THE LINGUISTIC ETIQUETTE OF GREETING AND LEAVE-TAKING IN JORDANIAN ARABIC

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Abstract

This paper investigates the sociolinguistic politeness of greeting followed by Jordanian people in day-to-day social interactions. Politeness is one of the most important aspects of human communication in which human beings have to observe the basic conventions of politeness if they want to exist in peace together. Jordanians genuinely tend to oil the wheels of social interaction by adhering to a set of long-standing conventions. They do this not merely to make life easy for themselves, but out of respect, consideration and affection for their fellows. This study examines the different types of Arabic greeting sequences and the sociolinguistic factors that account for their structuring. Jordanians adhere to strict conventions of polite behavior which are derived from the Islamic teachings and Arabic traditions to keep channels open and keep peaceful relations with others. Greetings in Arabic are very essential for the establishment of interpersonal relationships and for the introduction of a business or a social topic. The study suggests that deference to age, sex, context of situation and time are important factors in the structuring of greetings in Jordanian Arabic. There are some socio-cultural and socio-religious rules of initiating greetings in general. The most common and most polite greeting term is "assalaamu 9alaykum" (Peace be upon you) due to its socio-religious significance. The Apostle of Allah ordered Muslims to spread this greeting among themselves. The Prophetic Traditions also explain that this greeting was the greeting of Adam and of his offspring. Therefore, this term is considered the most polite greeting. There are other time-specific greetings and context or situation-specific terms which denote the social competency of their users.

Review of Related Literature

Etiquette is "a code of rules and regulations defining good form or "good manners" in social, public, or official behavior. The first book which was written on etiquette is the ancient Egyptian "The Instructions of Ptah Hotep" in which a father advises his son on proper conduct around 2500 B.C. The first book to write down the rules of etiquette was "Lord Chesterfield's Advice to His Son" in the Eighteenth century. The purpose of etiquette in the 19th century was to protect the upper class from the intrusion of the impertinent, the improper, and the vulgar. Strict rules governed visits, ceremonious calls, and greetings exchanged between ladies and gentlemen in public. To exchange greetings spontaneously and practice simple, humble rules impertinently was not valid any more. Therefore, people became aware of the rules of etiquette and read books on etiquette. Books on etiquette in that era emphasized only and prescribed good manners which people should follow on certain social occasions.

The first study concerned with etiquette linguistically is by Geertz (1960). The subject of Geertz' study is etiquette in Java. Geertz defined linguistic etiquette as a wall built around one's self in order to protect his inner feeling. It is nearly impossible to speak with people in Java without indicating the socio-relation between the interlocutors in terms of status and formality. There are special words which have connotative meaning beside their denotative one added to raise the level of speech or to reveal status and formality. One of the early studies of linguistic etiquette in Arabic is by El- Hassan (1991). His study attempted to investigate the Jordanian Arabic patterns of linguistic etiquette used at Jordanian shops. The study shows that Jordanian customers and shopkeepers follow certain socio-cultural norms of linguistic etiquette in order to show politeness and courtesy to each other

There is a bulk of researches which investigated the importance of speech act of greeting and its rituals in different cultures. Goffman (1971: 79) characterized greeting exchanges as access rituals consisting of two types, passing greetings and engaging greetings which function as a switch that opens or closes relations. Goffman says that greeting exchanges serve to reestablish social relations, acknowledge status, and guarantee for safe passage when performed between strangers. Firth (1973) stated that greetings are rituals which consist of verbal and nonverbal forms. Verbal forms may be one of three linguistic units: question (How do you do?), interjection (Hello) or affirmation (Good morning). Laver (1981) proposed that greeting exchanges have three components: formulaic phrases,

address forms, and phatic communion. Laver views that greeting exchanges as a whole are routine rituals which serve to preserve face.

There are studies into greetings as a sociolinguistic element or as a speech act which concentrated on traditional forms as Fadipe (1970) and Akindele (1997) investigated Yoruba greetings, Irvine (1974) and Ibrahim et al (1976) researched into greetings in northern African communities, Dzameshie (2002), Ameka (1991), Egblewogbe (1990)   studied Ewe greetings, and Akindele (2007) studied Sesotho greetings pointing out that   greetings are extremely important strategies for the negotiation and control of social identity and social relationships.

Emery (2000: 201) investigated the phenomenon of greeting, congratulating and commiserating in Omani Arabic. He views that greetings are used to establish identity and affirm solidarity. Greetings comprise an indispensable phase on the direction to interpersonal access where information can be sought and shared. For Akindele (2007) greetings are "…extremely important strategies for the negotiation and control of social identity and social relationships between participants in a conversation". There are three kinds of greetings: temporal greetings which Dzameshie (2002) calls 'Time-of-day' greetings; Inquiries about health which he calls 'How-are-you greetings'; and the valedictory greetings which Akindele (2007) refers to 'Ways of Parting/ Leave-taking'.

Other researchers as Searle (1969), Wilkins (1976) and Kasper (1989) see greetings as semantically or propositionally empty, and frozen or formulaic routine items.

Introduction

The core of this study is to explain and show the various greetings which Jordanians, who may differ from one another in terms of age, gender and status, use in casual and social circumstances. Learning any language doesn't mean to master only the phonology, syntax, lexis and morphology but also to be well-informed with the basic discourse rules such as greetings, compliments, invitations, etc. Among the Jordanians, greeting is considered as an aid to peaceful social relations which keep up good open communication among the members of the Sociolinguistic community. Therefore, in every context or situation, greetings are expected when a person goes everywhere or pass by anyone he knows well or not. According to the Islamic traditions, one is expected to cast greetings to everyone met in the street whether he knows or not although young people's manners are changing in modern times, especially in big cities where people only greet those who are close to them because of their influence with western culture.

This paper describes the linguistic and social behavior of Jordanian when they greet each other in different situations. Greetings are essential when initiating or terminating a social encounter. There are some socio-cultural and socio-religious rules of initiating greetings in general. The most common greeting term is "assalaamu 9alaykum" (Peace be upon you). The Apostle of Allah ordered Muslims to spread this greeting among themselves. The Prophetic Traditions also explain that this greeting was the greeting of Adam and of his offspring.

There are other cultural greeting terms which are commonly used such as "marHaba" (Hello) which is less polite than "assalaamu 9alakum" (Peace be upon you). It is a neutral term and not time-specific; it can be used during the day or night, or on any social occasion. The greeting term "marHaba" differs from "assalaamu 9alakum" in that the former is less courteous and less formal, and it signals more intimacy and solidarity. There are other time-specific greetings as "SabaaH ilkheer" (Good morning), and context or situation-specific terms as "gaww ilghaanmiin" (May Allah strengthen the noble), and "yi9Tiiku il9aafyih" (May Allah grant you health/ Strength) where the former is used when there is a big number of sitting people and there is no need to shake everyone's hand, and the latter is normally used to greet someone performing a physical job but it is becoming widespread. The first greeting term "gaww ilghaanmiin" is age and sex-marked used mostly by adult males. The components of " yi9Tiik il9aafyih" (May Allah give you health / strength) indicate that this term might have been used originally to greet someone performing a job requiring physical effort, but it is used now to greet anyone (even sitting people).

The greeted person should reply with a more courteous greeting or at least of equal courtesy. Jordanians often add "hala ?ahla wsahla" (Welcome! welcome) to any greeting in order to show respect and warmth of welcome. However, some people, especially females, sometimes violate the rules of etiquette and reply with a less courteous greeting as "ahleen hala" (Welcome) to "assalaamu 9alaykum" (Peace be upon you).

Greetings are normally followed by inquiries about the interlocutors' health. The most common inquiries about health are "keef Haalak" (How are you?) and "ishloonak" (Lit. How is your color? i.e. How are you?). The former inquiry is more formal and more courteous than the latter. The latter term "ishloonak" is normally used between intimate conversants, and sometimes by superiors to ask about subordinates' health. Some people may use both "keef Haalak" and "ishloonak" beginning with the former and then with the latter. The conversant may inquire about each others' health and about their children's and relatives' health simply to establish social contact. The greeter, for example, may not really wish to know about the

greetee's children's health; but he does so in compliance with the recognized social rules of etiquette.

Greetings normally encompass proper forms of address. Forms of address are either relational (e.g. uncle) or absolute (e.g. professor). Jordanians often extend these social titles to display courtesy to or solidarity with the recipient. For example, "?ustaaD /ustaad" (Professor/ teacher) is used to show respect to the hearer, whereas "9ammooh" is used by old people to address younger people to show solidarity and increase intimacy with them. Relational forms of address are usually used when the level of rapport and intimacy are relatively high between the collocutors, whereas absolute ones may be used by someone either to show that he is a cultured and a polite person, or when the level of intimacy between him and the recipient is low.

Methodology

The data on which the researcher bases his claims were collected from his own speech community. About one hundred spontaneous conversations during causal visits were collected from different rural areas in Irbid in Jordan. The data were collected from different naturally occurring conversational settings and the conversants were unaware that their conversation was monitored. The data were analyzed to identify the relevant patterns of linguistic etiquette, and point out their social meaning. This is an empirical study which is basically descriptive, but the inductive approach is indispensable for conversational analysis. My intuition as an Arabic native speaker helps me to analyze interlocutors' behavior.

Greetings on Arrival

This paper explains the linguistic behavior of Jordanian people when they greet each other in different situations. It may be helpful to begin with the definition of greeting sociolinguistically. Schottman (1995, 489) says "Greetings are the essential `oil' of encounters of all types and a reassuring confirmation of human sociability and social order". Holmes (1992:308) states "Greeting formulas universally serve an affective function of establishing non-threatening contact and rapport but their precise content is clearly culture specific"; therefore, a foreigner may face difficulties in using certain greeting terms appropriately. For example, in Arabic the greeter of "gaww ilghaanmiin" ('May Allah' strengthen the noble?) should be able to determine the verbal and non-verbal rules of its usage on the part of the greeter and the greetee. Culturally, an Arab greeter would use it when there is a large number of sitting greetees and there is no need to shake everyone's

hand. But when handshaking is necessary, "gaww ilghaanmiin" becomes inappropriate because it may indicate that the relationship between the interlocutors is no longer close.

Greetings are the general rituals of beginning and finishing an encounter. They have an essential social function in casual visits which goes beyond Malinowski's "phatic communion". Some languages can be evaluated according to their greeting patterns "In parts of Africa whole languages may be evaluated in terms of the greeting patterns" (Schegloff, 1972:211). Semantically, greetings gain their meaning from the culture they are derived from and their precise content is culture-specific (cf. Holmes, 1992:308).

This paper shows the aspects of face-to-face language interaction regarding the Jordanian mode of greeting; it shows the series of phraseology employed by Jordanians to greet each other. The non-verbal channel accompanying the verbal behavior plays an essential role in reflecting the potential rules of etiquette in Jordanian greetings. We are a bit concerned with the non-verbal etiquette of greeting because a verbal greeting that follows the rules of etiquette but conflicts the non-verbal behavior may affect the semantic relationship. For example, a greeting expression like "marHaba" (hello) without a little smile or an appropriate mode may reveal hostility or lack of intimacy between the interactants. Therefore, the non-verbal mode conveys certain pragmatic and sociocultural aspects of meaning.

There are some socio-religious rules for initiating greetings in general. The younger should greet the older; the smaller group should greet the larger one; the walking person should greet the sitting person; the horseman should greet those on foot. These rules are usually followed by Jordanians. The most common and popular greeting upon passing by someone is "assalaamu 9alaykum" (Peace be upon you). This greeting is independent of time and context; it can be used at any time of the day and on any social occasion. It has a socio-religious significance; the Prophetic Traditions explicate that it was the greeting of Adam and his offspring:

(Abu Huraira- one of the Prophet's companion- says "The Prophet- Peace be upon him- said, "Allah created Adam in his picture, sixty cubits in height. When He created him He said `Go and greet that group of angles sitting there, and listen to what they will say in reply, for that will be the form of your greeting and the greeting of your offspring, `Adam went and said, 'assalaamu 9alaykum' (Peace be upon you). They replied "assalaamu 9alayk wa raHmatullah" (Peace and Allah mercy be on you). So, they added "wa raHmatullah").

The Apostle of Allah ordered Muslims to spread 'assalaam' greeting among themselves and to greet those whom we know or do not know. The Apostle of Allah also asked his wife, Aisha, when

she was greeted by the Angles to respond with this greeting term. Therefore, this greeting has a socio-religious significance to all Muslims. It is the most polite and the most commonly used greeting term on any social occasion. The greeted person should use at least an equal greeting. The longer the greeting term, the more polite and courteous it is. The response on the part of the greetee is also with 'assalaam' greeting. The response is usually longer and more courteous than the offered greeting. Greetees who respond with the complete version of 'assalaam' greeting conform to Quranic injunction in verse 86 of Surat Al-Nisa:

(When a courteous greeting is offered you, meet it with a greeting still more courteous, or at least of equal courtesy.)

El-Hassan (1991:35) says "the interlocutors who respond with this extended version of the greeting (wa 9alaykum assalaamu wa raHmatullah) are being sensitive to the above injunction". The collected data show that males use the greeting term " assalaamu 9alaykum" (Peace be upon you) more than females. Moreover, females sometimes respond with an inappropriate term such as "ahleen ya hala" (welcome) violating the normal and the socio-religious rules. Syntactically, males use the same term to greet individuals or groups, and males or females. While females, especially old ones, use the singular pronoun "k, ch" instead of the plural "kum" when the greetee is singular e.g. "assalaam 9aleek" (Peace be upon you `singular masculine') and "assalaam 9aleech" (Peace be upon you `singular feminine'). In contrast with Western cultures, this research shows that Arab males are more inclined to use the more standard and courteous code of greeting than females.

The next most common greeting term is "marHaba" (hello/ welcome). The range of its usage is similar to that of "assalaamu 9alaykum" (Peace be upon you); it is a neutral and context-free expression of greeting used in any time and on any social occasion. This term is more intimate and less formal than the aforementioned greeting "assalaamu 9alaykum" (Peace be upon you). A semantic point worth noting here is that although "marHaba" (hello/ welcome) was originally used to mean `welcome', it is used now only to mean `hello'; the Apostle of Allah said to a delegation who came to him, (Welcome to the delegation who have come!)

This Prophetic Tradition emphasizes that "marHaba" "hello" was used as a greeting of welcome beside its function as an initiating greeting.

The proper response on the part of the hearer to "marHaba" (hello) is "ahlan wa sahlan" (welcome) which is abbreviated from "?atayta ahlan wa mawDi9an sahlan" (Literally, you have come to people who are like your folk and to a place that is smooth). Besides, the greetee has a wide range of terms extending from more courteous to less courteous. Consider: 2.

a- ?hlan wa sahlan (Welcome! 'standard')

b- ?hla wsahla (Welcome! ' colloquial')

c- marHabteen (Lit. Two hellos i.e. welcome)

d- miit marHaba (Lit. A hundred hellos)

e- hala (Welcome)

f- Yahala (vocative + Welcome)

Example (2a) is the common and standard response, whereas (2b) is less standard with no case endings (-n). Examples (2c) and (2d) are more intimate and less formal than the others. (2e) and (2f) are the shortest and may be more sincere than the remaining ones, especially if accompanied by a big smile. The forms at 2a, 2b, 2e, and 2f are usually repeated by hosts when they are greeted by a welcomed visitor two or three times, e.g. "ya hala, ya hala, ya hala" (welcome, welcome, welcome) to show the warmth of the reception.

There are some time-dependent greeting terms such as "SabaaH ilkheer" (good morning) and "masaa? Ilkheer" (good afternoon/ evening), but they are less common than the aforementioned greetings. Females tend to use these terms more than males. Old people, especially old females, often use the more courteous variants of these expressions more than others. Consider these examples:

3.   a- SabaaH ilkheer

(Good morning)

b- allah ysabbHak bilkheer

(May Allah make your morning good? / May you have a good morning?).

c- allah ymassiiku bilkheer

(May you have a good afternoon ` evening'?)

Example (3b) is longer and more courteous than (3a) because it begins with the term "allah" (God). The collected data show that the elders use greetings beginning with `Allah' more than others, and females use them more than males. Therefore, we can say that time specific greetings like "SabaaH ilkheer" (good morning) may be age and sex markers, whereas greetings like "assalaamu 9alaykum" (Peace be upon you) express loyalty to the Islamic faith.
The typical responses to the above mentioned greetings are "SabaaH innur" (Lit. morning of light i.e. good morning) and "masaa? Ilkheer" (Good afternoon/evening) but other items can be used depending on the social relationship between the greeter and greetee. Consider:

4.a- SabaaH innuur

(Good morning)

b- SabaaH ilward

(Lit. Morning of roses, i.e. good morning)

c- SabaaH ilfull/ ilyasmiin

(Lit. Morning of jasmine, i.e. good morning)

Excluding the first example, the other greetings are markers of sex and intimacy between the interlocutors. The greeting in (4a) is used by all whether the greeter is a male or a female while (4b) and (4c) are used mostly by males to reply for males or females to reply for females. If they are used

between mixed sex, they are appropriate only when the relationship between the interactants is so intimate otherwise .

Some greetings are used when there is no need for handshaking either because the greetee is busy or when there is a large number of greetees and it is embarrassing to bother everyone to stand to shake hands. Consider the following examples:

5- a- allah igaww ilghaamiin

(May Allah strengthen the noble)

b- gawhum

('May Allah' strengthen them)

c- gawwak

(' May Allah' strengthen you)

6- a- ySiHH badanhum

('May Allah' strengthen their body/ May their body be firm)

7- a- (allah) yi9Tiiku il9aafyih

(May Allah' give you health)

The above mentioned greetings are usually preceded by an appropriate opening greeting such as "assalaamu 9alaykum". The first group of greetings (5a-c) is used mainly when there is a large number of sitting people, so the singular form "gawwak" ('May Allah' strengthen you `singular masculine') is uncommon. This group is also age and sex-marked i.e. it is common among adult males more than others. As it is the case with other greetings, terms beginning with `Allah' such as (5a) seem to be more courteous than those without such as (5b) and (5c). And the shorter the term (e.g. gawwak) the more intimate the interlocutors. Greetings like (6a) and (7a) are originally said to a person working or has finished a job requiring a physical effort, but here they are used to "reinforce the evidently friendly relationship between the conversants" (El-Hassan, 1991: 35).

Greetings Accompanied by Terms of Address

Greetings usually encompass proper forms of address associated with them. When the level of intimacy between the interactants is low, some social titles as "? Ustaad" (teacher/ Professor) are added to show respect and urbanism. Other titles as "hajji" (pilgrim) and "9ammooh" (paternal uncle) are used when the greetee is superior in terms of age even when the level of rapport between the conversants is high. Thus, observing the proper linguistic etiquette of greeting with equals, inferiors, and superiors shows that the speaker is knowledgeable of the linguistic and social norms of interaction and consequently is seen as educated and civilized.

Greetings which are associated with a proper term of address are considered more polite than those without. The most common term of address among equal, unintimate people is "? Ustaad" (professor! teacher). This term signals respect and formality between interactants. However, Parkinson (1985:130) comments "The term ustaaz is a term that almost everyone is entitled to, and thus while it marks the respect that any formal relationship would require, it does not mark the kind of deferential respect that truly high addressees expect to receive ". The same extension is applied to "hajji" (pilgrim) which is originally addressed only to people who have gone to Makkah to perform pilgrimage. To show respect, "hajji" (pilgrim) became an age marker to address any old people wearing traditional costumes. Parkinson states "when used to real pilgrims the term (hajj) does not mark social class, whereas when used as a mark of respect to an older person in general it is associated only with lower class addresses" (ibid : 156).

Greetings which associate with one's first name or terms like "bint" (girl), "walad" (boy), "khityyaar" (old man), "khityaarah" (old woman), etc are considered impolite. Post (1992: 54) says "It is also effrontery for a younger person to call an older by her or his first name, without being asked to do so. Only a very underbred, thick skinned person would attempt it" (quoted from Holmes, 1992: 228). Old males often call acquaintances or young relatives by their first names or by using a kinship term; and sometimes they use a discourteous term like "bint" (girl) or "walad" (boy). Consider these examples:

    8- a- marHaba 9ali

         (Hello, Ali)

      b- SabaaH ilkheer yajiddih

         (Good morning grandmother / grandson)

        c- marHaba ya bint

          (Hello, girl)

      d- marHaba ya xityaarah

         (Hello, old woman)

In (8a) the greeter uses the greetee's first name. This kind of greeting is directed from superiors or used among equals, but rarely directed from inferiors in terms of age or status to superiors. The greeter in (8b) uses an inverse term of address that can be used by both the grandmother and the grandchild to greet each other. In (8c) an old man greets a 30-year-old female, whose name he may not know, using the discourteous term of address "bint" (girl). Even if the old man knew the female's name, he would not mention it because mentioning a girl's name in front of foreign or marriageable people is taboo; thereupon it would threaten his face. Some people

face a difficulty in addressing an unacquainted adult female because of the lack of suitable terms. The normal terms of addressing a female are "bint" (girl) and marah (woman): "bint" (girl) is discourteous and "marah" (woman) is husband-specific i.e. only used by some uncivilized husbands to call their wives for the sake of tampering or humbling. It is the same issue in the Western society. Trudgill (1983a: 78) states "A number of speakers have begun to avoid using the word girl to refer to adult women ... it is not clear what they should use instead ". Some educated people avoid using the two terms "bint" (girl) and "marah" (woman) and use "sayyidah" (lady), "sitt" (miss) or "madaam" (madam) instead. In (8d) the greeter uses "khityaarah" (old woman) which signals intimacy between the conversants. This term might be used even if the addressee is not an old woman. However, if it is used with an unacquainted female, it will be considered discourteous.

Age and Sex Markers

Age is an important factor which causes linguistic variation in social interactions. Old people may use greeting terms which differ phonologically, syntactically, semantically and extralinguistically from those used by young people. For example, old males often use "gaww ilghaamiin" ('May Allah' strengthen the noble?) and "ySiHH badanhum" ('May Allah' strengthen their body?) more than others, and when the old greet each other they use a `high-pitched voice', but they use ' a low-pitched voice' when they greet younger people. It is worth noting that the occurrence of such terms in speech does not depend on one's linguistic competence but on his social competence. Young people and adolescents might have acquired some terms in an early age but do not know when, how, why and with whom they have to use them.

The paralinguistic and extralinguistic components may reveal one's age and knowledge about cultural and social greetings. For example, old males hold both of each other's hand and prolong their greetings when they greet equals or superiors. In addition, they use a high tone of voice. While females and young males often use only one hand and one greeting term, and `low-pitched voice' when they greet others.

There might be some semantic variations between the greetings used by old people and youths. The young usually use short, simple expressions; this refers to the limited nature of their communicative and social competence. The semantic variation occurs when young people overgeneralize the usage of some terms like "gaww ilghaamiin" ('May Allah' strengthen the noble) and "daaymih" (`May it be' everlasting). The first greeting is used when there is no need for handshaking, but young people may use it and shake hands as well. The second term should be used when someone is offered a cup of Turkish coffee on

normal or happy social occasions, but on sad occasions one should use "shukran" (thanks) or "allah yi9wwiD 9aleeku" (May Allah compensate you). However, many young people use "daaymih" ('May it be' everlasting) on good or bad occasions, so they are usually criticized by adults for committing a social mistake.

People verbal behavior is also affected by the age of his addressee. Jordanians often use less polite language when they talk to the young. Consider these examples:

9. a- ween abbuuk 9ammooh

(Where is your father, nephew?)

b- MarHaba, ween abu 9ali

(Hello; where is Abu All?)

In (9b) the greeter uses a greeting term and a term of address to ask a woman about her husband; whereas in (9a) he does not use a greeting term because his addressee is a young person. In addition to age, sex may be a marker of greeting differences. Men and women do not usually use different forms, but the frequency of the forms may be different (cf. Holmes, 1992). Men use '?assalaam' greeting much more than women. Cultural greetings such as "gaww ilghaamiin" ("May Allah" strengthen the noble), "ySiHH badanhum" (May their body be firm), etc seem to be male-specific i.e. women rarely use them. To increase solidarity middle aged women use greetings associated with kinship terms much more than middle-aged men e.g. "marHaba yakhaalah" (Hello, nephew/ niece). The younger females, especially educated ones, tend to use foreign features associated with high status groups such as "hai" (hi), "benjuur" (benjour), "salaam" (greeting / peace). Moreover, women who marry men from a higher social class or occupy a high occupation tend to use a more prestigious form or urban terms, to reveal their fake inclusion to higher classes whereas men's social dialect is not usually influenced by their wives' social status.

Conclusion

It has been shown that choosing an appropriate term from a variety of greeting terms depends on the interlocutors' social status, age, sex and the level of closeness between the conversants. The greeter should also use a greeting term which is consonant with the social situation and which reflects the social relationship between the interlocutors. In a male dominant society like the population of the study (i.e. north Jordanian rural) the tendency is to use more polite terms to greet males, whereas females may be greeted with less courteous ones. In addition, the age and the social status of the greetee affect the greeter's choice of using an appropriate greeting term; young people

may not be greeted by old people; and inferiors may be offered a less courteous greeting than that offered to superiors.

This study has shown that Jordanians tend to use some socio-religious greeting terms more than any other greetings. Muslims instill in and encourage their children to use the socio-religious greeting "assalaamu 9alaykum" (Peace be upon you) since childhood while cultural greetings such as "gaww ilghaanmiin" (May Allah strengthen the noble) are acquired in a later stage of life. Also, children are more prone to develop gradually a linguistic repertoire of greeting terms which is appropriate on all social occasions than acquire time-specific or context-dependent greetings.

It is revealed that males use more courteous cultural greetings than females, whereas women tend to use less formal and less polite greetings although they are more sincere. Women achieve higher degree of intimacy through adding appropriate cultural relational terms of address and low pitched tone. This is not in line with Layoff's (1975) claim that females are more polite and more indirect than males. Also old people, males or females, use more courteous, longer greeting terms than young people do. This may be due to the fact that old people have more experience and broader communicative competence than young people. The study has also demonstrated that time specific greetings as good morning may be sex-marked i.e. used mostly by females, whereas cultural greetings (e.g. "ySiHH badanhum" (May Allah strengthen their body) and "gaww ilghaanmiin" (May Allah strengthen the noble)) are sex and age markers i.e. used mostly by old males.

Greetings often encompass appropriate terms of address. Greetings which are associated with a proper term of address are more polite than those without. Jordanians usually generalize the usage of terms of address, whether absolute or relational, for certain social purposes: to show respect and deference, or to show intimacy and solidarity. For example, one may call a young man "marHaba ustaad" (hello professor/ teacher) to show respect; or he may call any addressee "marHaba 9ammooh" (hello uncle/nephew) to show solidarity and increase intimacy with him.

Reading Conventions Consonants

أ	?	Voiceless glottal stop
ح	H	Voiceless pharyngeal fricative
ص	S	Voiceless dento-alveolar emphatic fricative
ض	Dh	Voiced dent -alveolar emphatic stop
ط	T	Voiceless dent –alveolar emphatic stop
ظ	D	Voiced interdental emphatic fricative
ع	9	Voiced pharyngeal fricative
غ	Gh	Voiced uvular fricative

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