# Forms of Greeting: Cases of English Travelers in Ottoman Bosnia

## Selamlaşma Kalıpları: Osmanlı Bosna'sında İngiliz Seyyahlardan Örnekler

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**Abstract**: Some English travelers who journeyed to the Ottoman Empire from the 16th to the 19th century also visited Bosnia and Herzegovina. They wrote in their travelogues about the events and impressions of the geographical area. Sections of those travelogues were published in Omer Hadžiselimović's book *At the Gates of the East: British Travel Writers on Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Centuries* (2001). The same book had been published earlier, in Serbo-Croatian (*Na vratima Istoka: engleski putnici o Bosni i Hercegovini of 16. do 20. vijeka*, 1989). In their travelogues, the authors would sporadically write in the source language the forms of greetings used in the area of Bosnia and Herzegovina at that time. This paper presents sequences of the travelogues containing the forms of greetings. It considers the social situations in which certain forms of greetings were used in the area they would visit, all in the original linguistic form. The author's position as a foreigner is also considered with respect to the entire situation. Speech act theory is used as the framework for the analysis.

**Keywords**: Foreigner in a social contact, act of greeting, sociolinguistic competence, cultural context.

**Özet**: On altıncı ve on dokuzuncu yüzyıllar arasında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda seyahat eden bazı İngiliz seyyahlar, Bosna-Hersek'i de ziyaret etmişlerdir. Bu coğrafyada gözlemledikleri olay ve durumları, edindikleri izlenimleri kendi seyahatnamelerinde kaleme almışlardır. Seyahatnamelerinin Bosna-Hersek'e dair kısımları Omer Hadžiselimović'in *At the Gates of the East: British Travel Writers on Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Centuries* (2001) başlıklı kitabında yayımlanmıştır. Aynı kitap daha önce Sırp-Hırvat dilinde hazırlanıp okurlara sunulmuştur (*Na vratima Istoka*: *engleski putnici o Bosni i Hercegovini od 16. do 20. vijek*, 1989). Yazarlar, seyahatnamelerinin bazı kısımlarında o dönemde Bosna-Hersek'te kullanılan selamlaşma kalıplarını özgün şekilleriyle kayda geçirmişlerdir. Bu makalede, seyahatnamelerin bu tür selamlaşma formüllerinin yer aldığı kısımları ele alınmaktadır. Yazarların, ziyaret edilen bölgeye ait selamlaşma sözlerinin özgün dilsel şekilleriyle kayda geçirdikleri metin parçalarında hangi sosyal durumlar söz konusu olduğu incelenmektedir. Seyyahların kendilerinin ise, ilgili sosyal durumların karşısında yabancı olmaları özelliği dikkate alınmaktadır. Selamlaşma formülleri söz eylemi kuramı çerçevesinde incelenmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler**: Sosyal temasta yabancı, selamlaşma eylemi, toplumbilimsel yeterlilik, kültürel bağlam.

Omer Hadžiselimović's book *At the Gates of the East: British Travel Writers on Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Centuries* (2001) contains sections of travelogues of the English travelers who journeyed the Ottoman Empire from the 16th to the 20th centuries, describing their impression of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Those writings contain certain elements of the local language. This paper focuses on forms of greetings which contain the communicational characteristic separating them from other lexical elements of the local language.[1]

The initial question for this discussion concerns social occasions for certain forms of greetings written down by the travel writers in the visited areas at that time. What was the position of the travel writer with respect to a particular social situation? Was the travel writer included in the social contact in which the form of greeting occurred, i.e., what effect did the act of greeting have on the foreign travel writers compelling them to write them down in the "foreign," original form in their English texts? These questions lead us to speech act theory which we take as the framework for this paper.

J. L. Austin, a philosopher of language and developer of speech act theory, described greetings as speech acts linked to social behavior.[2] Greetings exist in all known cultures and the very act of greeting occurs on certain occasions. Hence, any polite communication begins with a greeting.[3] Greetings, as social rituals expressing politeness, contain a usual form depending on the social context in which they occur. The choice of the linguistic form of a greeting depends on the relationship between interlocutors. Hence, the form of greeting is is also a

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**1** Goranka Blagus Bartolec analyses forms of greetings as language stereotypes that are specific in comparison to other lexical groups in their communicative function in her paper "Pozdravi kao leksikografske jedinice" [Greetings as Lexicographical Units] *Rasprave instituta za jezik i jezikoslovlje* 38, no. 1 (2012): 19-36.

**2** Cf. Shoshana Felman, *Skandal tijela u govoru: Don Juan s Austinom, ili zavođenje na dva jezika*, trans. Gordana Popović (Zagreb: Naklada MD, 1993), 16.

**3** Because they are used "in a polite behaviour, i.e., in the rules of polite behaviour," pragmatics, which analyses the communicative aspect of language, categorizes greetings as culturological pragmemes. See Neda Pintarić, *Pragmemi u komunikaciji* (Zagreb: Zavod za lingvistiku Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2002), 121. Pragmemes are "the smallest units of a pragmatic description that can be expressed by lexemes in a language." Pintarić, *Pragmemi u komunikaciji*, 38.

social category: it should be appropriate to the interlocutors in social as well as the situational context.

Using these guidelines on forms of greeting as a social act and as a greeting as a linguistic form in which the act is realized, this paper will analyze sections of travelogues that contain greetings of a local culture. Diversity of the situations described in certain sequences of the travelogues,[4] some of which are narrative, some descriptive, have initiated the analysis of a relatively small number of examples.

**Greetings in the Travel Writer's Narrative**

Examples of greetings in the narrative sequences of the travelogues indicate the act of greeting that is realized on the occasion of a meeting between the travel writer and other people in a public space. In those sequences, the greeting is implicitly or explicitly present in the dialogical form, which confirms that the greeting "is a phenomenon occurring between two sides that can see one another."[5]

**Case 1**

James Henry Skene (d. 1886), an English diplomat whose biography is relatively unknown, visited Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1851.[6] Describing his journey through Žepče, a small town, Skene described a sequence that we call a meeting, to use R. Barthes' terminology:[7]

> We met a Moslem Falstaff on horseback at the head of a motley band of retainers, whom he evidently felt proud of marching through Zepshe, whatever he might have done had it been Coventry. We saluted each other in passing, and a short colloquy between our respective followers, let each know who the other was, thus giving us

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**4** Travelogues are characterized by the combination of narration (the narrative description of the journey and the events that unfold) and description (in which the travel writer writes about their perceptions of people, time or space). Bernisa Puriš, "Stilistika bosanskohercegovačkog putopisa XX vijeka" (PhD diss. University of Sarajevo, 2013), 170.

**5** Dele Femi Akindele, "Lumela/Lumela: A Socio-Pragmatic Analysis of Sesotho Greetings," *Nordic Journal of Afrikan Studies* 16, no. 1 (2007): 3.

**6** James Henry Skene was a British consul in Aleppo, Syria. He anonymously published a book entitled *The Frontier Lands of the Christian and the Turk*. Cf. Hadžiselimović, *At the Gates of the East*, 40.

**7** Cf. Puriš, "Stilistika bosanskohercegovačkog putopisa," 172.

the occasion for another reciprocal selam, and the exchange of a few words. The stout gentleman was the Divan Effendi[8] of Haireddin Pasha,[9] the governor-general of Bosnia (...) And as we parted, with a third selam (109-110).[10]

The note suggests that this was an accidental meeting of two groups of people who were not familiar. The act of greeting by a suitable verb form *pozdravismo jedan drugoga u prolazu (we saluted each other in passing)* is a "micro-sequence," part of a wider sequence of the meeting. The act of meeting performed confirms that a certain relation exists between the interlocutors: the social role of a traveler. Because of that relation, they show consideration and "consideration is an act of politeness."[11] Politeness in stereotypical occasions indicates a form of solidarity between the participants. In the described meeting, the greeting confirms mutual inclination between the people who met on the way.[12] The greeting in this example contains the usually ascribed characteristics, which is a significant aspect of interaction between human beings, i.e., according to Schottman, "a reassuring confirmation of human sociability and social order."[13]

The following micro-sequence indicates that the act of greeting initiated a conversation:

(a short colloquy between our respective followers, let each know who the other was, thus giving us the occasion for another reciprocal selam and the exchange of a few words).

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**8** A vizier's official and personal secretary or scribe, responsible for his correspondence.

**9** Hairredin-pasha was a Bosnian *vali* in 1850-51.
This note should be amended by a more precise date. Hayrettin Paşa was the governor of Bosnia from 16 November 1850 to 8 March 1852. Salih Sidki Hadžihuseinović Muvekit, *Povijest Bosne*, trans. Abdulah Polimac et al. (Sarajevo: El-Kalem, 1999), 2:1045-1049.

**10** The bracketed numbers next to the citations indicate pages where the text cited can be found in Hadžiselimović's book *At the Gates of the East: British Travel Writers on Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Centuries*.

**11** Danijela Marot, "Uljudnost u verbalnoj i neverbalnoj komunikaciji," *Fluminensia* 17, no. 1 (2005): 54.

**12** Maja Bratanić emphasizes that "behind every greeting hides solidarity with another human being." Maja Bratanić, "Bok, gospođo profesor. (O nesigurnosti uporabi pozdravnih formula u suvremenom hrvatskom jeziku)," *Teorija i mogućnosti primjene pragmalingvistike*, ed. Lada Badurina et al. (Zagreb-Rijeka: Hrvatsko društvo za primijenjenu lingvistiku, 1999), 104.

**13** Wendy Schottman, "The Daily Ritual of Greeting among the Baatombu of Benin," *Anthropological Linguistics* 37, no. 4 (1995): 489.

The greeting in this unexpected encounter is an exchange between persons who are not acquaintances, which "guarantees a safe passage" for communication;[14] the communication developed between the members of their entourage. On this occasion, the greeting is shown, as Schottman remarks, as "the essential oil of encounters of all types."[15]

The expression *selam*[16] indicates a greeting that originates from Arabic, and its full form is *es'selamu alejkum* or *selamun alejkum*.[17] By this form of greeting used when encountering[18] someone, one expresses a wish for the other side to be protected from accidents and unpleasantries of all kinds. The *selam* is mentioned in Islamic sources,[19] hence, this greeting has a religious character for Muslims. The manner of sending and receiving the *selam*[20] greeting is prescribed in Islamic culture. In relation to the topic of this paper, it is necessary to emphasize that in Ottoman culture, there was a code of greeting passengers upon encounters, regardless of the level of acquaintance.[21] Hence, that greeting serves as a confirmation of the presence of mutual perception among persons who share a relationship of some kind. It can be concluded that such a form of Ottoman politeness was applied in the first act of greeting between a foreign traveler and the Ottoman officer (*we greeted each other as we went by*). The note from the travelogue does not indicate whether or not the form of greeting was uttered in its entirety, since the response of the individual who had received the greeting should be *alejkumu's-selam*. From the perspective of the English traveler, the

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**14** Erving Goffman, *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order*, (New York: Basic Books, 1971), 79. Cf. Isa Yusuf Chamo, "Pragmatic Differences in Greetings: A Comparative Study of Hausa and English," *BAJOLIN* 1, no. 2 (2015): 259.

**15** Schottman, "The Daily Ritual of Greeting," 489.

**16** The word *selam*, as it appears in the dictionary, means "to be protected from a disease, both physical and psychological, from a lack and inaptness."

**17** According to the examples of greetings in the *Travelogue* by Evliya Çelebi, Y. Kartallıoğlu established that the form *es'selamu alejkum* was a more prevalent form to *selamun alejkum*. V. Yavuz Kartallıoğlu, "Evliya Çelebi Nasıl Selamlaşırdı," *Türk Dili* 69, no. 821 (2020): 72.

**18** Mehmet Efendioğlu, "Selâm," *TDVİA* (İstanbul: TDV, 2009), 36:342.

**19** For more on the topic, see Efendioğlu, "Selâm," 36:342-43.

**20** For more on this, see Efendioğlu, "Selâm," 36:342-43. Also see Mehmed Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü* (İstanbul: MEB, 1971), 3:151.

**21** Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri*, 3:151.

greeting itself does not contain a religious connotation and his identity as such is not confirmed; however, the identity of the interlocutor is confirmed and is described as "another Muslim Falstaff."[22] The foreign passenger, by participating in the act of greeting by *selam*, presents his presence in the culture and suggests his adaptability to the surrounding. To a foreign passenger, the very essence of *selam* (the aspect of greeting) dominates over the religious semantics of the greeting.

The *selam* establishes a "shared point"[23] between two groups of passengers who engage in brief communication. Mutual understanding of the identity and the social rank between the foreign passenger and the Ottoman officer decreases the social distance between them, opening an opportunity to greet the person – *thus giving us the occasion for another reciprocal selam*; the divan-effendi greeted the foreign guest in his country while the foreign passenger greeted the officer of the state he visited. Hence, in this sequence of the meeting, the greeting that preceded their dialogue (they exchanged a few words after the greeting) is characterized as a preliminary greeting[24] or phatic communication.[25]

The last micro-sequence reveals that the English passenger and the Ottoman officer closed their dialogue by uttering *selam* before they parted.[26] The travel

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**22** An interesting example indicates that *selam* as a greeting is a confirmation of the Muslim identity: in the Arabic world there is a custom to use the abbreviated form *we'ialeykum* (to you too) to respond to a greeting by a non-Muslim – *as-salâmu alaykum* (regardless of whether they use it due to a lack of understanding of the cultural context or not). Ferguson, "The structure and use of politeness formulas," 145.

**23** Cf. Boris Uspenski, *Ego loquens: Jezik i komunikacioni prostor*, trans. Radmila Mečanin (Novi Sad: Akademska knjiga, 2012), 38.

**24** We borrow the term "preliminary greeting" from Akindele, "Lumela/Lumela: A Socio-Pragmatic Analysis," 12. Akindele writes of the use of the preliminary greeting in some cultures at the beginning of communication. In the example analysed here, the first greeting assumes the preliminary character additionally.

**25** We use phatic communication as a term introduced by Bronislaw Malinowski and later adopted by many linguists. It marks communication used to establish atmosphere or in order to maintain social contact, but not to exchange information or ideas. David Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, 6th ed. (Malden-Oxford-Carlton: Blackwell, 2008), 360.

**26** This correlates with the semantic and the pragmatic aspect of this greeting, applicable at that time. By this we mean that, in the Islamic world, the greeting *es'selamu alejkum*, i.e. *selam alejkum*, together with the response *alejkumu's-selam* was used both when meeting someone and upon leaving (see more on the topic in: Efendioğlu, "Selâm," 36:342).

writer noted that the greeting at the end was the third *selam* (*and as we parted, with a third <u>selam</u>*), which confirms that the first form of greeting, which we called preliminary, was also *selam*.

**Case 2**

James Henry Skene recorded the *selam* greeting in another narrative sequence of his travelogue, this time in its full linguistic form.

When he travelled from the south towards the BiH interior, en route from Bijeljina to Tuzla, Skane stopped at an inn for a night:

> On entering the khan; I saw a grave young Turk lying smoking near a fire in the centre of a large stable, and he was alone, for the khandji and his assistants had gone to get in our horses. "Selamun aleikum!" said I. "Aleikum selam!" replied the grave young Turk (102).

This encounter meets the preliminary conditions for the speech act of greeting: the participants had *just* met; the greeting indicates mutual perception and a polite recognition of persons who are not acquaintances but meet in the same public space.[27] The foreign passenger J. H. Skene initiates the greeting. By using the form of greeting *selamun aleikum*,[28] just as was the case in the aforementioned situation, he presents his adaptability to the culture of the area he visits, since he sees before him a "grave young Turk." The other participant in this speech act replies with the expected form of the greeting. By uttering *aleikum selam* he shows that he has *understood* that he was greeted.[29] The "shared point" is established and communication is expected to ensue after the greeting. For, "when two people exchange greetings, they affirm to have established a relation; two people who greet one another expect an interaction, at least for some time."[30] However, no communication ensued on this occasion, as Skene writes:

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**27** John R. Searle, *Govorni činovi: Ogled iz filozofije jezika*, trans. Mirjana Đukić (Beograd: Nolit, 1991), 124.

**28** Forms of greeting are presented in the form in which they were written in the travelogue notes.

**29** Cf. Searle, *Govorni činovi*, 100-104.

**30** Anupam Das and Susan C. Herring, "Greetings and Interpersonal Closeness: The Case of Bengalis on Orkut," *Language & Communication*, vol. 47 (2016): 3.

I had the best of all reasons for not keeping up the conversation, as my acquirements in Turkish were still somewhat circumscribed. But I was astonished at his not saying more. I afterwards learnt, however, that he had the self-same reason that I had for not speaking Turkish; but we might have exchanged our ideas with facility either in German or French had not each taken the other for an Osmanli, for he was a Magyar officer of Omer Pasha's army (103).

The act of greeting on this occasion is the "shared point," established by the rules of politeness. The exchange of greetings has "a reassuring confirmation of human sociability and social order" (Schottman), but it did not initiate communication; rather, it became a point that brought to prominence the social distance between the interlocutors of the speech act. Being strangers in the same place is what they have in common.

The greeting as a routine structure of little variety is acquired as a suitable message in a situation, rather than an expression with a referential message.[31] Thus, the English passenger, as the initiator of the greeting, knew to use the greeting *selamun aleikum*. Also, the second participant of the speech act was able to respond to the greeting in a suitable way. However, that knowledge was insufficient to achieve a "common context." In this situation, the language used had proved as an element distancing the persons in a social contact.[32] The lack of a common language, or more precisely, the participants' awareness of the lack of a common language prevented further communication. That idea resulted from one's own modelling of the speech situation,[33] and the modelling is related to one's own (cultural) identity and cultural context in which the speech situation unfolds. To the foreign passenger it seemed obvious that he was facing "the grave young Turk." The response he received solidified his opinion and he estimated that he was unable to communicate. On the other hand, the receiver of the greeting "imagined the situation which justified" the used form of greeting (*selamun aleikum*),[34] hence he did not even initiate communication.

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**31** Charles A. Ferguson, "The structure and use of politeness formulas," *Language in Society* 5, no. 2 (1976): 150.

**32** In this case, the role of the language is shown in reverse in relation to the common situations in which language unifies participants in communication because it is their common language. See Uspenski, *Ego loquens*, 105.

**33** Cf. Uspenski, *Ego loquens*, 108-112 and further 117-120.

**34** The addressee lacks the information about the situation, and he is trying to reconstruct it to his own ability, more or less arbitrarily see Uspenski, *Ego loquens*, 116.

The form of greeting in this case suggested the conditions of further communication, i.e., it had imposed the language of communication. It performed the phatic function of language by establishing a communicative signal between participants of this speech act, but at the same time, it marked the end of communication. What happened in the previously described meeting did not happen here. In this instance, two participants did not meet by mediation of a third entity – they did not learn about their ethnic affiliation, which could serve as a precondition for communication (*but we might have exchanged our ideas with facility either in German or French had not each taken the other for an Osmanli*).

**Case 3**

The greeting *selam* is also mentioned in Harry Craufurid Thomas's (1856-1940) travelogue.[35] He was in Bosnia in 1896 and visited Bjelašnica, a mountain near Sarajevo. He described meeting a group of peasants:

> These peasants [on the mountain of Bjelašnica] were greatly interested in my camera, the object of which they understood perfectly, and amused themselves by looking at different objects in the finder (374).

In this section of the text, the travel writer explains the identity of the group he met by stating they were villagers. The note clearly indicates that there was communication between him, a foreign traveler, and a group of local villagers, although it remains unknown how the meeting occurred, what had established communication, and how it unfolded. In that sense, it is necessary to emphasize that the majority of English passengers who wrote the travelogues analyzed in this paper occasionally mention their entourage, as was the case in the first example analyzed. The entourage helps a foreigner to manage the local area. An interpreter is also occasionally mentioned in the travelogues. For that reason, we can assume that Thomson was accompanied by an entourage during his visit to the Bjelašnica mountain. In any case, he did establish a form of communication with the local villagers and greeted them with *selam* upon leaving:

> When we went our respective ways I said salaam, the Mahommedan salutation, thinking they were Turks. But they replied "Not salaam – sbogom – God be with you – we are not Turks but Serbs" (374).

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**35** Harry Craufuird Thomson published a book entitled *The Outgoing Turk: Impressions of a Journey Through the Western Balkans* (London, 1897). Cf. Hadžiselimović, *At the Gates of the East*, 93.

Regarding this section of the text, it is necessary to point out the significance of the expression *Turks*. That expression is used for Muslims of the area, not ethnic Turks. Namely, in the mid 19th century, the term *Turk* was used synonymously with the term *Muslim*. "It wasn't unusual for a Serbian or Croatian Christian to call the Bosnian Muslim a Turk, although they shared the same ethnic background, language and literature with Christians."[36] As we can see, Thomson recorded that manner of naming the Bosnian Muslims, and he also provided an explanation:

> I should explain here that the word Turk as used in Bosnia is altogether misleading. It does not mean a Turk but a Mahommedan, for of real Turks – Osmanlis – there are scarcely any. These Mahommedans are mostly descended from the old Bosnian nobles. [...] The Bosnian Mahommedans do not talk Turkish, and most of them do not even understand it (374-5).

In modelling the communication with the villagers on the Bjelašnica mountain, the foreign traveler, as he said, thought that he was talking to Muslims in an autochthonous village. That is why he greeted them by *selam*. The foreign traveler knew that the greeting confirmed the religious Muslim identity, calling it the *Mahommedan salutation*. By uttering *selam*, he believed to be affirming the religious identity of his interlocutors.[37] The act of greeting contains the foreigner's intention to express a pleasant feeling about meeting with them and he also minimized the natural cultural distance. However, the reality was different.

Thomsons's interlocutors were not Muslim, hence their response to his greeting was *not salam*. Literature has already expressed that the precise content of the greeting is culture-specific, hence "a foreigner may face difficulties when using the suitable form of greeting."[38]

Although unable to accept the used linguistic form as a greeting, for it marks, in the social reality, the Muslim religious identity, Thomson's interlocutors did accept the sense of a greeting, i.e., his intention to decrease distance between

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**36** Kemal Karpat, "Građanska prava muslimana Balkana," *Muslimani Balkana: "Istočno pitanje" u XX. vijeku*, ed. Fikret Karčić (Sarajevo: Centar za napredne studije, 2014), 88.

**37** Esther Goody found three general functions of a greeting and ritual forms in general, one of them is the affirmation of identity and the rank of the interlocutor. Cf. Ferguson, "The structure and use of politeness formulas," 140.

**38** For example, Chamo, "Pragmatic Differences in Greetings," 259.

them. They presented their identity to the foreigner by stating that they were Serbs (*we are not Turks but Serbs*). They used the mark of their national identity, which also implies their religious identity; Serbs are Orthodox Christians. Furthermore, the villagers suggested to the foreign passenger other linguistic expressions as forms of greeting. Those are *zbogom* (which the foreigner perceived as *sbogom*) and *Bog bio s tobom*, which belong to the local linguistic corpus. Those religious forms of greeting in the given social reality are used by Christians.[39]

As the very text indicates, through the act of greeting, the foreign passenger learnt more about his interlocutors at the very end than he did from the duration of the meeting. "Greeting as the speech act reveals more cultural, historical and personal data about the person who utters it, or about the nation who use that particular greeting forms than other speech acts."[40]

In conclusion, the examples of greetings in the above-analyzed examples reveal the extent to which foreign travelers perceived the unknown persons that they met in the area.[41] They would assign Islam as the religion of those people, which indicates the impression they had about the given geographical area. One should assume that the foreigners, during the limited time of their stay, were not able to meet all the social specificities at the given area. The greeting *selam* implicitly tells something about the foreigners who used it: they politely adjusted to the social and cultural norms of the area. As far as the social contact marked by that greeting is concerned, we can say that communication was still able to develop after the initial meeting. These examples of short-term accidental meetings, because of their very nature, show what is necessary to know about the other side in order to use an adequate form of greeting and in order for that greeting to become "means for soon-to-be interlocutors to move from physical co-presence into social co-presence."[42]

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**39** *Zbogom* is a greeting upon leaving and parting ways. It is always used in the case when the person will not be seen for a long time or forever. This greeting is not common with Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

**40** Duranti, "Universal and Culture – Specific Properties of Greetings," *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 7, no. 1 (1997): 73-75.

**41** Cf. Duranti, "Universal and Culture," 1997.

**42** Danielle Pillet-Shore (2008). Cf. Jenny Nilsson et al., "What is in a greeting? The social meaning of greetings in Sweden-Swedish and Finland-Swedish service encounters," *Journal of Pragmatics* 168 (2020): 2.

### Greetings in the Travel Writer's Description

In the descriptive sequences, forms of greetings in the local language contribute to the travelogue's factography. Their function is not that of a greeting exchange; rather, they document a micro-sequence of the travel writer's description of the visited area. Forms of greeting are here part of a linguistic shaping of the descriptive sequences in which travel writers speak of the selected details which they had noticed in the area. Such forms indicate the speech act of greeting, which initiates social interaction, even if that interaction was in a specific form.

### Case 4

In his travelogue in 1850, Edmund Spencer[43] described some general living conditions in the Balkans of the time, some aggravating circumstances he had encountered during his travel, as well as beauties of nature. Spencer states that a traveler cannot expect to meet a diversity of people on a daily basis, but also that a traveler would be treated kindly and hospitably. He warns against the bandits in the mountains and continues:

> He must, however, throw aside all reserve, abandon all the exclusive prejudices and distinctions of civilized life, for among these democrats of the mountain[44] and the secluded valley, every man is equal, whether Frank traveller, pandour,[45] or Kiraidji,[46] swine-herd or agriculturist, merchant or caravan driver. If you sit down to enjoy the noon-day meal, it is more probable that the Haiduc or the Ouskok, the shepherd or the Kiraidji[47] will sit down by your side, and exclaiming: "Fala Bogu dobro!" or

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**43** Captain Edmund Spenser published the book *Travels in European Turkey in 1850*. He visited the Balkans twice, including the area of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in 1847 and in 1850. Cf. Hadžiselimović, *At the Gates of the East*.

**44** The writer here means the people who live as outlaws (our comment).

**45** *Pandur* is the term for a guard, an armed guard in a town or a village. The word itself, as well as the manner of keeping guard, came to this area with the Austro-Hungarian administration (our comment).

**46** (Ar. Tur.) Carrier.

**47** *Hajduks* were bandits based in mountains and forests. They were highwaymen. In epic poetry, they were presented as fighters against Turks, as well as robbers who would attack and steal from the local people.

*Uskoks* were organized groups that consisted mostly of Catholics, who fled the areas that fell under Ottoman rule. Uskoks were mainly based in Dalmatia from where they would group to rob the land ruled by Ottomans. Austria also protected them when they would, as pirates, rob Venetian ships.

"Dobro jutro gospodin"[48] help himself to your dinner, as unceremoniously as if you had invited him (100).

This description indicates that the travel writer's perception of those people who "sit down by your side and help himself to your dinner as unceremoniously as if you had invited him" leaves the framework of social and cultural norms he holds "civilized." In this described behavior, perceived as undesirable by the culture of the traveler, greetings appear; here, it is an act of drawing attention to oneself in order to establish contact with the other person.[49] The example shows one of two unacquainted persons that participate in the accidental encounter: the sender of the greeting is the one who wants contact and, as seen from the text, the one who desires to reach a specific goal.[50] Such behavior, together with the greeting as a signal that introduces an interpersonal relationship, "reflects some rules established in the way of life of those people."[51]

**Case 5**

The following example is different from the previous examples in that it concerns a non-verbal greeting, but an inscription in a public place. William Miller (1864-1945) wrote the following:

On a fountain at which our two horses, Pram and Miško, wished to drink, the inscription, "Kako ti si?"[52] ("How art thou?")[53] greeted us, and reminded us that it is the fashion in the vernacular to address everybody in the second person singular (90).

The inscription that read *Kako ti si?* was placed on a public fountain in the Han Pale village near Sarajevo, and the passenger stopped there for a break en route to eastern Bosnia. The reason this inscription, whose correct form is *Kako si ti?* is analyzed here is because William Miller understood it as a greeting.

In the common usage, the form "Kako si (ti)?" usually follows a greeting. It is not considered a "pure" form of greeting and is ascribed a phatic function;

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**48** (Bosnian/Serbo-Croatian) "Well, thank God" and "Good morning, sir."

**49** Cf. Pintarić, *Pragmemi u komunikaciji*, 122.

**50** Cf. Ferguson, "The structure and use of politeness formulas," 140.

**51** Ferguson, "The structure and use of politeness formulas," 150.

**52** Or, rather "Kako si ti?" A note contained in Hadžiselimović's *At the Gates of the East*, 90.

**53** As can be seen, the editor provides the meaning of the greeting Kako si? in brackets in the text, as well as a note at the end of the chapter that emphasizes the more frequent form of this greeting.

a courteous reply to the question is expected, but not containing the interlocutor's real state of affairs. The usage in the appropriate situation, but without the meaning entailed by constituents of this interrogative sentence is what gives it the formulaic character. If not preceded by the "pure" form of a greeting, then the interrogative assumes the function of a greeting.[54]

According to William Miller's notes, the form *Kako si?* was written without any additional text, hence, it is understood as a greeting, just as he had perceived it. Public writings and announcements, both verbal and non-verbal, are a form of public communication, which is why they are studied in sociolinguistics.[55] An individual communicates with his unseen author through public writing. The content of the writing of which Miller writes is considered good behavior. It reflects the culture of a "vivid interest" between the author of the writing and the absent "speaker" and many other individuals who would find themselves there. The greeting here is shown as a phenomenon which entails that the observable writing does not require the participants to see one another.

## Conclusion

This paper was motivated by the frequency of the expressions of greeting in the local language, as they appeared to the English travel writers who visited Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 19th century. The goal was to analyze the function of the greetings contained in the English text. The attention was drawn to the social event in which the local greeting was used, as well as towards the position of the travel writer in relation to the social event.

The analysis showed that the narrative sequences of travelogues describe accidental meetings between passengers and unknown individuals in public space. The Arabic greeting *selam* was used on such occasions, an expression characteristic of the Islamic culture. Regardless of whether the *selam* was used by the foreign

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[54] In the Bosnian language, such a function of this interrogative developed in the 1990s. Namely, certain social structures abandoned the use of the greetings "dobro jutro" [good morning], "dobar dan" [good day], "dobro večer" [good evening], since they saw them as symbols of the socialist period. Hence, the greeting "dobar dan," which was frequently followed by "Kako ste?" [plural form] or "Kako si?" [singular form] has been abandoned in favor of the latter part of the greeting, assuming thus the function of the entire greeting.

[55] Neda Pintarić, "Javni natpisi i javne obavijesti kao sociokulturne i pragmatičke jedinice," *Socjolingwistyka*, no. 28 (2014): 67-92.

traveler as the sender or the receiver of the message, at the beginning or at the end of the meeting, the foreign passenger thus showed readiness to adjust to the area he visited, greeting the people in accordance with their culture. The examples showed that meeting the people one comes into contact with is important for further communication. The examples we analyzed showed instances of meeting the ethnic identity and social rank. Since *selam* is a greeting characteristic of not only the Islamic culture, but also the Muslim religious identity, it came to light that the foreign passenger should have become acquainted with the religious identity of the people he had met. Absence of such knowledge lead to a situation in which the foreign passenger used a Muslim greeting to address the persons who were not representatives of that culture.

The descriptive sequences of travelogues contain greetings in the local language. Here they function as documentarian expressions. In one example, the travel writer noted that the people who lived as outcasts in the forests and mountains of the Balkans, in certain situations, would greet an unknown person in their territory. Not much can be said about that phenomenon on the basis of a single example, but it is interesting to emphasize that our example shows a one-sided initiative by which a speaker wishes to achieve a certain goal.

In the second example, the greeting appears in writing above a public fountain. That is a polite non-verbal address by an invisible, absent speaker, aimed to achieve a shared point of all individuals, passengers and passers-by who read it and accept it as a greeting.

The examples analyzed in this paper are brought together by the conclusion that greetings are a universal sociolinguistic phenomenon, while forms of sending, receiving and, in general, forms of exchange are variable.

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