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Greetings: Their Genesis and Cultural Significance in a Civilised Society

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ABSTRACT

Social interaction forms the unit of social analysis since the turn of sociological analysis from positivism to interpretive sociology. Most interactions begin with a light form called greetings. While there are more serious interactions that take into account the questions of one's social and historical position in society, greetings are rather less immersed in such considerations. That does not mean that greetings do not involve elements of hierarchy and other cultural norms. The whole idea of manners within civilisation as expounded by Norbert Elias seems to be coded around norms of interaction based on the particular position one holds within the cultural setting. Styles of greetings not just depend on social status; in fact they are also determined by the time of the day and occasion. Thus this paper is an attempt to scrutinise various nuances of greetings in human civilisation.

Keywords: Greetings, Civilization, Manners, Sublimation, Reciprocity.

The Gayatri Mantra greets in reverence the ultimate source of energy, the very basis of all life on earth, the Sun. It carries two parts – one, an acknowledgment of the indispensability of the Sun to human existence and an offering in the form of a prayer so that the bounty of nature lends itself for human use in the time to come. There are millions of such songs and psalms in almost every culture that greet the Sun, the moon and other heavenly bodies in order to generate a feeling of unison with the cosmos. The list of prayers and offerings that feature among the 'yajnas' and other forms of rituals mentioned in the Yajur Veda are a form of greeting the divine spirit. It signifies a special union of both materialism and spiritualism. On the one hand, the sacrifices one makes in the forms of clarified butter and other objects show us the role of materialism that is attached with religious rituals whereas, on the other hand, the very recital of 'mantras' and psalms show us the spiritual side of it wherein one seeks to pay one's obeisance to the spirits one would like to keep gratified.

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Marcel Mauss in his study of sacrifice in the primitive societies explains the significance of the 'sacrifice', the 'sacrificer' and the object of sacrifice (Hubert & Mauss, 1898). He defined sacrifice in the following words: "Sacrifice is a religious act which, through the consecration of a victim, modifies the condition of the moral person who accomplishes it or that of certain objects with which he is concerned" (Hubert & Mauss, 1898). The idea that sacrifice would bring bounty to one's life emerged from man's belief in spirit and the practice of either 'naturism' or 'animism'. It was this belief in the supernatural that Edward Tylor (1871) considers to be the basis of religion. It is through religion that morals have been built for thousands of years. The authority of the Church seemed to be unchallenged until the Hussites under John Huss challenged it in the 14th and the 15th century Europe. Every act of greeting is a form of sacrificial offering. A part of one's own self-image seems to undergo a change - both positively as well as negatively every time one greets another person. All forms of greetings can be classified on a hierarchical scale. One higher on the ladder would greet another lying lower on the ladder in a more informal sense whereas it becomes more formal when it's the other way round.

John Dewey utilised his concept of 'experimental logic' to explain that the human mind is a process and has the ability to adapt to the environment based on the given situation. Thus, mind is not a structure; rather it's a process according to Dewey. 2 He used the concept of deliberation to explain the process. He explains deliberation in the following terms: "Deliberation is a dramatic rehearsal (in imagination) of various competing possible lines of action...Deliberation is an experiment in finding out what the various lines of possible action are really like. It is an experiment in making various combinations of selected elements...to see what the resultant action would be like if it were entered upon" (Dewey, 1922). It was the ability of human beings to objectify them that gave rise to the concept of self. It is this idea that Mead took forward to theorise on the interplay between mind, self and society wherein humans act based on their consideration of the 'generalised other'. All such actions do take care of the wider norms of the society. The question to be asked is 'why'. Adherence to the normative structure of the society is considered rational as it provides every social action with the proper meaning in the Weberian sense. Max Weber distinguishes between 'formal' and 'substantive' rationality. In his own words, "The terms "formal rationality of economic action" will be used to designate the extent of quantitative calculation or accounting which is technically possible and which is actually applied" (Weber, 1978). He goes on to argue, "The concept of substantive rationality, on the other hand, is full of ambiguities" (Weber, 1978). He further elaborates on the concept and states that substantive rationality applies "certain criteria of ultimate ends, whether they be ethical, political, utilitarian, hedonistic, feudal (standisch), egalitarian, or whatever, and measure the results of the economic action, however formally rational in the sense of correct calculation they

John Dewey came up with the concept in his earlier work *Psychology* (New York: Harper & Row, 1886). He elaborated upon the concept of *deliberation* in *Human Nature and Human Conduct* (New York: Henry Holt, 1922).

may be, against these scale of "value rationality" or "substantive goal rationality"." (Weber, 1978). Rationality explained in these terms probably guides most of our actions than the strictly formal and calculated economic actions.

A leaf must be taken form Kant's explanation of Practical Reason. He asserted: "To be happy is necessarily the wish of every finite rational being, and this, therefore, is inevitably a determining principle of its faculty of desire" (Kant, 1787). Thus, it can be said that whatever we do we seek happiness as the ultimate end. Schopenhauer explains it as the "will to survive" (Schopenhauer, 1818). In his opinion, self-preservation is one of the highest virtues to possess. It's a matter of common experience that nobody teaches the animals and birds to avoid dangers in order to survive. Properties such as 'camouflage' helps animals to survive in an environment wherein by virtue of being conspicuous one runs the risk of falling an easy prey to predators. Even the plants grow in a particular direction and avoid spreading their branches in directions where there are hindrances to the growth taken as potential risk to their very existence. Hence, it can be argued that human actions are seldom guided by motives of self-destruction.

Future-orientation is the other quality that we all possess. It lies at the root of our proclivity towards holding expectations. The perception of time that we have arises from our experience of succession of events coupled with our ability to perceive change. Were it not for the ability to differentiate between events in successive phases of time, we would not have formed the notions of past, present and future. Interestingly, all our images of the future are coloured by our experience of the past. "Pictures of reality" we observe in the past shape our expectations for the future. Similar actions leading to favourable results on multiple occasions stand to be rationalised. This is what leads us to greet others as a token of goodwill. Every such gesture carries it with an expression of current goodwill towards the person and an expectation of the same goodwill to be returned. A parallel must be drawn with Mauss's idea of reciprocity expounded in his classic work, *The Gift* with regard to all such exchanges.

Language is inevitable to culture. It is language through which an entire culture is expressed. Habermas (1984) accords it primacy in the modern sense of the communicative processes that go into construction of rationality. Every social interaction is rendered possible by the fact that the members sharing a common life world (lebenswelt) interact with the help of a common language which is a combination of background knowledge and an assumed understanding of the particular situation of interaction based on the current knowledge that the participating actors possess. Greetings are also embedded within a life world. A set of shared meanings expressed through both language and gestures form a variety of ways of greeting each other. Ferdinand de

³ Immanuel Kant explains it through the concept of freedom in his seminal work, *The Critique of Practical Reason* published in 1787.

⁴ Ludwig Wittgenstein explained the concept in *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* published in 1921.

Saussure (1915) explains the relationship between 'signifier' and 'signified', signifier being the sound-image that is actually uttered during a speech act while the 'signified' is the concept that the signifier points to in order to create a science of language. Every act of greeting necessarily has both these concepts embedded within it.

The most common forms of greetings such as 'Good Morning', 'Good Evening' and 'Good Night' are a combination of two words with one signifying an idea that is favourable to human existence and brings a pacifying effect to the nerves, the other carries with it a dimension of time. As has already been said, human life is a function of time, on this occasion it is mostly biological in sense. Radha Kamal Mukherjee (1943) explained it quite succinctly through his theory on the notion of time which he classified as astronomical, biological and social. Gravitation could be said to be the cause of such ways of greeting among human beings. The categories, night, afternoon, evening and night are different states within a time period in which the earth completes one full rotation on its own axis. A very significant role is played by the growth of modern capitalism and the concept of free labour that commodifies labour with labour expressed as an equivalent magnitude of time. The labour is expected to work for a stipulated period of time on a daily basis that gives to him a special meaning with regard to the understanding of time. The normal measurement in terms of hours actually plays an important part in setting the biological clock for those involved in the process of production. The designation of the various parts of the day as morning, afternoon and evening has given birth to the most popular terms used as greeting each other. Frederick Taylor's idea of managing workers in a completely mathematical-mechanical sense has guided the norms about shop floor interactions for over a century now. Besides these, there are other forms of greetings that revolve around earth's revolution in its orbit around the sun. Greetings such as 'Happy Birthday' and 'Happy New Year' signify time in a different sense. Annual observances perceive time socially.

The cultural significance of the calendar goes a long way to show how people remain attached to festivals and observances. It gives them a sense of commonality, a sense of belonging to one culture. The number of holidays on a particular calendar tells us the number of occasions on which a particular community celebrates its feeling of solidarity. Greetings such as 'Eid Mubarak' and 'Merry Christmas' are mostly the first words to be uttered by all and sundry one the days on which these festivals occur. These terms carry a social perception of time encircling a religious occasion. Durkheim asserted that "religion is eminently social" (Durkheim, 1912). Leaving aside the dogmatic theological doctrines and the age-old debate on the existence of God, religion acts like a cementing substance that keeps the society together. It is this togetherness that gets reflected in the greetings that people exchange on these occasions.

The History of Manners

Norbert Elias (1939) traced the history of manners and the causes of the genesis of the set of etiquette that the medieval Europe has known since Renaissance. He focused on the structural

changes in the state-formation with an emphasis on the realm of the cultural. He, without rejecting Marxism completely, differed from the Marxist idea of 'economic determinism'. To him, it was the patterns of social interactions that determined the culture rather than economic considerations. He accepts the impact on the change in human ways of interactions in the sixteenth and seventeenth century Europe on account of the rise of capitalism with imperialism as one of its offshoots. There was a need to pacify one's own territory and keep one's own domestic population satisfied. This tendency on the part of the rulers led people to recognise a new sense of personal security and violence of all kinds in the domestic sphere came to be regarded as something utterly despicable. Gone were the days when warrior qualities were one of the most revered ones and the warriors had personal weapons to protect themselves. A horde of virtues encircled one's actions in public. St. Augustine coined the famous dictum, "God is good" which more often than not stands to be read as "good is God". Whatever is good is virtuous and violence certainly fell out of the sphere of the good.

Georg Lukacs describes the modern society engulfed within a process of reification based on the commodification of the world as explained by Marx. Marx defines reification as ""A commodity is therefore a mysterious thing, simply because in it the social character of men's labour appears to them as an objective character stamped upon the product of that labour; because the relation of the producers to the sum total of their own labour is presented to them as a social relation existing not between themselves, but between the products of their labour. This is the reason the products of labour become commodities, social things whose qualities are at the same time perceptible and imperceptible by the senses ... It is only a definite social relation between men that assumes, in their eyes, the fantastic form of a relation between things." (as quoted in Lukacs, 1968). Looking at the world form a structural point of view, reification appears to be a reality which slowly took its nineteenth-century form through the structural changes that took place in the medieval Europe. Under the veil of managing domestic affairs, the rulers actually appropriated a lot of freedoms of the people and monopolised the state power. The contractualists apologetically centre upon the fact that no matter how reified their lives became, it was the men themselves who gave their rulers the power over their own life and liberty. Elias traced the beginning of absolute monarchy to the eleventh century Europe but it was not concretised until the Italian Renaissance and the emergence of "court rationality" in France. The discovery of precious metals in Latin America marked the beginning of a competitive aggrandisement of their kingdoms by the countries of Western Europe and the Iberian Peninsula. France, England and Germany ventured to spread their territories with an interesting policy of domestic pacification and external belligerence pursued by all these imperial powers. In the ensuing "elimination struggles", the state tried to establish a civilising process that downplayed

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Lukacs explained the concept of reification through a combination of both Marxian as well as Weberian analysis of the society in his *History and Class Consciousness*, 1968, first published in German in 1921.

the notion of violence. Pleasurable killing was discouraged and public display of cruelty became a deplorable act. Public duelling was no longer seen as either an act of valour or a matter of comic relief.

However, this civilising process was Janus-faced. Violence against the members of one's own country was sought to be prevented whereas violence against those from a different land was valorised. Somehow the process of internal pacification resulted in organised violence. Goudsblom sums it up in the following words: "Organised violence is generally far more effective than unorganised violence. To be effective, however, it requires a high degree of internal pacification. Those who participate in exercising it must not fight each other". (Goudsblom, 2001). Hence, it was a regulation of violence that set on roll the civilising process. The question that puzzled Elias was: "How did the extremely decentralised society of the early Middle Ages, in which numerous greater and smaller warriors were the real rulers of Western society, became one of the internally more or less pacified but outwardly embattled societies that we call states?" (Elias, 1978). The answer, according to Elias, lay in two things - the centralisation of political power and the rights of taxation. It was the power to appropriate monetary payment that helped organise wars for the conquest of newer territories.

The process of civilising human conduct was based on an increase in interconnectedness and greater application of self-restraints. A process of internalisation of certain self-restraints that defined new threshold of shame and embarrassment was set in. With the progress of every generation of human beings, there were external constraints (Fremdzwange) that gave rise to internal constraints (Selbstzwange). The court society of France set a trend of controlled gestures and manner that became typical of the times. The style and manners of Paris took the form of "the civilised conduct" which led to the "transformation of the structure of mental and emotional life" (Elias, 1978). The nobility that was composed of warriors seemed to operate with autonomy before the era of absolutism in France. Once the state became absolute, the territorial lord kept an eye on the nobility that was required to moderate its conduct, speech and gestures owing to the fact that there was "unwarlike administrative and clerical work that (had) to be done to promote effective government" (Elias, 1978).

The process that led to the refinement of manners and conduct also introduced a sharp difference between the upper and the lower strata of classes. The concept of social stratification clearly seems to have crept in the new forms of civilised conduct. Mauss and Durkheim (1963) in their Primitive Classification explain how natural inequality discerned in the nature gets translated into social inequality. They argue that the human mind at birth is not already programmed to classify objects around it. It learns it over a period of time through an experience of the various

⁶ Johan Goudsblom in Stof waar honger uit ontstond: over evolutie en sociale processen (Amsterdam, Meulenhoff, 2001). p.104.

classes of things as they present themselves before it. They explain: "A class is a group of things; and things do not present themselves to observation grouped in such a way. We may well perceive, more or less vaguely, their resemblances" (Durkheim & Mauss, 1963). They uphold the concept of hierarchy as an integral part of classification when they write, "Every classification implies a hierarchical order for which neither the tangible world nor our mind gives us the model" (Durkheim & Mauss, 1963). According to them, this model is found in the society itself. The various relations of kinship and family provide us with the notion of classification and hierarchy. It is this hierarchy that stood represented in the civilising process as well. The manners of the lower classes were seen with contempt. Thus, "everything reminiscent of lower classes, everything vulgar, was kept at a distance" (Elias, 1978). A clear line was drawn between the manners of the nobility and the manners of the lower classes. The distinction between the plebeians and the commoners, the masters and the slaves in the feudal society, Marx would argue was based on material reasons, but it took a cultural flavour once the civilising process gained momentum in Europe. For the first time, a system of stratification assumed a psychological turn. It was not just a matter of interest for the historian to dig out points of differences that created and maintained such differences. Quite interestingly, it was now easily recognisable through the manners of people the class that they belonged to.

'Attunement' became one of the central themes in Elias's work. It arose as a reaction to the fact that men with varying inclinations and interests had to interact with each other and were forced to maintain an amicable relationship among them. Coexistence led to the refinement of behaviour in a number of ways. The art of inhibited behaviour attained significance. As Franz Boas (1901) would argue, the capacity of humans when it comes to *abstraction, inhibition and choice* are similar in all human beings, no matter whether they belong to primitive societies or the advanced societies of today. That is an argument that considers the 'nature' part of a human personality. The 'nurture' part is something we learn. Boas's argument can be studied in the light of the inhibited behaviour one learnt in the medieval Europe. Living together established a set of norms to be followed in all human interactions. The role of attunement could be seen as setting up a society based on a social division of labour with everyone accepting their respective roles in the society. In Elias's words, it was prescribed that "people must attune their conduct to that of others, and the web of action must be organised more and more strictly and accurately, if each individual action is to fulfill its social function" (Elias, 1978).

The idea of sublimation and greetings

All this resulted in the crystallisation of a set of manners through the application of external restraints that caused internal restraints to become a 'second nature' or *habitus* for human beings.⁷ The society could be seen to be marching towards the process of *sublimation* as explained by

Habitus was used in the German academic circles in the early twentieth century. Marcel Mauss used it in French. Elias used it only when writing in German. His English editions replace it with the term, 'personality makeup'.

Freud and Jung. The term, 'sublime' means 'high' in Latin. The process of sublimation, according to Freud is the diversion of libido to non-instinctual channels. In his own words, "The task in sublimation is that of shifting the instinctual aims in such a way that they cannot come up against frustration from the external world. In this, sublimation of the instincts lends its assistance. One gains the most if one can sufficiently heighten the yield of pleasure from the sources of intellectual work" (...) "A satisfaction of this kind, such as an artist's joy in creating, in giving his fantasies body, or a scientist's in solving problems or discovering truths, has a special quality. But their intensity is mild as compared with that derived from the sating of crude and primary instinctual impulses". (Freud, 1960). Barlett (1928) considers it a process of sacrifice that asks one to channelise one's instinctual energy towards other activities of social significance. He argued, "Every person, as he comes into a community, has to take part in this process by which civilised life has been built and by which alone it is maintained. He must repeat the sacrifice of his instinctive pleasures for the common good". Thus, Europe saw an "expanding threshold of repugnance". The animal side of the human personality was suppressed. The 'knife' became a symbol of death and danger and its use at the dining table was regulated in order to display its alternative uses other than killing and violence. The use of fork became popular owing to the fact that 'dirtying one's hands' while eating came to be seen as something undesired. Special norms encircled personal activities such as spitting and nose-blowing. Exposure of one's natural functions was considered to be a matter of shame. Consequently, a society was formed with a new set of manners that also engulfed the forms of greetings that people exchanged.

The Indian perspective on manners

Yogendra Singh characterises the Indian society on two main themes – hierarchy and holism (Singh, 1973). Thus, the Indian worldview (weltanschauung) introduces hierarchy in all relations whatsoever. Talcott Parsons considers family and education to be the two sources of socialization; family being the primary source while education is the secondary source of socialization. The notion of hierarchy in India manifests itself in the father-son relationship within the family (Mandelbaum, 1972) and the teacher-pupil relationship in the educational setting, both with special norms of greetings that entails two components – a speech act as well as a gesture. The term, 'namaskar' carries with it an emotion of submission from a subordinate to a superordinate. The word, 'namaskar' coupled with the gesture of 'touching the feet' completes the form of sacrifice that presents itself as a way of greeting someone whose benevolence might bring happiness to the sacrifier (in this case the sacrificer also). The traditional forms of education in India within a Gurukula were meant to teach the pupils the art of paying homage to the almighty, their parents as well as the teacher; the act of touching the feet being the common factor in all such reverential interactions. In order to complete the process of interaction, every act of greeting must be followed by a response from the one to whom it is addressed. The kinds of responses again depend on the cultural setting and the hierarchical equation between the two actors involved in the process of interaction. An exchange of greetings between equals involves

reciprocation in similar words from the addressed individual whereas it is in the form of a blessing if the person addressed to enjoys social superiority in comparison to one who greets.

The relevance of presents and gifts has played an important role in establishing relationships between human beings as well as kingdoms right through human history. The famous quartet coined by Kautilya – sama, dana, bheda and danda encompasses the concept of gift in the form of 'dana'. In order to manage the affairs of one's kingdom, one must maintain a healthy relationship with one's neighbours. Presenting them with gifts forms an essential part of the foreign policy. Similarly, as soon as the concept of 'self' comes into being, one's own body figuratively takes the shape of a kingdom that needs to be managed vis-a-vis the outer world. It is through symbolic gifts in the form of greetings that people manage their relationships with others.

The counter-view

Mikhail Bakhtin saw in cultures an inherent bias towards structured patterns of thinking and tried to weave a counter-argument that suggests that the suppressed voices itching for a chance to air their views are often silenced through the imposition of societal norms and mores in the form of a body of etiquette prescribing what to do and what not to do. Inspired by the French thinker, Francois Rabelais⁸, Bakhtin emphasised upon the concept of *carnivalesque* which provides a vent to the lower and neglected strata of the society to use these forms of representations to come up with counter-narratives to the widely accepted popular norms of the society. During carnivals, the limits of shame and the boundaries of self-restraints begin to recede and the thoughts that normally don't find a valve to ooze out slowly find a place in the public domain and then on attain a place among the topics of general discussion among the people. The phenomenon of carnivalesque is a step more than the carnivals themselves. It includes a body of literature that gives the repressed classes a voice and becomes their weapon in order to develop a counter-view against the dominant view of the culture.

Bakhtin emphasised upon the element of folk humour and laughter in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance period. The folklores did not find a place in the myths and epics. These contained descriptions and an imprint of the bourgeois modern culture while the folk humour worked as an undercurrent from the viewpoint of criticising the official stand on certain issues. Bakhtin writes: "A boundless world of humorous forms and manifestations opposed the official and serious tone of medieval ecclesiastical and feudal culture" (Bakhtin 1965). The clowns, fools, giants, dwarfs and jugglers with their myriad themes and parodies formed the folk carnival humour. Bakhtin classified the manifestations of the folk culture into three forms:

- 1. *Ritual spectacles*: carnival pageants, comic shows of the marketplace.
- 2. *Comic verbal compositions*: parodies both oral and written, in Latin and in the vernacular.
- 3. *Various genres of billingsgate*: curses, oaths, popular blazons.

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⁸ Rabelais was a sixteenth-century French philosopher who studied the French culture through the lens of popular folk culture. The acts of fools and clowns as depicted during carnivals formed a major theme of his works.

These ways of depicting the folk culture presented serious rituals and occasions of paying respect and rewards in the sublime culture linked to a set of manners in a comic sense. The comic relief that people derive from these acts actually give birth to a duality. There come in to existence two worlds – one with all seriousness in the form of ecclesiastical and feudal order, the other is the word of carnival. Bakhtin admits that: "Carnival is not a spectacle seen by the people; they live in it, and everyone participates because its very idea embraces all the people" (Bakhtin, 1965). He further claims that "During carnival time life is subject only to its laws, that is, the laws of its own freedom. It has a universal spirit; it is a special condition of the entire world, of the world's revival and renewal, in which all take part" (Bakhtin, 1965). The rules of greetings and other formalities of manners are completely set apart during the carnival. Hence, not only does carnival come as a comic relief for the people, it also breaks the general structured patterns of interaction.

Concluding Remarks

Having analysed the phenomenon of greetings as applicable in everyday interactions from both functional as well as critical perspectives, one must agree that greetings form an integral part of every culture. It is both a form of sacrifice as well as gift entailing an element of reciprocity. It is a true depiction of a civilised culture and a test of sublimation on the part of the people. The refined ways of living are manifested through greetings. The material part of greetings in the form of cards and other modern forms hint towards a technological advance in the realm of greetings. The modern process of production and the accompanying commodification of almost every aspect of human life have turned these emotions into an industry. A whole lot of brands have emerged owing to the necessity of designing cards and other material forms of greetings. Such objects of greetings employ the use of language in written form, quite different from the verbal manner of greetings. Themes of love and affection are expressed through written words the cards. While verbal greetings have an ephemeral existence, greetings in the form of cards assume permanence. The recipient can keep them as gifts for a long time. Nonetheless, it is happiness that is the prime driving force behind all human actions which gets manifested through greetings, be it greetings addressed to the morning rays full of life or to one's beloved with a zeal to express one's feelings in the minimum possible number of words and gestures.

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Conflict of Interests

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