance or producing meaningful linguistic expression, for instance: if one has problems or any disability (may be because he/she is unfamiliar to language) of forming the sounds and words to create meaningful utterance in a language, then you may fail to produce a locutionary act.

Yule points out that, it is of no doubt, that if one produces these utterances it means he/she has the motive/purpose that needs to be accomplished. Yule's argument is right because the teacher gave the learners the test or any piece of work to do, the motive is to see as to whether the learners understand the content or not, by so doing the teacher performs the second stage, which is called illocutionary act. It may be done through communicative force of utterance. Utterance may not be fulfilled if it is not designed to have an effect. Lack of this effect will hinder the achievement of a third act called perlocutionary act.

If the perlocutionary act would be successful enough it means the hearer or listener will recognize the effect you designed or planned for and this will be called perlocutionary effect.

Amongst the three dimensions mentioned above, the illocutionary force is the most important one, because without it both locutionary and perlocutionary may not come into effect.

Yule points out that when addressing these three dimensions, it is very important to note that illocutionary force indicates devices and even felicity conditions because failure to consider that, may bring problems to the speaker because he/she may not be able to know whether the intended illocutionary force will be recognized by the hearer (audience) or not.

Sometimes the illocutionary force indicating devise may be used as performative verb (something that one has agreed to do). Yule proposes an example where one may say "I'll

see you later". In the above sentence, one is predicting that he will see him later, or one is promising to see him later or either warning him that he will see him.

So, when one promises and warns is a good example of a performative. In most cases people may use word order, emphasis and slight accent in speaking.

Felicity conditions

There are some conditions in speech act to be recognized. Sometimes one may perform the speech in excitement or amused way. Speech act can be good if it may affect all (both speaker and hearer) or most people, place or things than to be limited to one part or aspect of a person or thing or to a particular time (that is general conditions).

It may be good (speech act) if the speech can be content (that which one accept, even though one would have liked more or better) because on the above examples for both promise and a warning the content condition for a promise requires that the future event will be a future act of the speaker.

Yule suggest that in speech act one should mind the preparatory conditions, because if we again take the example of promise it is clear that an event may not happen by itself and again it will have a beneficial effect, but in case of warning it is not clear that the event will occur and that event will not have a beneficial effect. Speech act may always be genuine, for the speech act to be felicitously performed, it is essential to combine specification of what must be in the utterances content, the context and the speaker's intentions.

George Yule points out that speech act can illustrate the kinds of things we can do with words and identify some of the conventional utterance forms we use to perform specific actions.

According to JL Austin, speech act can show how utterances perform actions how the speaker can mean considerably more that their words say.

HP Grice asserts that speech act explain how people interpret indirectness, where as JR Searle points out that speech act, acts as the concept of motivation principally in relation to textual pragmatics.

Speech act do have advantages as well as disadvantages depending on the speaker's intention or depending on the audience's interpretation of the message. This is really true because one may say something which may turn to be an insult to the listener even if the speaker doesn't have the idea of hurting him, but the listener may interpret it in different ways, for instance: the teacher may say this to the learner, "Unless you work hard, you may not get the exemption" and the learner may conclude that the teacher says whether I like it or not, I can not pass the matric.

George Yule points out the advantage of performative hypothesis that it makes clear just what elements are involved in the production and interpretation of utterances. Yule shows disadvantage that uttering the explicit performative version of a command has a much more serious impact that uttering the implicit version. These two versions are consequently not equivalent. It is also difficult to know exactly what the performative might be for some utterances.

Austin argues that the performative hypothesis has an important aspect because it shows how ideas developed and it demonstrates neatly the distinction between a truth conditional approach to meaning and view of words as actions (it illustrates very clearly how and why pragmatics come into being) performative constitute a very interesting subset of illocutionary (performatives are fun).

Grice's theory is an attempt at explaining how a hearer gets from what is said to what is meant from the level of expressed meaning to the level of implied meaning.

Performative hypothesis

This is an idea or suggestion that is based on known facts and is used as a basis for reasoning or further investigation that one is ordered to do or has agreed to do (a piece of work, a piece of music / act or play to entertain an audience).

Yule classified speech act into five general functions that is declarations, representatives, expressive, directives and commissaries.

Declarations

In a declaration one declares formal announcement as we have known that speech act may be formal or informal. Yule states an example of the Judge in a court of law, who says "I sentence you to ten years" if someone was found guilty, or when the teacher says to the learner "I hereby order you that you must clean up this mess!"

Yule's example is very clear because declaration is when one who has power or authority over the other to order him/her to perform duties.

Presentative

One can deliver a speech on behalf of somebody or on behalf of groups. It means whatever he/she will be saying, will represent someone or a certain group, either the group of organizations/a group of students and it gives a view that all members have agreed to what the speaker is saying, for instance, Yule gives us an example of priest when he says: "I absolve you from your sins", referring to someone who wants to be saved from her sins (someone who dedicate his life to the lord) by so doing the Priest may say these words on behalf of the Almighty God.

One may again talk on behalf of a group and say "On behalf of the staff, we suspend you from school for three months". It means if one represents a certain group, he is showing one's feeling or thoughts or opinion through words or even in action.

After expressing his thoughts or opinion, he is officially informing, instructing the audience, what to do, where to go and how to do something, because he/she by the time acts as public speaker.

Commissives

In commissives the speaker may use to commit himself to some future action. They express what the speaker intends. They are sometimes promises, the speaker as a member of a group may perform threats, refusals, pledges and them. Through commissives, the speaker make it a point that the world should fit the words, than saying things which may not fit the audience, which may not fit a situation and even time, for

instance, If we can take the above example of the priest who says "I absolve you from yours ins", these words may not be said by Jim and Jack (I mean everyone), because one should have power or to be ordained to say it, an alcoholic from a she-been may not have the right to say these words because the speaker's intention cannot mean the same, even the audience may interpret the message differently and it will bring controversy to the speaker himself, because his words and his action may not be interrelated.

Directives

The speaker uses someone else to do something. They express what the speaker wants. They are sometimes commands, orders, request, and suggestions. The speaker instructs the audience what should be done, how should we do it and where to go, for instance: The speaker may say "He did the work under my supervision." In directives the speaker should see to it that the world fit the words, not just say it for the sake of saying.

Direct and indirect speech acts

Speech can be delivered in different ways either direct or indirect. Direct speech may not turn aside by hitting something else. First, direct speech can go straight to the point like when I say "You are a policeman" instead of saying "You look like a policeman" may be because of the attire, appearance, action or the way he speaks. Direct speech go straight to the point. One may have to say, direct speech is violent in some cases, maybe someone (a guy) meets a group of ladies and he says: "You, Joyce, you are ugly" or say "I will shoot you", "I will kill you" or say "I will beat you".

In indirect speech, the speaker cannot go in a straight line. The speaker may avoid direct or explicit mention of a topic or allusive. Indirect speech can also report what somebody has said like when we say "Sarah said, she may not continue with her studies , because of financial problems" or "He said, he would come if things goes well." Indirect speech are generally associated with greater politeness than direct speech acts.

Speech events

George Yule asserts that speech events is an activity in which participants interact via language in some conventional way to arrive at some outcome. It may include an obvious

central speech act, like “I don’t really like this” as a speech event of complaining, but it will also include other utterances leading up to and subsequently reacting to that central action.

The usefulness of speech analysis is in illustrating the kinds of things we can do with words, and identifying some of the conventional utterance forms we use to perform specific action. We do need to look at more extended interaction to understand how those actions are carried out and interpreted within speech events.

2.4 FERGUSON

Human beings and animals have something in common in life and these things have been examined as a universal phenomenon, such as greetings and thanks. Early in the morning when people met they greet each other, even if these people sleep in the same bed, and if we can listen to the birds they gathered together and have a song to give thanks to the Almighty. They use different patterns of greetings and thanks giving.

The structure and use of politeness formulas

Almost everyday people may encounter different expressions, although their character and incidence of their use may vary enormously from one society to the other. It’s a pity to find that this universal phenomenon has been little studied by linguists, anthropologist and other students of human behaviour while it is of utmost importance and expecting a thorough information from different sources. The general decline of religion in modern times contribute to our failure to study these interpersonal rituals.

Goffman (1971:90) points out that “our secular view of society prevents us from appreciating the ubiquitousness and strategy of their location, and in turn, their role in social organization”.

Some few scholars made study in this phenomenon in animal behaviour and termed it “ethnology”. Amongst these scholars, no one has attempted to spell out in details the biological substrate of universal human exchange of politeness formulas, they have just pointed out “greetings” behaviour of numerous animal species and then jump to

interpretations of human religion, esthetics and philosophy rather than proceed to systematic study of apparently simpler and more obviously related human behaviour.

Some biologists examined excellent accounts of ritualization and presumed evolutionary advantages, and social scientists provide topics ranging from mother-child interaction to the ritualization of international relations. Huxley (1966) suggests that human language had no origin in politeness formulas, although that would be sillier than other hypothesis that have been taken seriously, but he would like to persuade reluctant students of language, of whatever disciplinary or theoretical orientations, that politeness formulas deserve their attention.

The study of politeness formulas are usually limited to discussion of greetings, aspect like ritualization is one of the important studies that improve the signal and therefore, communication, to reduce intra-specific damage and to strengthen sexual and social bonding.

There are some major social themes of greetings, like attention-production, identification and reduction of anxiety in social contact. Beside social themes there are some general functions that should be attached to greetings to open a sequence of communicative acts, to define and affirm identity and rank, to manipulate a relationship to achieve a specific result.

Goffman (1966) argues that "there are three general circumstances in which supportive interchanges take place: Business, accident and ceremony, i.e. people are in contact because of other things they have to do, or by chance being in the same area, or deliberately for the purpose of one or both of the individuals to perform supportive rituals."

Use of formulas

Charles Ferguson makes use of personal experiences, in studying of politeness formulas. The first formula was termed an informal experiment. The other day Ferguson's secretary greet him verbally, for instance she said "Good morning". Ferguson's response could be just a smile in a friendly way and through he rest of the day he behaved as usual. So, the following day Ferguson did the same thing. Ferguson's response brought tension, a strange look from both secretary and even the staff. There was a definite air of "what's the

matter with Ferguson?”. Ferguson abandoned the experiment on the third day to avoid explosion and possible lasting consequences.

Ferguson's second experience was more complicated. It was time when he was beginning his study in Arabic.

Ferguson (1973) observes that, “a passer-by stopped to watch and enjoy the bargaining process, when the purchase was completed he said to him “Mabruk”. Ferguson did not know that formula, which is normally addressed to the owner of a new possession such as clothing, car or house, but clearly some response was in order. The Arabic has a ⁸sizable number of what have been called “root-echo responses.” This experience is a good example of the kinds of “rules” which govern the use of politeness formulas, and in detail it may be quite unlike any “rules” for formulas in English.

Ferguson (1967) states that greeting “Good morning” is an excellent, uncomplicated example of a politeness formula, to him “good morning” is not an affirmation, but a welfare-wish, it can be treated as an affirmation and given a facetious response.”

The phenomenon of exchange of politeness formulas, the structures and incidence of use are so culture specific and tied to the cultural history of the particular society or group that the structural or functional universals must be sought at other levels.

Patterns of response

Patterns of response can also be culture specific, because in English and Syrian Arabic, kind of full echo response is common in formula exchanges that one is tempted to claim its universality, for instance: The English response of “Hello” is “yes”. Syrian Arabic has a general purpose response “God keep you”, which seems to be appropriate whenever there is no particular specified response, or as an addition to or further response to another welfare-wish with “God” as the subject.

More Arabic exchanges of greetings follow the simple principle of the same or more so, for instance: the common informal expression “hello” is original meaning “welcome” and responses most often heard are “hello” two hello's a hundred hellos/

Variation

This may mean, things that differ from other things or from a standard or change in structure or form caused by new conditions, environment.

Cf. Callon (1970:117-122); Goodall (1971:239-240) and Irvine (1974:168-170): The structure of politeness formulas varies in constituency and intensity in correlation with a number of social dimensions. At least four of these dimensions are operative also in greeting behaviour of other animals, especially birds and primates, and seem likely to be universal in human societies;

- Length of time elapsed since previous encounter
- Distance between communicators
- Number of individual in the relevant groups
- Relative social status of the communicators

This shows that the nature and amount of the variation is not predictable in any universal sense. Goffman and Frith points out the different ways both feel that greetings and farewells constitute a natural unit and should be considered together?

Firth (1972:1) suggests that greeting and parting behaviour in their social sense as recognition of an encounter as socially acceptable and the recognition that the encounter has been acceptable respectively.

According to Goffman (1971:107) the view that greetings mark the transition to a condition of increased access and farewells to a state of decreased access and is able to include them both in his definition of access rituals which mark a change in degree of access, for instance: Goody's study of Gonja gives ample testimony that the word "Charo" must be translated as both "greet" and "thank" and again includes verbal greetings, visits and other physical activities and presentations as well. The structural features of formula exchange are equally important in greetings and thank you that is apologies, pardons, and wishes for health, condolences, topical blessings, curses, and a host of other usages.

It is very important for us not to ignore the behavioural, specifically the linguistic phenomena of this area, in order to make an early claim about natural units. We must be

careful and patient in description of structure when using politeness formulas in different communities and different languages.

Diachronic considerations

Politeness formulas must be treated carefully and patiently so, in order to view whether they behave in special ways different from the main body of language. Each area has its own language register.

Ferguson *et al* (1964; 1975) proposes that politeness formulas have three diachronic characteristics of interest. That is weakening, archaism and areal diffusion. Politeness formulas are non-referential in meaning, weakening (aphesis, contraction, erosion), for instance: American English contracts the expressions "How are you" to "Hi", "haway" and even "hay" as well as "hiya". Another English shortenings are "Goodbye" said to come from an earlier form of "God be with you". This shortening preserves an archaic construction but is phonetically modified and eroded.

Politeness formulas diffuse with other elements of culture across language boundaries, for instance: European languages generally have one common expression for "please", which may be used either for requesting a favour or offering a service, but Middle Eastern languages generally have two sharply different expressions corresponding to these two meanings. All "please" in the sense of offering service or special consideration to the addressee.

The archaism and cross-language diffusion of politeness formulas may result in long persistence of a formula in a community despite substantial change in language or religion.

Acquisition

Any structure of language, which have been discussed and used, is incomplete if it does not include an account of acquisition, for instance: when a child grows up, he/she acquires language that the parents explicitly taught. The child learns politeness formulas and how to use them. This learning or acquiring of language may not occur in one day, it will take many years such that patience and tolerance from parents are needed in order for the

child to gain these skills other wise the child will grow up not knowing how to smile, speak or even to shake hands if the parents were not giving them time to teach him.

According to Sacks (1972) a mother prompts her child to reply to a greeting, they point out "bye-bye" which is the earliest routine to be learned, may even be marked when the child is too young to speak and is only expected to open and close its fist in a primitive motion of waving.

The acquisition of politeness formulas is related to the general question of the role of unanalysed units in language development, prefabricated routines.

Linguists and psychologists in their concern to understand the astonishingly rapid acquisition of the complexities of phonological and grammatical systems and the creative aspects of language have tended to neglect the role of phonologically or semantic syntactically unanalysed chunks which the child learns and uses in a kind of interim.

CHAPTER 3

THE SOCIO-LINGUISTICS AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS OF GREETINGS IN LANGUAGE

3.1 DURANTI

Alessandro Duranti points out that, it is not surprising to find out that there is a considerable number of ethnological, linguistic, sociological and ethnographic studies of greetings. Researchers have felt at ease identifying “greeting” in different languages and providing hypotheses about what greetings “do” for or to people. In the ethnological tradition, greetings are a means to uncover some of the evolutionary bases of human behavior and again greetings are defined as rituals of appeasing and bonding that counteract potentially aggressive behavior during face-to-face encounters.

He further says that two features characterize this line of research:

- (a) A focus on non-verbal communication
- (b) The assumption of shared goals between humans and other species, and the assumption that the same type of greeting behavior will have the same origin, motivation, or explanation across situations.

The focus on non-verbal communication has been important in counterbalancing the logocentric tendency of other studies of greetings and has revealed commonalities across cultures that would have been missed were researchers concentrating exclusively on verbal behavior.

Goffman suggested that greetings in all societies are about continuity of relationships, but the representation, conceptualization and perception of continuity by humans are likely to be much more complex than those found in other species, partly due to the use of human language.

Ethnographic studies of greetings focus on culture-specific aspects of greeting behaviors, but they also share an interest in a few potentially universal dimensions, such as the sequential properties of greeting exchanges and the importance of status definition and manipulation.

As far as Duranti is concerned, greetings have been analyzed by speech act theorists, who focused on their function as acknowledgment of another person's presence.

Searle proposed to analyze English greetings as example of the "expressive type of speech act" aimed at the courteous indication of recognition of the other party.

Alessandro Duranti argues that the context for understanding what people say during greetings is nothing more or nothing less than the culture that supports and is supported by the encounters in which greetings occur or that are constituted by them. The method by which such encounters need to be studied must then minimally include a recording of what is actually said and at least a working definition of the phenomenon that is being investigated.

Alessandro Duranti points out criteria for identifying greetings across languages:

1. Near-boundary occurrence
2. Establishment of a shared perceptual field
3. Adjacency pair format
4. Relative predictability of form and content
5. Implicit establishment of a spatio-temporal unit of interaction
6. Identification of the interlocutor as a distinct being worth recognizing.

Criteria 1: Near-boundary occurrence

According to Duranti, greetings are expected to occur at the beginning of a social encounter, although they may not always be the first words that are exchanged between parties. Greetings are related to their potential function as attention-getting devices and their ability to establish a shared field of interaction. Greetings must be distinguished from closing salutations or leave takings, despite the fact that in some cases the same expression might function as both opening and closing salutation.

Criteria 2: Establishment of a shared perceptual field

Greetings are constitutive of the interactant's public recognition of each other's presence in the same perceptual field. They are usually initiated after the parties involved have sighted each other.

Duranti points out that there is some visual recognition, which constitute the greeting itself: toss of the head, a nod or an eyebrow flash, these visual recognition are followed by verbal recognition.

He further says that in the Samoan ceremonial greetings, the participants may exchange jokes, questions or a few remarks before starting to engage in the official greetings. A possible hypothesis here is that the more formal or the more institutionally oriented, the encounter, the more delayed the greeting and the more elaborate the language used.

Opening should be brief or at least very close to mutual sighting and elaborate greetings to occur, after the parties have had a chance to previously recognize each other's presence in some way. Immediate and short greetings tend to index an ordinary encounter whereas delayed and long greetings tend to index something special in the occasion, social status of the participants, their relationships or any combination of various aspects.

Criteria 3: Adjacency pair format

According to Duranti greetings are typically part of one or more sets of adjacency pairs, that is, two-part sequences in which the first pair by one party (A) invites and creates the expectation of a particular type of reply by another party (B). The sequential format of the adjacency pair allows participants to engage in a joint activity that exhibits some evidence of mutual recognition and mutual understanding.

Criteria 4: Relative predictability of form and content

According to Duranti greetings need to be qualified in at least three ways. Firstly, it should be made clear that the information is exchanged in human encounters regardless of whether there is talk, for example: even when there is no speech, there are plenty of semiotic resources in which the participants can give out information about themselves

and inferences about others, such as physical presence, their gestures, posture and movements, their clothes.

Secondly, there is information exchanged beyond the prepositional content of what is said. Finally, common formulaic expressions can be informative.

Gumperz argues that the fact of considering an exchange does not make its content completely predictable or uninteresting for social analysis because telephone openings is still important to ascertain how participants manage to achieve the expected or preferred outcome and the occurrence of certain routine during greetings does not imply that the parties do not exchange some new information and finally whether or not the participants are interested in the information that is being exchanged should be an empirical question and not an unquestioned assumption.

Criteria 5: Implicit establishment of a spatio-temporal unit of interaction

The occurrence of greetings is defined as a unit of interaction. Duranti argues that the unit is more complex than a continuous stretch of time (e.g. a day), because it is the fact that when two people meet in two different places during the same day, they may exchange greetings again. An empirical investigation of when greetings are exchanged throughout a day by group of people who repeatedly come into each other's interactional space might provide clues on how they conceptualize different space time zones and this might give us a sense of relation between natural units versus cultural units.

Criteria 6: Identification of the interlocutor as a distinct being worth recognizing

According to Duranti the use of greetings identifies a group of people as member of the class with whom we communicate in public or public arenas, for example: in English people greet with the substitute greeting "How are you", it constitutes a class called proper conversationalists.

Duranti points out two main issues about Samoan greetings:

- (a) The relationship between universal features and culture-specific.
- (b) The distinction between verbal expressions.

He identifies four types of Samoan greetings:

1. Talofa greetings
2. Malo greetings
3. Ceremonial greetings
4. Where are you going? -greetings.

1. Talofa greetings

In Samoan society, when two people become visibly and acoustically accessible to each other, they exchange greetings and Talofa greeting is at times accompanied by handshaking, a gesture borrowed from past Western visitors and colonial authorities.

2. Malo greetings

The word “malo” has several meanings in Samoan society. It may mean opening salutation, use as a complement or encouragement to people who are working or have just finished doing something. Malo greetings occur when one party (A) arrives at a site where the other party (B) already is.

3. Ceremonial greetings

This is the greeting, which might occur when there is gathering and when the high status person (government official, minister of church, deacon and head nurse) arrives at the scene, the first pair welcome the officials and second pair will respond.

4. The “Where are you going? greeting

As far as Duranti is concerned, this greeting is used when party B is seen moving along the road or nearby patch by party A, who is stationary (i.e. inside the house or in front of a store) and say:

- (A) Where are you going?
(B) I'm going to town

This greeting can also be found in cases in which A and B pass each other on the road. Under these circumstances, the initiator usually stops to address the other (moving party) who may or not also stop to respond.

Samoaan ceremonial greetings are exchanges of phrases that constitute several acts at once:

1. The public recognition of the person who is entering the social space already occupied by others as a high-status person with certain special qualities.
2. The commitment to interact with a person as the representative of a particular group.
3. The anticipation of the occasion.

The reaction of the participants inside a house is very important. The participants show some interactions through movements, postures of the bodies and interface between the words that are being said.

The main problem during this greeting is that people often overlap one another's voice. During ceremonial greetings, participants seemed to be ignoring one party at a time and are actively involved in sustaining overlapping over extended periods of time and at places that are not the ones predicted by the turn-talking system at work only a few seconds before and after the greetings.

During Samoaan ceremonial greetings highly but not fully predictable phrases and epithets are exchanged between a welcoming party A and a newly arrived, responding party B. They appear to be an adjacency pair:

- A. [Welcoming]
- B. [Response]

Ceremonial greetings are full of respectful word like **upu fa aaloalo** and other phrases that index certain contextually salient properties of the parties addressed, including the social status or officials. Usually the welcoming is performed by several speakers (who then have a change to overlap with one another), the response is usually performed by one

speaker, i.e. the newcomer, but if more than one person arrives at the same time, their responses follow the same overlapping pattern of the welcoming.

In Samoan ceremonial greetings, there is always someone who starts (alone). Once that person has started, others follow. The first speaker's turn is a signal for others to do the same. The speakers who follow the first speaker are not respondents. The speakers do not always simply repeat what the others are saying, they sometimes produce their own specific welcoming, which resembles and parallels the phrases used by others but may also expand them with more elaborate address forms. In the response the newcomer's treat the welcoming party as a series of separate parties.

An effect of the particular way in which ceremonial greetings are organized, is that of producing a structure of predictability within which variation is not necessary but possibly frequent. There is a limited set of expressions used by most speakers, but a certain amount of individual variation can be achieved. This can make the lexical and semantic parallelism found in ceremonial greetings similar to that which has been described as characteristics of poetic language. IN ceremonial greetings, both parties must be attuned to the complex interplay of sameness and difference, commonality and differentiation. The ceremonial greetings offer an occasion for both these goals.

Duranti points out that greetings in Samoa have revealed five analytical dimensions of their internal structure and organization.

- (a) Their sequential organization
- (b) The types and number of adjacency pairs that constitute the greeting
- (c) The identity of the initiating party
- (d) The role of kinetic aspects of the exchange
- (e) The content of the verbal messages exchanges during greetings.

(a) Sequential organization

Sequential organization is typical organized in the form of one or more adjacency pairs, the first pair by one party (A) invites, constrains and partially defines the meaning of a reply by the other party (B), for example:

| | | | |
|----|----------|------------------------------|---------|
| G: | Pronto | [Hello] | |
| S: | Giorgio? | [Giorgio?] | |
| G: | Ah ciao | [greeting: first pair part] | [oh hi] |
| S: | Ciao | [greeting, second pair part] | [hi] |

The uttering of **Ciao** by the first speaker elicits (invites, evokes) another **ciao** by the second speaker.

(b) Types and numbers of adjacency pairs

There are also greeting exchanges in which the two speech acts are of different type. The adjacency pair may be constituted by a question-response sequence, for example:

A. **Wawuka?**
[Have you woken well?]

B. **Nawuka**
[I have woken well]

In some cultures, the greeting sequence may extend over more than one adjacency pair. African greeting exchanges have been shown to significantly exceed the single adjacency-pair format, displaying a long sequence of adjacency pairs.

(c) Identity of initiating party

The newcomer or visitor is required to initiate interaction. If a single person meets a group, the former will be expected to initiate greetings. In case of status, the interiors initiate the superior's reply.

In Samoan ceremonial greetings, the people already in the house are always the ones who begin the verbal exchange by welcoming the new arrivals.

(d) Semiotic dimensions other than verbal: Bodies in social spaces

Linguists argue that the body (e.g. body postures, gestures and eye gaze) not only provides the context for the interpretation of linguistic units (words, morphemes) working on deixis, but helps fashion alternatives, sometimes complementary, sometimes contradictory messages.

Greetings are to a large extent about human bodies-living bodies and not just physical bodies entering and occupying a common space that is not just a physical space, or a natural space but a space that shared history or being presently occupied by humans, becomes a culturally organized and organizing structure for any future actions.

(e) The verbal content of greetings

Duranti argues that what is actually said during greeting exchange changes from one language or culture to another and from one situation to another within the same culture. In many cultures greetings focus on the physical or spiritual well being of the interactants. Time-and-space-oriented greeting is an important typological difference among cultures, for example: English greetings seem to be time-oriented and express concern with temporal units (e.g. good morning, good evening and see you later) whereas in other language, when people meet, they exchange information about places and movement like expression "Where are you going?"

According to Alessandro Duranti, a Mossi man performs the poussi-poussi or a handshake in the kneeling position not looking his superior in the face. He keeps his head down, averting his gaze in a modest and submissive fashion. The woman lowers herself onto the ground and avoids meeting the eyes of the person she is saluting. Greetings of respect acknowledge an asymmetry of rank, which they do by precluding any suggestion of threat, because one possible source of threat is the direct look and that is why it is totally excluded from submissive mossi salutations.

The Samoan ceremonial greeting differs from others because the interactants may look at each other while approaching their future seating place and during the informal talk that sometimes precedes the ceremonial greetings, but once the newly arrived party has taken his/her seat in social arena and welcoming starts, there is what appears to be a concerted

effort by the newcomer and at least some members of the welcoming party to avoid looking at each other for the entire duration of verbal greeting exchange.

The newcomers tend to stare in midair ahead of them without focusing on any particular person, or they might look down and members of the welcoming party also stare ahead or overtly glance at something or someone outside the house.

3.2 AKINDELE

According to Akindele greetings is a mode of communication and people share many things in common. The collection of data on greeting involves audio recordings of greeting events, observation of people greeting each other, discussion with informants and participants.

Akindele argues that greetings can be used as the exchange of expressions and good wishes between two people. Greetings is face to face interaction and it can take place anywhere like at the shopping complex, at work, out on the road, at a coffee shop, at the club house or pub, at the meetings, at social functions, telephonically and on the media programmes.

Greetings in Yoruba society differs from that of the English society because in English society greetings typically performs the function of phatic communication whereas in Yoruba society greetings are employed for seeking information about the well-being of a person and to rejoice with a person when success or when good fortune occur.

The socio-cultural factors for the type and structure of Yoruba greetings include age, sex and occupation. In Yoruba society the younger person typically initiates greetings and age also forbids the younger person to continue with the greeting sequence after initiating it with older person. Furthermore, in Yoruba culture, a woman is expected to greet a man before he greets her and this will be followed by the male participant's contributions to the greeting.

Finally, in the Yoruba ethical code it is a duty to greet people engaged in different activities. Greeting persons at work is regarded as a matter of respect in one's occupation.

Types of Yoruba greetings

| Morning Greetings | | Gloss |
|---------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| J: | Ẹ káàrọ | Good morning |
| A: | Ẹ káàrọ | Good morning |
| A: | Se dáadáa laji? | Did you wake up well? |
| J: | A dúpe' | We thank God |
| A: | Awọn ọmọ ñkọ? | How are your children? |
| J: | Wọn wá | They are in good health |
| A: | Íyáwọ nkọ | How is your wife? |
| J: | Ó wá | She is in good health |
| A: | Bá mi ki wọn | Help me to greet them |
| J: | Wọn á qhọ | They will hear |
| Afternoon greeting | | Gloss |
| F: | Ẹ káásán | Good afternoon |
| MT: | Ẹ káásán | Good afternoon |
| F: | Awọn ọmọ? | How are you? |
| MT: | A dúpe' | We thank God |
| F: | Ilé ñkọ? | How is your household? |
| MT: | Wọn wá | They are in good health |
| F: | ọmọ ñkọ? | How are your children? |
| MT: | Wọn wá | They are in good health |
| F: | Bá mi ki wọn | Help me to greet them |
| MT: | Wọn á qhọ | They will hear |
| Evening greeting | | Gloss |
| A: | Ẹ kúrọlẹ' | Good evening |
| J: | Ẹ kúrọlẹ' | Good evening |
| A: | Se dáadáa ni? | Is everything well? |
| J: | Mo dúpe' | I thank God |
| A: | Íyáwọ nkọ | How is your wife? |
| J: | Ó wá | She is in good health |
| A: | ọmọ ñkọ? | How are your children? |
| J: | Wọn wá | They are in good health |
| A: | Se iṣé ñlọ déédéé? | Is your work going well? |
| J: | Mo dúpe' -ese' | I thank God that it is going well |
| A: | Ọkọ ñkọ? | How is your car? |
| J: | O ñsise' dáadáa | It is doing its work well |
| A: | Bá mikile' | Help me to greet your household |
| J: | Wọn á qhọ | They will hear |

Femi Akindele points out that the morning greeting took place between persons of unequal age and status; whereas the afternoon and evening greetings were between persons of equal age.

| Greetings during the night | | Gloss |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|--|
| L: | O dáárṣ - làyṣ la ṣji | Good night – may we wake up happily tomorrow |
| F: | O dáárṣ | Good night |
| L: | Ká sún re o | May we sleep well |
| F: | O dáárṣ | Good night |
| Casual greetings | | Gloss |
| J: | Ẹ pe'le' | Hello |
| F: | Oo ẹ pe'le' | Hello |
| T: | Ẹ sé àná | Thanks for what you did for me yesterday |
| F: | Oo kó t ọpe | Not at all |

In Yoruba society all ceremonies and activities have their own way of greetings:

| New year festivities | | Gloss |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|--|
| E: | Ẹ kú ọdún titun | Happy new year |
| V: | Ẹ kú ọdún | Complements of the season! |
| Bereavement | | Gloss |
| P: | Ẹ li ọfọ | You accept my sympathy |
| J: | Ẹ sé | Thank you |
| Pregnant woman | | Gloss |
| F: | A sọ ká le' ànfàani | I wish you a safe delivery |
| J: | Ẹ sé | Thank you |
| New Baby | | Gloss |
| F: | Ẹ kú orire Ọmo tuntun | Congratulations on your new baby / I greet you on the safe delivery of your baby |
| J: | Ẹ sé | Thank you |
| Trips | | Gloss |
| A: | Ọkọ a ré fọ | Safe journey |
| M: | Ọ sé – od àbó | Thank you – goodbye |
| A: | O' d' àbọ | Good bye |
| Weather: dry season | | Gloss |
| L: | Ẹ kú ọ qbele' yi | I greet you for this dry season |
| J: | Ẹ sé | Thank you |

The structure of greeting in Yoruba

Akindele proposed two types of exchanges, which are prefatory and informatory. Prefatory exchange is the minimal interactional exchange which has no content information in as far as the business of the talk is concerned and informatory exchanges are units of interactional discourse concerned with negotiating the transmission of information of the topic of discourse. The sequence structure of greetings in Yoruba can be understood in terms of the two types of exchange defined above. The greeting

sequence that involves friends, relations or close acquaintance can be called the "normal greeting".

Prefatory exchange can be called the "passing greeting" because it occurs when a person is in a hurry for some legitimate reason, for example: rushing to catch a bus or to attend to some urgent business.

Examples of passing greetings

- | | | | |
|----|----|------------|--------------|
| 1. | J: | Ẹ nḽ ńbẹun | Hello there |
| | H: | Oo | Hello |
| 2. | P: | Ẹ kú kàḽe | Good day |
| | F: | Oo Ẹ ṣẹ' | Thank you |
| 3. | D: | Ẹ kú rọḽe | Good evening |
| | L: | Ẹ kú rọḽe | Good evening |
| 4. | K: | Pẹléo | Sorry |
| | N: | O Sẹ' | Thank you |

In the above examples greeting sequence 1-3 can be regarded as phatic or prefatory greetings. Example 4 is a casual expression of sympathy to someone who trips or slips. This is in contrast with the native English "watch out" or "be careful"/

Akindele points out the structure of casual or passing greeting as:

PrG + (inf G)

Inf G is an optional element in greetings

It should be stressed that although there seems to be an apparent difference in structure between the types of greetings labeled prefatory and informatory, normal and casual, nevertheless the entire system to some extent appear phatic, and there are some circumstances in which the informatory nature of greeting may elicit precise information rather than the normally expected phatic response.

3.3 Nwoye

Greetings as speech events can perform primarily a phatic communion function and it is used to convey information.

According to Nwoye, greetings in Iqbo society can be characterized as a loquacious culture, one in which "talk" is not expected, but it always takes place. Part of the early socialization of the Iqbo child consists of the proper ways of greetings.

Iqbo culture does not have non-verbal demonstrations of respect or deference like bowing (as in Japanese) or prostrating and kneeling (as among the Yoruba and the Hausa), it makes up for this by insistence on the proper execution of verbal greetings.

Like the Yoruba, Iqbo greetings as cultural performances, are influenced by such social variables as the age, gender and status of the interactants. The younger initiates greeting with the older, the female with the male and the status inferior with the status superior.

Nwoye points out that the data come from (audio) tape-recorded greetings made at two locations, are rural and the other urban. The urban data was collected at Onitsha, a big commercial and educational center, while the rural data come from Abba, a farming community of about 12 000 inhabitants.

Greetings in Iqbo can be categorized under one three broad groupings, which can be termed salutatory, exhortative and commiserative. This classification of Iqbo greetings follows Searle's classification of speech acts.

Salutatory greetings

Searle points out that these are a class of greetings that convey interest in alter's health, welfare or enterprise. Greetings that express joy at encountering alter, as well as welcoming and farewell greetings.

Morning greetings

| | |
|----------------------|----------------------------|
| I p̄tago ɥla? | Have you risen from sleep? |
| I tetago ɥla? | Have you risen from sleep? |
| I lar̄kwa l̄ɔ ofuma? | Did you sleep well? |

These are in essence, enquiries about how the hearer slept the previous night.

Greeting at bedtime

As far as Searle is concerned these can be called night greetings because they occur at bedtime or anytime in the evening or night when the interactors are unlikely to encounter each other again before the next day. It is very much like the English "good night".

| | |
|------------|---------------|
| ka chi foo | May day break |
| ka chi b̄ɔ | May day break |

Encounter greetings

Encounter greetings are used by two acquaintances to express pleasure on encountering each other:

| | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| ked̄ɥ? | How (are you?) |
| ked̄ɥ kaɔd̄j? | How is it? |
| ked̄ɥ kaife si kw̄ɥl̄ɥ? | How do things stand? |
| ked̄ɥ ka eke si anya anw̄ɥ? | How does the python bask in the sun? |

Welcome and farewell greetings

| | | |
|------|-------------------|---|
| (i) | Nn̄ɔ | Welcome |
| | I natago | Have you come back? |
| (ii) | Ka ɔ mesia | Goodbye |
| | Anyj ga (na) a fu | We shall see (be seeing each other again) |
| | ka ɔ digod̄j | Let it be (for now) |

| | | |
|-------|-------------|--------------|
| (iii) | Naa qboo | Return early |
| | Jee nqwa | go quickly |
| | Jee osijiso | go quickly |
| | Jee ofuma | go well |
| | I je Oma | safe journey |

Greetings in (ii) can all be used to mark the end of an encounter and express a wish or desire that the encounter be renewed soon, and greetings in (iii) can only be used for somebody setting out on a journey.

Exhortations

Exhortation greetings cover a wide range of situations and contexts, like to admonish, to urge to greater or better performance and addressed to those at work:

| | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| Daalu/deeme/deeje ³ olu | Thank you for work / greetings to you at work |
| E kene mgi/unu | I greet you / I thank you |
| Onye olu daalu | Worker, thank you |

Greetings for success in an enterprise belong to this class. These urge, encourage and advise a person embarking on an enterprise to be careful.

| | |
|------------|--------------|
| Gbado anya | Be careful |
| Anya di qi | Be careful |
| Jisie ike | Have courage |

Commiseratives

Commiseratives are employed to express either pity, sympathy or condolence for a person who has suffered an injury, a loss or bereavement.

Iqbo has only one greeting in this category, which is **Ndo**-expression of sympathy, which covers many situations ranging from empathy with a person who for instance, tripped and fell down, to loss of material possession, to bereavement.

The structure of greeting sequences

| | | |
|----|--|--|
| J: | Di anyi kedụ? | How are you? |
| O: | Kedụ | How are you? |
| J: | Kedụ maka ndị be gi? | How are your people? |
| O: | Fa no, dī nke gi kwanụ? | They are well, what of your own? |
| J: | Fa no, kedụ maka nne gi? | They are well, what of your mother? |
| O: | Onọ | She is well |
| J: | Fa no, a na emekwa? | How is your business? |
| O: | A na anwa | We are trying. |
| J: | Kedụ maka okwu nụụ eselụ dozigo ya? | What of the dispute between X and Y, has it been settled? |
| O: | Fa ka na ese | They are still quarreling |

The above greetings are strictly speaking more than a greeting, because it contains a discussion of a mutually shared concern, a dispute between x and y around which the greeting exchanges from a shell.

Akindele points out two types of exchange, i.e. prefatory and informatory which are involved in Yoruba greetings. Prefatory serves as a preface or introduction to greeting and informatory exchange enquiries about health, whereabouts of relatives and mutual acquaintances. In the above greetings sequence the topic of the quarrel between x and y is informatory.

Iqbo greeting sequences can be schematically represented by opening and closing segments, which are mandatory but the informatory segment is optional. Iqbo has fewer greetings than Yoruba, because in Iqbo there are no specialized greetings like birthdays, weddings and births.

Greeting in Iqbo are situations or context-determined for both appropriateness and duration. Casual greetings will be brief and terminate without any exchange of information:

| | | |
|----|--------------|-----------------------|
| A: | Di anyi nnoa | (Introducer), welcome |
| B: | Oo, kedụ | Yes, how are you? |

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------|--|
| A: | Ọdị mma, efdusja? | All right, did you all wake up well? |
| B: | Nsoqbu adịro, unu larukwalu? | There is no trouble, did you all sleep well? |
| A: | Kedụ maka ndị ọfụụ? | What about the new ones? |
| B: | Fa nọ | They are well |
| A: | Kenesja fa | Greet them |
| B: | Kene ndị begi | Greet your household |

The above greeting sequence is casual because it contains the ritually required minimal elements. Anything briefer would imply some strained relationship between the interactors. The reciprocal inquires about each other's family are not informative.

Greetings marking time of day in Iqbo are available only for the morning, there is no pattern for the afternoon or evening like in Yoruba or in English.

Among Iqbo, it is customary as a mark of solidarity and expression of goodwill to greet a person engaged in any type of endeavour, such as working on a farm, going to fetch water from stream, going to the market or repainting the roof of a house, for instance: greetings at work express gratitude to the worker but failure to greet a person at work is symptomatic of envy, jealousy and ill-feeling towards him/her. This greeting is aimed at reinforcing the group orientation of Iqbo society.

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| A: | Onye ọlụ daalu / ndị ọlụ daalụ nụ | Workers, thank you for the work |
| B: | Oo | Yes |
| A: | Jisie (nu) ike | Courage (please) |
| B: | Daalu | Thank you |

Sequencing in greetings accounts for allocation of rights and obligations to initiate a greeting as well as the patterns of occurrence of various segments. In Iqbo greetings the younger ones are the one who initiates greetings to the older, female initiates to male and status inferior initiates to status superior. Under special circumstances where the greeters are of the same age or both are status superior, there seems to be no order, rather it seems to be the case that the first to establish eye contact initiates greetings.

When an older person or status superior initiates greetings, it is interpretable as an indirect remark on the negligence of the younger to fulfill his/her socially expected duty to the older.

Igbo greetings can be composed of two parts: an mandatory verbal part. Non-verbal part occurs in a form of handshake, an embrace, or backslapping. Handshake occur when greeting takes place when the interactants are in close proximity and their hands are free of encumbrances. Handshaking is very prevalent and failure to do so is often interpreted negatively as pride, or to imply that the other is not clean enough for bodily contact, because to refuse to shake a proffered hand is tantamount to an open declaration of enmity. A handshake seems to add greater warmth, through bodily contact, to the verbal expression of intimacy and goodwill.

Embracing is more prevalent between females, rare between men, if it can occur in a cross-gender dyad, it is usually between blood relatives, but backslapping occurs more frequently among equals and younger males. Other non-verbal accompaniments of verbal greetings include kinesics as the waving of the hand, either to hail, or attract the attention of another, or as sign of farewell.

3.4 COUPLAND

According to Malinowski phatic communion is a type of speech in which ties of union are created by a mere exchange of word. Communion among humans will often be marked in speech "phatically". These are the terms in which initial formulas of greeting and parting and the flow of language that follows such utterances are to be interpreted: purposeless expressions of preferences or aversions, accounts of irrelevant happenings, comments on what is perfectly obvious.

As far as Malinowski is concerned the origin of the interpretation of phatic communion is a form of "small talk" discourse operating in a limited domain and dislocated from practical action. It is thought of as "purposive activities". He recognized phatic talk to be a form of action, serving to establish bonds of personal union between people brought together by mere need of companionship. Even though it may not serve any purpose of communicating ideas, phatic communion is functional in defusing the threat of taciturnity. Another possibility is when speakers offer personal accounts of their views and life

histories to which hearers listen under some restraint and with slightly veiled impatience, waiting for their own turn to speak.

The legacy of Malinowski's treatment is therefore a somewhat ambivalent view of phatic communion talk that is aimless, prefatory, obvious, uninteresting, sometimes suspect, and even irrelevant, but part of the process of fulfilling our intrinsically human needs for social cohesiveness and mutual recognition.

According to Coupland the term phatic communion is a negative valuation that predominates, particularly when talk is analyzed to be referentially deficient and communicatively insignificant.

Malinowski distinguishes between language as a mode of action and phatic communion renamed phatic communion "chat" though he took the category to include narrative as a key element.

Hudson glossed phatic communion as the kind of chitchat that people engage in simply in order to show that they recognize each other's presence.

Thomas, Bull and Rogers listed phatic as one of their activity categories in communication. They defined the category as speech that initiates conversation, but conventional and ritualized such as 'hello', 'how are you?'

Leech stressed the uncontroversial nature of phatic talk and considered it 'dull and pedestrian'. Turner saw it as semantically "empty". Turner give the name 'phatic language' to all language which is designed more to accommodate and acknowledge a hearer than to carry a message.

According to Coupland phatic talk would have to identify talk that involved:

- (a) Factual information exchange
- (b) Instrumental goals
- (c) Serious key
- (d) Unwavering commitment to openness, truth and inclusiveness

Goals of talk that relate to building, modifying or dissolving personal relationships on the other hand, those that have to do with the definition and redefinition of own and others' identities as interacting beings, are no less intrinsic to the enterprise of talking.

Laver Shifted analytic attention back onto the positive, relational value of phatic communion, particularly in the sequential organization of opening and closing phases of interactions. Laver found opening phases in conversation to fulfill first a propitiatory function in defusing possible attributions of hostility through silence. Laver tends to avoid phatic communion in transactional settings, which led him to suppose that one function of phatic communion, when it does occur here, is indexical and uncertainty reducing. Laver found that phatic talk serves the initiatory function of getting the interaction underway. In closing sequence, reinstating phatic communion can mitigate possible sense of rejection and consolidate a relationship. These purposes can often surface as the explicit topics of conversation-closing utterances.

According to Coupland there is the basic consideration that all utterances, phatic or otherwise, mean contrastively by being differentiated from other possible utterances or from silence in their context of their use.

Hymes also noted that even if the what of a ritual is predictable, there is information in the how. In a perfunctory manner, with feeling, haltingly, masterfully, respectfully, disrespectfully.

Laver also argued that the linguistic form of a phatic initiative both constrains the thematic development of the interaction and confers crucial indexical meaning. Laver then introduced a speculative predictive mechanism, specifying how speakers are able to stake claims about solidarity intimacy and status relationship through particular encoding choices within phatic talk.

Laver was reasonably specific about the contents and exchange sequences that comprise phatic talk in his sense: Formulaic greetings, references to factors narrowly specific to the time and place of the utterance of factors personal to speaker or listener.

According to Coupland non-phatic usage does not achieve unsullied openness, truth, and relevances. In phatic communion there is preference for positivity that, as Malinowski

suggested, might lead to false expressions of interest in and engagement with a speaking partner, they must recognize that this can be true of talk in very many contexts of interaction.

Hymes argued that the defining characteristic of some speech events may be a balance, harmonious or complicating between more than one functions. If so, the interpretation of speech event is far from a matter of assigning it to one of seven types of function. Although phatic communion can be taken as a kind of alternating or reciprocal expressive function of speech.

Coupland argues that phatic communion cannot be defined as a type of talk, though the term can still locate an intriguing cluster of sociopsychological orientations to talk. The function of particular sequences of talks as phatic or otherwise should not be preconceived. Relevant analytic questions are whether, how and when talk is oriented to as phatic or not, contingent upon its local sequential placement in particular contextualized episodes and on the momentary silence of particular interactional goals.

Important further possibilities are that participants in talk may orient differently at one moment, among themselves but also individually at different moments, to the phaticity of an utterance. Phatic communion may be negotiated relationally and in real time.

According to Coupland 'How are you?' (Hey?) utterances are a class of conversational moves that need to be delimited as to precise forms and functions but that has clear phatic potential according to the criteria.

Berger and Bradac commented that "how are you?" is often not intended to produce self-revelation but rather merely to signal acknowledgement of the other. They also commented that literalist interpretations of "how are you?" are the basis of an old joke, for example:

A: How are you?

B: I have bursitis, my nose is itching, I worry about my future, and my uncle is wearing a dress these days.

Coupland considered the sequencing of 'Hay' as it is embedded in the canonical structure of telephone openings. Coupland argued that 'Hay' sequences, which are often reciprocal in his data, have an overt topic-priority relevance: they provide a formal early opportunity for the other party to make some current state of being as matter of joint priority concern. Even when 'Hay' elicitation is judged to be a bona fide request for a medically framed assessment of own-health, a respondent may still find reason to move into his/her self disclosure progressively and tentatively, respecting face concerns and politeness norms. There may be a predisposition to initiate non-phatic self-disclosure of health and well-being phatically.

When elderly respondents are involved, the balance of phatic and non-phatic processes in self-disclosure may also be influenced by group predispositions. Elderly speakers tend to behave more disclosively than young adults. Example of response to "Hay?":

BE: Alright thank you

CB: Oh I'm fine thank you.

At the other extreme, some responses to "Hay" opening in the data are bluntly negative self-appraisals, clearly making explicit reference to somatic or psychological problems, for example:

FM: Not very happy and not very well

DE: I'm a long-standing asthmatic

BB: Well I've got everything wrong with me my legs yeah everywhere even my fingers

Examples of respondents, which have filled pauses:

AB: Oh, not too bad

AL: Well, up and down like you know

DM: Not too bad like...

Examples of qualified initial negative appraisals. The "not to bad" formula is very common:

AC: Not to bad

CJ: Well, I'm not so bad

AS: Well could be better

AM: Not too bad, not too bad, can't grumble I suppose

CM: Not too bad love, could be better I suppose, It's no good grumbling is it?

Another way of mitigating the impact of initial negative appraisals is to give information on specific medical circumstances in the form of accounts and specifically as justifications:

AE: Well, not very well. I've just had a bad fall

AA: Well, I'm not feeling very well at all I've got the arthritis of the spine

Examples of explicitly relativized appraisals:

AF: Fine, well a few aches and pains like everybody else.

BP: Oh quite good really. I mean ... um... considering you know I mean ... er ... all I get now this morning my finger went right off dead although I had gloves on...

EM: Ehm... not too bad, not on top of the world but none of us are we no, but when you come to eighty-three years of age, you can't expect a spring chicken can you?

BM: Well, I'm all right I don't grumble. I'm eighty-one

AG: I got a cold in the fashion

BD: Not too bad love, keeping stable

BJ: Well, I'm breathing

3.5 SONG-CEN

According to Chen Song-Cen greeting expressions constitute an important part of the polite language. By greeting the speaker indicates his attitude towards the addressee, or starts a conversation with him. Greetings are often patterned expressions, which may vary among different nations. In China, greeting expressions can be divided into four types.

Type A is "interactive", for instance, inquiries like "**chi le ma?**" means "have you lunched?", "**shang nar qu ia?**" mean "where are you going". They are not real inquiries but are used only as a friendly salute. Type A carries a sense of informality and intimacy, it is often used among familiar acquaintances.

Type B assumes the form of giving regards to others, typical examples of which are “**nin zhao?**” mean “Good morning” or “**ni hao!**” meaning “How are you?”. People believe that this is a new type of greeting, which has begun to prevail during recent decades under foreign influence. It has a shade of elegance and formality.

Type C is “appellative”, it consists of all kinds of calls, titles and appellations, capable of expressing different attitudes and styles, which are fit for various addressees and situations, for instance: appellations like “**Wang ke zhang**” mean “Chief Wang” or “**Zhang Zhuren**” mean “Director Zhang” not only show respect to the addressee, they also imply distance between the interlocutors. Terms of address such as “**shushu**” mean “uncle”, “**be mu**” mean “Aunt” or “**da ge**” mean “elder brother”, reflects a friendly, cordial relationship. Other terms are:

| | | |
|--------------------|------|-------------|
| da zhang | mean | great Zhang |
| lao wang | mean | old wang |
| xiao li zhe | mean | little li |

One can be sure of intimacy and affection among the interlocutors.

Type D uses expressions of paralanguage, such as facial expressions, gestures, or some prosodic sounds. The usual form of this type of greeting used in China is nodding and smiling. Implications of such greeting vary according to social status of the speaker, as well as the relationship between the two.

According to Chen Song-Cen it is assumed in Sociolinguistics that the choice of linguistic items varies with social status of the speaker and that the language usage always drifts under the influence of ever-changing interpersonal relations, ways of life, and social psychology, which in turn depend on particular levels of social productive forces.

Along with the development of Chinese society, greeting expressions have been undergoing changes in the relative frequency of occurrence of the different types, as well as the situations in which each type can appropriately be used.

Chen Song-Cen suggests a sampling survey about the use of greeting types. The survey was carried out in two places: Gao'an country of the Jiangxi province and the City of

Beijing. The questionnaires were distributed to informants asking them to fill in their response in three columns.

The statistics shows that it is evident that less education speakers of both cities have the same pattern of usage as the older generation, while the pattern of the younger generation is similar to that of speakers with a higher level of education. Male pattern is close to that of the younger generation, while female share many features with that of the older generation. Type A is most used to greet familiar friends of the same generation. Type C is used overwhelmingly to greet senior relatives and friends while Type D is often used to new acquaintances. The distribution of Type B is not as Biased as that of the other types, this represents a new tendency in the development of greeting expressions.

CHAPTER 4

THE PRAGMATICS OF GREETING IN LANGUAGE

4.1 LAVER

According to John Laver the course of conversational interaction develops in a continual tension between two general communicative needs: The needs to communicate as efficiently as possible and the need to be polite. Linguistic routines are shown to be a tool of polite behavior. They serve as a means of reducing the risk of face threats.

John Laver argues that the use of routines is guided by a polite norm. Linguistic routines should be divided into three phases: The terms of direct address, formulaic phrases of greeting and parting, and utterances of phatic communion.

According to Raymond the chief function routine of linguistic material of everyday conversations is a ceremonial, ritual function.

Brown and Levinson points out a central concept, which is "face", they distinguish two components of face: negative and positive.

According to Brown and Levinson negative face is the want of every "competent adult member" that his action be unimpeded by others, whereas positive face is the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others.

There are situations where face in the above definition can be at risk. It may be the hearer's face that is threatened or the speaker's face, but if the strategic ends of speakers in conversational interaction are achieved then the cause of overt loss of face is usually counter-productive. So, the risk to face must therefore be minimized and this should be managed by the use of appropriate polite behavior.

Brown and Levinson distinguished between positive politeness and negative politeness: Positive politeness, which is redress directed to the addressee's positive face and negative politeness, which is redressive action addressed to the addressee's negative face. The greater the degree of risk to face, the more constrained the options of mitigatory polite

behavior become. This may mean maximum risk leads to maximum routine and conversely, maximum routine reflects highest risk.

John Laver argues that introductions can be seen as moments of potentially high tension. To refuse to accept a properly offered introduction is a drastic insult to the positive face of the person being introduced and of the introducer alike. The refusal of an introduction is extremely rare, but the severity of the insult is revealing. The acceptance of an introduction has benefits commensurate with the risk of refusal. After introductions, the interactants are now to some degree partners in an extended network of solidary acquaintance, with a corresponding changed set of rights and obligations.

Laver points out that it is not necessary to urge the functional parallels between introduction and marriage as social ceremonies more strongly than this. It is argued that these two situations are both examples of interactions characterized by a high degree of linguistic routine. Both involve a potentially high degree of risk to face for the participants and both are concerns for the negotiation of aspects of social identity.

Grice formulates the suitability of individual moves in conversation, general principles, which participants will be expected to observe. Gricean maxims can briefly be characterized in the following way:

- Quantity: Be as informative as necessary
- Quality: Be truthful
- Relation: Be relevant
- Manner: Be clear, concise and unambiguous

Grice formulated these maxims on the specific assumption that the purpose of conversation was a maximally effective exchange of information. The speakers may well flout, or apparently flout, a given maxim. Given that the hearer is entitled to assume that the speaker is not trying to mislead him, for example:

A is standing by an obviously immobilized car and is approached by B. The following exchange takes place:

- A: I am out of petrol
- B: There is a garage round the corner

B would be infringing the maxim "be relevant" unless he thinks, or thinks it possible, that the garage is open and has petrol to sell, so he implicates that the garage is, or at least may be open. The speaker implicates that, which he must be assumed to believe in order to preserve the assumption that he is observing the maxim of relation.

Brown and Levinson suggest that positive politeness is characterized by an element of exaggeration, with a consequent flouting of the maxim of quality. Brown and Levinson suggest that there are many occasions in conversation where the need for maximum efficiency of communication overrides the need to be polite, for example: Emergency situations demand urgent action, and imperative verb forms are characteristic, like "Help!" or "Don't burn you hand!" Urgency of this sort may be metaphorically exploited in formulaic entreaties such as "Excuse me", "forgive me", "Pardon me" and "Accept my thanks".

The positive face can be created when the speaker obey the social maxim "Be polite" and attend to the aspects of the hearer's face by using linguistic routines.

John Laver suggests the issue of terms of address where one calls another person using the title name. If one is married one may call him/her "Mr or Mrs". Academically one can be called "principal", "inspector", "lecturer", "professor", "doctor" and "attorney".

There are some occasions that can constrain the polite choice of terms of direct address, like when the learner call his/her teacher "teacher" irrespective whether he is married or not, because one may not say "Mr teacher" or "Mrs teacher". People who are still busy with their studies are called learner, whether he is doing grade I or Masters: both of them are learners.

According to John Laver there are factors that underlie the polite norm of choice of formulaic terms of greeting and parting. usually when people meet they exchange greetings. Here is some of British English:

Good morning

Good Afternoon

Good evening

Hello

These are some of the English expressions that the British use to greet each other. They have formulaic parting phrases:

Good-bye

Bye-bye

Good day

Good morning

Good afternoon

Good evening

Good night

As far as Laver is concerned the general observation is striking that relatives and well-acquainted equals or interferers are treated with the same informality of formulaic phrase as children. Polite usage in this area as with terms of direct address is reciprocal between equals and non-reciprocal between participants of unequal status. To depart from the polite norm is to signal by implicature that a change in social relation is being negotiated. To move from "good day" to "bye" is a large social step, to move from "bye" to "good day" is an almost irrevocable act of social distancing.

According to John Laver the argument that a speaker can signal his perception of the formality of a situation and of his acquaintance and social relationship with a listener, by his choice of address-term and formulaic phrase of greeting or parting is reasonably acceptable on the basis of common experience. The argument is that similar information can be signalled by a speaker's choice of small talk, or phatic communion.

Small-talk of phatic communion, involving supremely obvious comments about the weather or benevolent admonitions such as "take care" are largely limited to the initial and final phases of conversational interactions, and it will be convenient to treat phatic communion in these two phases separately.

As far as Laver is concerned, the linguistic routines of phatic communion in the initial phase of conversation seem to have three social functions. The first of these is to defuse the potential hostility of silence in situations where speech is conventionally anticipated. It has an initiatory function, in that it allows the participants to cooperate in getting the interaction comfortably under way, using emotionally uncontroversial material and

demonstrating by signals of cordiality and tentative social solidarity their mutual acceptance of the possibility of an interaction taking place. The most relevant for present purposes, phatic communion has an exploratory function, in that it allows the participants to feel their way towards the working consensus of their interaction partly by revealing their perception of their relative social status.

Laver suggests three broad categories of phrases that are typically used as utterances of phatic communion: first category is made up of phrases about factors common to both speaker and listener, most often about the weather, phrases such as “nice day”, “what weather”, “frost night”, “nice party”.

The second category is made up of phrases that comment on factors personal to the speaker, which we can call the self-oriented category. Phrases in this category would include: “Hot work this”, “I do like a breath of fresh air”, and “My legs weren’t made for these hills”.

The third category contains phrases that refer to factors specific to the listener such as: “How’s life/business/the wife/the family?”, “That looks like hard work”, “Do you come here often?”.

4.2 YIMAM

Baye Yimam points out four Ethiopian languages, which are: Amharic, Oromo, Wolayita and Nuer. The first three belong to the semitic, cushitic and omotic sub-groups of the Afro-asiatic phylum whereas the last one belongs to the Nilotic subgroup of the Nilo-saharan phylum.

Baye Yimam further says that Amharic is the official working language of the country and is rated as having a fairly stable standard variety used in all domains of formal communication, whereas Oromo and Wolayita are beginning to develop such a variety as they are being introduced as medium of instructions and also subjects in primary schools of their respective regions. Oromo has recently been introduced as a minor area course of study in the institute of language studies of Addis-Ababa University. The inclusion of Nuer in this study may provide more complete profile of the region and may also reflect, how the

people of the region perceive and express their environment and their phatic communication and occasional expressions.

According to Baye Yimam, if two (older) persons meet for the first time, they exchange phatic expressions in order to establish some form of relation between them. As in many languages, the younger may take the lead in general:

(a) Amharic

Expression: t'ena ʔi- ill- iññ⁴

[May God give you health on my behalf]

Response: abro ʔi- st'- ill – iññ

[May he give us together on my behalf]

(b) Oromo

Expression: akkam jir +- a- n (I)

[How are you (polite)?]

Response: Fayya akkam jir +- a- n (I)

[Fine, how are you (polite)?]

(c) Wolayita

Expression: Saro

Peace

'Peace!'

Response: Saro

Peace

'Peace!'

(d) Nuer

Expression: Maale

[May peace be with you]

Response: Maala mi- gowa

[I am in good peace]

After having established relations with such expressions of good wishes of health and peace, the participants may go into more serious matters that concern them both or just one of them, for example: Ask the other for directions of place, or he may request some form of help. When the participants take leave of each other, they may use the same expression.

According to Baye Yimam, the expressions of greetings vary depending on the particular time of the day they are used and on the duration they refer to. There are expressions of greetings in all the four languages referring to the day.

Early morning

(a) Amharic:

Expression: indet addar- k

[How did you spend/pass the night?]

Response: dähna iqziabher ገi- mmäsgän

[Fine, God be praised / Fine, praise be to God]

(b) Oromo

Expression: akkam bul- +_ a- n(i)

[How did you spend the night?]

Response: Nagaa galata wak' aa

[Fine, praise to God]

(c) Wolayita

Expression: Saro ak'a di
[Did you spend the night in peace?]

Response: Lo?o ɾ' oossa galata- n
[Fine, praise to God]

(d) Nuer

Expression: Ši baak ke-maal'
[Did you wake up to dawn in peace?]

Response: Ča baak ke- maal
[I woke up to dawn in peace]

The expression in all the four languages is questions in form. The expressions of the three Afro-asiatic languages seem to be retrospective in terms of directionality since they refer back to a past night as opposed to a day, which is breaking. Nuer expression is prospective looking forward to the coming of a new day. It seems to be like the English "good morning".

All the above expressions are used first as phatic forms establishing relations between or among participants.

Late morning

As far as Baye Yimam is concerned the distinctions between the early and late mornings can be employed by Amharic languages while others use the same expressions:

Expression: indet aräffäd- l
[How did you spend the late morning?]

Response: Dähna iqziabher yi- mmäsgän
[Well, praise be to God]

This expression may be used in two different temporal contexts: when two persons who have already met early on in the morning, also meet at this time of the day and when they meet for the first time at this late morning.

Noon

(a) Amharic

Expression: *indet wal- k*

[How did you spend the day?]

Response: *dähna igziabher -i- mmäsgän*

[Well, praise be to God]

(b) Oromo

Expression: *akkam ool- +- a n (i)*

[How did you spend the day?]

Response: *Nagaa galata wak' aa*

[Well, praise be to God]

(c) Wolayita

Expression: *Saro Fe?a- di*

[Did you spend the day well?]

Response: *Lo?o +'oosso galata –n*

[Well, praise be to God]

(d) Nuer

Expression: *Ši buut idi*

[How did you pass the day?]

Response: Ča buut ke- maal
[I passed it in peace]

Except in Wolayita in which the expression is a yes/no question, indicated with the particle '-di, the expressions in all the others are the same questions of "How". The responses also have a spiritual association except in Nuer. Nuer differs from the three Afro-asiatic languages, which associate "God", who is mentioned in an expressed desire for His name to be praised. Nuer makes no mention of any such power and this makes it secular.

Evening

There is no distinction from the rest of the day and this time in Oromo, Wolayita and Nuer except Amharic which distinguishes the form of expression referring to the time between dusk and bed-time in general, as the same as late and early morning.

Week

(a) Amharic

Expression: indet sänäbbät- k
[How did you spend the week?]

Response: dähna igziabher -i- mäsgän
[Well, praise be to God]

(b) Oromo

Expression: akkam jir- +- a- n(i)
[How are you?]

Response: Nagaa galata wak' aa
[Well, praise be to God]

(c) Wolayita

Expression: Saro di?a y
[How are you?]

Response: Lo?o t' oosso galata – n
[Well, praise be to God]

(d) Nuer

Expression: Ši Čieng idi
[How did you live/exist?]

Response: Ča Čieng ke- maal
[I lived in peace]

The expressions in the non-semitic languages may refer to a week or even to a longer period of time, whereas in Amharic the verb **sänäbbät-** specifically refers to a week. The expression is very common among both Christians and Muslims: “Sabbath or Sammīnt”. The above expressions are all questions. The questions relate to the state or condition one has been in during the period specified. The responses in the three Afro-asiatic languages carry the words for peace, which they again attribute to God, thus differing from Nuer which makes no such reference to the divinity.

Year

(a) Amharic has an expression of greeting which relates to the rainy season of the year and end of the Ethiopian year.

Expression: indet kǎrrām – k
[How did you live through kirāmt?]

(b) Oromo has no special greeting expression specific to this period whereas Wolayiter and Nuer have these expressions.

(c) Wolayita

Expression: Saro Šač'aa di
[Did you live through the year well?]

Response: Lo?o + 'oosso galata-n
[Fine, praise be to God]

(d) Nuer

Expression: Ši toat idi
[How did you pass the rainy season?]

Response: Ča toat ke- maal
[I passed it in peace]

Amharic have four expressions of farewell, two corresponding to the morning and evening and another two corresponding to the week and the year; whereas in Oromo, Wolayita and Nuer have only two such expressions referring to day and night:

(a) Amaharic

Expression: dähna ¹² wal
[Spend the day in peace]

Response: Amen (dähna wal
[Amen, (you also) spend the day in peace]

(b) Oromo

Expression: Nagaa – ti ool- aa
[Spend the day in peace]

Response: Nagaa- ti ool- aa
[Spend the day in peace!]

(c) Wolayita

Expression: Saro fe?a
[Spend the day in peace]

Response: Saro fe?e
[Spend the day in peace]

(d) Nuer

Expression: ku buut ke- maal
[Spend the day in peace]

Response: ku wa ke- maal
[Go in peace]

In the above examples all four languages express desire for peace. One may feel that the sense of the Amharic expression is inclined more towards health and peace. Amharic response has the word “amen”, suggesting a more religious learning and making it different from secular responses of other three languages. Nuer response alternate between staying and going in peace.

Evening – night

The expressions of departure at this time of the day.

(a) Amharic

Expression: dāhna idār
[spend the night in peace]

Response: Amen (dāhna idār)
[Amen, spend the night in peace]

(b) Oromo

Expression: Nagaa – ti bul - -aa
[Spend the night in peace]

Response: Nagaa – ti bul - -aa
[Spend the night in peace]

(c) Wolayita

Expression: Saro ak'a
[Spend the night in peace]

Response: Saro ak'a
[Spend the night in peace]

(d) Nuer

Expression: ku niyen ke- maal
[Sleep in peace]

Response: ku niyen ke- maal
[Sleep in peace]

Nuer expression is slightly different since its reference is specific to sleep as opposed to getting through the night in peace in general.

Week and year

Baye Yimam points out that the Amharic is the one which have the expressions of departure lasting for a week and a year.

Week:

Expression: (bä-) dähna Sämbit
[Stay the week in peace]

Response: Amen (bä-) dähna Sänbit
 [Amen, you also stay the week in peace]

Example of the year:

Expression: dähna hun¹⁴
 [You be in peace]

Response: Amen dähna hun
 [Amen, you also be in peace]

There are six types of felicitous expressions in three of the four languages. These are expressions of:

- Covalence
- Pleasure
- Maternity
- Welcome
- Festive occasions
- Condolence

Covalence

Baye Yimam postulates that when a person is recovering from along illness, he is visited with the following expressions.

(a) Amharic

Expression: inkuwam lä- zzih a- bäkk- a- h
 [Good that He (i.e. God) has enabled you to be in this state] or
 [Good that God has enabled you to be like this (being in such a better condition)]

Response: bä- amlak - ih
 [By the Will of your God]

(b) Oromo

Expression: *baga kanaa- n isiin gah- e*
 [Good that this (day/state) reached you]

Response: *Amen*
 [Amen]

(c) Wolayita

Expression: *haššu haga ?u gatt- is*
 [Good that you have been brought to this state]

Response: *haššu giyu- ba ekka*
 [May he also give you one who says *haššu* to you]

(d) Nuer

Expression: *Goa e enhu či puony du pual*
 [Good that your body feels light] or
 [Good that you feel light]

Response: *Goa – e*
 [It is good]

The expressions state that the addressee is in a better condition and that this is a good thing. The verbs are causative, suggesting a divine cause for this condition to come by. The structures are also characterized by the presence of the words *inkuwan* (Amharic), *baqa* (Oromo), *haššu* (wolayita) and *qua* (Nuer).

Pleasure

Baye Yimam states that there is a special congratulatory expression used when visiting or meeting someone who has had some occasion of happiness such as promotion to a higher rank or post, or reunion with family members after absence or separation. On such

conditions or occasions, neighbours come and express their feelings again with the same contrastive expression:

(a) Amharic

Expression: inkuwan däss – alä – h

[Good that you are pleased]

Response: bā amlak - ih

[By the will of your God]

(b) Oromo

Expression: бага гаммад –d- a- n

[Good that you are pleased]

Response: бага wojjin gammad- n – e

[Good that we are both pleased]

(c) Wolayita

Expression: haššu ?fayitta – dasa

[Good that you are met with pleasure]

Response: haššu giyo-ba ekka

[May you also meet something that makes one say haššu] or

[May you also be pleased or the same to you]

(d) Nuer

Expression: e- tesloač...

[It is pleasing that ...]

Response: Goa e

[It is good]

Baye Yimam points out that the expressions in the four languages are direct statements of recognition that the addressee is pleased with something that has happened in his favour. The implication is like: “you would have been unhappy had things not turned your way”. This is evident from the use of the contrastive markers in the expressions of the three Afro-asiatic languages. The emphasis in all expressions is on the happiness, which is assumed of the addressee, the addresser’s feeling of pleasure is only implicit.

Expressions at maternity

Baye Yimam argues that there is a special congratulatory expression that people use when visiting a woman who has given birth to a baby and who is in bed recovering from her labour. In most parts of Ethiopia, the new mother has to stay in bed for about forty days, eating and drinking all that is good for regaining her strength. During this time of recovery her neighbours, friends and relatives come (some with presents) and visit her with expressions involving the same *inkuwan*:

(a) Amharic

Expression: *inkuwan Mariam marā čč - iš*

[Good that Mary has given you mercy]

Response: *Mariam +- a= nur iš*

[May Mary help you live long]

(b) Oromo

Expression: *baga Mariam in – isiin hik- +- e*

[Good that Mary released you]

Response: *hike argad'd'- aa*

[You also meet someone who will release you]

(c) Wolayita

Expression: haššu ne huup'e att- iisi
 [Good that he (God) has saved you]

Response: haššu giyo- ba ekka
 [May you also meet the same]

(d) Nuer

Expression: Ši pan e goa
 [Did it come out well?]

Response: [It came out well]

The expressions in Amharic and Oromo are religious making reference this time to the Virgin Mary. The “Mercy” in Amharic and the “relief” or “freedom” from the bondage of pregnancy in Oromo are attributed to Mary, whose help is always sought, particularly when a woman is in labour. In Wolayita the focus is on the “safety” of the mother, but with no association to Mary or to any other deity while expression in Nuer is more secular because it simply asks how the woman feels.

In many developing Ethiopian communities, most mothers do not, and in fact cannot, get clinical help during childbirth. The only hope expectant mothers, apparently both Christians and Muslims, have during the whole period of pregnancy and delivery is the spiritual presence of the Virgin Mary, who is believed to be Merciful, particularly to expectant mothers, for example: In most parts of the Amharic speaking areas, women sit around a woman when she is in labour repeatedly calling the name Mariam (Mary) until the baby is born. At this time they ululate four times if the baby is a boy and three times if it is a girl. People come from near and far to congratulate her.

(a) Amharic

Expression: Mariam bā Šillim +- a= wt' a- š
 [May Mary hep you in beauty]

Response: Amen
[Amen]

(b) Oromo

Expression: Mariam in nagaa – n sii haa baaf – t-u
[May Mary help you out in peace]

Response: Amen
[Amen]

(c) Wolayita

Expression: Mariama ?ufayissa- an kessu
[May Mary help you out in happiness]

Response: amin?i
[Amen]

(d) Nuer

Expression: ku duoth ke- maal
[You stay in peace]

Response: Wer ke- maal
[Go in peace]

In three Afro-asiatic languages the visitors express their good wishes by saying “<ary Mary help you out in beauty / peace and happiness”, implying that her life might still be in danger without the Virgin Mary. Nuer expression is devoid of any religious flavour, it is like any common expression.

Welcoming

Baye Yimam points out that when a person comes home after a long period of absence he is visited with a special expression of welcome. The expressions has the religious learnings and the same pessimistic implication as those of convalescence and maternity:

(a) Amharic

Expression: inkuwam lä- bet ih¹⁸ a-bäk'k' –a-h

[Good that you have been enabled to come back home]

Response: bä amlak - ih

[By the will of you God]

(b) Oromo

Expression: baga- mana – keeti – f I sii gah – e

[Good that you have brought back home]

Response: Amen

[Amen]

(c) Wolayita

Expression: haššu nema ne-keetta – w gatt – iis – I

[Good that you have been enabled to be back home]

Response: haššu giyo – ba ekka

[May ou also meet something that makes someone say haššu to you]

(d) Nuer

Expression: Ši luuñ jok ke- maal

[Did you return in peace?]

Response: Ča luuñ jok ke-maal
[I returned in peace]

Expression at festive occasions

According to Baye Yimam the most important religious festivals for orthodox Christians are Christmas, Easter, Epiphany and Maskal. Other festivals include New Year and Muslim holiday such as Id Al Fitr. On such occasions, neighbours and relative visit one another with the following expressions:

(a) Amharic

Expression: inkuwan a- dārrās – ä – h
[Good that he (God) has enabled you to reach (this day)]

Response: inkuwan abro a- dārrās – ä – n
[Good that he has helped us both reach this day]

(b) Oromo

Expression: бага (assi-n) sii gah- e
[Good that you have reached (here)]

Response: baqa wojj̄ gee-nn-e
[Good that we both arrived]

(c) Wolayita

Expression: haššu laytta – pe laayitt – an gatti – s
[Good that you move from year to year]

Response: haššu issippe gatti –s
[Good that we both reach/transfer]

(d) Nuer

Expression: Ši – a baak
[You greeted the morning]

Response: Ča ko baak
[We met with the dawn]

People in rural areas celebrate New Year after months of farm work (ploughing, hoeing, planting and weeding) all done manually in the muddy and torrential winter rains. New Year is also the time when at the beginning of spring in most parts of Ethiopia and there is a feeling of hope about a bright future.

Expression of condolence

Someone who has lost a loved one, there is a special expression used at the point of parting, there being nothing special that is said at the time of meeting the bereaved:

(a) Amharic

Expression: bäl igziabher y- a- t'in – a – h
[Let God strengthen you]

Response: amen
[Amen]

(b) Oromo

Expression: Rabbi sii haa jab – ees – u
[May God strengthen you]

Response: amen
[Amen]

(c) Wolayita

Expression: t' ooss- I minto
[May God strengthen you]

Response: amen
[Amen]

(d) Nuer

Expression: ke nin koth
[God decides the days of the living]

Response: Goa e
[It is good / OK]

The expressions in three Afroasiatic languages state the wishes of the visitors that God give the bereaved the strength they need to withstand the grief. There is an implied sense that without this divine strength the bereaved are helplessly weak. Amharic expression, reference made by verbal element “bäl” is to this state of helplessness as against the divine strength, which the visitor wishes for the bereaved. Nuer expression differs in this again since it simply gives a personal encouragement rather than expressing a wish for divine strength.

4.3 YAHYA-OTHMAN

According to Fraser, politeness falls into four perspectives: The social norm view, the conversational maxim view, the face-saving view and the conversational contract view.

Brown and Levinson point out views in illocutionary acts as bearing some threat to the face wants of interactants and conversation consisting for a large part in interactants trying to minimise the threat of these acts (face threatening acts). Brown and Levinson further says that politeness is positive if the threat to face relates to the interactants desire to appear likeable and politeness can be negative if the redressive measures take account of the interactants desire for freedom of action and freedom from imposition.

Brown and Levinson's politeness is strategic in that the redressive measures are in the form of strategies which speakers put into effect depending on the particular factors which may be contextually operating.

Conversational contract is more normative: The conversational contract specifies what is expected of polite behaviour in the society and speakers are aware of the requirements of the conversational contract and generally operate within them.

Saida Yahya-Othman argues that greetings have been viewed as being centrally symbolic of phatic communion and their significance in human interaction has been greatly emphasised.

He further says that his interest is in greetings as a manifestation of polite behaviour to establish a link between phatic communion and politeness.

Laver argues that politeness behaviour can be discussed in terms of the face saving view: phatic communion constitutes the speaker's recognition of the addressee and his/her desire to maintain or begin a relation with the addressee.

Coupland *et al* points out the tendency of marginalizing phatic communion, arising either from the view that it expresses no information or that it is not part of the conversation proper. They further say that phatic communion must be considered a central aspect of conversation since it provides the basis for the establishment and furtherance of social relationships.

Greetings in Kiswahili provide evidence for this view, both in terms of their structure and in terms of the effects of their not being offered. He argues that the production of greetings have various strategies that the speaker can use in conforming to the politeness requirements and expressing non-commitment to the greeting.

Greetings in Swahili culture conform more to the requirements of positive face than negative face, i.e. the interactants desire that others think positively of their actions. The pressure to give greetings seems also to arise from the expectations that others in the society have of the individual.

He further says that in withholding a greeting, the withholder seriously violates the society's norms of "hestima" and "adabu" which hold politeness and respect should be offered to that entire one comes into social contact with. He/she is thus seen as someone who lacks manners or has not been properly brought up. In not receiving the greeting, the potential addressees have their self-esteem threatened in the eyes of others and in their own eyes as being not worthy of respect.

Saida Yahyo-Othman points out that the politeness strategies adapted in conforming to group face are intended to maintain and repair the self-image of the whole society. He further says that greeting in Swahili society are extremely significant because they are the first linguistic indication in an interaction that:

- (a) A meeting has taken place
- (b) The persons meeting recognise each other
- (c) They are willing to conform to the social norms of the group.

The Swahili culture provides a context in which to greet appropriately is to be polite and not to do so is to be impolite. Children are taught to greet their elders in the respectful way from a very early age and the behaviour of a child who does not do so is assessed along with those who have the responsibility of bringing up the child. Swahili greetings manifest an extensive variety in terms of the expressions that can be used. Most of these expressions and well-being of the addressee, and these may be followed by enquiries of those who are close to the addressee such as children, parents and spouses and later enquiries about work also constitute part of the greeting

- L: Je, habari za leo?
What news of today
- O: Nzuri tu. Za kwako?
Good and yours?
- L: Salama. Hamjambo nyote?
Peaceful. Are you all well?
- O: Hatujambo. Vipi mambo
We are well. How are things?
- L: Aa, hapana ila kheri
Ah, nothing but good fortune

In the Swahili context, greetings between acquaintances and friends are not considered as optional extras, which may be dispersed with an occasion. They are crucial to the continuance of any further interaction and often, when they are not given they can be demanded.

Saida Yahya-Othman points out that there are strategies maximally efficient greeting with which the speaker can attenuate greetings in order to signal insincerity or even rudeness.

Greetings in Swahili consists of several turns, which are made up of various features such as an inquiry after health and on the general state of things, a request for news and welcome. Whether or not greetings are followed by further conversation depends on many factors, significant among which are the level of intimacy of the participants and the location of the interaction.

The interactions between friends and relatives within Zanzibar society are usually frequent. The reason being that the Island community is itself very small and closed and because of the communal nature of many social and religious functions, such as prayers, weddings and funerals, members come to meet very often and the greetings are more likely to be followed by further talk if the interactants meet in place where some activity is going on or has been planned.

Omar suggests that one of the difficulties faced by second language learners of Kiswahili is in the performance of these extended greetings. Such learners would engage in only two or three turns before moving on to the business of the moment, but to the native speaker such greetings appear impolite and uncaring.

There are times where the speakers express impoliteness or insincerity of their greetings by reducing the exchange to two or three turns. A greeting is extended not only in terms of number of turns that are produced but also by their inclusion of matters or persons other than addressee. Inquiries after health of children, parents and spouses very often constitute an important part of greetings especially between intimates. It is worth noting that, in equal encounters almost all greetings exchanges are question and answer sequences or what have been termed phatic inquiries and phatic responses. In Swahili equal encounters greetings always take the form of inquiries:

| | |
|----------|------------------|
| Hujambo? | How are you? |
| Habani? | What news? |
| Salama? | Peace? |
| Hali? | How is health? |
| Mambo? | How are matters? |

Ferguson claims that full echo response greetings in which the two participants say the same thing are universal, which can only be supported in the Swahili data in unequal responses.

Swahili greetings are also governed by rules of sequencing that is, who takes the first run in offering a greeting. It is determined by two main factors: age and location:

| | | | |
|----|---------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| F: | Salaam aleikum | : | Greetings |
| S: | Aleikum salaam. Hali? | : | And to you. Health? |
| F: | Nzuri nyumbani hawajambo? | : | Good. Are they well at home? |
| S: | Wote wazima yakhe | : | They are all well, say |

Usually the participants in an encounter are not of equal status, it is the younger or the one with a lower status who will greet first.

The question of location relates to whether the participants are both or all in the same place before greeting take place or whether one of them approaches the other, who is stationary.

If the participants share a location they may be moving towards each other, as in a street encounter, or they may be stationary in each other's vicinity. The second case is when one of the participants would be stationary, and the other would approach him/her:

| | | | |
|-----|--|---|----------------------------|
| K: | Wanangu hamjabo? | : | My children, are you well? |
| C1: | Hatujambo. Che chei | : | We are well, che chei |
| C2: | Che chei | | |
| K: | Che chei, che chei. Mama yenu hajambo? | : | Is your mother well? |
| C1: | Hajambo karibu | : | She is well. Well come |
| K: | Asante | : | Thank you |

On the above example the stationary participants show that they are interested in an interaction because the approaching person can often continue on their way without offering a greeting. They again wish to be considered as part of the ongoing occasion. The omission of greetings by an approaching participant is considered as breach of "heshima" shown by people's reactions when that happens.

Greetings exchanged between non-equal status participants are often different from those of equal status participants, for example: A woman may offer a respectful greeting to her son-in-law even though they may be about the same age. Again, a woman respectfully greeted a younger woman who was a recognised religious leader. In the normal situation, the younger is expected to offer the greeting first, although occasionally the elder participant may start with a phatic inquiry:

(B is about sixty and F in her mid-thirties.)

- B: Hujambo mama? : Are you well my child?
 F: Sijambo, sbalkheri. : I am well. Good morning.
 B: Sbalkheri. Nyumbani wazima? : Good morning. Are they well at home?
 F: Wote wazima. Je nyie? : The are all well. And yourselves?
 B: Aa, ndo hivo. Hauchi unakucha : Ah, so so. We get by.

The respectful part of greeting is the "sbalkheri", which is derived from Arabic "good morning". Others are Shikamoo and che chei offered mainly by small children.

The norms governing the offer of a respectful greeting are more complex than for the other greetings. If the greeting is offered to someone not much older than one it may cause offence and not offering the respectful greeting to someone who is sufficiently older would also cause offence and the loss of face of the addressee. In case where there is a clear age difference, the respectful greeting if given never cause offence, but failure to give it constitutes a serious face threat to both participants.

Sometimes the withholder has to have a very serious reason for withholding the respectful greeting in such cases, usually amounting to open hostility between him/her and the other. The demand for the respectful greeting is often in the form of "Aren't you going to greet me?":

- R: Habari? : What news?
S: Nzuri. Hujambo? : Good. Are you well?
R: Huna adabu. Huniamkii? : You have no manners. Aren't you going to greet me?

The concept of efficiency is tied to brevity and directness and to not giving face. He suggests that the view of efficiency may not be universally applicable and may have to be amended to suit the cultural conditions of each society. Given that efficiency is goal-directed, its attainment will depend on what is given high value in a particular society.

Said continues saying that in Swahili context, positive politeness in offering greetings is the norm and the most efficient strategy, it is the full-blown greeting which is maximally efficient between intimates. It achieves the purposes for which greetings are used in the society. Those of consolidating interpersonal relations, showing concern for the other and indicating respect for the position that the other holds in the society.

In Swahili greetings, the threat to face is boosted through the attenuation of the greeting formulae in various ways, whereas most of the politeness literature has focussed on strategies reducing the threat to face.

CHAPTER 5

GREETINGS IN TSHIVENDA

5.1 AIM

The aim of this section will be to establish the opening of greetings between people. Greetings are an example of a typical dyadic communication in which two people are involved in interpersonal communication. In this section the terms, which people may use in greeting each other, will be looked into as well as some specific terms of address, which may be necessary when two people greet each other. The context in which those greetings may be affected will also be taken into account, specifically the following:

- The relative age between the two people.
- The persons in a lineal descent, people in authority.
- Difference in sex.
- Cultural issues.

In each of these contexts above, the following issues will be considered:

- Who is the initiator of the greeting?
- What greeting terms are used?
- Are there specific terms of address in such greetings?
- Does non-verbal communication play any role in greeting?

5.1.1 Relative age

Irvine (1974) suggests the asymmetrical relationship between any two “greeters”. The social variables of age, sex and status dictate who initiates greetings. Irvine states that a younger person initiates a greeting with an older person, a female with a male, the status inferior with the status superior. When sex and age conflict as in the case of an older female and a younger male, age will have a higher valiancy and the younger male will initiate the greeting with the older female.

(a) Greetings between two older people

Initiator

When two older people meet, there is no one who expects the other to be the initiator because both are older. Anyone can be the initiator of the greetings amongst the two.

Greeting terms

In Tshivenda when females greet each other they use the concept “Aa”. It may differ in terms of form and even the way in which people use it because in this concept we have two forms: “Aa” and “Aa-----aa”. Younger people usually use the first form, while older people use the second form. The second form above is a reduplication of the first one.

When two older persons greet each other it is not obligatory for them to use any term of address. They are of the same age and status.

Non-verbal communication

In Tshivenda, when two persons greet each other, they may not use words only but they may greet each other with words and supplement it by action. For instance women are expected to kneel down, look down and to put their hands together. If they do this, it clearly indicates the warmth of their greetings. One can enjoy it especially if one does not share the same culture with them, because one can see the respect with which they regard each other.

In this situation where two older people greet each other there is no necessity for one to adhere to all the aspects of non-verbal communication above. Usually they apply only one aspect which is to put their hands together and that would be satisfactory.

(b) Greetings between an older and a younger person

Initiator

When a younger person greets an older person, we may find that the younger one should always be the initiator in greetings, but there are some circumstances where you may find that the older person is the one who first saw the younger one. In such circumstances it means that the older person should be the first to greet, but in normal circumstances the younger one should be the first to greet. The most important thing in this relationship is that the younger people should always show respect to the older people.

Greeting terms

If the younger person is a female, it means she will have to use the concept “**Aa**” and if the younger person is a male, it means he will have to use the concept “**Ndaa**”. If the older person is a female she will have to say “**Aa—aa**” but if the older one is a male it means he will say “**Ndaa**”.

Terms of address

With regard to terms of address, when a younger person greets older people, they may use terms of address such as: **Makhulu, kuku, ququ, Mukequlu** for an older female but this form is not obligatory in the sense that it depends from one person to the other. One may merely say “**Ndaa**” or “**Aa**” without any term of address or one may feel to extend it, by specifying his or her greeting with a specific term of address such as one for granny, aunt or uncle.

When the older person greets a younger person they may use terms of address such as: **Muduhulu, Nwanawanwananga**, or they may use clan as older people are people who are full with praise, they may say: **Singo, Munyai, Ndou, Kwinda** and many others when they use terms of address.

Non-verbal communication

There is a difference here in the sense that if the younger one who is greeting is a female, it means she should kneel down with both knees touching the ground and she would make sure that she is looking down and putting her hands together. But if the younger person is a male, he should kneel with one leg down while bending the other and he should put his hands together while putting them aside, either on the left or on the right. In case of females, their hands should be always in front.

5.1.2 Family

(a) Greetings between husband and wife

Initiator

When a husband and a wife greet each other, normally the wife is the one who initiates the greetings to her husband. There are some situations where one may find that this general rule may not be applicable for example, if the wife is admitted to the hospital and her husband decides to visit her; the wife should not be the initiator because, usually after greetings, people may ask each other about health and many other things.

In a case like this, the husband should be the initiator in order to continue to ask his wife about issues of her health and many other things. Normally the wife is the initiator of the greeting.

Greeting terms

With regard to greeting terms the women's term differs from the men's term, because all females use the term "Aa" and all males use the term "Ndaa". When we say the wife should always be the initiator if she greets her husband, it means we are expecting to hear the wife say "Aa" to her husband and the response will be "Ndaa" from the husband.

Terms of address

When a husband and a wife greet each other, it is not acceptable for the wife as initiator of the greeting to any address form. Even if the husband is the initiator of the greeting, he should not use any term of address, it is not possible to find the wife saying “**Aa munna’ wanga**” or the husband saying “**Ndaa musadzi wanga**”.

There are no such greetings unlike in Western cultures where you may hear the wife say: “Hello Dad” or the husband may say “Hello Mum”.

Non-verbal communication

When a wife greets her husband, she should complement her greetings with actions like to kneel down, look down and putting her hands together. Some may even lie down on the side looking down and putting their hands together. When the husband response, he should only greet with “**Ndaa**” without any action, especially in cases like this where he exchanges greetings with his wife.

(b) Greetings between father and son

Initiator

The son should be the initiator when he greets his father. He should show respect to his father when he exchanges greetings, because the way of greeting when he greets his friend or sister, is not the way he can do it when he greets his parents.

Greeting terms

When the son greets his father, he can say to him: “**Ndaa**” and the response of his father should be the same, because all males use “**Ndaa**” in greeting. So both father and son use the same expression.

Terms of address

The son should obligatory use a term of address, like **Baba** when he says: “**Ndaa Baba**”. It sounds very good and stresses the fact that the son is kind, humble and show respect towards his father.

There are terms like “**Munewanga**” or “**khotsianga**”, these terms are very good but when it comes to greetings, it sounds very difficult for one to say “**Ndaa khotsianga**”. It’s good to use these two terms in other parts of speech but not in greetings. In case of father it is not obligatory for him to use the terms of address when he is greeting his son. There are terms like “**nwananga**”, “**Mutukanawanga**” or “**Murwawanga**” but one cannot use it especially in greeting.

Non-verbal communication

When the son greets his father, he should kneel down on one knee or else he should cross the legs while sitting down and he should put hands together and put them aside. This is the way that the son supplements his words of greetings when he greets his father.

(c) Greetings between father and daughter

Initiator

When the daughter and father exchange an expression of greetings, the daughter is always the initiator. She must be the first to greet her father.

Greeting terms

When the daughter greets her father, she uses the same term of greetings that her mother uses when she greets her husband, i.e. the female greeting: “**Aa**”, but the way she should do it, should be different from the way she greets her brother and sister, even though the expression is the same: she should do it politely and not just greet him for the sake of doing it. Respect should be shown in this case. The father’s respond to the daughter’s greeting should always be “**Ndaa**”.

Terms of Address

The daughter should use a term of address when she greets her father such as “**Aa, baba**”. There are other terms like **khotsianga**, **Munewanga**, but in our language, Tshivenda, it is difficult to say “**Aa khotsianga**”. In case of father it is not obligatory to him to use the term of address. Even if it is not a rule, but usually the person who responds to the greetings should not use term of address. When the daughter says “**Aa baba**” the father should say “**Ndaa**” as a response. There are terms like **Nwananga** or **Musidzanyanawanga** but it is not obligatory for the father to use it.

Non-verbal communication

When the daughter greets her father, she should not greet him while standing. Whether she is stubborn or not but when she greets her father, she should kneel down, look down and put her hands together and she must at least spend some few minutes bending like this and she should get up slowly. It is not obligatory for her father to use non-verbal acts when he response to his daughter.

(d) Greetings between mother and sonInitiator

It is quite obvious that the son will be the initiator, because he is young. As Irvine (1974) indicates in the case of an adult and a younger person, the younger one should be the initiator in all cases regardless whether one knows him or her.

Greeting terms

With regard to greeting terms, the son will say “**Ndaa**” to his mother and his mother will respond by saying “**Aa**” because the male expression is “**Ndaa**” while the female is “**Aa**”.

Terms of address

The son will obligatory use the term “**Mmawe**” when he greets his mother. He should use this term of address and say “**Ndaa mmawe**” politely so to show that really he is talking to

his mother and not to his brother or sister. There is another term like **mmeanga**. The mother may either use the term like **Nwananga, muthannga wanga, murwa wanga**. In case of mother, she can also say **“Aa mutukanawanga”**. It is different from father because father should not use the term of address, maybe because he has more authority over the whole family.

Non-verbal communication

The male person has his own way of greeting. If he may happen to greet his mother while sitting, he should cross his legs and put his hands together and put them aside and say **“Ndaa”** or he can just kneel down with one knee and bend the other one and put his hands together and put them aside and say **“Ndaa”**.

(e) Greetings between mother and daughter

Initiator

In this occasion the daughter should initiate the greeting to her mother. This is an obvious case and there is no question about it whether she is educated or not, she should be the first to greet her mother.

Greeting terms

The daughter uses the term used by female people with is **“Aa”**, because daughter and mother use the same expression it means when the daughter says **“Aa”** to her mother the response will be the same by saying **“Aa”** from her mother.

Terms of address

The daughter obligatory uses a term of address when she greets her mother, father or any person who is older than her. Here are some of the terms of address that the daughter may use: **“Aa, mma”** or **“Aa, mmawe”**.

The mother uses terms of address when greeting her daughter. She can say: “**Aa, mwananga**”, “**Aa, Musidzana wanga**” and “**Aa, qomba-komba langa**”. Even if it is not obligatory for the mother to use terms of address, she may greet like this.

Non-verbal communication

The daughter should kneel down, look down and put her hands together for a few minutes before getting up.

5.1.3 People in authority

(a) Greetings between the chief and a male

Initiator

Immediately when the male comes close or enters the gate of the chief's kraal, he starts to greet the chief by praising some praises even if he never saw the chief before, but it is a rule that men should greet like that until he enters the chief's house and he never stops until someone shows him the place where he can sit. Thus, the male is the initiator; he is the one who should first greet the chief before the chief sees him or even before he says anything.

Greeting terms

The male uses the normal male concept “**Ndaa**” in greeting. It does not matter whether one greets the president, king or a poor person, the expression is the same. It may just differ in the way one says it, but the expression, which the male uses, is the same. If the male can say “**Ndaa**” to the chief, the response should be the same “**Ndaa**”.

Terms of address

The male is obliged to use a term of address because the chief has higher authority. Thus one may say, “**Ndaa, Musanda, Vhufuwi, Muhali, Muthomphei, Mavu, Mailausumbwa**”, these terms of address should be use to greet a chief. It is impossible

to find an ordinary person to be called by terms mentioned above. No person can name himself **Vhamusanda**, **Vhafuwi** or **Muhali**, unless if people can just play fun on one another and call someone by saying “**Vhamusanda**”.

There are some families who use the title **Muhali**, but not in the sense of saying someone is a chief, they use it as their surname. It should be called “**Muhali**” as an ordinary surname, not that the people are from royal family, just an ordinary surname. It is difficult to come across the clan called “**Musanda, Mavu, Mailausambwa**”. The issue of using the address form is really a sensitive issue because even when the person to whom you are talking to is not close to you, but when you use the address form, you are drawing the hearer's attention to be more closer to you and even to pay more attention to you.

There are praises to be used when greeting the chief like these: “**Ndau ya nduma**”, “**Mbilalume**”, “**Tshidadamuhali**”, “**Marungadzindevhelaho**”, “**Thindi ndi a midza, ndi ro balwelwa nga shambo**”, “**Tshivhavhala tsha shango**”, “**Lutiitii luna segere**”, “**Mboloma muhali.**”

The chief may not use terms of address when greeting people or responding to them.

Non-verbal communication

This male should bend his knee, put his hands together and put them aside either on the right or on the left and spend some time like that and afterwards he may sit properly and slowly on a chair.

(b) Greetings between chief and female

Initiator

The female always initiates the greetings to the chief.

Greeting terms

The term that women uses is “**Aa**” as women always use the same expression and the chief will respond by saying “**Ndaa**”.

Terms of address

A woman is obliged to use an address from in greeting because she is greeting a person who has higher authority over her than her husband. Thus, the woman is obligatory forced to use an address like: “**Aa, Vhafuwi**”. **Vhafuwi** is the term, which is usually used by women. The chief may not use terms of address when greeting women.

Non-verbal communication

A female uses a different action when she greets an ordinary person and when she greets a chief.

Normally, when a woman greets a chief, she usually lies down on her side and she looks down and puts her hands together and the hands should follow the head's direction. Thus, there should be a balance throughout the whole body and she must at least spend a few minutes lying like that and thereafter get up slowly and sit properly. Women must sit on a grass-carpet. It is taboo in our culture for women to sit on a chair or sofa, even if a carpet is not there, she is obliged to sit down on a floor.

(c) Greetings between Principal and Teacher

Initiator

The initiator between the two is the Teacher, who has less power than the principal. He should be the one who greets first because in case of authority or power, the one who has inferior or less power, should be the initiator. In this case, the teacher is the initiator.

Greeting terms

It will depend as to whether the teacher is a female or male, because if the teacher is female, it means the teacher will use the term “**Aa**”, whereas the male uses “**Ndaa**”. The same issue is applicable in the case of a principal.

If the principal is a female, she will respond to say “**Aa**” and if the principal is a male, he will use the response of “**Ndaa**”.

Terms of address

Teacher should use terms of address when greeting the principal. Here are some of the terms that should be used: **“Aa, Vho-phinsipala”, “Thohoyatshikolo”, “Muhulwane wanga”, “Mulanquli wa tshikolo?”**

With these terms there is no difference as to whether the principal is female or male; the terms of address are almost the same. Even if the teacher, who greets the principal is male or female, there should be no difference, the terms are almost the same.

The main purpose of these address forms is to show dignity or respect towards the principal that the person I'm greeting has more authority than me.

The principal's response will be **“Ndaa Mudededzi”** if the teacher is male, but if the teacher is female, the principal should say: **“Ndaa, Mudedekadzi”**.

Non-verbal communication

In situations between the teacher and principal, normally these people do what the western society does, because the action that they show is to shake hands together. If the teacher is male, he can put his hands together or use the sign of washing the hands in the air as if he is asking an apology. The female teacher prefers to shake hands when greeting the principal.

(d) Greetings between Teacher and Student

Initiator

The student in this occasion is the initiator. He/she is the first to greet the teacher. The learner as a younger person than the teacher should initiate the greeting by doing this: she stressed the fact of humbleness, politeness and respect.

Greeting terms

If the student is a female, it means she has to say “**Aa**”, but if the student is a male, he should have to say “**Ndaa**”.

Terms of address

Students are obliged to use and address form. It seems as if it is compulsory for these people who have less power or who are inferior to use a form of address when greeting those who have higher authority. The student may say: “**Ndaa, Vhothitshara**”, “**Mudededzi**”, “**Mudedekadzi**”. Students may not say “**Ndaa, thitshara**” because if the learner may use terms of address in that manner, one can regard him as disrespectful towards the teacher. The teacher can respond in this way: “**Ndaa, muqudiswa**”, “**Nwanawa tshikolo**”, “**Mutshudeni**”.

Non-verbal communication

In a situation like this sometimes it is hard for a student to show submissive behavior because one may find that the student is busy or rushing to the class or somewhere and for her to kneel down and do all the actions that supplement a greeting will be much more demanding, unless if the teacher is sitting in the staff room. Non-verbal communication may be applicable in such a case; the teacher does not need to give any other sign that he/she should do when responding to the greeting.

(e) Greetings between shop owner and worker

Initiator

It is quite clear that the worker should always be the initiator in greeting his/her boss or employer. The worker should be the first to greet the shop owner as sign of respect and to show loyalty to the employer. Sometimes one may find that the employer is a younger person, but because of his/her authority one should approach the employer first.

Greeting terms

Women should use the expression of female “**Aa**” and men should use the expression of males “**Ndaa**”. The response should be determined by gender, because if the shop owner were female, she would respond by saying “**Aa**”, but if the shop owner is male, he should respond by saying “**Ndaa**”.

Terms of address

In Tshivenda if two people of different status greet each other, the one who has less power should use a term of address. On occasion like this, it is very hard to employ these rules, though it is expected, but it is not appropriate because one cannot just say “**Aa, VhoRamabindu**”. It sounds like an irony that is why I say it is inapplicable. One cannot employ this term of address when greeting his/her boss.

The shop owner might turn to use the name of that particular person, because even in case of employer it is very hard to call an employee by the name “**Mushumi**”. Like “**Ndi Matsheloni mushumi**”. In Tshivenda it sounds bad. The employer can just say “**Ndi matsheloni Sarah, Mashudu or Peter**”. That will really be acceptable. But employee may not call employer by the name. It means that the employee lack respect to the employer. Only the employer can call the employee by the name.

Non-verbal Communication

When the workers talk to the employer, the workers should sit down and listen to the shop owner. Usually one should have to bend a little o show that she/he is greeting a superior.

(f) Greetings between a Doctor and Nurse

Initiator

The nurse should be the initiator in greeting and the doctor should respond. It doesn't matter whether the Doctor is younger than the Nurse, but because of his authority the nurse should greet first.

Greeting terms

If the nurse were female, she would normally use “**Aa**” and if the nurse were male, he would use the concept “**Ndaa**”. The response will be the same. The same terms apply to the doctor. If the doctor is female, she is going to say “**Aa**” and if the doctor is male, he is going to say “**Ndaa**” as a response.

Terms of address

In this case, the nurse can say “**Ndi matsheloni Nanga**” or “**Ndi madekwana Maine**”. The response of the doctor should be “**Ndi matsheloni a Mudi muongi**” or “**Ndi Madekwana a Vhudi Sister**”.

Non-verbal communication

There is only one action that these people might use when they exchange greetings. This is to shake hands. There is no other action that these groups use except to shake hands when they greet each other.

5.1.4 Gender

(a) Greetings between male and male

Initiator

There is no initiator, anyone can initiate the greetings, and there is no one who can conclude that one is undermining the other’s authority because they are both the same.

Greeting terms

These people use the same expressions “**Ndaa**” because they are both male and response from the other will be the same.

Terms of address

These people can use names as terms of address when greeting each other, like **“Ndi masiari Peter, Ndi matshelonie mukalaha, Ndi madekwana muthannga, Lo kovhela Murathu, Ndi matshelonie Khotsimunene, khotsimuhulu, Ndi matsheloni Baba, ndi madekwana Muzwala, Lo kovhela Mulamu”**. These are the terms of address that males can use when greeting each other, the terms can be determined by how these people are related like if they are brothers one might say **“Murathu, Mukomana, Khotsimunene, Khotsimuhulu, etc.”**.

Non-verbal communication

They can use non-verbal communication by crossing the legs and put hands aside. I mean if the greetings is between the aged and teenagers, or if the greetings is between father and son, the son is obliged to do it, but in case of friends or the same age they won't use non-verbal communication, only the expression is fine.

(b) Greetings between female and femaleInitiator

Anyone can be the initiator. Today one can be the initiator and tomorrow the other one may start, depending on who should see the other first. The one, who will be the first to see, would be the initiator.

Greeting terms

They use the same term that female might use when greeting each other which is **“Aa”**.

Terms of address

They usually use their terms of address such as names, friend and even age, like: **“ndi matsheloni Mukondi”, “Mulalo” or “Tshifhiwa”**. One might say **“Ndi madekwana khonani”, “Mushumisani”, “Mudzulatsini” or “Ndi masiari Muzwala”, “Murathu”,**

“**Mukomana**”, “**mmawe**”, “**makhadzi**” or “**Makhulu**”. These are the terms that these people might use.

Non-verbal communication

It can be applied in the case of aged and teenagers, mother and daughter, daughter and aunt, the young one should kneel down, look down and put hands together to supplement her greetings.

(c) Greetings between female and male

Initiator

Usually in Tshivenda in case like this, because our belief is that male is superior to female, the females are the ones who initiate the greetings at all times. Unless the female can totally fail to identify the male first, until the male can approach or start the greetings, but usually the female initiates the greetings.

Greeting terms

The female might use the term “**Aa**” whereas the male use the term “**Ndaa**”.

Terms of address

They can use names like “**Ndi madekwana Maluta**”, “**Tshimangadzo**” or “**Takalani**”. They can again use age like “**Ndi madekwana Malume**”, “**Makhadzi muzwala**”, “**Khaladzi**”, “**Makhulu**”, “**Mukalaha**”, “**Mazwale**”.

Non-verbal communication

If the young member is female it means she should kneel down, look down and put her hands together, may be she is greeting her uncle, grandfather, in-laws or may be the son greet his Aunt, he should cross the legs, put the hands aside. These are the non-verbal communication that both genders can show to their elders.

5.1.5 Culture

- (a) Greeting between the person who comes from initiation school and any other person

Initiator

The one who comes from the initiation school is the one who should initiate the greetings. It does not matter whether the person is old or young but as long as he/she is from initiation school he/she should be the first one to greet.

Greeting terms

If the person is a female, she will use the term “**Aa**” but if the person is a male, he should use the term “**Ndaa**”. Sometimes the lady who comes from the initiation school should use a specific sound and usually the sound is not audible, it is like this “hmm” and she did this for some few minutes. Sometimes she will wait for the person with whom she is exchanging the greetings to tell her to be quiet.

In Tshivenda the males have two-initiation school, which are “**Murundu**”, the school, which can be usually attended by boys at an early stage, they usually spend some few months, or some weeks. It can be two months or seven weeks. Adults can attend this initiation school if he fails to attend it at an early stage and the second one will be called “**Thondo**”. This is the school where the males gathered at the river in a hidden place both young and old and the older men should be giving the younger ones tips for life, the do's and don'ts. The first one **Murundu** or **Mula** should be conducted far from the place of residence, usually on the mountains and they erect some temporarily residence.

Female schools are “**Musevhetho**” which can be attended by young girls. The second one is “**Thondo**” or “**Musha**”. Teenager, mature girls can attend this. Again we have **Domba**, **Ludodo** and **Tshikanda**. These are the schools that must be attended by ladies. **The same age groups should attend Domba, Ludodo and Tshikanda with “Thondo” or “Musha”, mature girls.**

The terms used in these schools are females use “**Aa**” and males “**Ndaa**” by both ages.

Terms of address

The male can call the initiates “**Mulidi**” or “**Tshigwamathukhwi**” and elder once “**Mudabe**”. The female can use these names **muhwira**, **mutei**, **nyamatei**, **nyamungozwa**.

Non-verbal communication

In case of male they cross their legs, put hands aside to supplement their greetings. Female, these who are from initiation school, they lie down on sideways, hiding the face, look down, put hands together, the finger should be folded inside, that is how the female supplement their greetings.

(b) Greetings between the witchdoctor and patient

Initiator

The patient should always be the initiator.

Greeting terms

If the patient were a female, she would use the concept “**Aa**” and if it were a male, he would use the term “**Ndaa**”. The response will be the same.

Terms of address

Before we can see how these people use terms of address, let us first indicate what a witchdoctor is.

In Tshivenda we have a person called “**Maine**”, the one who helps people suffering from different diseases, usually he/she use roots to cure these diseases. We have again a person called “**Tshigomamutanda**” the one who first prophesize before giving you some remedy and later give you these roots of trees to help you.

These people usually use the same term. The patient can call the witchdoctor “**Maine**”, whether the person is “**Maine**” or “**Tshigomamutanda**”. The acceptable name is “**Maine**”, for example: **Ndi matsheloni vho Maine** and the witchdoctor might say “**Ndi matsheloni a Vhudi Mulwadze**” or “**Mulaxwa**”.

Non-verbal communication

In Tshivenda, the patient should always take off shoes when they greet the witchdoctor, especially if they greet him/her while they are inside his/her house.

5.1.6 Changes in greetings

There are some situations where non-verbal greetings should not be applied at all, for example if there is a funeral at home, people can just exchange greeting or expression but they must not use non-verbal communication. In fact it is taboo to use non-verbal communication if there is a funeral, one can even greet the elderly while standing. It doesn't matter if people are mourning, non-verbal communication is not necessary in Tshivenda.

5.2 INFORMATION

5.2.1 Aim

The aim in this section is to establish what the contents of the interpersonal communication of greetings may be in Tshivenda. When people greet each other they may enquire about a variety of issues. These enquiries may indicate mere politeness between the two speakers or it may be concerned with a genuine concern or affection of a speaker towards a hearer. Many of these dyadic communications may even be formulaic in nature, i.e. they are uttered without any real concern for their contents, i.e. what such expressions may refer to. The following themes will be investigated below to ascertain how they may be used in everyday communication between a speaker and hearer in Tshivenda: time of the day, health, weather, place of origin. Lastly, attention will also be given to the closing of such greetings.

5.2.2 Time of the day

5.2.2.1 Expressions of time

There are various expressions in Tshivenda, which have the function of indicating the different times of day:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Vhukatihavhusiku | - | Midnight |
| Vhusikuhavhaloi | - | Night of witchcraft In the middle of the night |
| Madautsha | - | Dawn |
| Matambandou | - | When first cockcrow |
| Matsheloni-tsheloni | - | Very early in the morning |
| Matsheloni | - | Morning |
| Duvha ḽi sa athu ubva | - | The time before sunrise |
| Duvha ḽi tshi bvisa mulomo | - | When the sun is about to rise |
| Duvha ḽi tshi bva | - | When the sun rises |
| Duvha ḽi tshi tandamela | - | After 8 am |
| Matavhelo | - | Sunrises / early afternoon |
| Masiavi tshivhanqalala / ḽi nthha ha thoho | - | Midday |
| Masiari | - | Afternoon |
| Tshithabama / Tshitheu | - | Late afternoon |
| Duvha ḽi sa athu u dzhena | - | Before sunset |
| Duvha ḽi tshi dzhena | - | Sunset / When the sun goes down |
| Duvha ḽi tshi swathaswatha / Lufhimavhaeni | - | Twilight |
| Khwali dzi tshi lila | - | When francolins cry |
| Tshikovhelelo | - | When it is dark |
| Vhusiku | - | Evening |

5.2.2.2 Categorical classification of the expressions of time

The expressions of time of the day may be classified into various clauses and phrases such as the following:

(a) Clauses

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| Duvha <u>li</u> sa athu tsha | - | Dawn |
| Duvha <u>li</u> tshi tsha | - | When first cockcrow |
| Duvha <u>li</u> sa athu u bva | - | Before sunrises |
| Duvha <u>li</u> tshi bvisa mulomo | - | When the sun is about to rise |
| Duvha <u>li</u> tshi bva | - | When sunrises |
| Duvha <u>li</u> tshi tavha | - | The beginning of afternoon During sunrises |
| Duvha <u>li</u> nthha ha thoho | - | Midday |
| Duvha <u>li</u> sa athu u kovhela | - | Later afternoon |
| Duvha <u>li</u> tshi dzhena | - | When sunset |
| Duvha <u>li</u> tshikovhela | - | Early evening |
| Duvha <u>li</u> tshiswifhala | - | When it becomes dark |

(b) Prepositional phrase

| | | |
|--------------------------------|---|----------------------|
| Nga Madautsha | - | Dawn |
| Nga Matambandou | - | When first cockcrow |
| Nga matsheloni-tsheloni | - | Early in the morning |
| Nga matsheloni | - | Morning |
| Nga matavhelo | - | Sunrise |
| Nga masiari | - | Afternoon |
| Nga mathabama | - | Late afternoon |

| | | |
|--------------------------|---|---------------------|
| Nga tshitheu | - | Sunset |
| Nga tshikovhelelo | - | Evening |
| Nga lufhimavhaeni | - | During the darkness |
| Nga madekwana | - | During the night |
| Kha duvha | - | In the day |
| Kha masiari | - | In the afternoon |
| Kha vhusiku | - | In the night |

(c) Noun phrase

| | | |
|------------------|---|----------------|
| Vhusiku | - | At night |
| Masiari | - | Afternoon |
| Madekwana | - | In the evening |

(d) Locative noun phrases

| | | |
|------------------------------|---|----------------------------|
| Mathomoni a madekwana | - | The beginning of the night |
| Maqumoni a madekwana | - | Dawn |
| Matsheloni | - | Morning |

5.2.3 Nouns with reference to time

The following nouns all have some reference to time and they are known as temporal nouns. Many of them are compound nouns. In the position below they will be divided into three sections depending on whether they refer to some time in the morning, afternoon or evening:

5.2.3.1 Nouns referring to the morningCompound nouns

Matambandou (The time before dawn)

Ma - (prefix of class 6)

tamba - (verb) (wash)

ndou - (noun) (elephant)

Madautsha (Dawn)**Ma** - (prefix of class 6)**da** - (verb) (means come)**u-tsha** - (an infinitive clause) (to become day)Derived nouns from verbs**Matavhelo** (Sunrise)

This noun is derived from the verb **tavha** (rise of the sun) with an applicative suffix **-el-** which has the meaning of direction in this case. It is in class 6.

Mutsho (Dawn)

This derived noun is in class 3 and it is derived from the verb **-tsha** (which mean – become day).

Matsheloni (In the morning)

This noun appears with the locative suffix **-ni** to give the meaning of morning. Without the locative suffix **-ni**, the noun **matshelo** has another meaning and then it refers to tomorrow. This noun is derived from the verb **tsha** (become day) with an applicative suffix **-el-**, which denotes direction.

5.2.3.2 Nouns which refer to the afternoon

The nouns below are non-derived nouns:

Masiari (afternoon)

This noun is most probably a loan word from Sesotho **Moseqare** with the same meaning. This noun may appear in a phrase with another noun: **Masiari tshivhanqalala** (midday, noun)

There is one other noun with reference to afternoon: **Mathabama** (late afternoon)

5.2.3.3 Nouns which refer to the evening

Non-derived nouns

| | | |
|------------------|---|---------|
| Vhusiku | - | night |
| Madekwana | - | evening |

Derived nouns

Tshikovhelelo (sunset)

| | | |
|----------------|---|---|
| tshi | - | (prefix of class 7) |
| kovhela | - | (verb) (when sun goes down) |
| -el- | - | (applicative suffix, which denotes direction) |

Tshilalelo (supermeal)

| | | |
|-------------|---|---------------------|
| tshi | - | (prefix of class 7) |
| lala | - | (verb) (mean sleep) |
| -el- | - | (suffix) |

Compound nouns

Maorapfene (sunset)

| | | |
|--------------|---|-------------------------------|
| ma | - | (prefix of class 7) |
| ora | - | (verb) (mean bask in the sun) |
| pfene | - | (noun) (baboon) |

Matotombo (sunset)

| | | |
|--------------|---|----------------------------------|
| ma | - | (prefix of class 6) |
| tota | - | (verb) (mean nip with the nails) |
| tombo | - | (noun) (stone) |

LufhimaVhaeni (twilight)

| | | |
|---------------|---|--|
| lu | - | (prefix of class 11) |
| fhima | - | (verb) (mean weigh facts in one's mind and conclude) |
| vhaeni | - | (noun) (visitors) |

5.2.4 Greetings with reference to the time of the day

Many of the nouns in the above paragraphs (5.2.2.1 – 5.2.2.3) may be used in greetings between people. Such nouns may appear as head of a noun phrase, which is the complement of the copula **ndi** in a copulative clause:

5.2.4.1 Greeting

Ndi madekwana

It is evening, i.e. evening

5.2.4.2 Response to the greeting

The same copulative clause as above appears in the response to the greeting but the noun phrase will have a nominal modifier with the head noun:

Ndi madekwana a vhuḏi

It is a good evening, i.e. Good evening

The nominal modifier above is a descriptive possessive with the possessive **-a-** as head followed by a noun phrase as complement with the noun **vhuḏi** (goodness) as head.

5.2.4.3 Greetings in the morning

Greeting: **Ndi matsheloni**

It is morning, i.e. Morning

Response: **Ndi matsheloni a vhuḏi**

It is a good morning, i.e. good morning

Greeting: **Ndi matavhelo**

It is late morning, i.e. morning

Response: **Ndi matavhelo a vhuḍi**

It is a good late morning

5.2.4.4 Greetings in the afternoon

Greeting: **Ndi masiari**

It is afternoon, i.e. afternoon

Response: **Ndi masiari a vhuḍi**

It is a good afternoon, i.e. good afternoon

Greeting: **Ndi mathabama**

It is late afternoon, i.e. afternoon

Response: **Ndi mathabama a vhuḍi**

It is a good late afternoon, i.e. good afternoon

5.2.4.5 Greeting in the evening

Greeting: **Ndi madekwana**

It is evening, i.e. Evening

Response: **Ndi madekwana a vhuḍi**

It is a good evening, i.e. good evening

Greeting: **Ndi madautsha**

It is dawn, i.e. dawn

Response: **Ndi madautsha a vhuḍi**

It is a good dawn, i.e. good dawn

There are many nouns which may not be used in greeting, like **Vhusiku**, **Matambandou**, **Maorapfene**, **Matotatombo** and even **Lufhimavhaeria**. Grammatically speaking such compound nouns are not being used in my Greeting.

5.2.5 Non-copulative verbs in greetings

There are two verbs, which are commonly used in greetings, i.e. the verb **tsha** (become day) and the verb **kovhela** (set of the sun). These verbs are used in clauses with the perfect tense with the morpheme [-o-] together with the subjectival agreement of class 5 [-li-].

This agreement refers to a noun **ɔuvha** (sun), which does not appear in the greeting.

Lo tsha (it has become day, i.e. morning) the response to such greetings usually has an adverb of manner derived from the noun **vhuɔi** (goodness), i.e. **zwavhuɔi**: **Lo tsha zwavhuɔi** (It has become well the day, i.e. Good morning.)

Other greetings

Greeting: **Lo tsha**

It has become day, i.e. Morning

Response: **Lo tsha zwavhuɔi**

It has become good day, i.e. Good day

Greeting: **Lo tavha**

It has become sunrise, i.e. sunrise

Response: **Lo tavha zwavhuɔi**

It has become good sunrise, i.e. Good sunrise

Greeting in the evening

Greeting: **Lo kovhela**

It has become sunset, i.e. Evening

Response: **Lo kovhela zwavhuḁi**

It has become good sunset, i.e. Good evening.

5.3 INFORMATION ABOUT HEALTH

Searle (1979) proposes a classification of Speech Acts, which includes greetings, specifically salutatory greetings.

Searle (1979) suggests that salutatory greetings are a class of greeting that convey interest in alter's health, welfare or enterprise. Greetings that express joy at meeting also belong to this class.

Fadipe (1970) and Ayoola (1984) suggests that the system of greetings in Toruba society is not the same as that of the English, because in English Society a greeting typically performs the function of phatic communication, i.e. it is used for establishing social relationships, whereas in Toruba culture greetings can also appear to serve for the passing on of information.

These include among others, greetings employed for seeking information about the well-being of a person and his loved ones, to identify in trying moments and rejoice with the person when success or when good fortune occurs.

In Tshivenda there are many phrases that one may use to enquire about health. The speaker may ask someone about health and he may then find that the response can be both positive and negative at the same time, for example: you may hear people saying "I am fine except for the headache" or "It's fine, except for the heat."

One finds this exchange especially between old people because even when things are fine, there should be something that troubles good health. With the younger people this tendency is not common because one may ask them about the well-being and they may conclude with “I am fine” and leave it there even though someone at home is not well.

In the sentences below, attention will be focused firstly on the general type of enquiries and responses in greetings in Tshivenda, which are concerned with health and secondly the focus will be on specific health problems about which one finds frequent enquires or comments.

5.3.1 General enquiries and responses about health

5.3.1.1 The verbs **vuwa** and **twa**

The verbs **vuwa** (wake up) and **twa** (spend the day) usually appear with an empty pro as subject of the sentence. The subjectival agreement will then be the honorific agreement of class 2, i.e. **vha**. This agreement will then appear with the perfect tense morpheme [-o-] in a question.

Vho vuwa? (Did you wake up?)

Vho twa? (Did you spend the day?)

In both cases an interrogative of manner may appear in these sentences.

Vho vuwa hani? (How did you wake up?)

Vho twa hani? (How did you spend the day?)

In a response, reference may be made to either first person singular or plural, depending on the context.

Vho vuwa? (How are you?)

Ndo vuwa. (I am fine.)

Ro vuwa. (We are fine.)

Vho twa? (How are you?)

Ndo twa / ro twa (I am fine / we are fine.)

When the interrogative of manner “**hani**” is included in the enquiry, an adverb of manner “**zwavhuḁi**” will appear with the response.

Vho vuwa hani? (How are you?)

Ndo vuwa zwavhuḁi (I am very well)

Vho ṭwa hani? (How are you?)

Ndo ṭwa zwavhuḁi (I am very well)

5.3.1.2 The verb lala

The verb **lala** (sleep) may appear with an empty pro whose reference is to **duvha** (sun). The subjectival agreement of **duvha**, i.e. **Li** will also appear in the perfect tense as above.

Ḷo lala hani?

How did it sleep, i.e. the sun?

Ḷo lala zwavhuḁi

It slept well.

5.3.1.3 The verbs takala and tshila

A derived noun from **takala** (be glad) may appear in class 3 as **mutakalo** (joy). This noun may then occur as head noun of an NP, which is the subject of a copulative clause.

U ngafhi mutakalo?

Where is joy?

The verb **tshila** (live) may also be found as a derived noun in class 14, i.e. **vhutshilo** (life). This noun may then appear in the same enquiry as above.

Vhu ngafhi vhutshilo?

How is life?

The response to these enquiries will have an adjective with “-nzhi” in the complement or alternatively an absolute pronoun “hone” as complement in a copulative clause.

With **mutakalo**:

U ngafhi mutakalo

How are you?

(a) Mutakalo ndi munzhi

Joy is too much, i.e. I am very well.

(b) Mutakalo u hone

Joy is here, i.e. I am well.

With **vhutshilo**:

Vhu ngafhi vhutshilo?

Where is life, i.e. how are you?

(a) Vhutshilo ndi vhunzhi

Life is too much, i.e. I am very well.

(b) Vhutshilo vhu hone

Life is here, i.e. I am well.

Alternatively the verb may appear in a clause as in the case of **vuwa** or **twa** above.

Vho takala hani?

How glad are you, i.e. How are you?

Ndo takala zwavhuḍi

I am very glad, i.e. I am very well.

5.3.1.4 The verb ita

The verb **ita** (do) may appear with an empty pro as subject, which is co-indexed with an expletive subjectival agreement morpheme **hu**. The manner interrogative **hani** also appears in this clause.

Hu tou ita hani?

How are you?

The response to such an enquiry is a copulative clause with a locative **hone** or **fhan** as complement.

Hu tou ita hani?

How are you?

Ndi hone / Ndi fhan

I am here, i.e. I am well.

5.3.1.5 The verb ri

The verb **ri** (say) may appear in two types of enquiries about a person's health. With expletive agreement **hu**. An empty pro as subject with an expletive subjectival agreement may appear with the verb **ri** which is followed by an interrogative **-ni**.

Hu rini?

There says what, i.e. How are you?

The response to such an enquiry refers to the absence of some problems. The subject of such a response is still an empty pro, which is co-indexed with **hu** or above as agreement of the first person.

Hu ri ni?

How are you?

A hu na

There is nothing, i.e. I am well.

Alternatively an NP may appear as complement of the copulative with **na** above. Such an NP may have as head **thaidzo**, **khakhathi** or **vhuthada**, which refer to some problem, or even the adjective with **nwe** in class 8, i.e. **zwinwe**.

Hu ri ni?

- (a) **A hu na**
- (b) **A hu na thaidzo**
- (c) **A hu na khakhathi**
- (d) **A hu na vhuthanda**
- (e) **A hu na zwinwe**

In the place of the expletive **hu**, the agreement of the first person may occur.

Hu ri ni?**A thi na thaidzo**

With the second person agreement **ni**.

In such a case the interrogative **mini** will appear with **ri**.

Ni ri mini?

What do you say, i.e. How are you?

The response may include a future tense or a potential **nga** with the interrogative **mini**.

Ni ri mini?**Ri do ri mini****Ri nga ri mini**

We have nothing to say.

Such response may show coalescent between **do / nga** and **ri**.

do + ri = de

nga + ri = nge

Ni ri mini?

- (a) **Ri de mini**
- (b) **Ri nge mini**

Alternatively a negative clause with the verb **amba** (talk) may appear in the response.

Ni ri mini?

A thi ambi

I am not talking, nothing to say, i.e. I am well.

5.3.2 Complaints about health

Complaints about health will be treated below within three subsections, i.e. complaints about pain, about illness and about feeling weak. In most of these complaints there is a coordinated clause with the response as above (5.3.1) in the first clause, and the complaint will then be found in the second clause.

Ndo vuwa, Ndi dinwa nga thoho

I am fine, I am troubled by a headache.

5.3.2.1 Various ways in which one may complain about pains and health

- (a) The body part or illness appears as the subject of a clause followed by various verbs

Intransitive verbs

Rema

Thoho yanga I a rema

I have headache

Lino langa li a rema

I have toothache

Tshinungo tshanga tshi-a rema

My ankle is painful

Mulenzhe wanga u khou rema

My leg is painful

Tshishasha tshanga tshi a rema

My arm is painful

Vhavha

Khana yanga l a vhavha

My chest is painful

Thumbuni yanga hu a vhavha

My stomach is painful

Muṭodo wanga u a vhavha

My spinalcord is painful

Muṭana wanga u a vhavha

I have pain at the back

Mulenzhe wanga u a vhavha

My leg is painful

Mato anga a khou vhavha

My eyes are painful

Ndevhe yanga l a vhavha

My ear is painful

Mbilu yanga l a vhavha

My heart is painful

Mukhushwane u a vhavha

Flu is very painful

Mutsiko wa malofha u a vhavha

Blood pressure is painful

Vhulwadze ha swigiri vhu a vhavha

Sugar diabetic is very painful

U hoṭola hu a vhavha

Coughing is painful

Zwimba

Mulenzhe wanga wo zwimba

My leg is swollen

Tshanda tshanga tsho zwimba

My hand is swollen

Maine uri tswio dzanga dzo zwimba

The doctor diagnoses that my kidneys are swollen

Liṭo la makhulu lo zwimba

Granny's eye is swollen

Malume vho zwimba tshivhindi nga halwa

Uncle's liver is swollen from alcohol.

Ndevhe yanga you zwimba

My ear is swollen

Mutukana o zwimba mbilu

The boy's heart is swollen

Lino langa lo zwimba

My tooth is swollen

Nwana o zwimba tshitefu

The child's chin is swollen

Munwe wawe wo zwimba

His finger is swollen

Murathu o zwimba ndevhe

Brother's ear is swollen

Swa

Mbilu yanga I khou swa

I am suffering with heartburn

Khana yanga I khou swa

I have suffering from chest

Tshanda tshawe tsho swa

His hand was burnt

Mudzunga o swa mulenzhe

Mudzunga's leg was burnt

Transitive verb with an object mpha thaidzo

Muṭodo wanga u khou mpha thaidzo

My back troubles me.

Lino langa li khou mpha thaidzo

My tooth troubles me

Tshinungo tshanga tshi khou mpha thaidzo

My ankle troubles me

Mulenzhe wanga u khou mpha thaidzo

My leg troubles me

Mato anga a mpha thaidzo

I have suffered with my eyes

Ndevhe yanga l a mpha thaidzo

My ear troubles me

Mutsiko wa malofha u a mpha thaidzo

Blood pressure troubles me

Vhulwadze ha swigiri vhu khou mpha thaidzo

Sugar diabetes troubles me

Neuter – passive verb

Fhirea

O fhirea mutodo

The spinalcord is broken

Nwana o fhirea mulenzhe

The child's leg is broken

Mutsinga wanga wo fhirea

My neck is broken

Tshando tshawe tsho fhirea

His hand is broken

Vundea

Mulenzhe wanga wo vundea

My leg is broken

Tshanda tshawe tsho vundea

His hand is broken

Nwana o vundea lino

The child's tooth is broken

Mutukana o vundea tshinungo

The boy's ankle is broken

Gunwe lawe lo vundea

His thumb is broken

Mutsinga wanga wo vundea

My neck is broken

Pidea

Tshanda tshanga tsho pidea

My hand is hurt

Mulenzhe wa nwana wo pidea

The child's leg is hurt

Mutsinga wawe wo pideo

His neck is hurt

Passive verb

(i) Negative passive verb **[pfiwi]**

Khana yanqa a l pfiwi

My chest is painful.

Muṭodo wanga a u pfiwi

My spinalcord is painful

Tshinungo tshanga a tshi pfiwi

My ankle is painful

Mulenzhe wanga wa tshauḷa a u pfiwi

My right leg is very painful

Tshishasha tshanqa a tshi pfiwi

My arm is painful

Nḍevhe yanga a l pfiwi

My ear is very painful

Misipha yanga a l pfiwi

My rheumatism is painful

Muṭana wanga a u pfiwi

I have pain at my back

(ii) Positive passive verb [huvhadzwa]

Ndo huvhadzwa nga modoro

I have been hurt by car

Nwana o huvhadzwa nga mmbwa

The child is hurt by dog

Mutukana o huvhadzwa nga baisiqira

The boy is hurt by bicycle

Khotsianga vho huvhadzwa nga lufhanga

My father is injured by knife

Musidzana o huvhadzwa nga mbaḁo

The lady is injured with hatchet

Mulenzhe wawe wo huvhadzwa nga tshiqidi

His leg is injured with gun

Mavhungu o huvhadzwa nga vothi

Mavhungu is hurt by door

Tshanda tsho huvhadzwa nga fasitere

Hand is injured by the window

Lito lo huvhadzwa nga feisi

Eye is hurt with fist

(b) The body part or illness appear as complement of the preposition [nga]

With an intransitive verb

Tambula

Ndi khou tambuia nga thoho

I am suffering from headache

Nwana u khou tambula nga lino

The child is suffering from tooth

Makhulu vha khou tambula nga tshinungo

Granny is suffering from ankle

Mmeanga vha khou tambula nga mulenzhe

My mother is suffering from eyes

Murathu u khou tambula nga ndevhe

My brother is troubled by ear

Malume vha khou tambula nga mbilu

Uncle is suffering from heart attack

Nwana u khou tambula nga phepho

The child is suffering from cold

Lila

Mashudu u khou lila nga lino

Mashudu is troubled by tooth

Ndi khou lila nga ndevhe

I am suffering from ear

U khou lila nga thoho

He is suffering from headache

Mpho u khou lila nga maṭo

Mpho is suffering with eyes

Makhulu vha khou lila nga mulenzhe

Granny is suffering with leg

Nwana u khou lila nga mukhushwane

The child is suffering from flu

Khonani yanga u khou lila nga vhulwadze ha swigiri

My friend is suffering from sugar diabetes

Malume vha khou lila nga muṭoḁo

Uncle is suffering from spinal cord

Murathu u khou lila nga thumbuni

My sister has a stomach problem

Mutukana u khou lila nga phepho

The boy is suffering from cold

Makhadzi vha khou lila nga mbilu

Aunt is suffering from heart attack

Negative of bonya

A thongo dzi bonya nga muṭoḁo

I never slept from spinal cord

A thongo dzi bonya ngo ḁino

I never slept from tooth

Makhulu a vhungo dzi bonya nga mulenzhe

Granny did not sleep from leg

A thongo dzi bonya nga maṭo

I did not sleep from eyes

Mpho u khou lila nga maṭo

Mpho is suffering with eyes

Makhulu vha khou lila nga mulenzhe

Granny is suffering with leg

Nwana u khou lila nga mukhushwane

The child is suffering from flu

Khonani yanga u khou lila nga vhulwadze ha swiqiri

My friend is suffering from sugar diabetes

Malume vha khou lila nga muṭoḁo

Uncle is suffering from spinal cord

Marathu u khou lila nga thumbuni

My sister has a stomach problem

Mutukana u khou lila nga pephho

The boy is suffering from cold

Makhadzi vha khou lila nga mbilu

Aunt is suffering from heart attack

Negative of bonya

A thongo dzi bonya nga muṭoḁo

I never slept from spinal cord

A thongo dzi bonya nga lino

I never slept from tooth

Makhulu a vhongo dzi bonya nga mulenzhe

Granny did not sleep from leg

A thongo dzi bonya nga maṭo

I did not sleep from eyes

Makhadzi a vhongo dzi bonya nga ndevhe

Aunt did not sleep from ear

Makhulu a vhongo dzi bonya nga mutetemelo

Granny did not sleep from fever

Nwana ha ngo dzi bonya nga mukhushwane

The child did not sleep from flu

Makhulu a vhongo dzi bonya nga mutsiko wa malofha

Granny did not sleep from blood pressure

Sarah ha ngo dzi bonya nga vhulwadze ha swiqiri

Sarah never slept from sugar diabetes

A thongo dzi bonya nga mbilu

I never slept from heart attack

With a passive verb

Ladzwa

Ndo ladzwa nga lino

I have toothache

Ndo ladzwa nga ndevhe

I have an ear problem

Makhulu vho ladzwa nga thoho

Granny is suffering from headache

Mme vho ladzwa nga mbilu

Mother is suffering from heart attack

Nwana o ladzwa nga mukhushwane

The child is troubled from flu

Mtukana o ladzwa nga mulenzhe

The boy is suffering from leg

Dzhenwa

Ndo dzhenwa nga mutetemelo

I have trouble from fever

Nwana o dzhenwa nga phepho

The child got cold

Malume vho dzhenwa nga vhulwadze ha marambo

Uncle is suffering from bone-disease

Vhana vho dzhenwa nga mukhushwane

Children are suffering from flu

Maria o dzhenwa nga Aids

Maria is affected by Aids

Mulinda o dzhenwa nga nyofho

Mulinda is possessed by fear

Mutukana o dzhenwa nga tshipengo

The boy is mentally disturbed

Mukalaha vho dzhenwa nga vhulwadze

Grandfather is affected by sickness

Dinwa

Ndi dinwa nga thoho

I have suffered from headache

Ndi dinwa nga thumbuni

I have pain in my stomach

Munna u dinwa nga mutodo

The men suffered from spinal cord

Nwana u dinwa nga lino

The child suffered with tooth

Muthannga u khou dinwa nga tshinungo

The guy suffered from ankle

Mme vha khou dinwa nga mulenzhe

Mother suffered from leg

Makhadzi vha khou dinwa nga tshishasha

Aunt suffered with arm

Ndi khou dinwa nga mutsinga

I am troubled by neck

Khaladzi u khou dinwa nga mafo

Brother is troubled with eyes

Nwana u khou dinwa nga ndevhe

Child suffers with ear

Malume vha khou dinwa nga mutetemelo

Uncle suffers with fever

Nwana u khou dinwa nga phepho

The child suffers with cold

Ndi khou dinwa nga mukhushwane

I suffer from flu

Makhulu vha khou dinwa nga mutsiko wa malofha

Granny suffer from blood pressure

Mme vha hou dinwa nga vhulwadze ha swiqiri

Mother suffers from sugar diabetes

Ndi khou dinwa nga u hotola

Coughing troubles me

Khotsi vha khou dinwa nga mbilu

Father suffers from heart attack

Vhulawa

Khonani yanga u khou vhulawa nga thoho

My friend suffers from headache

Nwana u khou vhulawa nga thumbuni

Child suffers from stomach

Mukalaha u khou vhulawa nga mutodo

Grandfather suffers from spinal cord

James u khou vhulawa nga lino

James suffers from tooth

Makhulu yha khou vhulawa nga mulenzhe

Granny suffers from leg

Malume vha khou yhulawa nga maṭo

Uncle suffers from eyes

Makhulu vha khou vhulawa nga mutetemelo

Granny suffers from fever

Mashudu u khou vhulawa nga phepho

Mashudu suffers from cold

Nwana u khou vhulawa nga mukhushwane

Child suffers with flu

Nne ndi khou vhulawa nga vhulwadze ha swiqiri

I suffer from sugar diabetes

Malume vha khou vhulawa nga mbilu

Uncle is troubled from heart attack

Vhaiswa

Ndi khou vhaiswa nga thoho

I have trouble with headache

Ndi khou vhaiswa nga mutodo

I have trouble with spinal cord

Mme vha khou vhaiswa nga lino

Mother suffers from tooth

Ndi khou vhaaiswa nga mulenzhe

I suffer from leg

Khaladzi u khou vhaizwa nga tshishasha

Brother is troubled with arm

Makhulu vha khou vhaiswa nga maṭo

Granny suffers from eyes

Nwana u khou vhaiswa nga ndevhe

Child suffers from ear

Makhadzi vha khou vhaiswa nga mutetemelo

Aunt suffers from fever

Ndo vhaiswa nga phepho vhusiku hoṭhe

I suffer from cold the whole night

Mukhethwa u khou vhaiswa nga mukhushwane

Mukhethwa suffer from flu

Makhulu vha khou vhaiswa nga mutsiko wa malofha

Granny suffers with blood pressure

Musidzana u khou vhaiswa nga vhulwadze ha swiqiri

The lady suffers from sugar diabetes

Mme vha khou maiswa nga mbilu

Mother suffers with heart attack

Farwa

Ndo farwa nga thoho

I have headache

Nwana o farwa nga thumbuni

The child has running stomach

Makhulu vho farwa nga mutodo

Granny has spinal cord

Mmawe vho farwa nga lino

Mother has toothache

Nwana o farwa nga mafo

The child has eye problem

Martha o farwa nga ndevhe

Martha has ear problem

Makhulu vho farwa nga mutetemelo

Granny has fever

Ndo farwa nga phepho

I got cold

O farwa nga mukhushwane

She has flu

Makhadzi vho farwa nga mutsiko wa malofha

Aunt has been affected by blood pressure

Malume vho farwa nga vhulwadze ha mbilu

Uncle has been affected by heart attack

(c) The body part or illness appear as complement of the preposition [kha]

After pfa vhutungu

Ndi khou pfa vhutungu kha mulenzhe

I feel too much pain on my leg

U khou pfa vhutungu kha ndevhe

More pain should be at the ear

Nwana u khou pfa vhutungu kha tshanda

The child feels pain at the hand

Ndi khou pfa vhutungu kha jino

I have a tooth problem

(d) The body part or illness appear as complement of the preposition [na] in a copulative phrase

Ndi na thoho

I have headache

Nwana u na thumbuni

Child has running stomach

Ndi na mutodo

I have spinal cord

Mme vha na liṅo

Mother has toothache

Makhulu vha na mulenzhe

Granny has problem with leg

Khotsi vha na maṭo

Father has eye problem

Nwana u na nḁevhe

Child has ear problem

Ndi na muṭetemelo

I have fever

Nwana u na phepho

The child has cold

Mtukana u na mukhushwane

The boy has flu

Ndi na mutsiko wa malofha

I have blood pressure

Ndi na vhulwadze ha swiqiri

I have sugar diabetes

Peter u na Aids

Peter is HIV positive

Mulalo u na vhulwadze ha mbilu

Mulalo has been affected by heart attack

5.3.2.2 Complaints about pain

[Ndo vuwa] [ndi dinwa nga thoho]

[I am fine] [I am troubled by the head, i.e. I have a headache]

[Ndo vuwa] [ndi vhulawa nga thoho]

[I am fine] [I am suffered by the head, i.e. I have a headache]

[Ndo vuwa] [Ndi vhaiwa nga yone khana]

[I am fine] [I am troubled by chest, i.e. a pain in the chest]

[Ndi hone] [Ndi dinwa nga malani]

[I am fine] [I suffer from stomach ache, i.e. a pain in the stomach]

[Ndi hone] [Ndi vhaiwa nga mutodo]

[I am fine] [I am troubled by spinal cord, i.e. a pain in the spinal cord]

[Ndo vuwa] [Ndi vhulawa nga jino]

[I am fine] [I suffer from tooth, i.e. toothache]

[Ndi hone] [Tshinungo tshanga tshi a vhavha]

[I am fine] [My ankle is painful, i.e. pain in the ankle]

[Ndo vuwa] [Ndi vhaiwa nga mulenzhe]

[I am fine] [I am troubled by leg, i.e. a pain in the leg]

[Nne ndi hone] [Ndi dinwa nga tshishasha]

[I am fine] [I suffer from my arm, i.e. A pain in the arm]

[Ndi hone] [Mutsinga wanga ndi wone u sa pfiwi]

[I am fine] [Only my neck troubles me, i.e. a pain in the neck]

[Ndi hone] [Ndi vhaiwa nga mato]

[I am fine] [I suffer from eyes, i.e. pain in the eyes]

[Ndo vuwa] [Ndi dinwa nga ndevhe]

[I am fine] [I suffer from ears, i.e. a pain on the ears]

5.3.2.3 Illness**[Ndo vuwa] [Ndi dinwa nga mutetemelo]**

[I am fine] [I suffer from fever]

[Nne ndi hone] [Ndi vhulawa nga phepho]

[I am fine] [I am troubled with cold]

[Ndo vuwa] [Ndi dinwa nga mukhushwane]

[I am fine] [I am troubled with flu]

[Ndi hone] [Mutsiko wa malofha ndi wone wo gonyaho]

[I am fine] [Only blood pressure is high]

[Ndo twa] [Ndi dinwa nga hone vhulwadze ha swiqirir]

[I am fine] [I suffer from sugar diabetes]

[Ndo vuwa] [Ndi dinwa nga lone dwadze, a thi dzi bonyi]

[I am fine] [Only Aids frightened me]

[Ndi hone] [Mbilu ndi yone l todaho u mpha thaidzo]

[I am fine] [I only suffer from heart attack]

[Ndi hone] [Ndo tou vhulwawa nga one maneto]

[I am fine] [I am troubled by tiredness]

5.3.2.4 Feelings

Response

[Ndo vuwa] [Ndo kundwa u da tshikoloni nga maneto]

[I am fine] [I failed to come to school because of tiredness]

[Ndo vuwa] [Ndi tou dinwa nga hone u kulekana mirado]

[I am fine] [Only weaknesses troubled me]

[Ndo vuwa] [Ndo kundwa nungo dza u fhedzisa mushumo wanga]

[I am fine] [I lack strength to finish up my work]

[Ndo vuwa] [Ndi khou vhai swa nga zwone zwi tavhi]

[I am fine] [I have suffered with lot of pain]

[Ndo vuwa] [Ndi tou vha madekwe ndi songo dzi bonya nga lone lino]

[I am fine] [Only last night where I was troubled by toothache]

[Ndo vuwa] [A tho ngo dzi bonya nge nwana a vha o valelwa vhuongeloni]

[I am fine] [The admission of my son at the hospital troubled me]

[Ndo twa] [Ndi dinwa nga wone muaro]

[I am fine] [Only operation troubled me]

Question and response

Ni di pfa hani?

How do you feel?

Response

Zwi kha di konḁa

It is still hard

Sa zwe zwo

Just a bit

A zwi tendi

No, it is bad

Ho di tou sala fhaḁa na fhaḁa

At least few pains here and there

Nahasi zwo hulela

Today is worse

Ndi a pepeleka nyana

I can take some few steps

Ho sala yone thoho

Only headache left

Hu do tou lwa ene wa makoleni

Only God knows

A hu na vho zwinwe lini

Not that much bad

Khana ndi yone I kha di dinaho

Chest is the one which still have some pains

Mutsiko wa malofha wone wo tsa

Blood pressure now is fine

Mukhushwane wone wo tuwa

Flu is now better

Ndi khwine

I am better

Ndo vuwa

I am fine

Ndo twa

I am well

A thi tsha pfa tshitu

No problem at all

Lino lone lo fhola

Tooth is better

Muṭodo ndi wone u sa tendi

Few pains on the spinal cord

Maṭo ha khou tenda

Eyes are still bad

Mutakalo ndi wonoyo muṭuku-tuku

I have little health

Tshileme ndi tshone tsho tsaho vhukuma

Wight is the one which is very low

Dangani ndi hone hu sa tendi

Some few pains on the stomach

Muṭodo ndi wone wo tou hulelaho tshoṭhe

I feel more pain on the spinal cord

Ndi ḡo fhola

I will be fine

Ndo fhola tshoṭhe

I am completely fine

5.3.2.5 Dialogue about problems

Mato [eyes]

Peter: **Mulandu waṅu ndi mini?**

What is your problem?

Maggi: **Ndi khou dinwa nga maṭo**

I have problem of eyes

Peter: **O ni thoma lini?**

When did it start?

Maggi: **Mahoḷa**

Last year

Peter: **Ho bvelela mini?**

What was the cause of problem?

Maggi: **Ndo humbula uri hu nga vha hu dzulesa ndo sedza khomphuthani**

I thought maybe is because I spend much time on the computer

Peter: **No vhuya na vhone na nanga?**

Did you consult?

Maggi: **Ndi kanzhi**

Many times

Peter: **Huna dzilafho ḷe na ḷi wana?**

Have you got any treatment?

Maggi: **Ee, ndi kha di I shumisa**

Yes, some of them. I am still using it.

Peter: **Zwi khou sumbedza u vha khwiṇe?**

Is there any improvement on your eyes?

Maggi: **Na luthihi**

Not at all

Peter: **Ni khou humbula u I tani?**

So, what do you think?

Maggi: **A thina pulane**

I don't have plan

Peter: **Ni na garaṭa ya u alafhiwa?**

Do you have medical card?

Maggi: **Mulandu?**

Why?

Peter: **Ndi uri ndi a ḡivha munwe makone siani la maṭo.**

Because I know one specialist who can easily help you.

Maggi: **Ee, ndi nayo**

Yes, I have it

Peter: **Ndi a mbiswa nga uri zwi nga ni kondela u tou badela**

I am asking this because it might be difficult for you to pay cash

Maggi: **Ndi nga livhuwa u mu vhona**

I can be pleased to see him

Peter: **Ndi ḡo ita dzudzanyo dzothe**

I will make all the arrangement for you

Maggi: **Ndi khou livhuwa, Peter**

Thank you very much Peter

Peter: **Ndi zwone**

Bye

Mbilu [heart disease]

David: **Vhulwadze u vhu ha mbilu ho thoma lini?**
When did this illness start?

Patience: **Minwaha mivhili yo fhiraho**
Two years back

David: **Ho vha ho bvelela mini?**
What happened?

Patience: **Ho vha hu na thaidzo muṭani**
There were some few problems

David: **Zwino na I ta mini?**
What did you do?

Patience: **Ndo lingedza u I tandulula**
I have tried to solve it

David: **Na I tandulula?**
Did you get solution?

Patience: **A zwo nga leluwa**
It was not easy

David: **Mulandu?**
Why?

Patience: **Munna hongo tenda u wana ngeletshedzo**
The husband denied the advice

David: **Hani?**
How?

Patience: **O vha o tea o tou di bvisa kha kutshilele kwawe**

He was supposed to withdraw from his life style

David: **Musi zwo ralo no itani?**

So, what did you do?

Patience: **Ndo toda ngeletshedzo**

I asked the advice

David: **Na I wana?**

Did you get the advice?

Patience: **Ndo I wana**

Yes, of course

David: **Na I tevhela?**

Did you use it fruitfully?

Patience: **Ndo vha ndo no lenga**

It was too late

David: **Ndi ngani ni tshi ralo?**

Why too late?

Patience: **Nga itsho tshfinga ndo vha ndo no kavhiwa nga vhulwadze ha mbilu**

By that time, I was affected by heart disease already

David: **No ya kha nanga?**

Did you consult?

Patience: **Ee, ndi ngazwo ndo vha na vhutanzi ha u ri ndi khou dinwa nga mbilu**

Yes, that is why I got confirmation that I have heart disease

David: **No humbula mini?**

What do you think?

Patience: **U tangedza thaidzo nda tshila nayo**

To accept the problems and live as it is

David: **Ndi nga ni no delwa na u yo muhumbulo?**

Why do you want to accept the situation as it is?

Patience: **U ri vhwadze ho nkavhaho vhu sa hulele**

So that the disease might not kill me

David: **Ndi khou livhuwa u pfa muhumbulu wa vhutali sa wanu**

I am happy to hear such brilliant ideas like yours

Patience: **Ndo livhuwa**

Thanks sir

David: **Ni sa hangwe u da u wana ngeletshedzo dzi tshidzaho sa hedzi**

God bless you, don't forget to come for more advice which will rescue your life

Patience: **Ndo livhuwa, duvha la vhuḁi**

Thanks, have a nice day

David: **Na kha inwi**

And you too

5.4 WEATHER

Laver (1975) suggests that the small talk of phatic communion, involving supremely obvious comments about the weather or benevolent admonitions such as "take care" are largely limited to initial and final phases of conversational interactions, and it will be convenient to treat phatic communion in these two phases separately.

Laver (1975:220) proposes that phatic communion seem to have three functions. The first of these is to defuse. The second has an initiatory function in that it allows the participants to co-operate in getting the interaction comfortably under way, using uncontroversial, material and demonstrating by signals of cordiality and tentative social solidarity, their mutual acceptance of the possibility of an interaction taking place. Thirdly the most relevantly for present purpose, phatic communion has an exploratory function, in that it allows the participants to feel their way towards the working of their consensus interaction.

Laver (1972:221) states that this category can be called the neutral category, because both speaker and listener most often speak about the weather.

5.4.1 Weather nouns

There are various nouns related to weather phenomena, for example: **Mvula** (rain); **muya** (wind); **dumbu** (storm).

Weather nouns may be identified in Venda

Mvula (rain)

The weather noun **mvula** (rain) may appear with verbs like, **-na** (rain); **-bvuma** (thunder); **-qwarama** (falls heavily) as the following examples:

1. (a) **Mvula i a na**
Rain rains / falls
- (b) **Mvula i a bvuma**
Rain thunders
- (c) **Mvula i a qwarama**
Rain falls heavily

The weather noun **mvula** (rain) can also appear with the following verbs:

2. **-koma** (not raining as much as it should)
- penya** (flash)
- suṭa** (drizzle)
- thathaba** (crackle)
- tsha** (stop raining)
- pfula** (rain stops)
- khebuwa** (stop raining)

The external argument is **mvula** (rain), which appears with a weather verb like **-na** (rain). With all the weather verbs in the above (1) and (2), the external argument **mvula** (rain) will always have only one interpretation, i.e. theme.

Muya (wind)

The weather noun **muya** (wind) can appear with verbs like: **-fhumula** (be silent); **-dzika** (calm down); **-unga** (roar) as in the following examples:

3. (a) **Muya u a fhumula**
Wind is silent
- (b) **Muya u a dzika**
Wind calms down
- (c) **Muya u a unga**
Wind roars
- (d) **Muya u khou fhefheḁa**
Wind is blowing
- (e) **Muya u khou fhisa**
Wind is warm

- (f) **Muya u a rothola**
Wind is cold
- (g) **Muya u khou wisa matari**
Wind loose leaves
- (h) **Muya u khou pazhula matavhi**
Wind breaks branches
- (i) **Muya u khou zwickula miri**
Wind blows trees

The weather noun **muya** (wind) can also be found with the following verbs:

4. **-fhunga** (blow gently)
-oma (dry)
-vhuelwa (be damp)

In the above (3) and (4) **muya** (wind) is interpreted as the theme, like **mvula** (rain) in (1) above.

Dumbu (storm)

Dumbu (storm) as a weather noun may occur with verbs like: **-tita** (blow violently); **-dzika** (calm down) as in the following:

5. (a) **Dumbu li a tita**
Storm blows violently
- (b) **Dumbu li a dzika**
Storm calms down
- (c) **Dumbu lo zikula muri**
Storm uprooted trees

(d) **Dumbu lo thathamula thanga**

Storm blew the roof

(e) **Dumbu lo padukanya matari**

Storm breaks branches

The weather noun **dumbu** (Storm) in (5) above is interpreted as theme.

Tshidumbumukwe (whirlwind)

Tshidumbumukwe (whirlwind) may appear with verbs like: **-ungar** (roar); **-dzika** (calm down)

6. (a) **Tshidumbumukwe tshi a unga**

Whirlwind roars

(b) **Tshidumbumukwe tshi a dzika**

Whirlwind calms down

(c) **Tshidumbumukwe tsho hwala thanga**

Whirlwind blew roof

(d) **Tshidumbumukwe tsho tshinyadza mafasitere**

Whirlwind breaks the window

(e) **Tshidumbumukwe tsho thudza mođoro**

Whirlwind turned the car

(f) **Tshidumbumukwe tsho fhira**

Whirlwind cleaned away

(g) **Tshidumbumukwe tsho vula munango**

Whirlwind opened the door

(h) **Shango lo tswukuluwa nga Tshidumbumukwe**

The country turned red by whirlwind

Tshidumbumukwe (whirlwind) in the above constructions has a thematic role of theme in both cases.

Makole (clouds)

Makole (clouds) as a weather noun can be found with verbs like: **-swifhala** (be dark); **-khebuwa** (break or split apart); **-nzwinzwimala** (be dark and threatening) as in the following:

7. (a) **Makole o swifhala**
Clouds are dark
- (b) **Makole o khebuwa**
Clouds broke or split apart
- (c) **Makole o nzwinzwimala**
Clouds are dark and threatening
- (d) **Makole a nisa mvula**
Clouds bring rain
- (e) **Makole a tsira duvha**
Clouds cover the sun
- (f) **Makole a a fhis**
Clouds are warm

Makole (clouds) in above can also appear with the following verbs:

8. **-balangana** (disperse)
-tsitsimuwa (start appearing)
-tsha (clear away)

-tswuka (be red)

-rothola (cold)

Makole (clouds) is the theme in the above-mentioned examples.

Lupenyo (lightning)

Lupenyo (lightning) can appear with verbs like: **-penya** (flash), as indicated below:

9. (a) **Lupenyo lua penya**
Lightning flashes
- (b) **Lupenyo lu fhandusa luvalo**
Lightning breaks conscious

The weather noun **Lupenyo** (lightning) as in (9) above can be interpreted as theme.

Mahada (frost)

Mahada (frost) appears with verbs like: **-wa** (fall); **-noka** (melt) as indicated in (10) below:

10. (a) **Mahada a a wa**
Frost falls
- (b) **Mahada a a noka**
Frost melts

The weather noun **mahada** (frost) in (10) above has the thematic role of theme.

Khuli (mist)

Khuli (mist) can be found with verbs like: **-khebuwa** (break or split apart); **tsitsimuwa** (start developing); **-tsha** (clear away) as in (11) below:

11. (a) **Khuli yo ri xedza**
Mist lost us
- (b) **Khuli i a khebuwa**
Mist breaks or splits apart
- (c) **Khuli i a tsitsimuwa**
Mist starts developing
- (d) **Khuli i a tsha**
Mist clears away

In (11) above, the weather noun **khuli** (mist) has a thematic role of theme.

Nwando (dew)

Nwando (dew) may appear with verbs like: **-wa** (fall); **-d̩imuwa** (evaporate) as indicated in (12) below:

12. (a) **Nwando u a rothola**
Dew is cold
- (b) **Nwando u a wa**
Dew falls
- (c) **Nwando u a d̩imuwa**
Dew evaporates

The thematic role of **Nwando** (dew) in (12) above is theme.

Musengavhadzimu (Rainbow)

Musengavhadzimu (rainbow) can appear with verbs like: **-toka** (appear); **-khebuwa** (break or split apart) as indicated below:

13. (a) **Musengavhadzimu u a toka**
Rainbow appears
- (b) **Musengavhadzimu u a khebuwa**
Rainbow breaks or splits apart

The weather noun **musengavhadzimu** (rainbow) is theme in the above-mentioned examples.

Gambogo (snow)

Gambogo (snow) may occur with verbs like: **-wa** (fall); **-oma** (freeze); **-noka** (melt) as indicated below:

14. (a) **Gambogo i a wa**
Snow falls
- (b) **Gambogo i a oma**
Snow freezes
- (c) **Gambogo i a noka**
Snow melts

The weather noun **gambogo** (snow) in (14) above has a thematic role of theme.

Tshifhango (hail)

The weather noun **tshifhango** (hail) can appear with verbs like: **-wa** (fall); **-noka** (melt); **-rothola** (cold) as indicated below:

15. (a) **Tshifhango tsho tshinyadza ndimo**
Hail destroyed crops
- (b) **Tshifhango tshi a wa**
Hail falls

- (c) **Tshifhango tshi a noka**
Hail melts
- (d) **Tshifhango tshi a rothola**
Hail is cold

In all examples in (15) above, the weather noun **tshifhango** (hail) is interpreted as theme.

Mufhe (air)

Mufhe (air) can appear with verbs like: **-nukala** (damp); **-fhisa** (hot); **-rothola** (cold); **-oma** (dry) as indicated below

16. (a) **Mufhe wo nukala**
Air is damp
- (b) **Mufhe u a fhisa**
Air is hot
- (c) **Mufhe u a rothola**
Air is cold
- (d) **Mufhe wo oma**
Air is dry

The weather noun **mufhe** (air) in (16) above has the thematic role of theme.

Tshedza (light)

Tshedza (light) may appear with verbs like: **-rivha** (not very bright); **-tshena** (bright)

17. (a) **Tshedza tsho rivha**
Light is not very bright

- (b) **Tshedza tsho tshena**
Light is very bright
- (c) **Tshedza tsho ri rhonetshele**
We have been directed by light
- (d) **Ndi khou vhaiwa mafo nga tshedza**
My eyes are disturbed by light
- (e) **Tshedza tsho guma heneffa**
Light ends up here

The weather noun **tshedza** (light) can be interpreted as theme.

Duvha (sun)

Duvha (sun) can appear with verbs like: **-fhisa** (hot); **-benyulwa** (appear between clouds for a while); **-gotsha** (be too hot) as indicated below:

18. (a) **Duvha li a fhisa**
The sun is hot
- (b) **Duvha li a gotsha**
The sun is too hot
- (c) **Duvha lo kovhela**
The sun set
- (d) **Duvha lo tsha**
In the morning
- (e) **Duvha lo balangana**
Early morning

- (f) **Duvha ɔ fhefha**
It is late afternoon
- (g) **Vhana vha khou ora ɔuvha**
Children bask in the sun
- (h) **Duvha ɔi khou bwa fhasi**
- (i) **Duvha ɔi ntha ha thoho**
It is midday

The weather noun **ɔuvha** (sun) has a thematic role of theme in (18) above and can also be found with the following verbs: **-dudela** (be warm); **-rivha** (not very bright).

Litadulu (heaven)

Litadulu (heaven) is a weather noun, which can appear with verbs like: **-na** (rain); **-penya** (flash); **bvuma** (thunder).

19. (a) **Litadulu ɔi a na**
Heaven rains
- (b) **Litadulu ɔi a penya**
Heaven flashes
- (c) **Litadulu ɔi a bvuma**
Heaven thunders
- (d) **Litadulu ɔo rithea**
Heaven rains heavily

The weather noun **Litadulu** (heaven) in (19) above can also appear with the following verbs: **-unga** (roar); **-thathaba** (crackle); **-nzwinzwimala** (dark and threatening); **-khebuwa** (break or split apart); **-gwarama** (rain heavily).

In both two examples above the weather noun **Litadulu** (heaven) can be interpreted as a theme.

Tshikequlu (low-lying mist)

The weather noun **Tshikequlu** (low-lying mist) can appear with verbs like: **-khebuwa** (break or split apart); **-tsitsimuwa** (start developing); **-tsha** (clear away) as indicated below:

20. (a) **Tshikequlu tshi a khebuwa**
Low-lying mist breaks or splits apart
- (b) **Tshikequlu tshi a tsitsimuwa**
Low-lying mist starts developing
- (c) **Tshikequlu tshi atsha**
Low-lying mist clears away
- (d) **Tshikequlu tsho thivha thungo dzotle**
Low-lying mist covers all areas

In all the examples mentioned in (20) above, the weather noun **Tshikequlu** (low-lying mist) has one interpretation of theme.

Khalaru (light fog)

Khalaru (light fog) can appear with verbs like: **-khebuwa** (breaks or split apart); **-tsitsimuwa** (start developing); **-tsha** (clear away).

21. (a) **Khalaru i a khebuwa**
Light fog breaks or splits apart
- (b) **Khalaru i a tsitsimuwa**
Light fog starts developing
- (c) **Khalaru i a tsha**
Light fog clears away

In (21) above the weather noun **khalaru** (light fog) is interpreted as theme.

Nwedzi (moon)

The weather noun **nwedzi** (moon) can be found with verbs like: **-benyuluwa** (appear between clouds for a while); **-tshena** (bright); **-rivha** (not very bright); **-swifhala** (be dark); **-tswuka** (be red).

22. (a) **Nwedzi u a benyuluwa**
Moon appears between clouds for a while
- (b) **Nwedzi wo tshena**
Moon is bright
- (c) **Nwedzi wo rivha**
Moon is not very bright
- (d) **Nwedzi wo swifhala**
Moon is dark
- (e) **Nwedzi wo tswuka**
Moon is red
- (f) **Nwedzi wo bva**
Moon has rise

(g) **Nwedzi wo kovhela**

Moon has set

The weather noun **nwedzi** (moon) can be interpreted as theme in all examples as indicated in (22) above.

Naledzi (stars)

The weather noun **naledzi** (stars) can appear with verbs like: **-tshedza** (bright); **-rivha** (not very bright) as indicated below:

23. (a) **Naledzi dzo tshena**

Stars are bright

(b) **Naledzi dzo rivha**

Stars are not very bright

(c) **Naledzi dzo kovhela**

Stars set

(d) **Naledzi dzo bva**

Stars rise

The weather noun **naledzi** (stars) in above has a thematic role of theme.

Lutombo (sky)

The weather noun **lutombo** (sky) may occur with verbs like: **-pala** (clear); **-tsha** (clear) as indicated below:

24. (a) **Lutombo lwo pala**

Sky is clear

- (b) **Lutombo lwo tsha**
Sky is clear

The weather noun **lutombo** (sky) in (24) above has a thematic role of theme.

Vhusuto (drizzle)

The weather noun **vhusuto** (drizzle) can appear with verbs like: **-suta** (drizzle); **na** (rain).

25. (a) **Vhusuto vhu a suta**
Drizzle drizzles
- (b) **Vhusuto vhu a na**
Drizzle rains
- (c) **Vhusuto vhu khou pfele pfela**
Drizzle drizzles

The weather noun **vhusuto** (drizzle) in (25) above can be interpreted as theme in all cases.

Mubvumo (thunder)

Mubvumo (thunder) is also a weather noun and it can appear with verbs like: **-bvuma** (thunder); **-thathaba** (crackle).

26. (a) **Mubvumo u a bvuma**
Thunder thunders
- (b) **Mubvumo u a thathaba**
Thunder crackles

The weather noun **mubvumo** (thunder) in (26) above has a thematic role of theme.

It is clear in the discussion above that weather nouns can appear as external arguments of weather verbs.

It is interesting to note that all weather nouns can be interpreted as theme when appearing with weather verbs that are not derived.

Non-weather nouns are not related to weather conditions but they may occur with weather verbs to express weather phenomena.

5.4.2 Complaints about weather

[Ndo vuwa] [ndi vhona hone u koma ha mvula]

[I am fine] [Only the rain, which is not raining as much as it should]

[Ndo vuwa] [Ri dinwa nga yone mithathabo]

[I am fine] [Except crackling which troubled us]

[Ndo vuwa] [Ri vhona dzone penyo dzi sa ri ladzi]

[I am fine] [Only the flashes, which troubled us throughout the night]

[Ndo vuwa] [Ri dinwa nga one madumbu ano tou tita]

[I am fine] [Except the storm, which blows violently]

[Ro twa] [Ri vhona tshidumbumukwe tshino tou ri dzungulusa tsha dovha]

[I am fine] [Only the whirlwind, which frighten us]

[Ndo twa] [Ndi vhona one makole a no khou tsitsimuwa]

[I am fine] [Only the clouds, which start appearing]

[Ro vuwa] [Ri vhona makole o disaho phepho]

[I am fine] [Except the clouds, which brings cold]

[Ndo ṭwa] [Ndi dinwa nga lupenyō luno tou fhandula luvalo]

[I am fine] [Only lightning, which frithened us]

[Ndo vuwa] [Ri dinwa nga mahada o wa ho tungo dzothe]

[I am fine] [Except the frost which falls every corner]

[Ndo vuwa] [Ri dinwa nga yone khuli]

[I am fine] [Only the mist, which hinders us to see ahead]

[Ndo vuwa] [Ndi vhaiwa nga wone nwando]

[I am fine] [Only dew gives us problems early in the morning]

[Ndi hone] [Ndi ro dinwa nga yone gambo go]

[I am fine] [Except snow, which falls heavily]

[Ndi hone] [Ri dinwa nga tshifhango tsho vhula yaho zwilinwa zwashu]

[I am fine] [Except hail, which destroy our crops]

[Ndo ṭwa] [Ri vhona wone muya wa phepho]

[I am well] [Only cold air.]

[Ro ṭwa] [Ri vhona ḍuvha ufhisā]

[I am very fine] [Only too much sun]

[Ndo vuwa] [Ndi khou dinwa nga tshikequlu]

[I am fine] [I am troubled by low-lying mist]

[Vhana vhouwa] [Vha khou dinwa nga mithathabo]

[Children are fine] [They are frightened by thunder]

[Rotakala] [Masuṭo a do ri dina kha mutambo hoyu]

[We are fine] [Drizzle will trouble us in this nice wedding]

5.5 NAMES OF PEOPLE

5.5.1 Madzina a vhana (Names of children)

Names for children are given by whom

Usually in Tshivenda, the name is generally given by the father's sister (**Makhadzi**) or it can be given by the father's brother (**khotsimunene**) but failing them it may be given by another member of the lineage. **Makhadzi** invokes the spirits and sometimes ties an heirloom around the child's neck. The heirloom is generally an elephant's tooth, a string of beads, or some other emblem belonging to the father's ancestors.

When the child adjusts the heirloom, she addresses the child by the name of one of its ancestors. But if **Makhadzi** who is supposed to do all these things is younger than the father of the child, she is not permitted to enter the hut, but she must stand in the doorway and tell the old women who are inside, the name that she has chosen.

Although there are a number of names in current use, any peculiarity about the child, its birth, or its parents is generally reflected in the name chosen. Any important event in the life of the tribe, coinciding with the birth, may also influence the name given.

There are times where the father may give the child's name after the name given during his/her birth by **Makhadzi** and **khotsimunene**.

Are there differences between names for boys and girls?

Most Venda names are given irrespective of gender. One finds in common use names such as:

| | | |
|------------------|---|-------------|
| Takalani | - | Happiness |
| Mbulaheni | - | Kill me |
| Tshivenga | - | Hate thing |
| Mutshinya | - | Mistake |
| Pandelani | - | Driven away |

Such names are liable to be changed at any time during the owner's childhood. In cases of illness or continued crying, when the parents seek the Doctor's advice, it very often happens that the divines the trouble to be due to the fact that the child's name is unfavorable to the spirit of some ancestor, who wishes it to be changed. In such cases a new name is selected, and it is hoped that in discarding the old name the cause of the trouble will be removed.

Grown-up people

A man during his life time may acquire any number of different names, but the two to which he attaches most importance are that given to him by his father's family just after his birth and the one given to him after his initiation.

But in case of women they are again given names after marriage, which indicate that now they are married and it will differ because she will get the name specifically for women name, which is not common. These are names given to women who have been married:

Examples of compound names with **nya-**:

| | | |
|-------------------|---|-------------------|
| Nyadenga | - | Mother of denga |
| Nyamufuwi | - | Mother of mufuwi |
| Nyabele | - | Mother of Bele |
| Nyamasindi | - | Mother of Masindi |

Other examples of women's names:

Muofhe

Mudzhedzi

Tshinakaho

Mudanlwo

When we use these names we add **vho-** to show respect that she is married, for example:

VhoNyadenga, VhoMuofhe, Vhotshinakaho

5.5.2 Difference between reference and greeting

Compound nouns with **nya-** or **nwa-** as below are generally used when one refers to a specific person but such names are not used in addressing the person:

With nya-

| | | |
|---------------------|---|---------------------|
| Nyadenga | - | Mother of Denga |
| Nyamuofhe | - | Mother of Nuofhe |
| Nyabele | - | Mother of Bele |
| Nyatshisevhe | - | Mother of Tshisevhe |

With nwa-

| | | |
|----------------------|---|------------------------|
| Nwasundani | - | Daughter of Sundani |
| Nwafunyufunyu | - | Daughter of Funyufunyu |
| Nwatshiembe | - | Daughter of Tshiembe |
| Nwamanavhela | - | Daughter of Manavhela |

5.5.2.1 Non-Tshivenda names

The non-Tshivenda names come from English and some come from Afrikaans.

English

Peter

Calvin

Joyce

Caroline

Afrikaans

Willem

Dickie

Noël

Lettie

5.5.3 Praise names

Who can get a praise name?

The baby can get a praise name.

The people in authority, for example king or chief, can also get a praise name.

Who can give the praise name?

Usually in Tshivenda, the sister of the father (**Makhadzi**) or the brother of the father (**khotsimunene**) and the father himself in case of the baby, are the ones who can give the praise name, because they are the people who may officially give names to the baby.

In case of the king or chief, the nation under him are the ones who can give the praise name.

What does the praise name refer to?

Baby: **Hulisani**
 Give respect

In this name **Makhadzi** whom we say she is the one who usually gives a name, inform the parents of the baby and other relatives to respect the ancestors who make it possible for them to get a child.

There are various other praise names in the case of babies, such as **Rendani** (praising):

In the name the people who give the name inform the parents and other relatives to praise God who made it possible for the baby to be born in that family.

In case of people of authority (king or chief): **Singo** (elephant's trunk): There are people who might think that **Singo** is a clan name, which is not so because **Singo** is simply a praise name used in addressing **Makwinda** chiefs. In olden days when the elephant was the great royal animal, it was taboo for the chief to see its trunk.

There are a great variety of praise names such as **Mundalamo** (Man with long life): his people often describe themselves as **Vhandalamo** and some use the word as their clan name.

The above praise name refers to the chief himself that he must live long, the people under his authority are saying long life to him.

There are various other praise names given to the Pastor or the leaders in church:

Vhainqameli (inspector)

Vhadikoni

There are names given to the pastor's wife:

Vhakhokheli

Vharabeli

There are praise names given to rich people:

Tshitundulume

Tshiqwili

These names are given to these people because of their deeds or something that they have done.

5.5.4 Clan names

5.5.4.1 Origin of clan names

Vhavenda can be divided into small subgroups and these subgroups belong to a clan **Mutupo**. These clan were at one time exogamous and totemic in character. Members of a clan increased in numbers and small families began to break away from the original clan to start independent groups in different localities. These new groups often retained the original names of their clan, while gradually ignoring its peculiar character. As the connection with the original clan grew more remote the rule of exogamy also lapsed.

Members of clans are called by the name of some animal, plant or object, with which they conceive an intimate relationship and which is always respected.

A man has no objection to eat animals, which are taboo to another clan, but he usually respects his wife's' totems and avoids eating them in the presence, or conforms to the required ritual behavior.

5.5.4.2 Influence of clan names

Many clans are commonly called by the name of a totem animal with the prefix **vha-**, for example: **vhadau** are the people of the lion. Others have the word **iha** (taboo) interpolated between the prefix and the name of the totem, for example **vha-ila-mbudzi** (goat) is the people forbidden to eat the goat.

Examples of clan names:

-Vhadau (people of the lion)

The totem animals of this clan are lions, leapards and all felines.

-Vhakwevho (people of the dove)

The totem animals of this clan are the dove and the pig. It means a man whose totem is the pigeon will frighten away any pigeon on his premises to avoid its being killed, but if he catches one in a trap accidentally he is not unduly worried, but gives it to a friend belonging to a different clan to eat.

-Vhalaudzi

They have no actual totem animal or object, they are forbidden to work in their gardens on the day after they first see the new moon.

5.5.5 Nicknames

Usually people who are in love, call themselves **nwa-** nickname such as **mufunwa** (beloved). The person who is addressed by this name is usually the girl given this name by a boy. People who are friends can also call each other by nicknames, for example: **Tshibode** (tortoise); **Tshibumba** (someone who is too fat); **Tshugulu**; **Tshinana**; **Tshifanyiso**.

5.5.6 Surnames

5.5.6.1 Origin of surnames

Most surnames in Tshivenda originate from a clan name such as **Ndou, Munyai, Mulaudzi, Kwindā, Mukwevho, and Mbedzi**. Some originate from praise names where people are praising their chief and that praise name becomes the surname of these groups of families.

Some surnames originate from the name of one of the original ancestors. Usually in this case you may find that the people seem reluctant and almost afraid to mention their clan: that is why they substitute their clan by using the name of their ancestors.

Some may use the name of the elder sister of the headman as the surname or that of the locality with which the clan is chiefly associated: **Tshivhase, Mphaphuli, Rambuḁa, Nethengwe, Nelwamondo, Tshikonelo**.

5.5.7 Introducing a person

5.5.7.1 Intimates

Lets take an example where the husband introduces a stranger to his wife. Usually the husband may use non-Tshivenda names:

Husband: **Maria, hoyu ndi Joel Muofhe**
Mary, this one is Joel Muofhe

He again continue to the stranger and say:

Joel, hoyu ndi Maria, ndi ene mufumakadzi wanga
Joel, this one is Mary, she is my wife

5.5.7.2 Friends

When two friends introduce strangers they use Tshivenda names that one can get during his/her birth or any one that one may acquire during his/her childhood:

Tshililo: **Hoyu ane na khou muvhona ndi Aifheli**

The one whom you see here is Aifheli

And continues:

Aifheli uyu ane ra vha nae ndi ene khonani yanga Ndifelani

Aifheli this one is my best friend Ndifelani

5.5.7.3 Strangers

When two strangers introduce themselves they use the Venda name that they got during birth or the one they got on initiation – if it is the one, which he/she is attached to:

Nṅe ndi pfi Kanakana

My name is Kanakana

Response: **Nṅe ndi ene Mbulungeni**

I am Mbulungeni

5.5.7.4 Supervisor and subordinate

When the supervisor introduces a stranger to a subordinate, they usually use the surname:

Principal: **Havha ndi mudededzi washu muswa ndi vho Mukwevho**

In our mist we have additional staff member by the name of Mr Mukwevho

Vho Mukwevho a vha vhane vha khou vha vhona ndi vhone thoho ya muhasho wa Tshivenda ndi vho Ndou, Vhone vhane vha do shuma navho

Mr Mukwevho, we have Mr Ndou he is the head of Department of Tshivenda, you will work with him.

5.5.8 Greeting a person by name

5.5.8.1 Intimates

When husband and wife greet each other they use nicknames that are known by themselves only, for example: a person can be called **Mujambilu**, but his husband can call her **Mufuniwa**.

5.5.8.2 Friends

Friends can also use nicknames or they can use the Tshivenda name.

5.5.8.3 Strangers

Strangers use the Tshivenda name or the name that one may acquire if it is the one to which one is attached to.

5.5.8.4 Supervisor and subordinate

They use surnames.

5.5.9 Dialogue

5.5.9.1 Stranger to my friend

Vuledzani: **Ndi madekwana**

Evening

Thanyani: **Ndi madekwana a vhuḍi**

Good evening

Vuledzani: **No twa hani?**

How did you spend your day?

Thanyani: **Ndo twa zwavhuḍi**

It was a good day to me.

Vuledzani: **Hoyu ane na khou mu vhona ndi Phalanndwa**

The one whom you see here is Phalanndwa

Thanyani: **Ndi khou livhuwa uni ḍivha Phalanndwa, hu ri ni?**

I am happy to know you Phalanndwa. How are you?

Phalanndwa: **Nṅe ndo takala tshoṭhe**

It is a pleasure

Thanyani: **Nṅe ndi muthu wa hanefhano Stellenbosch**

I am staying here at Stellenbosch

Phalanndwa: **Nṅe nga vhudzulo ndi wanala Venda**

Myself, I am from Venda

Thanyani: **Ndi na dzangalelo la u ḍivha Venda**

I have a desire to know the place

Phalanndwa: **Ni ḍo vhuya na hu swika**

You will reach there one day

5.5.9.2 A superior (such as a school principal) to my friend

Mina: **Hu rini khonani?**

How are you friend?

Nomsa: **Ndo vuwa nga Maanda**

I am very well

Mina: **Ri na Vho Make ha fha ndi vhone phirisipala ngei tshikoloni tshashu**

In our mist we have Mrs Make. She is our principal at our school.

Nomsa: **Ndo takala u vha divha vho Make, vhu gai vhutshilo**

It is a pleasure to me to know you Mrs Make. Where is life?

Mrs Make: **Vhutshilo vuhone**

Life is more than enough

Nomsa: **Ngei tshikoloni tsha havho a huna vho poswo?**

Where are the jobs Mrs Make?

Mrs Make: **Nomsa, inwi no gudela pfunzo dza ntha kana dza fhasi?**

Nomsa, which diploma did you have? I mean primary or secondary diploma?

Nomsa: **Hai, vho Make nne a thongo funzea lini**

No, Mrs Make, I am not educated.

Mrs Make: **Mathina inwi ni khou vhudzisa mishumo de?**

So, what type of job are you asking for.

Nomsa: **Nne ndi khou vhudzisa yeneyi mishumo sa wa u swiela**

I am asking jobs, like for cleaning

Mrs Make: **Ni a divha no ita zwone na amba ayo mafhungo Nomsa, hangei ha hashu ri khou toda muthusi**

Thank you very much Nomsa, for your request, at my place we are looking for helper

Nomsa: **Nḡe ndi nga shuma vho Make**

I can do it Mrs Make

Mrs Make: **Ni vhona unga ni nga thoma lini?**

Thank you Nomsa, when do you think you can start the work

Nomsa: **Ndi dzula ndo luga, na Matshelo ndi nga thoma**

Anytime you need me Mrs Make, I am always available, even tomorrow

Mrs Make: **Ndi ḡo ita nzudzanyo dzole ndi tshi swika hayani**

I will make all the arrangements with my husband. I will inform you all the duties and even the issue of salary. We will let you know very soon.

Nomsa: **U ḡivha vhone vho Make zwo nthusa vhukuma, a si zwenezwi ndo wana mushumo**

To know you Mrs Make, is a great privilege, I even got the job

Mrs Make: **Ndi zwone Nomsa**

Ok, see you Nomsa, have a nice weekend

Nomsa: **Ndi zwone, na vhone vha vhe na mafhelo a vhege a vhuḡi**

And you too, have a wonderful weekend, bye

5.5.10 Origin

5.5.10.1 General enquiry between Venda people

(a) **Ni bva ngafhi?**

Where do you come from?

(b) **Ndi bva Ṱhohoyandou**

I come from Thohoyandou

Ndi bva Nzhelele

I come from Nzhelele

Ndi bva Mutale

I come from Mutale

5.5.10.2 Enquiry about place of origing between a Venda and a stranger

A **Ni bva kha Shango Ji fhio?**

In which country do you come from?

B **Ndi bva kha shango la South Africa**

I come from South Africa

A **Ni bva South Africa kha vunḁu jifhio?**

In which province do you come from?

B **Ndi bva kha vunḁu la devhula**

I am from the Northern province

A **Ni bva kha ḁorobo ifhio?**

Northern province in which town?

B **Ndi bva kha ḁorobo ya Thohoyanḁou**

I am from Thohoyandou

A **Ni bva Thohoyanḁou kha muvhundu ufhio?**

In which village do you come from?

B **Ndi bva kha Muvhundu wa Phiphidi**

I am from phiphidi village

Domicile

A. **Ni dzula ngafhi?**

Where do you stay?

Ndi dzula Venda

I stay at Venda

B. **Venda ni dzula ngafhi?**

In which area do you stay at Venda?

Ndi dzula dzanani

I stay at Dzanani

Ni dzula dzanani kha vhupo vhufhio?

Dzanani in which village

Ndi dzula Mauluma

I stay at Mauluma

Ni dzula Mauluma kha muvhundu ufhio?

In which area do you stay at Mauluma?

Ndi dzula kha muvhundu wa Tshifhawe

I stay at Tshifhawe

C. Khosi ndi nnyi?

Who is the chief in that place?

Khosi ndi Thovhela vho Thoni Mphephu

The chief is Thoni Mphephu Ramabulana

Gota ndi nnyi?

Who is the headman?

Gota ndi vhoRavele

The headman is Mr Ravele

Address: Enquiry about address

Ni dzula kha dorobo ifhio?

At which town do you stay?

Ndi dzula Thohoyandou

I stay at Thohoyandou

Ni dzula Thohoyandou ngafhi?

Which suburb do you stay?

Ndi dzula Block F

I stay at Block F

Ni dzula kha tshitarata tshi fhio?

Block F in which street?

Ndi dzula Greenvalley

I stay at Green valley

Ni dzula kha nomboro ifhio?

What is your house number?

Nomboro ya hashu ndi 1845 I

My house number is 1845 I

Ni na nomboro ya bogisi la phoswe?

Do you have a post office box number?

Ee, i hone / Ndi nayo

Yes, I have it

Ndi ifhio?

What is the number of your post office box?

Ndi Box 2104

Thohoyandou

0950

Telephone: Enquiry about telephone

Ni na founu?

Have you got a phone?

Ee, ndi nayo

Yes, I have it

Ndi ifhio nomboro yanu ya founu ya hayani?

What is your contact number at home?

Ndi 015-973 0329

It is 015-973 0329

Ndi ifhio nomboro yanu ya mushumoni?

What is your contact number at work?

Ndi 015-516 2255

It is 015-516 2255

Ndi ifhio nomboro yaṅu ya founi thendeleki?

What is your cell number?

Ndi 083 369 7606

It is 083 369 7606

Enquiries about the presence of a person

A. **Vhaṅe vha muḍi uno vha hone?**

Is Mr Makhado around?

B. **A vhaho**

No, Mr Makhado is not around

A. **Vho ya ngafhi?**

Where is he?

B. **Vho ya Stellenbosch**

He has gone to Stellenbosch

A. **Vha ḍo vhuya lini?**

When will he be back?

B. **Vha ḍo swika fhana nga Muqivhela**

He will be here on Saturday.

Request to enter into the house

A. **Kho! Kho! Kho! Muḍini**

Knock, knock, knock

B. **Nga ngomu / kha vha dzhene**

Get in

A. **Kha vha dzule**

You may sit

B. **Ndi a vha thusa?**

Can I help you?

A. **Ndi hone ha Sibadela fhanu?**

Is it Sibadela's place?

B. **Ndi fhanu**

Yes, is here

A. **Ndi khou tōḁa vho mme?**

Can I see Mrs Sibadela?

B. **A vha ho, vho yo ḁoroboni**

Sorry, she is not in. She has gone to town

Nyonesano (closing)

A. **Ri ḁo vhonana**

We shall see each other next time

B. **Ni tshimbile zwavhuḁi**

Have a good journey

A. **Ni sale zwavhuḁi**

Stay well

B. **Ni vha lumelise hayani?**

Pass my greetings to your family members

A. **Ndi zwone**

Good bye

B. **Vhana vha takale**

Pass my greeting to them

A. **Kha vha litshe ndi tuwe**

Allow me to leave

B. **Lwendo lwa vhuḁi**

Have a nice journey

A. **Mudzimu vha ni farise**

May the lord be with you

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Greeting is one of the most important aspects in communication. It carries a lot of meaning in as far as communication is concerned. If greetings are left out, communication will be incomplete. In every speech act or dialogue either good or bad, greetings should be present. In Venda, there are certain steps that should be followed when greeting is being done. There is an expression of “**Aa**” and “**ndaa**” followed by non-verbal communication.

When generation comes one after another this aspect of greeting start to be less important due to the fact that people disregard their culture and start to appreciate other people's culture. For instance: **Vhavenda** adopts other culture because instead of saying “**Aa**” or “**ndaa**”, they use the western style of greeting: Hallo! Hello!

Nowadays all non-verbal communication on greetings would no longer be applied. Regardless whether there is any funeral or not, people are no longer practicing this non-verbal communication. In Tshivenda people are not allowed to use non-verbal communication if there is a funeral.

Women may just greet their husbands while standing. Sometimes even the greetings that they use, they use the expression: “Hallo!” and supplement their expression by kissing and hugging each other.

There are those who are still practising Venda greeting. When they do it they are like people who are not civilized or primitive because when they do it in front of others who are not practicing it, they can laugh at them until those who are doing it feel ashamed of themselves.

In a Chief's kraal most of our cultural things are emphasized but you can find that, only the elderly are the people who are still performing it, younger people just look at them and say, they are for the elderly.

The way people ignore their cultural, there are no doubt that in ten years to come, people may not be able to identify the origin of themselves.

There are many initiation schools that the Vhavenda undergo, both boys and girls, but nowadays, the Venda child can be born and grow up and attend many schools like a crèche, primary level, secondary level and tertiary level, up until he/she gets married without attending even a single school of initiation. This can prove that cultural things are being chased away. In rural areas they are still practicing these initiation schools but because the young couples don't want to send their children, it makes elderly people to give up.

The issue of greeting is very important because greeting goes hand in hand with respect, and children get this teaching of greeting and respect from initiation schools. Children who do not attend these schools can be recognized them by their speech, sometimes their language is really unacceptable to elderly people. Most of Venda cultural things are not being practiced things like **Tshigombela**, **tshikona**, **malende** and **tshikhaba**. All these things mentioned above goes hand in hand with greeting. It means that our future generation will not be called Vhavenda because how can they be called Vhavenda if they cannot even know how this culture of greeting each other, some might not even know a single word in Tshivenda depending on the environment where these people are growing up.

Recommendation

Its really a touching issue to see the culture behave in this manner because what will that culture be called tomorrow because even the Western society that they copy from are not totally immerse themselves to these, so it will embarrass us one day, because the Western society enjoy watching our traditional dances, which shows that it is a good thing for Vhavenda to maintain their culture, because it even makes our children to feel proud of their culture, knowing that our culture have something good in it. It's a challenge for the Venda people to fight this tendency of ignoring the place where we come from. It doesn't matter whether transformation change many things in our country but culture should be restored. There is nothing wrong for the professionals, doctors, teachers, and attorneys, to dance **Tshikona** and the nurse dancing **tshigombela** that is how Vhavenda can restore their culture.

It is good to accept changes, but changes must not withdraw culture from its own things. Greeting is the source of respect. It means that facing greetings out we are facing all our norms and values. One can say greetings is being done almost everyday, but it is not done in a Venda way.

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