



Greetings of Thai speakers: Content and linguistic strategies

Deeana Kasa

Department of Thai, Faculty of Humanities, Kasetsart University, Bangkok 10900, Thailand

Article Info

Article history:

Received 20 May 2020

Revised 16 November 2020

Accepted 25 November 2020

Available online 3 December 2021

Keywords:

content analysis,
greetings,
linguistic strategies

Abstract

Greetings are universal routines. However, greetings in different cultures have different conditions. Greetings among Thai speakers may lead to misunderstanding to non-native Thai speakers even at the beginning of the conversation. This research, therefore, aims to study content and linguistic strategies in greetings of Thai speakers based on Ethnomethodology through participant observation. It was found that the content focuses on the speaker, the hearer and the referent, and there are two types of linguistic strategies, namely, direct greetings and indirect greetings. Greetings in Thai society seem to reflect how speakers pay attention to hearers. Communication participants in the society are bound together and interact with a few utterances in greetings.

© 2021 Kasetsart University.

Introduction

“สวัสดี” ‘Hello’ is a Thai greeting word normally used when meeting with someone. Greetings in Thai speech community are not limited to greeting words but there are utterances speakers use to greet hearers for example, *Where have you been?*, *Have you eaten?*, *You are gaining some weight*. Malinowski (1923, p. 315) proposed that expressions in the utterances do not aim to exchange meanings but to fulfill social function known as phatic communication.

Greetings are considered one type of social interaction. When a speaker meets a hearer, the speaker makes an utterance to show his/her acknowledgement of the hearer’s appearance or a suitable observation he/she should do to the hearer (Searle, 1969, p. 67) using time-bound utterances or time-free utterances.

However, greeting patterns seem to differ culturally

as each culture has its unique pattern and function. When English speakers make greetings, they do not only consider time of greetings but also have appropriate ways to start conversation and maintain social relations (Goffman, 1971) For example, greetings such as “Hello”, “How are you?”, “Nice to meet you” are frequently found. Laver (1981) found that greetings can be categorized into three types, namely, *the neutral category*, which only expresses relationship or feelings on general matters, *the self-oriented category*, which tells stories about oneself and *the other-oriented category*, which tells stories about hearers.

Moreover, the research on a comparison between greetings of English speakers and Persian speakers (Moradi, 2017) found that English speakers normally use greeting words such as “Hi” and “Hey”, which might be followed by the name of the hearer rather than “Hello”, which is normally used at the present. In addition, new generations do not use honorific titles. They use time-bound greetings and polite greeting patterns. On the other hand, Persian and Kazakh speakers, based on the researches (Meirbekov, Elikbayev, Meirbekov, &

E-mail address: deeanakasa@gmail.com.

Temirbaev, 2015; Moradi, 2017) place importance on greetings and consider such as a duty because greetings are part of hospitality and tradition of Persian and Kazakhs.

Greeting in Basotho speech community, the Republic of South Africa (Akindele, 2007) is considered a part of making peace in society, maintaining harmony among community members and fostering relations or providing comfort with other people. Greeting in Basotho varies according to age, gender, context and time. On the other hand, greeting in Arabic (Almegren, 2017) varies according to social distance, social status, situations and formality. When greeting in Chinese (Li, 2009), speakers address their conversation partners with respect and express warmth towards others. Such greetings are, for example, “*Have you eaten?*”, “*What are you doing?*” and “*Where are you going?*” which express respect and care towards hearers.

In researches on greetings of Thai speakers, Bamroongraks (2012) studied functions of greetings from conversations in novels and short stories and found that verbal greetings can be categorized into three types namely, greeting utterances, addressing name and question and answer. These types of greetings function as informing, expressing, suggesting and maintaining relationship. Moreover, Peatchkerd (2013) found three types of greetings namely, polite and formal greetings, polite and informal greetings and impolite and informal greetings. Speakers choose greeting patterns based on situations (formal or informal) and 4 factors based on communication partners, namely, intimacy, status, gender and ethnicity. In work context, Jaiwangchana (2013) studied greeting strategies of hotel staff in Thailand based on gender and found out that there were 4 strategies, namely, meeting strategies, information acquiring strategies, greeting strategies and introducing strategies.

The aforementioned researches reflect how greetings vary in different cultures in terms of greeting patterns, social factor and function of greetings which also show particular concepts in each culture. Researches related to greetings in Thai society have been conducted in general and hospitality contexts. However, greetings in general settings which occur naturally including content and linguistic strategies have not yet been studied.

Greetings in Thai may not just be a conversation opening but also function as social interaction to build up and maintain relationships with various content and linguistic strategies. Greetings such as “กินข้าวหรือยัง” ‘*Have you eaten yet?*’ or even utterances such as “อ้วนขึ้นนะ” ‘*Are you gaining weight?*’ are normally found in greetings in daily life. Moreover, these utterances show how Thai speakers are concerned about particular matters when

using such content and linguistic strategies to express goodwill once the speaker acknowledges the hearers’ appearance. In general, it can be assumed that greetings in forms of routine formula are only limited to direct greetings such as “สวัสดี” ‘*Hello*’. However, it was found in this study that a number of routine formulae have not yet been analyzed especially in cross cultural communication. For non-native Thai speakers, greetings such as “กินข้าวหรือยัง” ‘*Have you eaten yet?*’ may raise confusion which can be perceived as an invitation or intrusion on his/her privacy. The “Thai” greetings which function mainly to maintain relationship might lead to misunderstanding.

Based on such problems, it is interesting to analyze content and linguistic strategies in greetings of Thai speakers. The result of this study may help improve communication competence of speakers of Thai as a second language. In other words, the result will help improve learning process and decrease misunderstanding in Thai conversation.

Literature Review

Austin (1962) pointed out that each utterance consists of (1) locutionary act where the speaker utters or uses a language to convey meaning to the hearer (2) illocutionary act where the speaker expresses his/her intention to the hearer (3) perlocutionary act which is the result on the hearer after each utterance. Moreover, Searle (1969) also proposed that each speech act consists of the following conditions namely, (1) propositional condition (2) preparatory condition (3) sincerity condition and (4) essential condition

In greeting, Searle (1969, p. 67) defined felicity conditions as follows; (1) Propositional condition: none, (2) Preparatory condition: *S* has just encountered (or been introduced to, etc.) *H*, (3) Sincerity condition: none, (4) Essential condition: counts as courteous recognition of *H* by *S*.

According to the felicity conditions, greeting in Searle’s view does not contain propositional contents and greeting is viewed as an action when the speaker has just met the hearer, so the speaker makes a greeting to acknowledge the hearer’s appearance. On the other hand, Bach and Harnish (1979, p. 51) consider that greeting is an acknowledgement which expresses “perfunctorily if not genuinely, certain feelings toward the hearer” and expresses appropriately in different occasions such as an expression of joy to meet someone. From the definition by Bach and Harnish, it can be assumed that greetings contain propositional content, which is different to Searle’s theory.

Methodology

Data in this research were collected from natural interactions during greetings of Thai speakers in their daily life. Data collection method was based on ethnomethodology through participant observation. The researcher spent 4 months in making a direct observation from reactions, events or phenomena that happen at a moment and recorded the details without interview. Greeting utterances were collected based on Searle's (1969) felicity condition.

In service and sales contexts, only greetings which are not related to an invitation to use services or product selling were collected. If opening utterances were directly related to products and services, such utterances were not used as data in this study. After data collection, it was found that there were 412 utterances categorized as greetings. Such utterances were analyzed to find out about content and linguistic strategies used in greetings. The results and discussion of this research will be presented.

Result

Content of Greetings

Content analysis of greetings in this study means essential idea, main point or key message in greeting utterances. This study showed that content of greetings focuses on the event participants such as the speaker, the hearer and the referent. The content in greetings consist of 7 points, namely, ongoing activities, eating, wellbeing and health, personalities, travelling, work, and feelings and emotions. The table below shows the relationship between the content of greetings and participants of the communication event.

Table 1 shows that when the speaker makes an utterance even if the focus of greeting content is directed to the hearer, the content related to the speaker and the referent is also found. In each group, participants of the

communication event have different content of greetings meaning that the content of greetings which focuses on the speaker consists of the speaker's feelings and emotions only. The content of greetings which focuses on the hearer consists of ongoing activities, eating, wellbeing and health, personalities, travelling and work. The content of greetings which focuses on the referent consists of only wellbeing and health. Each category of content is clarified as follows;

1. *Ongoing activities* are the activities the speaker sees the hearer is doing when they meet or activities the speaker expects to see, wonders or notices the hearer is doing or is going to do after the greeting for example, ทำอะไรอยู่ 'What are you doing?' อยู่แถวนี้หรือ 'Do you live around here?' เอาอะไรมา 'What have you brought?'. See the following situations.

1) A senior student made an utterance to a junior student ทำอะไรอยู่ 'What are you doing?' while approaching the table where the junior student was sitting.

2) A person was sitting and saw his/her friend was walking towards him. He greeted แมกอะไรมา 'What have you brought? It looks heavy.'

2. *Eating* is the topic related to food and drinks such as กินข้าวกินปลาหรือยัง 'Have you eaten yet?' กินข้าวยัง or กินไรมา 'Have you eaten?' See the following situations.

1) At a funeral, a senior host made a greeting utterance to a guest who has just entered the temple pavilion อ้าว กินข้าวกินปลาหรือยัง 'Oh, have you eaten yet?'

2) 2 friends met during a walk to class. One said to the other กินไรมา 'Have you eaten?'

3. *Wellbeing and Health* is the topic related to living conditions, wellbeing, mental and physical health such as, ไร 'What's up?' เป็นไรบ้าง 'What have you been up to?' สบายดีไหม 'How are you?' ทายดียัง 'Have you recovered yet?' for example;

1) A lecturer made a greeting to a student when he/she was submitting an assignment เป็นไรบ้าง 'What have you been up to?'

Table 1 The Relationship between the Content of Greetings and Participants of Communication Event

Participants of the Communication Event Content	Speaker	Hearer	Referent
Ongoing activities	-	✓	-
Eating	-	✓	-
Wellbeing and Health	-	✓	✓
Personalities	-	✓	-
Travelling	-	✓	-
Work	-	✓	-
Feelings and Emotions	✓	✓	-

2) A junior student made a greeting to a senior student *สวยดีเปล่าที่ 'Are you doing well?'* on the day the school started.

4. *Personalities* are a notice from prominent appearances of a person. This includes personalities, shape, face and clothes such as *หล่อขึ้นนะ 'You keep getting more handsome'* *สวยขึ้นปะเนี่ย 'You keep getting prettier.'* *ทำไมหอม 'Did you lose weight?'* *สิว่าอะจัง 'You seem to be growing pimples.'* See the following situations.;

1) A senior lecturer made a greeting to a junior lecturer *วันนี้แต่งตัวสวยเชียว 'I love the way you look/dress today.'*

2) A vender made a greeting to a customer after not having seen each other for a while *อ้วนขึ้นนะเนี่ยเรา 'Have you gained weight?'*

5. *Travelling* is the topic related to moving from place to place such as *ไปไหนมา 'Where have you been?'* *จะไปไหน 'Where are you going?'* *กลับยังไง 'How are you going back home?'* See the following situations.

1) A junior student met a senior student and made a greeting *ไปไหนจิส 'Sis (sister), where are you going?'*

2) Two friends met each other while walking. One made a greeting *เฮ้ จะไปไหน 'Oh, where are you going?'*

6. *Work* is the topic related to study, work, responsibilities or missions such as *เรียนเป็นไง 'How are your studies going?'* *เรียนอะไรอะ 'What subject are you going to study?'* *ประชุมหรือ 'Are you having a meeting?'* See the following situations.

1) Friends have not met for a long time. One greeted *ทำงานเป็นไบบ้าง 'How's work going?'*

2) A lecturer saw a student walking in and greeted *ฝึกงานเสร็จแล้วสิ 'You have completed the internship, haven't you?'*

7. *Feelings and Emotions* are the speaker's expressions of feelings towards the hearer such as *หายไประยะ 'Where have you been?'* *ไม่เจอเลย 'Long time no see.'* *คิดถึงจังเลย 'Miss you so much.'* See the following situations.

1) A vender made a greeting to her customer *ไม่เจอนานเลย ป้ายังคิดถึงอยู่เลย 'It has been a long time since I have seen you. Aunty (I) miss you.'*

2) A friend made a greeting to another friend *เฮ้ย คิดถึงจังเลย 'Hey, miss you so much.'*

Linguistic Strategies in Greetings of Thai Speakers

Language choices or linguistic strategies Thai speakers use in greetings can be categorized into two types, namely, direct greetings and indirect greetings. Language patterns found in the language strategies are

usually in forms of questions, statements, interjections and address terms. The strategies are used to show an acknowledgement of the hearer's appearance or an appropriate observation the speaker should do towards the hearer. Two types of linguistic strategies are described below.

1. *Direct greetings*, in this strategy, the speaker uses greeting formula in Thai and foreign languages. Such greeting formula can be found in full forms or variation. Moreover, final particles can be found to show politeness or intimacy.

An example of greeting formula is the utterance “*สวัสดี*” ‘Hello’, which can be varied as *ดี สวัสดี หวัดดี*. Moreover, the study found greeting formula in foreign languages such as *Hi, Good morning* and its variation such as *Morning* or the utterance *โท* from “*Hello*” and the utterance *อันยอง*, which is derived from “*อันยองฮาเซโย*” ‘Anyoung haseyo’ (Hello in Korean). For example, a person entering the classroom made a greeting to his/her friends *มอญิง 'Morning'*.

Direct greeting formula can occur independently or occur with specific names or kinship terms such as *ที่ อา ลุง* ‘(older) sister/brother, aunt, uncle’ and occupation such as *อาจารย์ 'professor'*. Names, kinship terms and occupation can occur before or after greeting formula such as

1) *พี่ X¹ สวัสดีค่ะ 'Sister/brother X¹, hello.'*

2) *สวัสดีครับ อาจารย์ 'Hello, professor.'*

2. *Indirect greetings*, in this strategy, the speaker has the intention to greet the hearer without linguistic greeting formula. There are four sub-categories of indirect greeting strategies, namely, giving attention, attracting attention, asking about wellbeing and expressing feelings and emotions.

2.1 *Giving Attention* means that the speaker greets the hearer with utterances that place the importance on the hearer, or the speaker shows how he/she pays attention to the hearer by making utterances about something he/she can visually see at the moment that they meet. Questions or statements are usually found in this strategy. The strategy of giving attention to the hearer is usually coherent with the content of greetings such as, the ongoing activities and the appearances of a person. See examples below.

1) At a conference, a senior student greeted a junior student with “*ช่วงนี้เรียนหนักหรือ ตัวขาขยขึ้นนะ*” ‘*Are you studying hard lately? Your body seems to be getting bigger*’

2) Two friends met on a street. One uttered “*แวะมาแถวนี้หรือ*” ‘*Do you stop by here?*’

¹ Name of the hearer

3) A person looked up and saw a friend walking towards him/her. He/she uttered “*มานี่แล้วหรือ*” ‘Here he/she is’.

In example 1), the speakers used a statement to show that he/she paid attention to the hearer every time they met as he/she remembered and noticed the hearer’s physical changes. In example 2) and 3), though the speakers used questions, they did not expect an answer. The speaker made such utterances to let the hearer know that he/she acknowledged the hearer’s appearance, which shows his/her attention, placing importance on the hearer and not ignoring the hearer.

2.2 *Attracting Attention* means that the speaker greeted the hearer by drawing the hearer’s attention to him/herself to let the hearer know that he/she acknowledged the hearer’s appearance. This strategy does not contain any content.

This attracting attention strategy includes addressing the hearer’s name or kinship terms such as (1) *คุณน้อง* ‘Sissy’, pronouns such as (2) *คุณ* ‘You’ and interjection (3) *อ้าว* ‘Oh!’

2.3 *Asking about Wellbeing* means that the speaker asked about the hearer’s life, and how the hearer has been with a question in order to show his/her care and goodwill to the hearer. This strategy is usually coherent with the content such as eating, wellbeing and health, work and travelling. See the following examples.

1) At the elevator in an office, a man was carrying a plate of food. While he was walking to his desk, the elevator opened. He made an utterance “*กินไหมยังมา ๆ กินข้าว*” ‘Have you eaten yet? Come join me’ to the person walking out from the elevator and went back to his table to eat.

2) A senior professor was standing in the room and noticed a younger professor walking in. He/she greeted the younger professor “*อาจารย์ X¹ สมัยคีนะ ผ่ากความคืดถึงถึงอาจารย์คีนะ*” ‘Is Professor X¹ doing well? Please tell him I miss him.’

3) A professor heard a knock on his office door. When the door opened, he/she made an utterance to the student who knocked his door “*อ้าว เรียนเป็นไปบั้ง*” ‘How are your studies going?’

4) A house keeper was standing at the entrance of an apartment. When she saw a resident coming in, she made a greeting “*ไปไหนมา*” ‘Where have you been?’

The examples above show how greetings reflect the speaker’s expression of care towards the hearer, which do not intend to invite the hearer to join the meal or to intrude on the hearer’s privacy, as shown in example (1) However, the speaker did not ignore to pay attention to

the hearer. The speaker, in addition, showed concern and care for not only the speaker, but also the people who were related to the hearer. Such action reflects the relationship between the speaker and the hearer as shown in example (2) In example (3) the utterances are a question asking about the hearer’s wellbeing and responsibilities as a student. In example (4), the speaker expressed his care to the hearer rather than intended to intrude on the hearer’s privacy.

2.4 *Expression of Feelings and Emotions* means the speaker’s heartfelt expression to the hearer with questions and statements in order to express his/her concern, care, goodwill and surprises. This strategy is coherent with the greeting content such as expressing feelings for example;

1) A man made utterances to his friend when they met on the street “*เฮ้ย ไม่เจอนาน คิดถึงมึงจัง*” ‘I haven’t seen you in ages. I miss you so much.’

Conclusion and Discussion

The study of content and linguistic strategies in greetings of Thai speaker shows that greeting content focuses on event participants, namely, the speaker, the hearer and the referent and conveys ongoing activities, eating, wellbeing and health, personalities, travelling, work and feelings.

The speaker uses linguistic strategies in forms of direct and indirect greetings. For direct greetings, the speaker uses greeting formula. For indirect greetings, the speaker may express his/her attention to the hearer, get attention, asking about wellbeing or express emotions.

In direct greetings, propositional contents were not found. This finding supported Searle’s (1969) theory. On the other hand, in indirect greetings, the speaker used linguistic strategies which express attention to the hearer, asking about well-being and expression emotions. The strategies contained propositional contents, which support Bach and Harnish’s (1979) study stating that the speaker made greetings to express some kind of feelings toward the hearer. Such expressions can be intended or unintended, or just a social manner.

This research hereby proposes the definitions and conditions for greeting in Thai based on the result of this study, which are different from Searle’s (1969) theory. Greetings mean that the speaker greets the hearer with greeting formula or an expression to place importance on the hearer showing his/her care, concern, recognition and observation towards the hearer. The hearer will make a

¹ Name of the referent

greeting when he/she has just met or been introduced to the hearer in order to express acknowledgement of the hearer's appearance, show concern, emotions and goodwill towards the life of the hearer and other people related to the hearer. The speaker may make greeting with intention or just express social manner which is considered an appropriate and suitable acknowledgement towards the hearer's appearance. The conditions can be elaborated as follows; (1) Propositional condition: this condition can be included or omitted. If greetings include propositional condition, the content focuses on *S*, *H* or other people., (2) Preparatory condition: *S* has just encountered (or been introduced to, etc.) *H*. (3) Sincerity condition: *S* has the intention to make a greeting or express social manner. (4) Essential condition: counts as courteous recognition of *H* by *S* or suitable observation towards the *H*'s appearance.

The daily linguistic behavior such as greetings is considered a universal social situation but determined by cultural conditions. In Thai society, greetings seem to be an attempt to communicate to maintain social relations among communication participants. The speaker wants to express his/her care towards the hearer, which reflect the speaker's caring heart on the hearer's life in all aspects such as eating, well-being, health, actions, appearances, clothes, traveling and work. Moreover, it was observed in this study that the data and the results of the analysis do not show time-bound greetings, which is different from the results of previous studies (Akindele, 2007; Halliday, 1979; Moradi, 2017) The results can reflect how Thai speakers do not place importance on time, but they place importance on care and attention.

Greetings in Thai which express an action of caring may seem to be intruding on personal matters and may cause uncomfortable feelings or inappropriateness to listeners of non-Thai speech community. However, such greetings do not infer that speakers of Thai speech community are nosy or try to intrude on other people's privacy.

Instead, Thai speakers are following the greeting principle. This means that the speaker follows the essential condition which is an appropriate acknowledgment and observation of the hearer's appearance so he/she makes greeting utterances. The main focus of greeting is, therefore, on the hearer's life. The reason behind this manner of greeting can be assumed as an expression of harmony in the Thai speech community. We can maintain relationship with just a few utterances which reflect connection, relation and harmony among communication participants.

Though this study does not include social factors, the data in this research reveal the relationship of intimacy

and social status in Thai greeting behaviors. As pointed out in previous works (Ferguson, 1981; Laver, 1981), the choice of greetings in different cultures depends on social factors, namely, social status, degree of familiarity, and degree of intimacy or distance. Thai greeting is not an exception. For instance, the expressions *อ้วนขึ้นนะเรา* 'Have you gained weight?' *สิ่วเซอจัง* 'You seem to be growing pimples.' are possibly only in the context where the hearer is not of a higher status. It is also unlikely to find these two expressions when the conversation partners are not close.

Moreover, the use of slang in greetings, where some speakers of Thai choose a Korean expression for greeting, shows an identity and mutual interest of people in the group. The use of slang shows that the speaker will talk to his/her listener with who he/she shares mutual interest. On the other hand, without intimacy or the sense of belonging, this choice of word may not occur. Intimacy and social status, therefore, may be crucial factors which the speaker considers in greetings.

What creates interest based on the data is that social factors and politeness should be included for a comprehensive analysis, which would represent an insightful view of greetings in Thai society.

Conflict of Interest

There is no conflict of interest.

References

- Akindele, D. F. (2007). Lumela/Lumela: A socio-pragmatic analysis of Sesotho greetings. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 16(1), 1–17. Retrieved from <https://www.njas.fi/njas/article/view/47>
- Almegren, R. (2017). Speech act of greeting for American native speakers of English and Saudi native speakers of Arabic: A comparative study. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics & English Literature*, 6(7), 243–260. doi: 10.7575/aiac.ijalel.v.6n.7p.243
- Austin, J. (1962). *How to do things with words*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Bach, K. & Harnish, R. (1979). *Linguistic communication and speech acts*. Cambridge Mass, MS: The MIT Press.
- Bamroongraks, C. (2012). Functions of greeting, leave-taking, thanking and apologizing. *Journal of Language and Linguistics*, 30(2), 1–23. [in Thai]
- Ferguson, C. A. (1981). The structure and use of politeness formulas. In F. Coulmas (Ed.), *Conversational routine: Explorations in standardized communication situations and prepatterned speech*. The Hague, the Netherlands: Mouton Publishers.
- Goffman, E. (1971). *Relations in public: Microstudies of the public order*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin.
- Halliday, M. (1979). Modes of meaning and modes of expression: Types of grammatical structure and their determination by different semantic functions. In D. J. Allerton, E. Carney, & D. Holdcroft (Eds.), *Function and context in linguistic analysis: Essays offered to William Haas*. London, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- Jaiwangchana, W. (2013). *Speech acts of greetings and replies to greetings in the hotel business*. Buriram Rajabhat University, Buriram, Thailand.
- Laver, J. (1981). Linguistic routines and politeness in greeting and parting. In F. Coulmas (Ed.), *Conversational routines*. The Hague, the Netherlands: Mouton.
- Li, W. (2009). Different communication rules between the English and Chinese greetings. *Asian Culture and History*, 1(2), 72–74. doi: 10.5539/ach.v1n2p72
- Malinowski, B. (1923). The problem of meaning in primitive languages. In C. K. Ogden & I.A. Richards (Eds.), *The meaning of meaning* (pp. 296–336). New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace and World.
- Meiirbekov, A. K., Elikbayev, B. K., Meirbekov, A. K., & Temirbaev, B. A., (2015). Sociolinguistic aspects of the speech act of greeting in the Kazakh and English languages. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 6(6), 267–274. doi: 10.5901/mjss.2015.v6n6s2p267
- Moradi, R. (2017). Sociolinguistic aspects of the speech act of greeting in Persian and English. *Bulletin de la Société Royale des Sciences de Liège*, 86, 294–303. doi: 10.25518/0037-9565.6724
- Peatchkerd, A. (2013). Chiang Mai University students' speech act of greetings. *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences University of Phayao*, 1(1), 1–9. Retrieved from <https://so03.tci-thaijo.org/index.php/Humanities-up/article/view/42668> [in Thai]
- Searle, J. (1969). *Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of Language*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.