Tales of Hi and Bye

Greeting and parting rituals around the world

Torbjörn Lundmark

Cambridge www.cambridge.org/9780521117548

Tales of Hi and Bye

Greeting and parting rituals around the world

We do it over and over again, day after day, and never seem to get enough of it.

Albanians do it. Zulus do it. Movie stars and plumbers do it. All around the world, people say hi and bye in innumerable languages and countless ways: they wave and bow and curtsey and shake hands and rub noses and fist-bump and mwah-mwah and perform a vast array of greeting and farewell rituals, so common and natural that no-one stops to notice ...

Tales of Hi and Bye provides a delightful, witty, and intriguing insight into the sometimes strange and often wonderful customs associated with an ordinary, everyday event.

Torbjörn Lundmark (known as TL) was born in Sweden and has called Australia home since 1978. He works as a professional writer, illustrator and cartoonist, and is the author of several books, including *Quirky Qwerty: The Story of the Keyboard at Your Fingertips.*

Tales of Hi and Bye

Greeting and parting rituals
around the world

TORBJÖRN LUNDMARK

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore,
São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo

Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521117548

First published in print format 2009

ISBN-13 978-0-521-11754-8 Hardback

For DK

Contents

Gestures & Signals

Customs & Behaviours

Names & Addresses

Acknowledgements

First I must thank Carol Dance who, over an extended lunch, sowed the first seed for this book and who never lost her enthusiasm for the project and bombarded me with useful snippets and fact-lets during the entire writing process.

For invaluable help in linguistic and cultural matters I am greatly indebted to, in no particular order, Cherry Zhang (Chinese), Ko Iwata and Tracy Lam (Japanese), Phil Davies (English and French), Inga-Britt Varga (Hungarian), Gerardina Rizzo (Italian), Torsten Gunnarsson and Elsa B. Hansen (Icelandic), Ireneusz Adam Ślupkov (Polish), Anders Lundmark, Åsa Gustafsson, Lilit Nilsson, Våge Landberg, Rosita Johansson and Åsa Strömberg (Swedish).

Kjell Johansson and Lennart Svensson provided advice about things military with their experience from years of service around the globe.

I thank Dana for her energetic drive, infinite patience and unflagging encouragement in my work.

To the reader

This is not a book of trivia. In its pages, you won't learn how to say 'hello' in hundreds of languages, or find diagrams of every gesture on earth, or hit upon a long list of titles among the nobility of one country or another. Such things can easily be found by using the internet or other sources.

Nor is it a scientific book. It is not backed by massive research and weighty tomes of academic literature that all corroborate the undeniable facts and the absolute truth.

It is a book about customs, traditions, rituals and human behaviour – and that can be risky, because no two humans respond, perceive, experience or remember alike. People from the same culture or even the same locality may see things differently, apply different interpretations and act in different ways.

Lastly, this is not an all-encompassing encyclopaedia. It covers titbits from here and there on the globe, and from here and there in history. Humanity, after all, is a jumble. So, as you read about people and customs in this book, and miss customs and peoples and places that you think should have been included but aren't, or find things that do not correspond to your own life, remember to think 'some' or 'many' or 'most' – but certainly not 'all'.

Introduction

'Good morning,' the doctor says as you enter the surgery, 'let me just go and get your file – won't be a moment.'

The doctor returns with your papers. 'Good morning.' Then, 'Oops, I forgot my stethoscope. I'll be right back.'

The doctor comes back from the next room and sits down behind the desk. 'Good morning.'

For a moment you start to think there's something strange about your doctor. Something almost Monty Pythonesque. But what?

There are many unwritten rules when it comes to saying 'hi' and saying 'bye'. Why do you sound awkward if you greet someone more than once, while it is perfectly fine to say goodbye many times over?

Greeting customs is one of the 'human universals', as anthropologists call them. Perhaps farewelling customs is one too. This means that, among such things as jealousy and gift-giving and fear of death, there is no known human culture on earth that does not have rules about how to say hi and, perhaps, how to say bye.

People bow, rub noses, shake hands and kiss. Most raise their eyebrows. Polynesians rub each other's backs or sniff each other's breath; East Africans might spit on the ground in a greeting; Tibetans stick out their tongues. Some New

Guinean tribesmen pat each other on the rump. Not long ago, Chinese people kowtowed nine times and Westerners learnt elaborate ways of removing their hats with a flourish or even threw themselves face-down on the ground in front of their superiors. There is hugging of heads, clasping of knees, kissing of feet, touching of shoulders – even today.

It might seem easy to say hi and to say bye. Yet the matter of meeting and leaving tends to be a complicated act. The rituals of approach and departure seem infused with etiquette and custom, no matter what culture you belong to. By getting it wrong you might end up in trouble or embarrassed.

Why do some cultures shake hands? And why with the right hand? When is cheek-kissing appropriate? What is mwah-mwah? Why do the Japanese wave at each other when they are standing only one pace apart? Do Maoris and Inuit really rub noses? What do the Chinese say when they meet?

Many of the rituals and rules go unnoticed. It is such a natural thing. But there are many mysteries in the trivial act of saying hello and goodbye – in a Western or any other culture.

What seems entirely natural in one place can be strange behaviour in another. Take bidding farewell to your guests. In Australia, for instance, it is customary to follow the visitors all the way out to their car. The driver

then invariably beeps the horn as the guests drive away. Everybody waves, and the host family stays on the kerbside, watching the car drive away for however long it takes until there is no sign of it. Compare this with Scandinavia, where people say goodbye inside, well before putting coats and shoes on. The door slams shut behind the visitors and they make their own way to the car and drive away without so much as looking back once.

How do you knock on the 'door' of an igloo? Where did Hitler's Nazi salute come from? Why do people bow? Why are Swedes reluctant to use each other's names and even avoid using the word 'you'? What is the function of the Masonic handshake?

All these and more mysteries are explained in this book about how we say hi, how we say bye, and how we refer to each other between the two.

Gestures & Signals

Take a bow:

bending at the neck or waist

Bowing is part of many greeting rituals. A bow can be as quick and easy as a slight nod of the head, or as long and complex as a Chinese kowtow. In some countries, bowing is a veritable science in itself.

The bow, as with so many other greetings, is a show of humility, in that you lower your own body before the other person. The most extreme form of bowing is the full prostration, where you throw yourself on the ground, face down. This gesture happens in the Bible, for instance, where it is performed by both men and women.

In the Orient and elsewhere, bowing is done by both sexes. In Western cultures, however, bowing is normally done by men. Women, on the other hand, traditionally used to curtsey, and sometimes still do, especially before royalty. Nevertheless, curtseying can probably be said to be, almost literally, a sinking tradition.

But let us return to bowing. Like the handshake, the bow might also have to do with showing trust in another person. By bowing we purposely break two of the golden rules of hand-to-hand combat: we take our eyes off the opponent, and we show the most vulnerable part of our

body, namely the head – the place where most people have their brains. In another form of non-verbal greeting, men show their faith even further in the other person by taking off their hat (or helmet) to present their unprotected pate.

In other words, by bowing you're giving the other guy the chance to raise a club and whack your brains out – but at the same time your demeanour is saying 'I trust you not to do that.'

Nowadays we take bowing quite casually. But in bygone days, when everyone was carrying a weapon that could either crack your skull in two or chop your head off, bowing would have been a big deal.

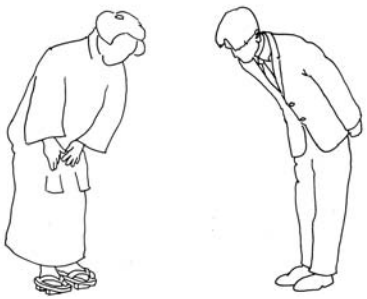
Bending: the rules in Japan

The bow has a life of its own in Japan. Perhaps nowhere else is bowing so important, varied and socially anchored – not to mention complicated. There is a whole vocabulary of bowing, with descriptions of all the components of different kinds of bows.

There are at least 12 basic types of Japanese bow; nine 'sitting or kneeling' bows and three 'standing' ones.

If you watch Japanese people carefully, you will notice a few characteristics of bowing. For starters, both men and women bow. And each gender follows different styles. Men bow from the waist, with their back straight as a ramrod,

and with their arms stretched along their torso; they look a bit like oil derricks. Women make a softer bow and place their hands in front of them, either clasped or overlapping.



When making a particularly deep bow, both men and women place their hands on their thighs to prop themselves up in order not to topple over.

Bowing is so ingrained in Japanese people that they even bow when speaking on the telephone. Moreover, the bow is often inextricably linked to a word or phrase. For example, to say *arigatō gozaimasu* ('thank you') without bowing would seem very strange, if not unthinkable, to a Japanese person.

Another instance where the bowing is done out of sight of the person being bowed to, is the not uncommon practice of bowing repeatedly behind the back of a departing superior.

In Japan, bowing is done not only in business and social settings, but also in religious, sport, traditional arts, school and many other situations. The bow is also an essential part of the Japanese tea ceremony.

Different bows convey different emotions, and there are bows to show respect, gratitude, deference, remorse, sincerity, humility and other feelings.

Even if you have never been to Japan you may have come across one particular style of bowing on the television news: the apologetic bow. This is an embarrassing and humiliating event, for instance when a business manager is forced to take the blame for a serious mistake – perhaps the death of a worker. The manager stands behind a table, touches the tabletop with the fingertips of both hands, and bends until the forehead almost hits the surface.

Now, how bow?

So there you are, standing face to face with your boss, colleague, or underling, ready to fold at your waist. Before you even start any human origami, there are a number of decisions to make.

Which style?

Should I do just an *eshaku* or go to the trouble of performing a *gasshou*, or perhaps even a *saikeirei* or some other form of

ojigi? It's a delicate question of appropriate choice – much like deciding what grip to use next in a wrestling match. It's all got to do with your relationship to the person you are bowing to.

How low to go?

The simple answer is not surprising: lower than a superior; as low as an equal; and not as low as a subordinate. Choose between a 15 degree casual bend or go the whole hog with a 45 degree whopper of a backbreaker. If you're Japanese you will have practiced the precise angle thousands of times. However, there's a catch: bending *too* deep is risky business; either you're a crawler or you're being flippant.

Judging one's bending ratio can be a tricky thing, for the simple reason of human physiology. You don't have eyes at the top of your head, so during the bow, the other person is in a blind spot. You never know to which depths they are stooping.

How long?

Should you count to two, three, or five? How long you should bend over staring at your toes depends entirely on the status of the person in front of you. If it is your superior, you mustn't straighten up until after he or she does. Same dilemma: you can't see what the other person is doing, so it's all a matter of conjecture.

How to bow out of it?

If you straighten up too soon, and you find yourself looking down on your still bowing boss's bald spot, there's only one thing to do. You rapidly bend down again, but not quite as low. And so does your counterpart in return. In the end, two Japanese people can stand there, ducking over and over again, bending a little less each time.

Putting our heads together

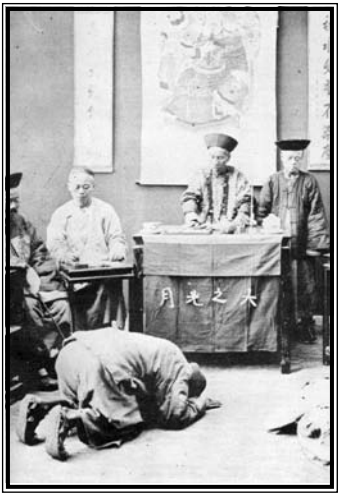
Japan's increasing contact with foreign nations has created one peculiar problem with bowing: the risk of serious head injury. When dealing with foreigners, the Japanese have adopted handshaking – but not at the expense of bowing. This means that the handshake is accompanied with a proper bow.

And there's the rub. While normal bowing is done at a safe distance, shaking hands is necessarily a close encounter and bowing vigorously at the same time could end up in severe head-bumping. The general idea is to shake, bow and twist – usually to the left, but you never know!

Hit the floor!

The Chinese were good at bowing, too. Until the early 1900s, they almost bent over backwards when it came to bowing. In front of emperors and magistrates

and mandarins, the thing to do was not only to bow, but kowtow too.



Kowtow (or *koutou*) in Chinese means 'knock head' and that's exactly what you do:

1. Stand up straight, facing the person to whom you will kowtow.
2. Get down on your knees.
3. Bend forward until your forehead touches the ground.
4. Raise your torso upright, then bow to the floor two more times.

5. Get off the floor and stand up straight.
6. Repeat the entire procedure two more times, so that by the end of it all you have kneeled three times and your forehead has hit the floor nine times.

Kowtowing was serious business indeed, and could take up a big portion of a visit or celebration. In his 18th century epic, *The Story of the Stone*, Cao Xueqin describes the bowing and scraping by hundreds of underlings on Grandma Jia's 80th birthday:

> Presently the birthday ceremony began. The female members of the clan were the first to make their kowtows. The males would have come next, but Grandmother Jia lay back on the couch and sent someone outside to excuse them. Then Lai Da arrived with the male domestics. They knelt down, row upon row of them, from the ornamental gate all the way up to the steps at the foot of the hall, to make their kowtows. After them it was the turn of the married women, and after them of the maids. Something like the time it would take to eat two or three meals must have elapsed before all the kowtowing was over. (Original spelling adjusted.)

The 'three kneelings and nine prostrations' were also demanded of foreign envoys who came to China for trade and commerce. The act was an acknowledgement that the Chinese emperor was the *tian-zi* or 'Son of Heaven', and

that China was the centre of the world (the Chinese word for China is still *zhong-guo*, 'Middle Kingdom').

This display of submission went against the grain of many European nations, chiefly Britain. Pride went before falling on your knees. In 1793, the first British emissary to Peking, the unbending Lord Macartney, only went down on one knee before the emperor, no more humbly than he would honour his own ruler. He sailed back to England empty-handed. The same slap for bad manners was given to kowtow-dissenter William Pitt Amherst in 1811.

The custom of kowtowing started to disappear after the fall of the Qing Dynasty in 1912.

Other strings to the bow

Bowing is, of course, not restricted to Japan and China, but can be found in many other places and cultures. The Indian *namaste* and Thai *wai* come to mind (a slight bow with hands held together palm-to-palm in front of the chest or face).

In ancient Byzantium the normal greeting was to cross both hands on one's chest and bend in a dignified bow.

The traditional Arabian salaam greeting comes in various models. The 'full' salaam involves four elements:

(1) hand to chest, (2) hand to mouth, (3) hand to forehead, (4) forward flourish of the open hand. This last movement is often accompanied by a bow of the head. There are also 'partial' salaams where some elements are omitted, for example, forehead-chest-forehead.

Bending over backwards

In the southern Swedish city of Malmö (third largest in the country), a special kind of bendy greeting has developed over the decades. It was first described in the media in 1985, and is now reported to be firmly established in the city.

It is all about a 'back-nod'. A brief description: upon seeing someone you know, at about 20 paces you start preparing for the greeting by looking away as you approach. Then, at about three paces, eye contact is established, the head is jerked backwards with a snappy 'Ha...', then slowly lowered again with a drawn-out '...lloooooooo'.

So firmly ensconced is this backward greeting that instructions can be found in a publication for recent arrivals in the city, entitled *Malmö för dummies*.

On the islands in Astrolabe Bay near Madang, Papua New Guinea, the customary greeting was to squeeze your nose shut with your left hand while pointing at your navel with your right (Bäuml & Bäuml 1997).

Hi, Hitler!

arm salutes at various angles

The Nazi salute was not invented by Adolf Hitler or Benito Mussolini, nor is it limited in time to the Second World War or in place to Europe. The salute dates all the way back to the Roman Empire and is properly known as the Roman salute (*Saluto Romano*).

The Roman salute is made by thrusting the right arm forward, palm facing downwards, at an angle of around 45 degrees (Mussolini's version was a bit higher; Hitler's lower).

Already in 1933, the Nazi Interior Minister, Wilhelm Frick, wrote in an inter-ministerial memorandum that now as the Weimar Republic was a thing of the past, 'The Hitler Salute has become the German greeting.'

Indeed it had: the outstretched arm had been designed to permeate all of German society. It wasn't only in front of Hitler and military officers that the Nazi salute was used, but everywhere in administrative, commercial and social settings.

The National Socialist German Students' League went so far as to say that ordinary greetings such as *grüß Gott, auf Wiedersehen, guten Tag* and so on should be abandoned.

And then followed a sinister piece of advice: 'All who wish to avoid the suspicion of consciously obstructionist behaviour will use the Hitler Salute.'

Five-year-olds were taught how to thrust the arm in the air. Stories abound from the period about how school children were punished for saying *guten Morgen* instead of *Heil Hitler*, and people were refused service in shops unless they did the salute.

They called it the 'German greeting', and it was decreed that all civil servants and other employees always use the greeting at work, and preferably at other times as well. Signs were erected and posters hung in public places, saying *Der Deutsche Grüßt: HEIL HITLER!* ('the true German greets: HEIL HITLER!').

The propaganda for the 'German greeting' was so strong that the Nazi salute even found its way into illustrations of fairy tales and nursery rhymes. It is truly tragicomic to come across books and school murals where the Prince greets Sleeping Beauty with a Nazi salute, and in your imagination you can hear a snappy *Heil Hitler!*

Other ways of inculcating the German greeting at an early age included children's toys in the form of plastic Hitler dolls with a hinged right arm on a spring, bobbing up and down in the salute.

The practice spreads

It is interesting to note that the Nazi salute was not widely seen as something altogether sinister until the Second World War broke out. At the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin, several athletic delegations, including the British and the French, perhaps out of politeness, marched into the arena with their arms outstretched in the Nazi salute.

There could have been some confusion here, as some teams evidently thought they were performing the 'Olympic salute', which was almost exactly like the Nazi greeting, but where the arm was outstretched to the side, not forwards.

One team that did not succumb to any salutatory doubts were the Americans. Controversially, the American

athletes decided to simply hold their straw hats to their chests – a gesture that was seen by the German public as flouting proper behaviour, and that was met by what was described as the 'Bronx cheer' in the *New York Times*, or better known as a 'raspberry' in many places. In the words of *New York Times* reporter Frederick T. Birchall, who was in the audience:

> The American athletes received a bigger hand going out of the stadium than when they entered.

Hitler in America?

In fact, what is often known as the 'Hitler salute' was used in the USA to honour the Stars and Stripes right up until 1942. Millions of American school children performed the salute to the flag every morning, as they made their Pledge of Allegiance to the flag of the United States of America.

To see photographs of American school children doing the Nazi salute to the *Star-Spangled Banner* might seem horrifying to some, but that was the custom for 50 years or so. The practice later became known as the *Bellamy Salute*, after Francis Bellamy, who wrote (or at least claimed to have written) the Pledge of Allegiance in 1892.

If there is some doubt as to the author of the words, there is little division about the instigator of the salute. James Upham was Francis Bellamy's boss in the Premium Department at the Boston publishers of *Youth's Companion*, a popular magazine that marketed not only the printed word, but also immensely popular American patriotic items such as flags and banners and bunting through its mail-order department.

Bellamy and Upham had both taken on the task of coming up with a Pledge of Allegiance for that year's Columbus Day celebrations. In 1892 Columbus Day was proclaimed a nationwide holiday, and something special was needed. The deadline was fast approaching and the pressure was on. Bellamy, the writer, struggled with the words while Upham, the editor, paced up and down the corridor. Then the eureka moment finally arrived. Bellamy considered the job done, and Upham was eager

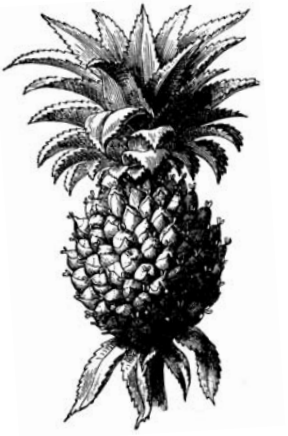
to read the 23 words of the Pledge. Anecdotally, James Upham snatched the piece of paper, and stood to attention in military salute in front of an imaginary Stars and Stripes as he read the Pledge aloud. At the words 'the flag', he all but automatically thrust his outstretched arm into the air towards the banner – *flipping the palm of his hand skywards*!

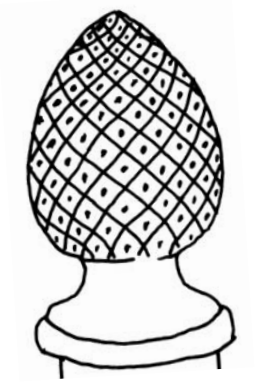
The Bellamy Salute, as it came to be known, was in fact not supposed to look like a *Saluto Romano*. It was a salute with a twist. Had the schools and other institutions heeded the original advice and performed the salute the way James Upham did it, with the hand flipped upwards, the embarrassing similarity with the Nazi salute would have been averted.

Perhaps because it felt awkward or unnatural, the heaven-ward palm was often forgotten and neglected, and in time, the salute had become identical to the Roman version.

By 1942, the Roman salute had become so associated with the Nazis and the Fascists and the atrocities in Europe that the practice was abandoned in the USA, and on 22 June that year, the current hand-over-heart stance was instituted by Congress. The new law, Public Law 829, was passed in December 1942.

Hitler made the previously 'glorious' Roman salute into an invidious, abhorrent gesture. It is rarely used today, except in Taiwan, where it is sometimes used while taking an oath of office.





Fine furniture and old wooden doors are often ornamented with carved pineapples, and pineapple finials sometimes adorn the top of entrance gates. For centuries, the pineapple has been a symbol of welcome and hospitality. It seems to have originated among the Carib Indians, where a pineapple at the entrance to a village was a sign that visitors were welcome. The Spaniards brought the custom (and the fruit) back with them to Europe (Levins 2004; Pack 1999).

Before the Roman Empire it was considered humiliating to bow (Sittl, in Bäuml & Bäuml 1997).

In many societies, such as some Arab countries and Scandinavia, strong eye contact is expected. In other cultures, for example Japan, some indigenous American societies, and among many Australian Aborigines, it is considered impolite to look someone straight in the eye, especially superiors and elders (Bäuml & Bäuml 1997).

Do a nose job:

rubbing and sniffing as a greeting

Whether the Inuit really rub noses to say 'hello' (the 'Eskimo kiss') seems to be a matter of debate, shrouded in the same uncertainty as the question about whether their language has 70 or more words for 'snow'. The Polar explorer Peter Freuchen has nothing to say about the snow word, but certainly refers to nose-rubbing, at least as a farewell.

However, when it comes to the Maori of New Zealand, there is no doubt: the nose-rub is as common a custom as the handshake is in other parts of the world.

The word 'rub' needs to be qualified, though: the act of *hongi* is more about pressing than rubbing. First, you place

your forehead against the other person's forehead. Then you press your noses together. Depending on which part of New Zealand (*Aotearoa* in Maori) you come from, you may press your noses together once, twice or thrice.

Hongi means 'share breath', and the custom carries great cultural and spiritual significance. By sharing the same breath, two people join together in one mind and one spirit. Strangers become friends, passers-by become guests and visitors become part of the community.

The custom is thought to stem from the ancient Maori creation belief that when the gods used soil to form an image of a woman, the god Tane took the shape in his arms and breathed life into it through its nostrils. The image sneezed and came to life as the first woman, Hineahuone, or Woman of Earth.

The *hongi* is serious business, and cannot be taken lightly; you must never falsely *hongi* an enemy or a person with whom you are in conflict.

The custom is done not only among Maori, but also between Maori and Pakeha (Westerners) – even on higher levels, such as between indigenous people and politicians or diplomats on formal occasions.

In 2003, the New Zealand Government advised that *hongi* should not be used at the official welcome ceremony of a conference delegation from China, for fear of contracting the SARS virus. The message was that

the risks associated with such close-nose air-share were unknown and therefore not recommended.

> Queequeg [the South Seas Islander] embraced me, pressed his forehead against mine, and blowing out the light, we rolled over from each other, and very soon were sleeping.
> (Herman Melville, *Moby-Dick*)

Several sources (among them the well-respected *Encyclopædia Britannica*) claim that the Eskimos or Inuit indeed do touch noses as a greeting, and that the practice is not unique to the Maori. For example, the people of the Indonesian island of Sumba have a kind of nose-rub, and the practice of pressing your nose into the cheek of the other person is a custom in such far-flung places as south eastern India and among the Sami people of Lapland. The traditional Bedouin greeting is to touch noses three times.

The Egyptian hieroglyphic for 'nose' was indeed a simple picture of a nose, but interestingly, the symbol also meant 'kiss' and 'smell'. The word root was /sn/ or sometimes /sen/, and some people go so far as to connect the Egyptian /sn/ with the fact that so many English words associated with 'nose' and 'smell' and 'kiss' also start with this sound combination: just think of 'sniff', 'sniffle', 'snog', 'snuff', 'snot', 'snifter', 'snivel', 'snort', 'sneeze', 'snoot', 'snook', 'snout' and 'snore'. (Most linguists, though, would

explain this phenomenon as *phonaesthesia*, a fairly common occurrence in language where certain sounds come to be associated with certain things. Other examples include 'fizz', 'whizz', 'buzz' and 'slime', 'slush', 'sludge' etc.).

Faraway *hongi*

Just like a wave or a blow-kiss or shaking your own hand, the *hongi* can be done symbolically from a distance by curling up the index finger and touching the tip of your nose.

XXXX!

the heartfelt kiss

The kiss as a form of greeting has been used since very early times. Ethologists regard the kiss as a very deep, primeval gesture, stemming from the mother passing her chewed food directly to her baby's mouth. This gives the kiss its most intimate function – taking its meaning much further than merely as an expression of affection or sexual desire.

The Old English word for a kiss was *coss* (from an Old Norse word, *koss*, that the marauding Vikings brought with them), and it wasn't until the 16th century that people started to 'kiss' each other.

Kissing is described in many places in the Old Testament of the Bible. The best loved one is probably verse 1 of The Songs of Solomon:

> Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth: for thy love is better than wine.

These lines cause even matter of fact experts on symbols and gestures to go into raptures, saying, for instance, that 'the kiss means the joining together of spirit to spirit.

Breath is inhaled and exhaled. It is for this reason that he whose soul goes out in a kiss, sticks fast to another spirit, to a spirit from whom he will be separated no more.' Could you feel any closer to another soul?

The kiss of death

Spirit-sharing intentions aside, one of the most famous (or infamous) kisses in the Bible comes from the New Testament, where Judas arrives at the Last Supper with a band of men armed 'with swords and staves' who have been ordered to arrest Jesus. They just don't know which

one is Jesus amongst the gathered people. Judas says, 'Hail, master' and kisses Jesus to identify, and thus betray, him. This is often known as 'the kiss of death'.

The Romans knew a thing or two about kissing – so much so that they had three words for major types of kisses: *osculum* was the kiss of friendship on the cheek or face; *basium* was the word for the affectionate kiss on the lips; and *suavium* described the deep-throat, tongue-exploring, lustful lovers' kiss.

Kissing hello

The non-erotic kiss comes in many shapes, and is greatly governed by the setting in which it is performed. It has to do with who is kissing whom, their respective gender, age, status, position, how long they have known each other, how long they have been apart, the occasion, the location, the time, and many other circumstantial factors. It also has a lot to do with the cultural setting. As the New Zealand ethnologist Sir Raymond William Firth puts it:

> American and English people who might exchange a kiss in private greeting may refrain from such intimacy in public. But this is a highly cultural matter — a Frenchman in office may bestow a kiss on another on a formal public occasion when he would not do so at an informal private meeting.

Kissing as a greeting has been used ceremoniously on various parts of the body. The classic Greeks sometimes kissed a superior in rather surprising places, including the knee and the chest. In ancient Rome, a high official might be permitted to kiss the Emperor on the chest, who then in turn kissed the official's forehead. In Spain, the practice of shoulder-kissing was in vogue for a while, and even today, Catholic bishops kiss the Pope on the knee and on the Papal foot (the Pope's shoe sports an embroidered 'kissing-cross' so you won't miss-kiss).

The kiss is important in many religions – but not so much in greeting, perhaps, as in the Christian churches. The apostle Paul advised that all Christians greet each other with a kiss:

> Greet one another with an holy kiss. The churches of Christ salute you.

As far as secular kiss-greeting goes, the Poles went all the way in the baroque period, when greeting a powerful patron involved first the kissing of his hand, then chest, stomach, knees and feet in turn. The lowest minions were banished from the higher regions of their master: they had to scrape to the ground, and only got to raise their bodies high enough to kiss the knees, ankles and feet of their lord. Full prostration on the ground before a superior became commonplace in 17th century Poland.

Why the knees?

It may seem strange that kissing someone's knees was a common and important tradition in many places and periods. Why the knees?

Many cultures and traditions (not only European ones) place great importance on this bendy part of the body. The knee is commonly seen as the centre of body strength, and serves as a symbol of authority, power and status in society. The knee holds us up, straight and proud. Perhaps this is the reason why there are many idioms involving the joint, such as 'to go weak at the knees', 'to bring to someone's knees' and 'to kneel before someone'. On the other hand, art is full of pictures of people lying on the ground and clasping someone's knees in a show of begging for mercy or protection.

...and even further down

With all kissing, the further down on the body the kiss is applied, the humbler the kisser wants to be. Respect and submission grows the lower you go. Kissing the hand conveys more respect than kissing the cheek; and one of the humblest gestures of all, rendering you almost cringingly subordinate, is kissing the feet of a superior.

There is one step further: the idiomatic expression 'to kiss the dirt' comes from people finding themselves so low on the hierarchical ladder that they cannot touch their master at all, but resort to kissing the ground at the person's feet.

As a powerful gesture of humility, the Pope symbolically washes and kisses the feet of poor people during Holy Week, and in 17th century Poland, children were expected to bid farewell to their parents by kneeling before them and kissing their feet.

But kissing somewhere on the head, such as on the lips, cheek or forehead, has always been more common. As early as mid-400 BC, Herodotus describes in his *History* how the Persians kissed each other in greeting; equals kissed on the mouth, others on the cheek. It seems that Jewish men added an extra feature to the kissing by grabbing or touching each other's beard as they kissed, or perhaps holding the other's chin in the palm of one's hand. As stated in the Bible:

> And Joab took Amasa by the beard [...] to kiss him.

The English kiss

The great Dutch humanist Desiderius Erasmus visited England in 1499. It was a life-changing trip in many ways, but one of his deepest impressions was how the

English seemed to kiss each other left, right and centre. Erasmus became enamoured with the custom; wherever he turned there were kisses welcoming him, and whenever he took leave, there were more. Erasmus wrote to his friend, Faustus Andrelinus:

> Oh Faustus, if you had once tasted how sweet and fragrant those kisses are, you would indeed wish to be a traveller, not for ten years, like Solon, but for your whole life in England.

Among other people, though, the kiss was completely unknown. In Africa, the Thonga [Tsonga] people had no notion of kissing, and when they encountered it, they did not hide their revulsion:

> Look at these people! They suck each other! They eat each other's saliva and dirt!

You can kiss that one goodbye

Kissing as a sign of farewell is also an old tradition, and descriptions can be found in the Old Testament, for instance.

The custom of writing a series of 'Xs' at the end of a letter to signify farewell kisses is one of those unclear phenomena that are surrounded by 'probably' and 'possibly' and 'it is

believed that...'. Feasible explanations include that the sound of 'X' has the first and last letter of the word 'KisS'; that in many branches of Christianity it is customary to kiss the cross (X) or crucifiX of Jesus; and that illiterate persons could sign a statement with a cross and then kiss the mark as a gesture of truth and veracity.

I need some help, kiss a hand!

To kiss someone on the hand is an old tradition. During the Roman Empire, it became customary for underlings to kiss the emperor's outstretched hand. In his own inimitable fashion, the despotic and disdainful emperor Caligula devised another way of showing his contempt for the lowly people fawning at his feet. Instead of proffering his hand, he 'gave the finger', which they

would have to kiss. It has been said that 'the finger' ('up yours') was the same rude gesture then as it is now.

In the 16th century, hand-kissing made its debut in England, and William Shakespeare was there. It seems that he was at first a little suspicious of this new-fangled way of kissing one another's grubby hands. (During this time, hand-kissing was done not only by men greeting ladies: vassals kissed their lords and peasants kissed their masters on their hands, as well as the hands of their employer's relatives and children.) Corin says in *As You Like It*:

> those that are good manners at the court are as ridiculous in the country as the behaviour of the country is most mockable at the court. You told me you salute not at the court, but kiss your hands; that courtesy would be uncleanly if courtiers were shepherds.
> (Act 3, Scene 2)

Perhaps later on, in *Love's Labour Lost*, Shakespeare seems more amenable to kissing on the hand:

> I will kiss thy royal finger, and take leave.
> (Act 5, Scene 2)

The essence of hand-kissing was then, as it is now, to bow, to barely touch the hand, and to keep the kiss 'effortless,

noiseless and moistureless': whatever you do, don't slobber. And do recognise a rebuff when you see one: for the kissee not to remove the glove first is the ultimate insult to the kisser!

A lasting custom

There are at least two countries where hand-kissing is still in use as a sign of respect and politeness: Poland and Hungary. In fact, it is still fairly common among Hungarian men (even young ones) to say *kezét csókolom* ('I kiss your hand') in greeting a woman or an elderly person, even though the actual gesture of physically kissing the fingers is often left out. Strangely enough, this phrase is used even over the telephone!

In Poland it was previously common to kiss a woman's hand as a greeting, but the custom all but disappeared after the monumental change that Poland underwent in the late 1980s. Women became more emancipated and started to insist on being greeted just like men: with a handshake. The custom of hand-kissing waned, but is now, according to modern Poles, re-emerging as part of a trend to return to old Polish customs and traditions. Media footage from the Polish Government sometimes shows party officials performing the chivalrous (and polished) Polish *całuję*

rączki kiss on the hand. In the south of the country you might even occasionally hear that most gentlemanlike phrase of all: *padam do nóżek* – 'I fall at your feet'. Whether people actually throw themselves on the ground these days is questionable: they would most probably be so elderly that they would have trouble getting up again!

Blow me away

The blow-kiss, that is, kissing one's fingers and then blowing or flinging the kiss away towards a loved one, is not just a light and frivolous gesture for lovers and kids. Indeed, the blow-kiss was serious business in ancient Rome, where it was the correct way to pay respect to images of the gods.

Even the classic Greeks touched their fingers to their mouth in greeting, a gesture that was revived further north in Europe in the 1600s and 1700s. There were subtle differences: for instance, mediaeval Italians gathered their fingers as though holding a pinch of salt between their fingertips – but did not let the fingers touch their lips. In 18th century England, on the other hand, it became extremely fashionable to bunch up the fingers in the same way, actually kissing the fingertips with your lips, and then flinging the kiss into the air.

What cheek!

Over the past few decades, cheek-kissing (as opposed to air-kissing, below) has become de rigueur in many places where it was previously unknown as a greeting. The problem is that this gesture (like air-kissing) comes without instructions. Which cheek to kiss first? Do you kiss just once? If not, how many about-faces do you do?

If you are hoping to unravel the mystery of cheek-kissing on these pages, you're out of luck. The more books of etiquette you consult, the more conflicting advice you get. It seems that cheek-kissing is like dancing: it's all about leading and following, and detecting subtle signals in one's cheek-kissing counterpart in order to figure out the next step.

The South American writer Isabel Allende thinks all the smacking is a bit overbearing:

> I can add about our character that we're affectionate; we go around bestowing kisses right and left. We greet each other with a sincere kiss on the right cheek. Children kiss adults as they arrive and as they leave [...] Older people are kissed mercilessly, even against their will. Women kiss, even if they hate each other, and they kiss any male within reach, and neither age nor social class nor hygiene can dissuade them.

The modern cheek-kiss in the West is lame in comparison to its origins, and to the way it is conducted in Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean region today. Several sources state that the cheek-kiss originated among French peasants, who used to grab each other by the shoulders, pull each other close, and engage in a raucous side-to-side smack-fest, perhaps followed by an even more intimate backslapping, bear-hugging, body-clinching mother of all greetings.

When the rural cheek-kiss migrated into the urban societies, either by peasants moving to the city or city folk adopting the 'charming' custom, it lost one important feature: noise. In the countryside, the affection shown was measured in decibel: the louder the kiss, the warmer the greeting. City kissing was a noiseless affair, as any indiscreet body noise was seen (or rather heard) as reprehensible.

This affable form of greeting can often still be seen in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, in both the upper echelons of society and at the grass root level. It is usually done by men to other men, but women may also be the subject (or victim, as the case may be). Who can forget Boris Yeltsin's antics of approaching an acquaintance, ostentatiously feigning surprise at seeing the person, stretching arms high in the air, then grabbing, backslapping, and cheek-kissing over and over again with almost suffocating vigour?

In southern Spain, particularly in rural Andalucía, you will find 'the Spanish embrace'; always between two men.

Close friends who have been separated from each other for some time walk resolutely towards each other with big grins on their faces and their arms in the air, ending up in a 'clash of the titans' embrace, exclaiming loudly something like *Hombre, cómo estás? Tanto tiempo sin verte, coño!* ('Hey man, how are you? Bloody hell, long time no see!'). Then there is a lot of hugging and backslapping and cheek-kissing (but strangely enough, rarely handshaking).

The Spanish embrace seems a rustic, robust, rough method of saying hello, far removed from fineries and finesse, but it is in fact an infinitely variable phenomenon with lots of subtleties. The embrace is modified in its form, duration, noise level, warmth and intensity depending on a wide variety of factors. Among other things, it is governed by respective age, standing, social distance and the amount of time that has lapsed since you last met. For instance, the two friends may choose to leave out the cheek-kissing, or to stop at a half-embrace with only one arm around the other person and gripping the upper arm with the free hand. Also, the setting is important; whether you have arranged to meet beforehand or it is a chance encounter; the time of day; who is present, whether you find yourself at a birthday party or a funeral.

In the Mediterranean, Iberian and Balkan regions, if you are lucky enough to be a friend or relative of a rural family, you can often be treated to a heartfelt, robust bear hug with

accompanying smacking, grinding cheek kisses that give you stubble rash – but from someone else's stubble!

Criminal peck

In 2007 the American actor Richard Gere famously gave Bollywood actress Shilpa Shetty a few repeated pecks on the cheek and a lasting bear hug on stage in New Delhi, with thousands watching. This public display caused condemnation and outrage across India, complete with the burning and kicking of effigies, street rallies and demands to send the pair to death.

A court case ensued with a judge examining video footage of the event to determine whether the stage kiss constituted obscenity – a crime punishable by two years in jail and a fine of 2000 rupees (US $45).

Apparently, neither actor did time over the incident, but a great deal of apologising had to be done.

Kiss my airs

The air-kiss, also known as 'mwah-mwah', is practised, accepted, and variously loved or detested in many cultures around the globe. It is usually performed between two women, but can also be applied between a woman and a man. Perhaps it is best known through its Hollywood connotations, where celebrities at the Academy Awards and similar events step out on the red carpet, stick their necks out and kiss the air next to each others' cheeks without touching any part of the other person. In Bollywood, too, Italian behaviour such as saying 'ciao' and favouring pasta to curry has become de rigueur, as it were, and the showy mwah-mwah has replaced the elegant and subtle *namaste* greeting, according to disgruntled Indian traditionalists.

In comparison with a real physical cheek-kiss, the air-kiss could be called a 'miss-kiss'. It is the kiss you kiss when you want nothing to do with the person you're kissing.

The reason for the popularity of the mwah-mwah might have a purely practical explanation, in that great amounts of both money and time have been spent on spectacular hairdos, fluttering lengthened eyelashes, highlighted contours, Botox-ed lips, rouged cheeks and other elaborate make-up procedures that could crumble like a house of cards in a fraction of a second if touched.

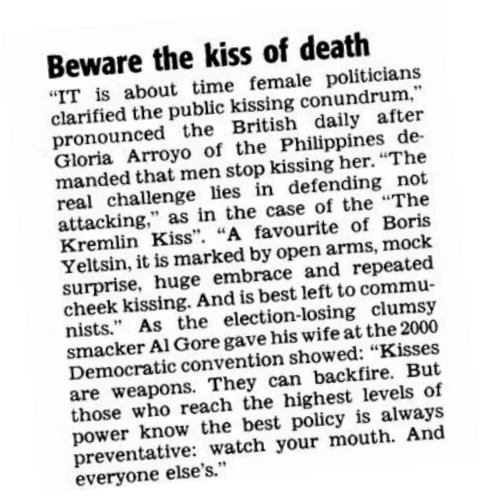
Amongst those of us who do not belong to the Hollywood set, air-kissing seems to have ensconced itself in certain societal sets, such as the media and fashion industries. In his book *The $12 Million Stuffed Shark*, Don Thompson makes the air-kiss part of the culture in the auction rooms of Britain:

> The protocol in the entry hall before the auction is to air-kiss, right cheek then left cheek; if male to male, shake hands, grasp just above the other's elbow with the free hand and respond "It's good to see you looking so well" and "I'm here for the Rothko" (or whatever work is on the catalogue cover, or is most expensive — no one will enquire further). Then look over the other party's shoulder as if searching out an old friend. This is the other's cue to do the same, and move on. [...] Some of those attending amuse themselves, or impress their friends, by doing the great kiss-shake-shoulder routine with anyone they recognize from a newspaper photo.

The air-kiss is not a new invention, though: it was described in detail already in 1715 in books of manners and etiquette, where it was pointed out that a big faux pas was to air-kiss a woman of higher standing without her express permission. Even if a woman offered her cheek to be kissed, like today, the kisser had to remember to constrain the kiss to a fake gesture, without ever touching the woman's face.

The air-kiss, then and now, is in its purest form confined to certain social strata. It is hard to imagine hearing those lovey-dovey mwah-mwahs fluttering about at a chartered accountants' conference or a plumbers' convention.

While the traditional Chinese greeting was either to clasp your hands at your chest and bow, or, if necessary, to do the full-on 9-knock kowtow, the Manchu version was to drop your right knee to the ground and let your arms hang down (Rhoads 2000, p. 63).



Beware the kiss of death

"IT is about time female politicians clarified the public kissing conundrum," pronounced the British daily after Gloria Arroyo of the Philippines demanded that men stop kissing her. "The real challenge lies in defending not attacking," as in the case of the "The Kremlin Kiss". "A favourite of Boris Yeltsin, it is marked by open arms, mock surprise, huge embrace and repeated cheek kissing. And is best left to communists." As the election-losing clumsy smacker Al Gore gave his wife at the 2000 Democratic convention showed: "Kisses are weapons. They can backfire. But those who reach the highest levels of power know the best policy is always preventative: watch your mouth. And everyone else's."

Source: *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 August 2004

In May 2008 a Muslim man in Sweden lost both his apprenticeship and pay when he refused to shake hands with the company's representative, a woman. He claimed that his religion did not allow him to touch females outside his immediate family (*Dagens Nyheter*, 30 May 2008).

Flashy hello:

the eyebrow flash

There is one non-verbal type of greeting that is far more common than all handshakes, bows, curtsies, waves and kisses put together: the eyebrow flash.

In 1972, the Austrian-born human ethologist Professor Doktor Doktor Irenäus Eibl-Eibesfeldt (see p. 177) expressed his surprise at how anyone could have missed this extremely important phenomenon – so widespread that it could even be called a human universal.

The gesture is often accompanied with a look straight in the eyes and a smile.

Eyebrow flashing as a greeting can be observed among such disparate cultures as Europeans, Balinese, Samoans, Quechua Indians of South America, Papuans and the Bushmen of the Kalahari.

Indeed, some travel guides state that raising one's eyebrows for a fraction of a second is *the* way to say hello in Tonga and other Polynesian islands.

In one instance, the good professor discovered a village in Papua New Guinea where the absence of the eyebrow flash was obvious. This mystified him, as he had visited the place before, and had always been greeted in this way. It turned out that the villagers had been maltreated by some white patrol officers, and because of resentment against white people, the villagers had discontinued the friendly flash and, according to the ethologist, considered it sufficient to nod and smile in greeting.

In some cultures eyebrow flashing is a well-known occurrence, but one that has acquired a bad name. In Japan, for instance, the practice is considered indecent, and is, perhaps literally, frowned upon.

Eibl-Eibesfeldt subtly used a small movie camera to film extensive footage of flashing around the world. He estimated the duration of the greeting to around one sixth of a second, and averred that the rapid eyebrow flash

might have originated from another type of flash: the way we almost unwittingly raise our eyebrows in surprise (and often, according to the Professor Doktor Doktor, in pleasant surprise). However, in the surprise motion, the eyebrows stay up for some time before being slowly lowered again.

The eyebrow flash is often used in other situations, usually good-natured ones, such as flirting, showing approval, expressing thanks, emphasising a statement, or as a general call for attention.

Where the origin of this extremely common type of greeting comes from is debatable, but Eibl-Eibesfeldt points out that very strong eyebrow flashing is common in many Old World monkeys, such as macaques and baboons.

Among so-called 'hipsters': strutting along with arms downwards by the side, then pointing subtly at the other person in recognition (Bäuml & Bäuml 1997)

Getting the shakes:

the story of the handshake

The origin of the handshake is a disputed matter, and the more you research the topic, the more differing accounts you get.

By far the most common explanation for the handshake is that it stems from showing one's friendly intentions by proving to each other that no weapons are carried in the hand. Both persons are, literally, armless for a few moments in what Desmond Morris calls 'temporary incapacitation of the sword-hand'. He goes on to say that in the days of the Roman Empire, the handshake was really a wrist-grab, where the two persons clasped each other's forearms rather than hands.

Whether you incapacitate only the hand or the whole arm, the handshake is the ideal companion to bowing one's head to show absolute trust in the other person.

In addition, if you still have any suspicions, the shaking action itself is supposed to 'shake out' any concealed weapons that might be hidden up one's sleeve.

Old customs

Handshakes figure in a variety of old texts, including the Bible (in the English translation it is called 'strike hands'). In the Biblical texts, this clearly signifies allegiance of a special sort that seems to be akin to 'shaking on a deal' between money lenders and the like.

Homer (around 800 BC) also mentions handshakes several times in *The Iliad*, sometimes as a sign of sealing a deal, or making an oath, or providing comfort, or placing trust in another.

There are even some very old pictures of handshakes, for example the stone below, showing Antiochus I of Commagene shaking hands with Heracles, around 70–35 BC.

However, as Homer described, the handshake seems to have had a different meaning in ancient times. Its purpose was not so much to greet another person, but more to agree on something, to make a promise, to make peace, to bury the hatchet.

Shakespeare makes the 'deal-sealing' function very clear. In *As You Like It*, he writes:

> I knew when seven justices could not take up a quarrel, but when the parties were met themselves, one of them thought but of an 'if', or, 'if you said so, then I said so,' and they shook hands and swore brothers. (Act 5, Scene 4)

About a hundred years later, in Europe, the handshake was still used exclusively as a sign of a successful resolution of a conflict. The early English traveller W. Aglionby, who journeyed around the continent, described in 1669 how quarrelling people could go to a semi-official mediator

instead of a court of justice. When the matter had been resolved to everyone's satisfaction, he says, 'they shake hands, and are made friends'.

Puzzling times

So if the handshake was well known in antiquity and described in Shakespeare's plays, how come many sources state that the custom was more or less unknown before the early 1800s?

This probably has to do with two factors: firstly, because the word 'unknown' should be predicated with a qualification: 'unknown in the sense we mean today, that is, as a form of person-to-person greeting', and secondly, because geographical region seems to be of importance.

In baroque continental Europe, many books on manners and etiquette were published. These books gave ample advice on all the complicated procedures of bowing, curtseying, donning and doffing hats, kissing ladies' hands, and so on. But shaking hands is never mentioned in these books – at least, not until about the first half of the 1800s.

However, the story is different across the English Channel. In the British Isles, the handshake had been in use for well over 200 years and perhaps much longer. It seems that principal users of the handshake as a greeting were the members of a religious society: the Quakers (no, not the

Shakers). When the rest of Europe started to bow and scrape and flourish and fiddle with their hats, the Quakers (or Society of Friends, as they called themselves) wanted none of the bristling and deference of pompous gesticulation, but instead deemed it 'more agreeable with Christian simplicity to greet one another by giving their hand'.

The Quakers called each other simply 'Friends' and were opposed to the politesse of saying 'your grace' and 'your humble servant' and other forms of hierarchy and class distinction.

So while civility and etiquette in much of continental Europe demanded other forms of greetings, the Quakers called each other 'Friend', used the humble and down-to-earth 'thou' form, and retained the simple handshake as their preferred gesture (this is perhaps the reason that many sources claim that it was the Quakers who 'invented' the handshake).

But the Quakers were not the only people to prefer the handshake. Other people in the British Isles also frowned upon the continental European posing and gesturing and affected mannerisms. Already in 1607 the English writer James Cleland dismissed the '...apish bowing down to every man's shoe' of the French, much preferring the simple, down-to-earth handshake accompanied with a bearing of the head.

In northern Europe, the handshake was also in use during the centuries. Already in the 1500s, German books mention *Handgebens, Hänschlagens, Händeruckens* (all meaning 'offering your hand' or 'shaking hands'), and in 16th century Poland the gesture was known and used.

The Dutch sociologist Herman Roodenburg (who is the source of much of the information given in this chapter) believes that the handshake may have been a truly 'traditional' gesture, dating back many hundreds of years. He thinks that 'it is not unlikely that the handshake as a salutation was widely known in Europe before the new fashions of bowing and other formal gestures spread from France, Italy and Spain'. It then fell out of favour in Western continental Europe, where it was displaced by more hierarchic and elaborate forms of greeting for perhaps two or three hundred years. In the 1800s, the handshake slowly made an encore, returning from England, where it had been preserved by the Quakers and others, to a baffled European public who had forgotten all about the gesture.

À l'anglaise donc

And baffled they were – particularly the French. It was not until the mid-1800s that the handshake was even mentioned in the 'manners books' of Europe. At the beginning, the

greeting was considered an inappropriate and improper gesture, and should not be used by anyone except the closest of friends. Madame la Baronesse de Fresne put it succinctly in 1858:

> *Ne donnez votre main qu'à vos amis, et ne l'offrez jamais à un supérieur.*
> ('Only shake hands with your friends, and never with a superior.')

She also gave a reason, namely that such a gesture 'is in rather poor taste and you run the risk of receiving a rebuke'.

The baroness was not the only one to shun the practice. French stories from the 1800s tell of ladies who expect a chivalrous kiss on the hand by a civilised man, but, the man being an Englishman perhaps, only get a handshake – a greeting that clearly surprised or even appalled a French lady of some standing. In *Madame Bovary*, Emma gets the cross-channel treatment from Léon:

> They advanced towards each other; he held out his hand; she hesitated.
>
> "In the English fashion, then," she said, giving her own hand wholly to him, and forcing a laugh.
>
> Léon felt it between his fingers, and the very essence of all his being seemed to pass down into that moist palm.

The shaking spreads

Gradually throughout the second half of the 19th century, the handshake became the preferred greeting all over Europe. Not everyone could perform a firm, positive shake, though. The French writer Marcel Proust was one such 'dead fish' character. His friend Prince Antoine Bibesco remembered:

> He offered me his hand. There are many ways of shaking hands. It is not too much to say that it is an art. He was not good at it. His hand was soft and drooping … There was nothing pleasant about the way he performed the action. I would show him later how to shake hands with a grip. — 'If I followed your example,' he objected, 'people would think I was an invert [homosexual].'

The practice spread beyond Europe's borders. Already in 1862, Ivan Turgenev mentioned this new form of greeting in his novel *Fathers and Sons* (up until now, cheek-kissing, bowing and even a form of kowtow had been used in Russia). It is the anglophile Pavel Petrovich who does the shaking, and perhaps for the sake of clarity or to stress the exotic character of the gesture, Turgenev decided to describe it in English:

> Having done with the preliminary European *'shake hands'*, he kissed him in the Russian fashion three times, that is to say he brushed his cheeks three times with perfumed whiskers and said: 'Welcome home.' (Words in italic are written in English in the original Russian text.)

First-hand experience

While the handshake had developed to a commonplace gesture in the Middle East and Europe for a very long time, the custom was completely unknown in other parts of the world.

In China, stretching out a hand and expecting someone to grab it and shake it could cause great bewilderment even as late as in the 1970s:

> The person walked over and stuck a hand out at us. This was clearly a gesture that came from outside Maqiao; I stood there, stupefied, until I realized this was called shaking hands and we should also stick out our hands.

Indeed, even today some mainland Chinese publications see it fit to explain rather explicitly precisely what this gesture is and what it signifies. The definition in the *Oxford Concise English-Chinese Chinese-English Dictionary* of 2003 says (in Chinese):

> Shake hands (a gesture of greeting, congratulation, showing respect, etc)

By 1919 the handshake as a greeting had reached as far as the Imperial Court of China, where the young Emperor Pu Yi, already an admirer of things Western, tried out the hand gesture on his new English tutor, Reginald Fleming Johnston. The moment is captured in Bernardo Bertolucci's 1987 film *The Last Emperor*, and is described in both Pu Yi's and Johnston's memoirs, but it might be best to let the emperor himself tell the story of the strange mixture of European shakes and Chinese bows that took place on 4 March, 1919 in the Yu Qing Palace inside the Forbidden City:

> First of all he bowed to me as I sat on a throne according to the protocol for receiving foreign officials and then I got up and shook hands with him. He bowed once more and withdrew. Then he came in again and I bowed to him: this was the way in which I acknowledged him as my teacher.

While inside the Middle Kingdom, the handshake was to remain an un-Chinese thing for many decades, only a few years later the custom had been picked up in South East Asia, where even Chinese émigrés in Burma had adopted the greeting.

Shake at any cost

Many people seem obsessed with handshaking. It is interesting to observe what often happens if someone is temporarily unable to shake hands: for instance, if your hands are dirty or dusty or greasy when a visitor arrives, you might still offer your 'pinkie' finger if it's clean, or your wrist or even your elbow for the other person to 'shake'. Some people might even offer their leg or shoulder to slap instead of shake.

Some researchers think that this desire to touch each other in any way possible might have to do with a need to 'cling' to another person: a phenomenon that permeates many greetings. Elbow-shaking, blow-kissing, air-kissing, the 'vacuum embrace' and even shaking our own hands when the distance is too great, all have to do with actually touching the other person, albeit vicariously.

Shake and shake again

A handshake, like a 'good morning', is something done once only on a single occasion. For example, to shake hands with a colleague when you first meet him or her in the morning is quite common. But to shake again later that morning or in the afternoon seems, well, somewhat peculiar.

The same rule applies even if you haven't shaken hands: it is not 'right' to come back and shake hands with someone when you have already said hello.

There is, however, one circumstance when it is completely correct to shake hands twice or even several times with the same person. Take an award ceremony for instance, where the compère presents the trophies and congratulates the winners by shaking their hands. If one person has won several awards, it is still customary, even mandatory, to shake hands every time a trophy is handed over.

Why? Because by receiving the award, the winner achieves a new status. By shaking hands we are saying, 'You are no longer the same person – I greet you in your new role.'

Shakespeare shakes bye

The custom of shaking hands in a farewell gesture seems to be a considerably younger phenomenon. There are few records of this before the 15th century, notably pictures in the spectacular 12-panel Herrenberg Altar in Germany, painted around 1540, where goodbye handshakes can be seen in at least two instances.

Later in the same century, William Shakespeare also mentions handshakes as farewells:

I hold it fit that we shake hands and part.
(*Hamlet,* Act 1, Scene 5)

He wrung Bassanio's hand; and so they parted.
(*Merchant of Venice,* Act 2, Scene 8)

Secret handshakes

Jephthah, judge of Israel, had an ingenious way of telling a real Gileadite winner from a lying Ephraimite loser claiming to be a Gileadite to save his skin. The Ephraimites could not pronounce the sound 'sh', and all Jephthah had to do was to ask the dubious person to say the Hebrew word 'shibboleth'. If the answer sounded like 'sibboleth', it was a dead giveaway, 'dead' being the operative word here.

It was, to the Gileadites, a very successful method. According to the Bible, 42,000 Ephraimites were dobbed in by their own accent and killed on the shores of the Jordan. The word shibboleth has lived on, signifying something that functions as a proof that someone is a genuine member of a particular group.

In much the same way, a 'secret handshake' has been devised by more than one organisation, perhaps the most famous one being the Freemasons. This age-old organisation, an erstwhile 'guild' of architectural construction people who used to erect cathedrals and other major

buildings, has used a number of secret handshakes in order that members can provide proof of their eligibility, standing, level of authority and so on.

The Freemasons, according to the Sydney Grandmaster Graeme Ewin in a television interview, originally devised an array of secret handshakes and secret words in order to gain access to various building projects according to their expertise. The ultimate reason for the practical and physical shake/word demonstration was that most of these tradespeople were illiterate and had no means of proving their qualifications in writing.

Shake and join the cub

Another peculiar handshake is that of the Scouts (that is, the Cub Scouts, Boy Scouts, Brownies and Girl Guides): the left-handed version. Stories abound of how Robert Baden-Powell, founder of the Scout movement, came up with the idea, and the internet is flooded with varying and conflicting accounts – including one from Lady Baden-Powell. Many speak of the custom coming from the Ashanti tribe of Africa who had a tradition that the 'bravest of the brave' should shake hands with their left, because that was the closest to the heart. Other theories have to do with holding shields and spears and lowering the shield as a sign of trust, and so on.

Like the right-handshake, the true origin of the left-hand version is best left alone.

Variations on a theme

It is outside the scope of this book to list or show all the modified handshakes that are found around the world. A few notable ones include the East African variety: a gentle slap of the palms, followed by cupping the hand and grasping each others' fingers. The Mexican model is a conventional handshake followed by flicking the palm upwards and grabbing hold of each others' thumb. Another African variant, popular among the Bantu people and others in the south, is a conventional handshake which ends with the joined hands being raised into the air, and letting go at the top.

The even stronger shake

There are many ways of emphasising a handshake, but three variations that can be seen on television news reports almost daily, often performed by politicians, are usually known as 'amplified' shakes. The simplest is also known as the 'glove handshake' and involves first clasping the other person's right hand in your own in a conventional handshake, and then wrapping your free (left) hand

around the entire 'knot'. This is a very powerful, warm friendship signal.

The next step is for the shaker to use the free hand to grasp the shakee's wrist or forearm. This is perhaps not quite as strong as the skin-to-skin 'glove handshake', but can still convey great sincerity.

If you use your left hand to grab the other person's upper arm, or shoulder, or even go as far as patting the shoulder blade, you are performing a 'virtual embrace'. By doing this, you are saying to the other person that although you are shaking hands in a formal way, you might actually hug the person if protocol didn't demand that you keep it formal.

The gesture that gives you away

The ultimate clasping of hands must be the *immixtio manuum*. To place both one's hands in those of a superior, usually while sinking to the ground, means a lot. It means complete surrender, perhaps of one's freedom, claims and power, instead entrusting them to the other person.

There are two main examples: firstly, the act of homage in feudal times, when a vassal or soldier bared his head, fell to his knees and placed both of his hands into the hands of his lord in a show of complete loyalty. And secondly, according to the Catholic *Rituale*, the way a nun taking her

vows or a priest being ordained makes the same gesture, submissively placing both hands into the bishop's clasp.

This latter example of *immixtio manuum* is said to reflect some of Christ's last words: 'Father, into thy hands I command my spirit.'

Slaps, daps, thumps and bumps:

not so gripping handshakes

It was 'the bump that shook the world'. An innocent gentle knuckle-touch between Barack and Michelle Obama one Tuesday night in early June 2008. Mr Obama had just claimed victory in the Democratic presidential nomination and in the euphoria on the stage in St Paul, Minnesota, the two daintily knocked knuckles in front of the world media.

Soon the whole world knew what a 'fist bump' was. From the States to South Africa, from Sydney to Stockholm, the gesture was front page news.

Newspapers and magazines published whole features about the gesture. *Time* magazine presented 'A Brief History of the Fist Bump'. The British *Guardian* went so far as to compiling an entire picture gallery showing that not only African Americans do it (the Obamas, Tiger Woods, Will Smith); not only white Americans do it (Tom Cruise); but even the Dalai Lama and Prince Charles do it!

The fist bump, known by dozens of other names ranging from 'bones' and 'pound' to 'respect' and 'knudge', is thought to have originated in the late 1960s or early 1970s, and was, until that memorable Tuesday, usually associated with sporting events and beer commercials, and chiefly practised

among African Americans (presumably until Tibetan Holinesses and British Royalty knuckled down to it).

It is interesting to note that the central role in this gentle and friendly greeting is played by the clenched fist – normally seen as a sign of hostility and perhaps violence.

The sterile bump

A medical variation on the fist bump theme came into the limelight during the SARS and bird-flu scares.

It is called the 'elbow bump' and involves simply touching not knuckles, but elbows. That way, there is little chance of nasty germs changing hands, as it were. Its biggest proponent has been the World Health Organization, and WHO staffers around the world, perhaps fighting an Ebola outbreak or other epidemic, have made the elbow bump their customary 'clean' greeting.

After all, only a contortionist could sneeze on his elbow.

Hi-5

Preceding the fist bump by at least 20 years is another famous greeting associated with African Americans: the 'high-five'.

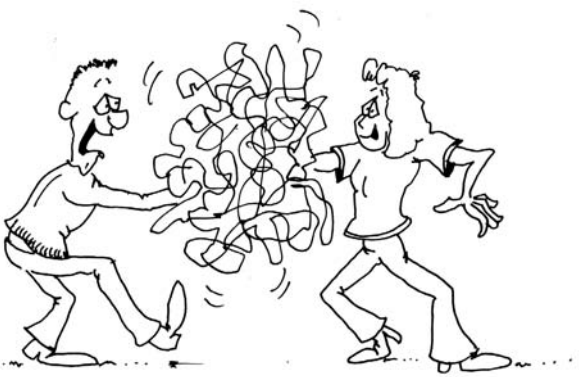
Slapping each other's hands together at various heights (there are 'very high-fives' where the greeters jump into the

air, as well as a thigh-high 'low-five' version) is said to have originated among athletes in the 1950s, experienced its heyday in the eighties, went into a kind of 'high-bernation', and is undergoing something of a revival today.

Both the fist bump and the high-five have in common that they can be done at a distance, without the greeters physically bumping or slapping each other. These remote greetings are known as 'air-bump' and 'air-five' respectively.

Handy acrobatics

The various hand greetings found in America are too numerous to describe or list here, but one relative of the fist bump and the high-five – and a most spectacular greeting – is perhaps worth mentioning: the 'dap'.



This word usually connotes a greeting routine of extraordinary complexity that requires not only long and diligent practice, an extreme level of control and speed and dexterity, but also complete coordination between the two greeters.

It must be understood that there is no one single dap, but countless variations. A particular dap works almost as a 'secret handshake'. It must be known completely by both greeters. It can comprise hand movements, dance steps, body bends, head rolls, sound effects, struts, lunges, dodges, knee-knocks and all manner of dynamic ingredients. The hand and finger movements are often digital acrobatics, incorporating slaps, flips, snaps, hits, grips, bumps, pulls, hooks, snatches, and flourishes of every imaginable kind.

Readers might have expected an instructional graphic or photograph on these pages, but there is none. It is pointless to try to illustrate a dap in line drawings, diagrams or still pictures: the only way is to see it in real life or, perhaps even better, in slow-motion replay. Hands dash and flit like birds in the air; feet shuffle and tap; fingers touch and snap. A good dap is a wondrous display of human coordination. Those who can should look up the myriad clips available on the internet.

I DIPS ME LID:

the hat as a courtesy tool

'I dips me lid' – that is how the Australian poet C. J. Dennis describes it in his *The Songs of a Sentimental Bloke*: doffing his hat to a lady.

There is no hiding the Aussie twang in the words as Doreen, the lady in question, is marched up for an introduction:

Me pal 'e trots 'er up an' does the toff
'E allus wus a bloke fer showin' off.
"This 'ere's Doreen," 'e sez. "This 'ere's the Kid."
I dips me lid.

Taking off one's hat as a greeting has a long and complex background.

Hat removal in history is full of waves and flourishes and flutters and all sorts of wiggles and waggles and wriggles of the head gear. There were many rules. At times it was important to never show the inside of the hat, in case it happened to be dirty. At another time, when men started to wear wigs, it became a must to show the inside of the hat as evidence that indeed there was not a speck of dirt there.

'Manners books' became very popular in Europe in the 1700s. Countless pages and whole chapters have been written about exactly when, where and how to remove one's hat – right down to the minutest detail. In Holland, one of the grandest such manuals contained well over 500 pages of advice on how to behave among the well-bred and cultured. *Het groot ceremonie-boeck den beschaafde zeeden*, or *The Great Procedural Book of Civilised Manners* was written in Amsterdam in 1715 by the celebrated C. van Laar, who seemed to know everything there was to know about hat-handling. (By the way, that is the drastically

truncated title of van Laar's book; according to the Dutch sociologist Herman Roodenburg, the full title reads, *Het groot ceremonie-boeck den beschaafde zeeden, welleevendheid, ceremoieel, en welvoegende hoffelykheden onderwyzende hoe ieder een... zich behoorden te gedraagen, om zich zelven in deeze wereld, bemind en gelukkig te maaken.* And even that has been truncated! It seems that book titles of the age were just as protracted and elaborate as the art of hat-doffing itself.)

For example, van Laar advised that upon entering the home of a superior personage, you must remove your hat and bow deeply. Doing this, you must hold your hat in your left hand and stand to the person's left side, so as to avoid obstructing your superior's right arm. You must never put your hat back on without expressly being asked to do so (it was then customary to wear your hat indoors, unlike later etiquette: apart from the greeting ritual, the only time you took your hat off was when proposing a toast). So you would most probably be strongly encouraged to put your hat back on. It was a reciprocal thing: by removing his hat, the guest showed respect for the host; by prompting to put the hat back on, the host showed respect for the guest.

The procedure doesn't end there. Should the person happen to *sneeze*, of all things, what do you do? C. van Laar comes to the rescue: you immediately rip your hat off again and bare your head before the sneezer.

Even if the person, disappointingly, does *not* sneeze, it's a good idea to remove your hat again anyway, and keep it off until you receive some really serious prompting to put it back on your head.

Timing is of the essence

In the eastern part of Europe, not only should hat-doffing be done in the correct manner, but at the precise time. In

Poland, it was important that the younger person, or the person of lower importance, remove his hat first. If the hat-removal happened between two equals, they must make certain to synchronise their doffing perfectly to avoid embarrassment.

Why dip or tip or doff?

The reasons for raising one's hat are both varied and disputed. As with the handshake, hat-lifting is often said to have to do with showing trust in the other person: you take your helmet off and bare your head in a gesture of goodwill. In other words, 'I trust you not to hit me on the head.'

Other theories abound. The ethnologist Desmond Morris presents two:

1. Hats were often wide-brimmed and expansive, perhaps elaborately adorned with feathers and plumage, and keeping your hat on would hide your identity as you bowed and greeted a person. You simply had to remove your hat in order to show your face.
2. Greeting another person had to do with lowering your body stature in front of that person (compare bowing, kneeling, curtseying, kowtowing, knee-clasping, foot-kissing, prostration and so on) just

like many animals do. Taking off your hat was the first step in gradually decreasing your physical height during the greeting procedure.

Yet another interpretation, perhaps a little madcap, as it were, comes from Sigmund Freud, who found that the hat 'has been adequately established as a symbol of the genital organ, most frequently the male, through analyses of dreams,' and that the hat 'can be considered as a continuation of the head, though detachable'.

The removal of the hat in greeting really meant an abasement and a symbolic castration before the person saluted. Freud observed:

> When they [obsessional neurotics] are in the street they are constantly on the look out to see whether some acquaintance will greet them first by taking off his hat, or whether he seems to be waiting for their

> salutation: and they give up a number of their acquaintances after discovering that they no longer greet them or do not return their own salutation properly. It makes no difference to their behaviour when we tell them ... that a salutation by taking off the hat has the meaning of an abasement before the person saluted.

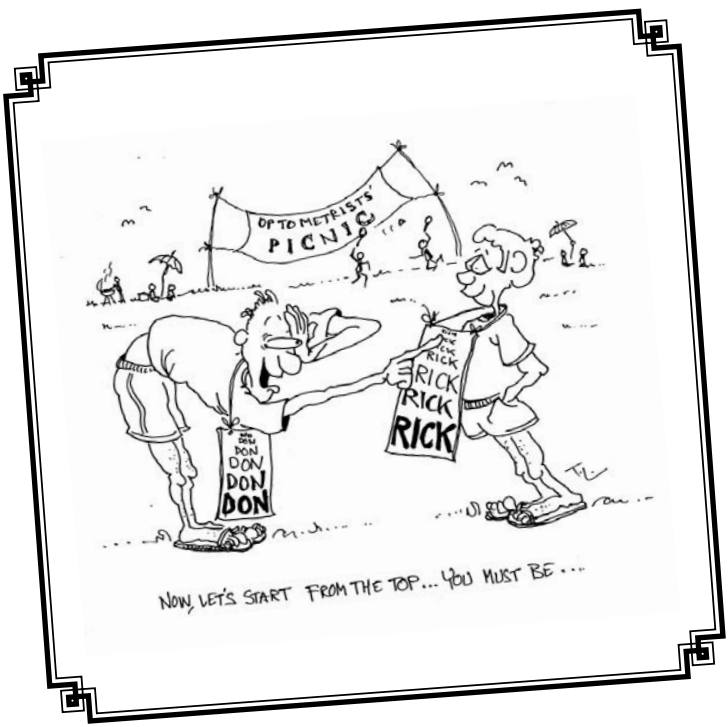
And that was only when raising one's hat to another man! To cap it all, if a man takes his hat off to a woman, this is supposed to be a sign of complete self-abnegation, as well as an invitation for the lady in question to tread on the saluting man, and a masochistic cover up of the truly aggressive gesture of baring the head.

A HANDY TIP

According to several sources, to simply 'tip' your hat by touching the brim with your fingers, or moving the tilt of the hat very slightly up or down, is an American custom. The gesture appears in countless cowboy movies. To actually pick up the hat and lift it right off the head is a European custom. Both practices, though, are often accompanied by heel-clicking and attention-standing, much like a military salute.

'Tipping' the hat is very much about show. The gesture is a sign of intention of removing your hat without actually doing so. This is also the meaning of the customary military

hand salute, very common in defence forces around the world. Touching the brim of your helmet or cap (or your forehead or even cheek) is a token of actually taking off your head protection. And don't forget to do it! There are very few 'compulsory gestures' around the world, but failing to perform a hand salute to a superior officer is a punishable offence in many defence forces. You might even end up in the brig or clink or lock-up, cap in hand.



Hello? Hell, no!

greeting refusals

Blatantly refusing to say hello to someone is serious business. The act of not accepting a proffered hand, for instance, is an extremely powerful show of contempt or disdain.

There are many instances in film, television and theatre when an outstretched arm is met with inaction – a tense moment indeed, leaving no doubt about what the greetee thinks of the greeter.

Similarly, to hang up the phone without a word after hearing who is calling is almost always portrayed as a great affront in any form of dramatic productions.

In the comedy *Black Books*, 'blanking' (as the refusal to acknowledge someone else is called) is described as something intensely invidious:

> [blanking], that's like an awesomely powerful thing to do in civilised society! It's like, it's like, it's like when the mafia send each other fish through the post!

Many are the instances on the political arena where representatives of one side have refused to shake hands with someone from the other.

But it is not all about handshakes. During the opening ceremony of the 1908 Olympic Games in London, a bitter feud between the United Kingdom and the USA caused the American flag-bearer Ralph Waldo Rose to refuse to lower or 'dip' the Stars and Stripes before King Edward VII – a most controversial non-greeting. The Irish-born US discus thrower Martin Sheridan was reported to give his famous justification that 'this flag dips to no earthly king'. And indeed, this caused a precedent: it became custom that the American Olympic team does not dip the flag at these events.

Likewise, in the 1936 Olympics, the American athletes chose not to greet the Führer with the Nazi salute, as many other nations did, but instead held their straw hats at their

hearts. This greeting statement was met with outrage and derision among the German onlookers (see Hi, Hitler, p. 20).

Do I know you?

The language of greeting can be exquisitely subtle and full of nuances. In English there is a curious way of 'not' greeting someone you know very well, yet conveying the feeling that perhaps you *oughtn't* know the person in question. An old friend turns up after a long time of neglecting you, and you make no bones about it by saying: 'Hello, stranger.'

Waves of emotion:

greeting from a distance

Waving is a common way of greeting or farewelling each other at a distance. Short of using a loud hailer or an Aldis lamp or a set of signal flags, it is also one of the most effective.

'Distance' is, like 'waving', a vague word. A mother might 'wave' at her baby extremely close up, often by curling/waggling the fingers repeatedly in front of the child's eyes like a fascinating toy.

Another close-proximity mini-wave is the 'fingers wave' where the hand is held next to the waver's face and all four fingers do the waving all at once. This can be a friendly wave at close quarters, but be careful: together with a wry smile, the 'fingers wave' can also have overtones of a smug dismissal, as in 'On your bike, sunshine.'

Japanese students (usually female) are often seen waving vigorously at each other at very close proximity – even closer than a handshake or a bow would require – shouting (or screeching, as the case may be) *hisashiburiiiiiiiiii!* in greeting ('it's been a long time!') although it might have been a very short period since they last saw each other. Thus they are both shouting and waving frantically, although they are only centimetres apart. (They might also squeal *genkiiiii?* 'How are you? or *nani shitteru no?* 'What are you doing?') Likewise, the same students perform the same close-up wave when parting, yelling *mata imashooooo!* or *ja, mataaaa!* 'See you later!' while waving wildly right in each other's face.

More commonly, however, waving is a substitute for touching the other person when you can't. Much like a blow-kiss when you are too far away for a real kiss, you

wave when physical distance prevents you from grasping or clasping or touching the other person.

The best example of a 'grasping wave' is the 'self-handshake', where you shake *your own* hand in lieu of the other person's. This occurs not only when two people 'tele-shake', but quite often in the sports arena, when the winner 'shakes the hand' of each of the cheering spectators by joining his or her own two hands and waving them around at the audience.

Making waves

At first, waving seems a rather mundane gesture that doesn't require more than raising your arm and shaking it around a bit. You have probably waved at someone in the past day or two – but when did you last do it with a handkerchief in your hand? Sadly, that seems to be a custom on the way out. Kerchief or not, there is more to the wave than you might think. There are many types of waves, and some might cause confusion.

Take the simplest wave of all, the 'arm raise', in which the arm is extended above the head, held still and showing the palm to the other person. This gesture can be ambiguous, in that it can not only mean 'hello' but also 'Stop right where you are!'

Another example of 'crossed waves' is the common American way of waving, semaphore-like, with all five fingers outstretched, wrist stiff, and moving the forearm from side to side quite near one's face. This gesture often means 'hi' or 'bye' in North America, but in many parts of Europe it means 'no', as in 'No, I don't want any more coffee' or 'No, I don't want to talk about that.'

The (not universal but very common) 'European wave' is to hold your entire arm outstretched in front of you, palm downwards, and then waving the hand at the wrist.

A variation of the European wave could be called the 'Italian wave' or the 'Greek wave': the difference is that the palm of the hand is pointing either sideways or upwards and you wave by curling all fingers repeatedly towards the palm – many non-Europeans might interpret this as beckoning someone to come closer. Some researchers call it a 'vacuum embrace', that is, a symbol for embracing someone at a distance. This form of wave can be seen in Italian movies, and in footage of some Popes waving from the balcony overlooking St Peter's Square.

Drowning, not waving

When is a wave a greeting, and when is it a call for help? Many surf lifesaving associations recommend that people in distress call attention by waving with only one arm. This might be because you need the other arm for keeping your body afloat; on the other hand, if you wave with both arms you might as well be standing on both legs and waving at your mum on the beach. International marine code, on the other hand, suggests waving with both arms, however not from side to side, but with both forearms raised and lowered vertically, as if you're repeatedly pumping weights above your head.

It has happened, though, that no matter what method you use, waving for help from a boat in trouble has an

unintended result: your would-be rescuers get it all wrong, and simply give you a friendly wave back before happily continuing on their way.

Aloha!

A special kind of wavy greeting is the Hawaiian wave, also known as the 'aloha sign' or the 'shaka salute'. The thumb and 'pinkie' are stretched out with the three middle fingers curled into the palm of the hand, and then the hand is waggled. This greeting sign is common in Hawaii and can also be found in California.

Explanations of the origin of this salute span from sugar workers who had had their middle fingers accidentally

chopped off during the cane harvest to the Hawaiian pastime of marble playing. The ethnologist Desmond Morris avers that the gesture is simply a misunderstanding: when Honolulu was flooded with South American sailors and immigrants, the newcomers often used the common Spanish gesture for 'Let's have a drink' (where the hand with the two outstretched fingers signifies a glass that is 'tipped down the hatch'). This sign was erroneously taken as a greeting among the Hawaiians.

Customs & Behaviours

No hug for Dr Livingstone:

a demonstration of restraint

One of the most famous greetings in history is the cool and reserved 'Dr Livingstone, I presume?' But few people know that, if Stanley had had his way, the meeting would have been far more cordial.

It was 23 October 1871 and not much had been heard from the good doctor for five years. Stanley had been looking for Livingstone since January that year, when he set out from Zanzibar to track down the great explorer.

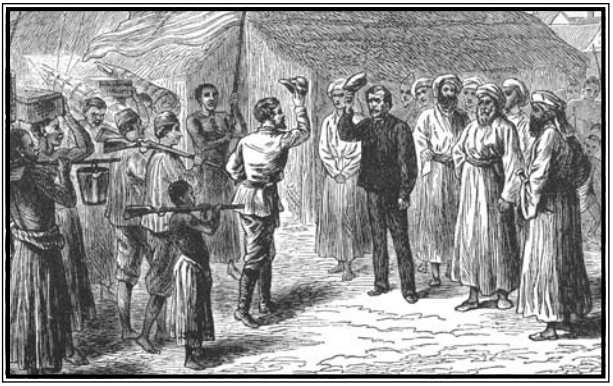
And at last Stanley found his doctor, at Ujiji on the eastern shores of Lake Tanganyika (now Tanzania). After 10 months of arduous trekking through country ravaged by fighting and disease, Henry Morton Stanley finally stood before David Livingstone.

It was an emotional moment for the Welshman Stanley. All he wanted to do was to give the explorer a big hug. But he didn't. Social restraint and Livingstone's Englishness forbade him to do so. The two men did not even shake hands.

Stanley writes in his memoirs:

> As I advanced slowly toward him I noticed he was pale, looked wearied, had a gray beard, wore a bluish cap with a faded gold braid

round it, had on a red-sleeved waistcoat, and a pair of gray tweed trousers. I would have run to him, only I was a coward in the presence of such a mob — would have embraced him, only, he being an Englishman, I did not know how he would receive me. So I did what cowardice and false pride suggested was the best thing — walked deliberately to him, took off my hat, and said:



'Dr. Livingstone, I presume?'

'Yes', said he, with a kind smile, lifting his cap slightly.

It hurts to say goodbye:

the Parthian shot

We sometimes say that someone delivers a 'parting shot', that is, says or does something hurtful or offensive upon leaving.

This makes perfect sense. But few dictionaries will carry this phrase. There is another expression that you *will* find in most dictionaries, and that might be more appropriate: 'Parthian shot'.

The Parthians were a people who lived in what is now known as the Khorasan region of Iran. Their empire lasted from about 250 BC to around AD 220.

Exquisite statuettes, pottery and silver jewellery came from Parthia, as did the Parthian shot.

The Parthians were pretty good warriors, and did well in the business of land-grabbing, deception, extortion and other dubious tactics. They were even rumoured to have intentions to attack the Roman Empire.

But what they did better than anyone else was to run away.

'We know how to pursue and how to flee with the same swiftness,' a Parthian delegation warned Alexander the Great when he was toying with the idea of conquering the wild world beyond the Jaxartes River.

Indeed, the Parthians knew how to flee, or rather, how to *look* as though they were fleeing. They feigned retreat, and when their triumphant enemy relaxed for a moment, the Parthian archers suddenly turned around and delivered a massive barrage of arrows, well-rehearsed and perfectly executed: the Parthian shot. Ouch!

How stiff can your upper lip get?

avoiding strangers

The year is 1844. Here you are, an upright, proper Englishman, travelling on a camel's back across the deserts of the Middle East. You have been journeying for days on end through the barren landscape. Apart from your hired servants, you haven't seen another living soul for weeks.

And suddenly, in the distance, you spot another traveller coming towards you in the sandy vastness. Indeed, it's an Englishman like you! How can you tell? He's wearing an English shooting jacket out here in the middle of the desert.

So what do you do as you get closer to each other?

According to the British historian and travel writer Alexander W. Kinglake (1809–91), if you are a dyed-in-the-wool Englishman, you do absolutely nothing – you just pass each other by without saying a word:

> As we approached each other it became with me a question whether we should speak. I thought it likely that the stranger would accost me, and in the event of his doing so I was quite ready to be as sociable and chatty as I could be according to my nature; but still I could not think of anything particular that I had to say to him. Of course, among civilised people the not having anything to say is no excuse at all for not speaking, but I was shy and indolent, and I felt no great wish to stop and talk like a morning visitor in the midst of those broad solitudes. The traveller perhaps felt as I did, for except that we lifted our hands to our caps and waved our arms in courtesy, we passed each other as if we had passed in Bond Street.

But then an awkward thing happens: the servants and guides of both parties break loose and take great delight in meeting each other. They rush to get together and exchange friendly gossip. Even the camels refuse to go on and instead walk back to intermingle with new friends of their own kind. How awkward for the two English masters!

The Englishmen are simply forced to approach each other:

> I felt the absurdity of the situation, and determined to accost the stranger if only to avoid the awkwardness of remaining stuck fast in the Desert whilst our servants were amusing themselves. When with this intent I turned round my camel I found that the gallant

> officer who had passed me by about thirty or forty yards was exactly in the same predicament as myself. I put my now willing camel in motion and rode up towards the stranger, who seeing this followed my example and came forward to meet me. He was the first to speak.

And what does he say? He uses the greatest opener in the history of English civility:

> I dare say you wish to know how the plague is going on at Cairo?

A TWITCH IN THE LIP

Of course, there are occasions when the ice breaks between the most formal people, and it doesn't have to be in the desert.

In 1936, the Nanda Devi Mountain in India became the highest peak climbed by man. Two Englishmen, Harold William Tilman and Noel Ewart Odell, finally made it to the top after a long and arduous climb. In his memoirs, Tilman remembers how, upon reaching the summit, all English stiffness broke down, and the two triumphant mountaineers lost their composure in a riotous show of English elation:

> I believe we so far forgot ourselves as to shake hands on it.

Far too forward

The English anthropologist Kate Fox is a collector of sorts. She collects people's behaviours in everyday situations. In her book *Watching the English* she repeatedly makes the observation that English people in particular will go to almost any length to avoid face-to-face confrontation.

The 'English dis-ease', as she calls it, makes for many an awkward moment in settings such as public transport. Fox says that it is both common and perfectly normal for English commuters to catch the train or bus to and from work with the same group of other commuters for years on end without ever saying a word to each other, or even acknowledging each other.

The reluctance to make contact is best expressed in the words of one of Fox's interviewees:

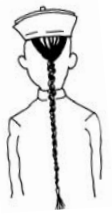
> After a while, if you see the same person every morning on the platform, and maybe quite often sit opposite them on the train, you might start to just nod to each other when you arrive, but that's about as far as it goes.

So how long is 'a while'? Kate Fox wonders.

> Oh, maybe a year or so — it depends. Some people are more outgoing than others, you know.

'Outgoing?' If you nod to a person one year after seeing them daily, you're outgoing?

> Once you start greeting people like that — nodding, I mean — unless you're very careful, you might end up saying "good morning" or something, and then you could end up actually having to *talk* to them.



In Burma of the 1920s, Chinese émigrés still wore their hair in the traditional queue. While working, they usually kept their queue rolled up so as not to be in the way. When greeting and meeting superiors, etiquette demanded that the queue be unwound. But not everyone was seen as superior enough:

> An Englishman, who knew of the custom, was talking to a Chinaman who did not regard this particular Englishman as a 'superior', and consequently kept his queue coiled on the top of his head. If I may be allowed a bantering statement, I would say that the average Englishman is inclined to regard himself, because he is an Englishman, as the superior of any member of any race on the face of this earth! Being typical of this average Englishman, the man in question lowered the Chinaman's queue for him!
>
> (White 1922, p. 65)

Chinese whispers:

greeting and parting rituals in China

Many countries and cultures have their own brands of greetings and farewells, and their own peculiar etiquette. China is no exception – especially when it comes to visitors, who are treated in a completely different manner compared with family members.

Complex, fussy rituals are followed, not only in the countryside, but also in the cities, where the whole procedure may be taken to even greater extremes. All over China, there are deep-rooted, unwritten laws that must be rigorously followed. Often, a typical visit reads like a tragicomic movie script. China expert and professor of anthropology Charles Stafford knows all about the subject.

The greeting

In receiving a guest in modern China, it is not the greeting per se that is important, but rather the way the visitor's entire stay, however brief or lengthy, is conducted.

If a host sees his visitor from afar coming up the road, he rushes out and greets the guest in a delighted and enthusiastic manner, escorting the visitor into his house. If

the reception takes place in a home in the countryside, the custom is then to invite the guest to *shàngkàngzuò*, or 'to sit on the kang' (a *kàng* is a large hollow brick bed that is heated by coal fire in the winter, and upon which the entire family sleeps). The done thing when asked to 'sit on the kang' is to grab a chair and sit somewhere else. The host brings out seeds and fruit and invites the visitor to smoke a cigarette.

The interesting thing about arriving at someone's house is that the moment you sit down, there is a good chance that the preparations for your farewell will begin.

The farewell

Farewelling a guest in China is a much more elaborate affair than the welcome. It comprises two main components, namely *liú*, which means 'detain' and *sòng*, or 'send-off'.

Detaining a guest begins almost as soon as he or she arrives. Paradoxically, this might involve talking about leaving. But at least on the surface, *liú* has nothing to do with getting rid of a visitor as soon as possible – on the contrary. The whole idea is for the host to do everything possible in the most ostentatious manner to keep the visitor from leaving. Under no circumstance should the guest be under even the slightest impression that it is OK to make tracks.

As a visitor, even if you arrive several hours before mealtime, you will be strongly encouraged to stay for the next meal. If you arrive late in the day, the host will almost beg you to stay overnight. Of course, all this is ritual, a show, a role play; it is quite possible that the host has neither food for an extra mouth, nor room to put you up.

The 'detention' goes on for as long as it takes in the name of politeness. This is a question of 'face' – that extraordinarily important, almost sacrosanct concept. There is no way one can be relaxed about the host's *liú*. The 'detention' can reach a highly emotional pitch, ending up almost in an outright argument between host and visitor. It is up to you, the guest, to prove and make absolutely certain without a shadow of a doubt that no matter how much you would like to stay – and you are positively *dying* to stay – it is nevertheless definitely, inescapably, unavoidably time to get going.

Once the 'detention' reaches the tragic stage when the host finally yields and crumbles and comes to accept that the visitor really must go, the 'send-off' or *sòng* begins. And here starts another excited argument in the home. Now the host insists on 'sending-off' the guest, while the visitor is equally adamant that the host should not worry about such things, and should instead 'just carry on with your business'.

Once again, the arguing reaches fever pitch, and at some suitable moment, the visitor is eventually worn down by the host's insistence. The guest then reluctantly acquiesces and lets the host perform the send-off, that is, escort the visitor at least to the front door, but often to the gate or even further beyond.

As the guest disappears in the distance, it is customary for the host to keep shouting, 'Come back! Come back!' after the visitor.

So you're back, so what?

Family members and close acquaintances in China returning home from a trip away can expect a completely different welcome: namely, hardly any recognition at all. Both departures and returns are extremely low-key events, especially if they take place outside the home and in public view.

Many modern Chinese films show this peculiar behaviour. Son returns home to village from several years' absence. Father working the rice paddock barely looks up. Mother doing the washing by the river casts a glance and looks down again without a word. Brother lights cigarette and skulks away behind the house.

But we always get the feeling that under the stony façade, true emotions brew.

It is likely that it all has to do with the Oriental reluctance to display genuine emotions in public. As soon as he and his family enter the home, the long-lost son can probably expect a warm, heartfelt and perhaps tearful welcome.

Impertinence: how delightful!

Sons-in-law in China often have a special status in their in-laws' home. The more nonchalantly the son-in-law behaves there, the better.

Approaching the house, he puts on his worst non-caring, casual, bored and disapproving look, saunters into

THE PERFECT SON-IN-LAW

the house without knocking, slams the door and doesn't say hello to anyone. Still wearing shoes, he spreads himself out on the *kàng* (the communal heated brick bed), rummages through the kitchen cupboards for something to eat, helps himself to cigarettes, hawks and spits and generally behaves in the most uncouth, rude and bad-mannered way.

...and the in-laws love it! Because by conducting himself in this impudent way, their son-in-law shows that he is a *true* member of the family and feels completely at home in their house!

Say hi to Chinese food and it says hello back

It is a well-known fact that Chinese people love their food in their own unique way. They also enjoy lots of things that are often discarded in other cuisines. It has often been said that the only part of a duck that the Chinese do not eat is the quack.

If the French are known to take their cooking seriously, and the Americans are serious eaters, then Chinese are serious believers in their cuisine. Chinese food is about much more than just preparation and nourishment: there is an almost spiritual quality to eating. So much so that a Chinese dish can 'say something'. For example, it can say both hello and goodbye.

Indeed, in China, food talks. It 'speaks' both symbolically and phonetically.

It is part of the human condition to dread parting with a loved one. As the song lyric says, 'Every time we say goodbye, I die a little.' And that is why you should never eat a pear upon departure. At least not in China. In Chinese, the word for cutting or sharing or dividing a pear, *fēnlí*, sounds exactly like the word for 'separation'. So pears are out. Instead, a suitable parting meal would include long thin noodles, because this dish stands for a peaceful and safe road: warm and comfortable, long and winding, just like the noodles.

By contrast, dumplings are a symbolic food for welcoming someone who has been away. A dumpling is round and rolled to enclose its filling, and that's what the Chinese character for 'return' looks like, too, in a stylised way:

You can also serve dumplings to someone who is about to depart on a journey; by this you mean that you're longing for the day when they are due to come back.

A special farewell food in China is 'goodbye-mum meat', which is the last supper served to a bride who is leaving

home to live with her new husband and his family. This memorable dish is supposed to remind the bride of her mother and not be too homesick. What sweetmeat!

But wait, there's more

Chinese whispers – European echoes

China is not alone when it comes to customary 'detaining' of guests. Take Poland a few centuries ago. Members of the provincial aristocracy would often go to great lengths to delay the departure of a visitor. In the same exaggerated manner as practised in China, arguments could erupt, with strong protestations from the host when the guest suggested that it was time to go.

The extent of the 'detaining' could even go to physical, almost criminal, lengths. There are stories of how the host might be so anxious to demonstrate his desire to keep you at his home, that he might hide your horses, or have his servants secretly remove the wheels from your carriage!

In today's Macedonia, it is considered impolite not to join in for dinner if guests arrive during the meal. The host family becomes offended if you refuse, even if you refuse out of politeness, thinking that you consider their food and hospitality not good enough.

Conversely, a Swedish family might very well expect their unexpected guests to sit aside or in the next room and wait until the meal is over and the hosts are ready to greet their visitors. In general, to arrive unannounced is considered rude and thoughtless by many Swedes.

But I don't want to go!

What happens if the visitor must leave, but really doesn't want to? An amusing account, again from provincial Poland of the 18th century, tells of a certain Miss Szamowska who had been receiving a young and handsome man by the name of Tollohub at her estate. When the time came for the strapping beau to take his leave, Miss Szamowska performed the traditional Polish farewell gesture: she came out into the courtyard and presented him with a glass of wine.

Tollohub, already mounted on his horse, accepted the glass, guzzled the wine, balanced the empty glass on his horse's head, brought out his pistol, shot the glass to smithereens, leapt off his mount, threw himself prostrate on the ground, and asked Miss Szamowska to marry him.

From Russia with love:

sit on your case and say goodbye

In Russia, before you say farewell, there's one last thing you must do: you have to sit on your case.

This is not a legal term, but one of the great traditions that perfectly reflects the Russian soul: the deep-rooted, heart-on-sleeve, warm, nostalgic, romantic Russian mentality.

If you have ever read a classic Russian novel or seen a movie of the *Doctor Zhivago* genre, you are familiar with one fact: Russians do farewells like no one else.

Going away in Russia is serious business. You don't just stuff your bag, rush out the door and jump into a cab. Often, even the packing itself is done under the close scrutiny and intense involvement of family and friends. In any event, there is probably a send-off party prior to departure.

You would be well advised to leave plenty of time to get to the airport, train station or bus depot. Because when the time comes to actually walk out the door, to this day, young and old Russians like to say, *davai prisyadem pered dorogoy*, or 'Let's sit a while before we go.'

What happens is that the departing person sits down on or near the packed suitcase. Everyone present grows serious, silent and contemplative. The people in the room just stop to think. It is simply a few minutes' reflection amongst people who will soon lose each other's company for some time: 'I will miss you' – 'I will miss you too.'

The Russian custom of 'sitting on your suitcase' is one of those simple, rustic, heartfelt traditions that ought never to go away.

Cut it out!

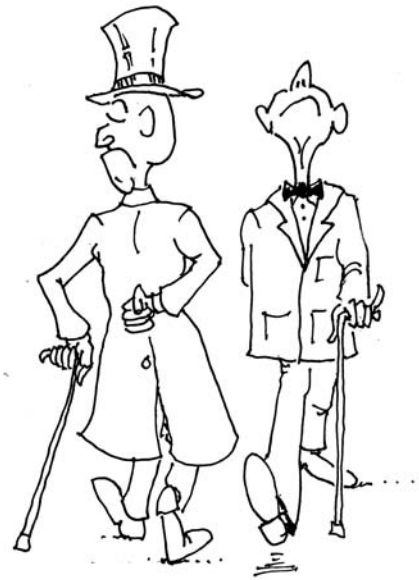
how to avoid saying 'hello'

To 'cut someone' is an old English technique of avoiding having to say hello to someone you know. (The behaviour is still very much in fashion, but is these days more often known as 'blanking'.) It is a form of dismissal that lies firmly in the realm of the typical 'English social dis-ease', as the anthropologist Kate Fox terms the awkwardness with which people almost at any cost avoid having anything to do with anyone else. There you are, walking down the high street and minding your own business when suddenly, coming straight towards you, is someone you know but don't wish to say hello to, let along have a chat with. What a nuisance! What is required is decisive action in the form of a cut.

Most sources describe four different ways of cutting someone:

The cut direct is by far the most flagrant snub. Chancing upon a person you know in the street, you simply stare the person straight in the face without the slightest show of recognition. This takes both guts and practice.

The cut indirect means turning your head away and looking at something that is apparently of intense interest



to you, thus 'not seeing' the obnoxious person. This type of cut has an added benefit in that it gives you the opportunity to let the other person know that you are in fact making a cut. For instance, you might discreetly look at an interesting shop display. On the other hand, if you want to send a clear message to the other person, you might become ostentatiously absorbed in a house number.

The cut sublime entails raising one's eyes to the sky, looking at a particularly beautiful cloud or 'admiring the

top of King's College Chapel', as Captain Francis Grose puts it in his *1811 Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*. Keep walking, but make sure you don't run into the very person you wish to avoid (see warning below).

The cut infernal is to suddenly stoop to retie one's shoelaces with focussed attention until the unwanted person has passed. This may require repeated tying and retying if the other person is a slow walker.

WARNING: cutting can be a hazardous business indeed, and it is crucial to select the appropriate cut for each particular situation. There is always the risk of the *other* person trying to cut *you*, which can end up in disaster. If the other person decides to stop to rearrange his or her shoelaces while you continue walking while gazing skywards, you might end up stumbling over the other. Such a collision would – heaven forbid – require some exchange of words and eye contact. To be avoided at all costs!

The Swedish cartoonist OA (Oskar Andersson) knew a thing or two about handshakes!

I don't speak to my mother-in-law:

avoidance language

In many Australian Aboriginal cultures, as well as among some North American Indian and African Bantu peoples, human interaction and speech between certain relatives are taboo.

This usually means total avoidance of each other, but often also involves a special parallel language that is used if necessary, for instance if one member of the tribe is speaking and is aware that a 'taboo' person can hear what is being said.

These special languages are often known as 'avoidance speech' or 'avoidance language'.

Because a very common taboo is the interaction between in-laws of opposite sex, the phenomenon is often called 'mother-in-law speech'.

However, such taboos are not restricted to in-laws. For instance, a widespread no-no amongst Australian Aborigines is any kind of contact or interaction between brothers and sisters once they become adults.

The nature of the taboo varies, but often involves complete avoidance of the other person. For instance, if a man and his sister happen to be walking towards each other,

they are required to change directions and make a big detour in order not to meet.

Other tribes do allow speech between the relatives, but perhaps while keeping a good distance, speaking in a low voice, turning their backs to each other, and using the special language.

The 'avoidance language' usually has the same grammar and structure as the ordinary language, but uses totally different words. The special vocabulary is much smaller

than the ordinary language. You can, however, use the in-law speech to say anything that can be said in the ordinary language, but in more general terms. For instance, while the ordinary language may have 'shout', 'scream', 'yell', 'speak loudly' and so on, the in-law speech might only have one single umbrella word.

One mother (in-law) of a language

The Lardil language of Mornington Island in Australia has a special place among avoidance languages. At a first glance, the special parallel language, called Damin, seems like most other 'mother-in-law tongues': it has the same grammar as Lardil, and a much smaller vocabulary. For instance, it has only one word for a number of species of fish, a single word for all types of large sea-dwelling creatures (such as dugongs and turtles), and just one term for all kinds of wood.

The reason why Damin stands alone, according to the language expert Kenneth Hale, is that this 'secret' language has not only different words, but different phonetics too.

In addition to the usual sounds found in Lardil and many other Australian Aboriginal languages, Damin also has several clicks, many of them similar to the Khoisan tongues of Africa. No other Australian Aboriginal language has clicks.

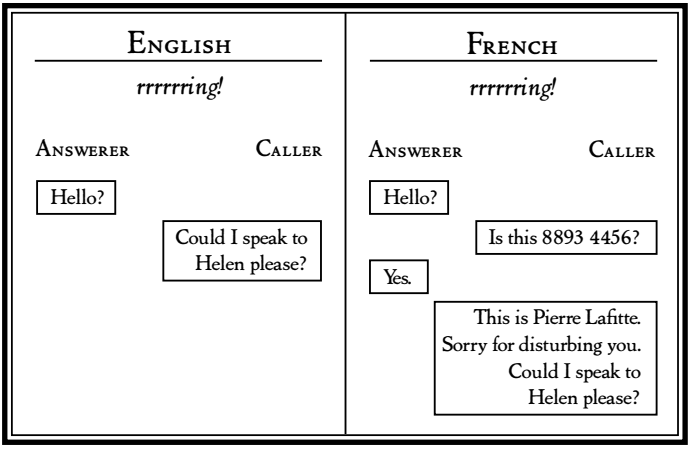
To cap it all, Damin features two sounds that are not found in any other language in the world. One is an 'ingressive lateral fricative', that is, holding the tongue in the same position as when you say the letter 'L', but breathing in. The other is described as an 'ejective bilabial stop', that is, the 'pop' that occurs when you keep your lips closed and push air out in front of your tongue.

Phonethics:

telephone mannerisms

Telephone manners around the world vary a great deal – so much so that if you use your 'home' phone ethics in a foreign country, you may inadvertently present yourself as rude, impertinent or a sheer nuisance.

Not much research has gone into the way we answer the phone, but one study has established a great difference between French and English customs. Here is a chart of the 'typical' sequence of events when the telephone rings:



Based on Godard 1977

What does this mean? There is little doubt that an English person calling a French person may appear quite rude and abrupt, neither apologising for calling, nor identifying him or herself. The other way around, the French person might sound overly 'wordy', especially if the call is for someone else in the English household.

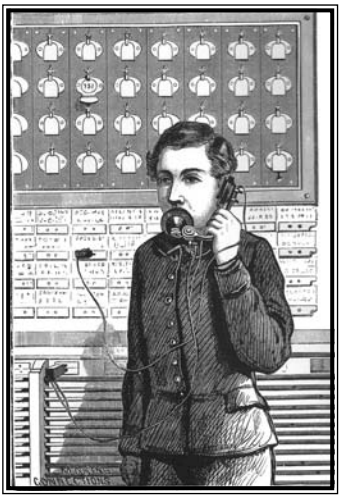
Name, number or 'hello'?

Even the simplest survey will reveal great differences between the ways people answer the telephone in different parts of the world.

In an unpublished survey of people around the world, a whopping 70% of English-speaking people answered their home phone with a simple 'hello', while a full 100% of Scandinavians said that they always pick up the phone and state their name – sometimes first name only, sometimes last name and sometimes first and last name. This finding is underpinned by at least one other source.

This informal survey notwithstanding, it is known that some Scandinavians elect to identify themselves when answering the telephone not by giving their name, but by stating their phone number. It seems, though, that just a *hallå* is a rarity.

It is also interesting to note that people tend to answer the telephone in different ways, depending on two factors:



firstly, whether they are picking up their home phone, mobile phone or, naturally, work phone; and secondly, whether they don't know who is calling, or can tell who it is through a caller-ID display. Many of the informal survey cohort stated that they answered the phone in up to six different manners depending on circumstances.


MINE IS SMALLER THAN YOURS.

Thanks for having me on!

names and forms of address in the media

Television is a different world from the real one as far as saying hi, saying bye and addressing each other.

Take the use of names in 'soap operas' or other television serials. It is remarkable how often names and kinship descriptions are used face to face – presumably in order for the audience to always remain up to date with the characters of the drama: who is who, who is related to whom, and how.

> Tracy, I can't stand it any longer.
> But you have to give it your best, Dad.
> Listen, Tracy, I really can't take it anymore.
> Dad, Dad, listen to me: it will be over soon, I promise.

To some people, this practice of calling each other by name in a one-on-one dialogue would seem extremely awkward. Scandinavians, for example, find calling someone by name strange at the best of times – especially face to face. Why do you need to repeat each other's names when both of you already know who you are?

A cursory count of one of the most popular and long-running American-produced television serials will show that on average, husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, parents and children, colleagues and workmates, friends and acquaintances and other people who are closely related in some way, call each other by name, face to face, around 30 times in every half-hour episode (which means about 20 minutes' or less running time on commercial television).

Perhaps this is a useful way of 'learning the characters' for a newcomer to the show; but does the constant name-calling feel comforting or awkward or even annoying to ardent followers?

It is beyond the scope of this book to examine television dramas in languages other than English, but here is a brief run down of 'name-use' over a single random week (5 shows each) on Australian television:

Television show	**Average face-to-face name-use per minute**
The Bold and the Beautiful	1.8
The Nanny	1.4
Get Smart	3.0
Two and a Half Men	1.1

It might be interesting to know that the 'action' part of many television serials is around 18 or 19 minutes per half hour, excluding the commercials and the titles and credits.

Eskimodesty:

greeting and visiting in the Arctic

The Arctic explorer Peter Freuchen, of Danish nationality, had intimate knowledge of the Eskimos.* He lived among them in Greenland, Hudson Bay and Alaska for long periods between 1906 and 1957, and married one of them. He writes with great humour and gusto about these northerly folk, and in his stories there are many amusing accounts of the Eskimos' customs of greeting and visiting each other.

It wouldn't be enough to say that in 1920s' Greenland, modesty and humility were the basic ingredients when someone turned up for dinner: self-deprecation and self-effacement seem more appropriate words.

There you are, sitting in your rock-and-peat winter house (igloos were used only as temporary dwellings during hunting and travel), with nothing special to do. Grandma has sucked the snot out of the children's noses, and your wife sits naked on the family bunk, cutting up hides and sewing sealskin boots.

> Visiting is an important social function and is governed by a great deal of etiquette. A man's reputation is to a large extent dependent upon

how often he invites, how well he serves his guests, and the perfection of his manners as a host.

You know you have saved the best pieces of the last hunt for visitors. So all you want is for someone to turn up.

The Eskimos have a word for it: *iktsuarpok*. It describes perfectly the expectant host, who can't help having a peek outside every minute in the hope that someone might come to visit.

But the incidence of people who just happen to pass by your house might come at a premium in the deep Polar night, and you might have to get out there and yell at the top of your lungs so everyone in the settlement can hear: 'Come to my house! Come to visit!'

And soon enough there's rustling in the long entrance tunnel as your visitors shake the snow off their thick fur clothes. Within a short time, your little cosy home is crowded with guests sitting on the bunks and on the skins on the floor.

And now the pantomime begins: you, the host, have to act as if you're the lousiest, most worthless human being and the clumsiest, most incompetent hunter in the whole world, and your guests must raise you to the greatest heights with praise and admiration.

Suddenly you theatrically stop in your tracks as a brilliant idea strikes you. 'I don't suppose anyone wants to eat something?'

And they all do, of course. After all, that's why they have come: they know that if they visit the greatest of all hunters they are assured of the grandest meal anyone could ever hope for.

Your hands drop and your head takes on that well-practised hangdog look. You apologise for the misfortune you have caused your guests even by inviting them into your miserable home. Not only are you embarrassingly bad at house-building – just look at this appalling shambles of a house! – but also, you're completely unable to bring down any quarry and besides, your useless wife would never be able to cook it, anyway.

You tell the truth; it is your misfortune that you are such an inapt, cack-handed bumbler of a hunter that all you can offer them is an old half-dead carcass that you could drag in for them if they are willing to sink so low.

The guests enthusiastically start calling for the delicious, wholesome, scrumptious meal they are certain to share.

Then you go out and select your choicest hunk of meat, which you lump in front of your guests with feigned disgust as if it were putrid.

The guests 'ooh' and 'ah' over the piece. It is the biggest and heaviest hunk of meat they have ever seen in their life! It looks so juicy and delectable; they know they've come to the right place.

'Oh no!' you protest. You will have to throw it all out. This scrawny little scrap of rotten meat tastes like dog droppings. You are ashamed that such auspicious guests should have to even set eyes upon such squalid carrion; it is unfit for human consumption! You wouldn't even give the meat to your emaciated huskies.

And that's the signal: the visitors dig in, relishing the best piece of meat they've had in years; so succulent and tasty – this sort of food can only be obtained by the greatest of huntsmen.

The feast goes on, and soon everyone is full to the brim of food and good cheer the Eskimo way.

The Polar 'gimme-five'

How do you shake hands when you're bundled up in clothing that makes you look like a Michelin-man and wearing several layers of mittens? You don't. The common greeting among people of the North is the 'shoulder-strike', that is, repeatedly banging down with your outstretched (and padded) arm on the other person's fur-coated shoulder. If you get the cold shoulder, you may even do it on the top of the head.

* In this chapter, the word *Eskimo* is used, on the grounds that this is how Freuchen himself referred to them in his writings. In any case, the matter of using 'Eskimo' or 'Inuit' or 'Kalaallit' or other appellations has never been completely resolved, as these words are used differently in various regions, and no word can be said to be satisfactorily all-inclusive.

Names & Addresses

HELLO • GOODBYE • NICE TO MEET YOU • I'VE GOT TO LET YOU GO • HOW DO YOU DO • CHEERIO • HI • CIAO • FANCY MEETING YOU HERE • FARE THEE WELL • OWYERGOINMATE • TA-TA • G'DAY • HAIL THEE • ADIEU • WHAT WIND BLEW YOU HERE? • WELCOME • GO WITH GOD • I DIPS ME LID • BYE-BYE • GOOD DAY TO YOU • SEE'YA • THANKS FOR COMING • HOOROO • GIMME FIVE • SO LONG • HOW'S TRICKS? • SEE YOU AROUND • HI'YA • I BID YE FAREWELL • AVE • GODSPEED • TOP'O THE MORNIN' TO YOU • VALE • GOOD TO BE HERE • BYE • LONG TIME NO SEE • CATCH YOU LATER • GREETINGS • IT'S BEEN A PLEASURE MEETING YOU • HEY MAN • MISS YA ALREADY • HELLO

What's so good about it?

the curious nature of 'good-' greetings

The English way of placing the word 'good' in front of the time of day as a greeting feels natural and sensible to English-speaking people, and a quick 'good morning' or 'good afternoon' comes out of one's mouth without a second thought. (And Australia's ubiquitous 'g'day' comes out of the mouth not only without a second thought, but without a second syllable!)

It may seem a highly trivial form of greeting – until you start looking closer.

Saying 'good + time of day' is a common greeting among Indo-European languages. The Germans say *guten Tag*, the French say *bonjour*, the Italians say *buon giorno*, the Spaniards *buenos días*, the Macedonians *dobar den* (in most Slavonic languages, *dobro* means 'good'), the Poles *dzień dobry*, and so on.

But other cultures and languages don't use this form of greeting at all. The Chinese, for example, commonly say 'Have you eaten?' as a greeting. The normal Arab greeting is 'Peace be upon you'. The Masai ask 'How are the children?', and the New Zealand Maori encourage you to 'Be well'.

Mysterious rules

Although 'good-' greetings seem simple and straightforward, there are several rules governing their use that sit in the backbone of English speakers, yet defy explanation. Some rules are:

You can only greet once. For example, you can say 'good morning' to your neighbour every day if you like – but never twice in the same morning. If you meet again an hour later and say 'good morning' again, you may be seen as a bit strange. (In contrast, it is perfectly OK to say 'goodbye' as many times as you like; it would even be seen as rude if you didn't say bye to the same person, no matter how many times you parted.)

You say 'good day' etc. even if it isn't. It could be pouring with rain outside, a raging hurricane, or a blinding blizzard, and the greeter still states that this is a good day. However, it is perfectly all right for the 'greetee' to reply with something witty or ironic, such as 'Yeah, a good day for ducks' or a sarcastic 'Is it?'.

You can say 'good day' but you cannot say 'good midday'. You can be specific about the time of day, but not too specific: 'good early morning' and 'good late afternoon' are also impossible.

You can't greet with a 'good night'. All other 'good-' greetings can also be used as a farewell. But 'good night' is a farewell only. If you are the host of a midnight party, it would seem awkward to greet your guests with a 'good night'.

Continental 'goods'

The 'good-' greetings and farewells are used differently in different languages. While German has the equivalent of 'good morning', there is no counterpart to 'good afternoon'. And the French have neither, but use *bonjour* all day long. Similarly, German has both 'good evening' and 'good night', while French only has the latter.

There doesn't seem to be any particular pattern amongst Germanic languages and Romance ones. Spanish, for instance, has 'good afternoon' as a greeting, but there is no 'good morning'. Italians differentiate between evening and night, but have no specific greetings in the morning or afternoon: *buon giorno* is used from sunrise to sunset.

Good, so get going then

That all-purpose farewell, the 'goodbye', can be a strange beast in some situations. The social anthropologist Kate Fox says that the English phrase 'to say our goodbyes'

really means that: lots and lots of goodbyes. In some situations, taking farewell of someone becomes an awkward procedure, seemingly prolonged and extended to make it even more awkward.

Far from a swift and final 'bye-bye' or 'see you later', says Fox, the conclusion of a visit to an English home is a lengthy affair that might take at least ten minutes, sometimes twenty. The ritual often starts with a startled look at the clock and a shocked 'oh, look how late it is!' followed by several minutes of chasing around for shoes, coats, bags, hats and other things, all the while initiating the farewell process with constant chatter about traffic and lateness and commitments and early start tomorrow and whatever else comes to mind.

And then, says Fox, there comes the actual parting, where the guests stand outside the door, unable to leave because the door is still open, and the host inside the door, unable to close it for fear of seeming dismissive of the guests, sending them off. Kate Fox gives an idea of the cringing conversation:

> Just when you think that the last farewell has been accomplished, someone always revives the proceedings by yet another 'Well, see you soon, then…', which prompts a further chorus of 'Oh, yes, we must, er, goodbye…', 'Goodbye', 'Thanks again', 'Lovely time', 'Oh, nothing, thank you', 'Well, goodbye, then…', 'Yes, must be off — traffic,

> er…', 'Don't stand there getting cold, now!', 'No, fine, really…', 'Well, goodbye…', Then someone will say, 'You must come round to us next…' or 'So, I'll email you tomorrow, then…' and the final chords will begin again.

And so, when the guests finally drive off into the distance, there is an almost deafening sigh of relief from both parties, perhaps even accompanied by a 'God, I thought they'd never go!' or 'Jeez, they do go on a bit, don't they?'

I DO GREAT!

It is not a 'good-' greeting, but perhaps a brief mention of the oh-so-English 'How do you do?' has its place in this chapter.

'How do you do?' is written as a question, but isn't one. The appropriate reply is to say 'How do you do?' back. People from other parts of the world might feel tempted to actually answer the enquiry with 'I'm doing fine, thanks!' and similar, but this is a no-no. An even worse sign of foot-in-mouth disease would be to reply in the negative, perhaps stating 'Oh, not so well, actually, I got this runny cold last week that just doesn't want to go away.'

And remember: if you are new to the custom and you *do* say 'How do you do?' back, do not stress the 'you' as if you're asking: 'How do YOU do?' That's out of the question.

Although it might seem stuffy and old-fashioned, 'How do you do?' (and its echo) has something going for it, and might be an ideal all-round greeting. It has a big advantage over the 'good-' greetings, in that it doesn't suggest that anything is in fact good. It can't be contradicted. It may look like a question, but doesn't elicit any information from the other person, as does 'How are you?' which is a real query and might result in disaster: 'How am I? Well, let me tell you...'

Ahoy, ahoy! Pick up the phone!

'hello' and its uses

'Hello' is by far the most common way to answer the telephone in English-speaking countries.

But this might not have been the case if Alexander Graham Bell had had his way.

Usually acclaimed as the inventor of the telephone, Bell patented his groundbreaking apparatus in 1876. So now we have a telephone – but what do we say when it rings?

Alexander Graham Bell hollers into a prototype of his newfangled invention, the telephone

Strangely enough, Alexander Graham, having had nothing to do with the navy or things maritime, favoured shouting the word 'Ahoy!' into the receiver. In fact, he used to say it twice: 'Ahoy, ahoy!'

One year later, that other famous inventor, Thomas Edison, further developed the microphone part of the telephone, and instead suggested that 'Hello' should be the call sign of telephonic communication.

By that time, the word 'hello' had become somewhat fashionable and was in extensive use in various spellings. Dickens used it in his books, and so did Mark Twain.

By 1880, 'hello' was being promoted as *the* way to answer the phone, and the very first National Convention of Telephone Companies, held at Niagara Falls in that year (7-10 September at the International Hotel), was the auspicious debut for something we know well these days: the 'Hello, I'm Bob' conference badge.

According to Professor Allen Koenigsberg, an expert on telephonic history, the convenor of the conference and newly elected president of the association, George L. Phillips, of Dayton, Illinois, gave a slightly awkward speech:

> The shortest speech that I could make to you and that would express a great deal to you probably would be the one that is on all of your badges — 'Hello!'

Hello – where does it come from?

The true origin of the word 'hello' is a little unclear. One of the most respected etymologies states that the word is a later form of 'hallo' (sometimes spelt 'halloa'), which in turn stems from 'holla'. This word was used in the 16th century to attract attention. The first part of the word, 'ho' can be found in several European languages, meaning 'stop!' or 'halt!' (For instance getting your horses to stop by yelling 'ho' or 'whoa') or otherwise call to attention (as in the maritime 'land ho!'). This 'ho' seems to come from Old French. The second part of the word could also be from the French *là*, meaning 'there'; in a word, *holà*, or 'stop right there (and pay attention)'. The present-day Spanish *¡hola!* comes to mind.

Shakespeare often used 'Ho!' to call people's attention:

> Ho, Guildenstern!
> (*Hamlet*, Act 4, Scene 2)

But he also used something that could be easily mistaken for our modern 'hello':

> *Horatio*: Hillo, ho, ho, my lord!
> *Hamlet*: Hillo, ho, ho, boy! Come, bird, come!
> (*Hamlet*, Act 1, Scene 5)

In Shakespeare's plays there are no fewer than 229 instances of these calls, including 'Ho', 'hoa', 'hillo', 'hilloa', 'halloo', 'hollo', 'holloa' and 'holla'. It seems that the only word the Bard didn't use was *Aloha!*

Uniquely telephonic

It is interesting to note that while many languages use 'hello' when the phone rings, English is perhaps the only tongue where 'hello' is not only used to answer the telephone, but also to address people face to face, as in 'Hello Kate, nice to meet you.'

In contrast, while Russians and Swedes and French people say *allo* and *hallå* and *allô* respectively on the telephone, they never use it eye to eye. It would sound as if you were on the phone with the person whose hand you're shaking!

Russians may also answer the phone by saying *slushayu* which means 'I'm listening'; the exact opposite of the way Spanish-speaking people often answer: *¡diga!*, which means 'speak!'.

Yet other languages use special words for answering the phone, such as the Japanese *moshi-moshi*. This idiom would never be used face to face.


JOHN? DIDN'T YOU HEAR ME? I'M BREAKING UP.

The unlucky Mr Szczęściarz:

foreign names in foreign places

Our names play an important role in how we greet, farewell and refer to each other.

What happens when you have a name that is perfectly normal in your home country, and you then move to another nation where your name causes no end of trouble?

Easy: you change your name in some way.

You might adopt a name that sounds a little bit like your original name in the new language and is easy to spell. That's why a lot of Chinese people who move to English-speaking countries call themselves 'Lee'. It sounds just like 李 and 利, both very common surnames in their native language (and those aren't the only ones).

Or you can come up with a name that *means* the same as your original one. If your surname is 'King' and you settle in China, you can call yourself 'Wang', which means the same thing.

As far as first names go, you could opt for a new name altogether, which is also the favourite thing to do among Chinese people who move to the West, and who like to be known as 'Henry' or 'Arthur' or 'Victoria' or 'Elizabeth',

no matter how linguistically – not to mention culturally – foreign those names are to their original ones.

Other people apply other techniques: you might make your real name a bit less confusing. Someone called 'Ng' might spell it 'Ong' or 'Ang', for instance. People whose original names are tricky to spell might adjust them to the orthography of their new home: for instance, 'Rzyszard' might become 'Richard' in England, 'Ricard' in France and 'Rikkard' in Norway. Long names are shortened; 'Kuzmanovski' becomes 'Kuzman'. And voila, one's name remains essentially the same, but is easier to pronounce, spell and remember in the new home country.

So you have to pity Mr Szczęściarz.

In the 1960s, he emigrated from his native Poland to Sweden – a country whose indigenous language does not use accents or the letter 'z'.

'Szczęściarz' is a perfectly normal name in Polish, albeit unusual. In fact, it means 'the lucky one' – which is about as far as you can get from Mr Szczęściarz's unfortunate fate.

It must have dawned upon Mr Szczęściarz that he was in deep trouble the first time he went to his nearest Swedish bank to set up an account, or to get a driver's licence, or to sign his first tenancy agreement. Not to mention trying to introduce himself over the telephone.

Nobody could spell his name. And even if he wrote it himself, nobody could pronounce it. He simply had to change it.

But a black cat must have walked right in front of Mr Szczęściarz as he himself walked under a ladder, because he had absolutely no luck getting his name changed. His awkward predicament made headlines in the Swedish newspapers.

Sweden in the 1960s was not as accustomed to foreign immigration as it is now. Swedish legislation stated that you were allowed to change your name if it was a very common one, like 'Svensson' or 'Andersson' or 'Johansson' – the Swedish equivalent of 'Smith'. Exceptions to the rule are expressed rather vaguely in the law.

You can picture the poor man lodging his name-change application at the counter of the Swedish civic registration office. 'Szczęściarz? That's a very unusual name, sir. It hardly falls into the category of extremely common names. I am afraid you're out of luck, Mr Szczęściarz.'

No one knows how many years of his life Mr Szczęściarz spent spelling and slowly mouthing his name to thousands of people shaking their baffled heads.

The Swedish naming rules weren't relaxed until decades later. These days, you can change your name to just about anything, as long as it is NOT a common name.

Wang is King in China:

too many people, not enough names

It used to be 'Li', but now it is 'Wang': the most common surname in mainland China.

'Wang', by the way, means 'king' if written as 王. 'Li' if written 李 means 'plum'.

The problem in China is that there are just too many 'Wangs'. And too many 'Lis' for that matter. The two names are carried by around 14% of the population, which might not sound too bad, until you realise that China has a population of 1.3 billion, which means that the 'Wangs' and the 'Lis' together number around 200 million people.

Compare this with approximately 5 million 'Smiths' in the world.

Add to this that about 85% of all Chinese are named by one of only 100 'common' surnames, and about 40% of the entire population, or 520 million people, have one of the top 10 surnames. You can see that looking someone up in the telephone directory of a big city is going to be a major research project.

The 100 names is a phenomenon rooted more in history and folklore than in government decree. Indeed, if there

ever was a nonsensical government decree, it was the pre-1911 rule that a man and a woman with the same surname could not marry unless they could prove that their respective family trees showed no ancestral connection for at least 2000 years.

These days, the Chinese authorities do not insist that the list (which school children often learn by heart) should be adhered to. Yet, only 15% of Chinese people have surnames that are not on the list.

This is why the term for common people, or 'the man in the street' is called *laobaixing* in Chinese, or 'old hundred names'.

By far, most Chinese surnames comprise one single character (Wang, Li, Zhang, Zhao, Chen, and so on), but some two-syllable names are also used. Now, the Chinese government is considering whether to allow double-barrelled family names for new babies, thus taking both parents' surnames.

Still, the number of people called 'Wang-Li' or 'Li-Wang' would be considerable.

With so many 'Lis' in China, it is perhaps not surprising that in 2007, it was reported tentatively that the most common surname in Canada was just that: 'Li', with 'Smith' coming in as a close second.

...AND THE OTHER WAY AROUND

The American two-time world heavyweight boxing champion George Foreman has another claim to fame: he fathered five sons and named them George, George, George, George and George. To boot, one of his four daughters is called Georgetta.

His explanation? According to a CBS interview, he said:

> My mother never could remember my name. [...] This will never happen to me. If you're in boxing, too; you heard of Muhammad Ali, Kenny Norton, Joe Frazier, Evander Holyfield. They all hit me on the head. How many names am I going to remember?

'Shooting' a friend with an imaginary gun, often accompanied with a wink and a click of the tongue (Bäuml & Bäuml 1997)

Finding Björk:

Icelandic names

Iceland is one of few countries where the telephone directory is sorted alphabetically by first name. This is by and large because Icelandic people simply do not have family names.

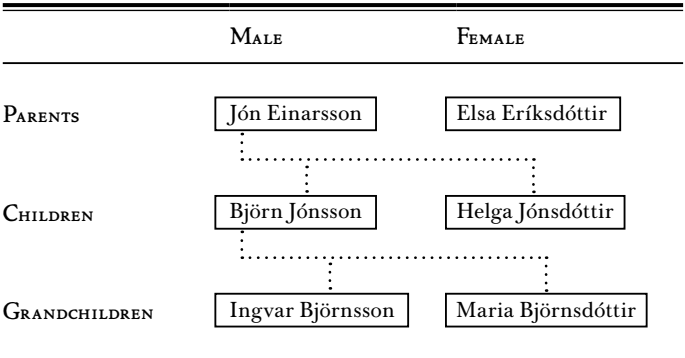
By far the most common case is that your 'last name' is made up of your father's first name and a suffix that signals whether you are a son or a daughter. For instance, 'Páll (Paul), son of Eiríkur (Eric)' and 'Helga, daughter of Eiríkur'.

An example. Björn and Helga are brother and sister. Their parents are Jón and Elsa. Björn's full name will be 'Björn Jónsson' (John's son) and his sister will write her name 'Helga Jónsdóttir' (John's daughter).

If in turn Björn marries and has a son and a daughter, their second names will be 'Björnsson' and 'Björnsdóttir' respectively. If his sister Helga marries, her children will make their second names from the first name of her husband.

This means that members of the same family all have different 'surnames', and it would be pointless to have a

phone book listed by last name, as almost everyone's last name is really the father's first name.



Instead, the Icelandic telephone book is listed according to people's first names, as this is the name callers are most likely to know. If you then also know the first name of the person's father, you have an even better chance of finding them in the directory. Best of all is if you know where the person lives, in which case you go by first name and address.

Icelandic married women do not take their husband's family name, as there usually is no family name to take (there may be a family name if a person has married a foreigner; also, there are some Icelandic family names, but they are not very common). And only if a woman is unmarried and the father's identity is unknown can the

mother's name filter down, giving a female prefix to the second name, for instance 'Maríasson' and 'Maríasdóttir'.

Oops!

Overall, the Icelandic system is quite simple and has been used for millennia. The same system was used in all of the Nordic countries except Finland.

Complications can arise, however.

Let's say a single Icelandic woman, Guðrún Pétursdóttir, goes to Sweden, meets a local man, and gives birth to a son. Unless Guðrún goes through some bureaucratic wrangling, or goes back to Iceland to christen her son, the Swedish authorities will automatically register the boy by his mother's last name and render it a surname: the boy will end up as 'Pétursdóttir' (Peter's daughter). This will cause trouble if the boy returns to Iceland, where he will have an impossible name.

Another problem might occur among Icelandic couples living outside Iceland. Say for instance that a Helga Pétursdóttir lives in Sweden with her de facto, Jón Steingrímsson. Helga and Jón have a child together. According to Swedish regulations, a child can take either parent's surname, that is, in this case, 'Pétursdóttir' or 'Steingrímsson'. But that only makes sense according to Swedish bureaucracy: back in Iceland, the child will have

the 'wrong' name altogether, as neither name reflects the name of the father (or the mother) of the child.

Cases like this (and others even more bizarre) were quoted in a motion in the Swedish Parliament in 2005, where the absurdity of it all was described as 'Catch 22', and there was a strong push for changing the Swedish Naming Law. But the bureaucratic wheels are slow to turn, and at the latest glance, the Law was still the same.

Birch, that daughter of Guðmund's

The name of the Icelandic singer Björk (which means 'birch tree') is not a stage name: it is her real first name, and a perfectly normal Icelandic name. Her full name is Björk Guðmundsdóttir.

In Iceland, as there are no surnames, there is no such custom as calling someone 'Mr Jónsson' or 'Ms Guðmundsdóttir'. Regardless of status or position, people are usually addressed by their first name only, even in formal situations.

Yoo-hoo! Who? You!

how Swedes don't address each other

When it comes to forms of address, Swedish takes a special place among languages. It has dispensed with 'you'.

Swedish has two words for 'you': *du* and *ni* – one familiar and one polite form. There is nothing unusual about that: countless other tongues make the same distinction, such as French (*tu* and *vous*), German (*du* and *Sie*), Spanish (*tú* and *usted*), Russian (*ty* and *vy*), and even Chinese (*nǐ* and *nín*).

One thing separates Swedish from all these languages: often, Swedes prefer not to say 'you' at all.

It is not unusual for certain words and phrases in any language to fall out of favour ('negro'), to change meaning ('gay'), to become obsolete ('telegraph'), or to disappear from the vocabulary for some other reason ('Kentucky Fried Chicken').

But it is uncommon for this to happen to such a basic word as 'you'.

There's a reason for everything

Historically, *du* was the familiar form of 'you' in Swedish, and *ni* was its polite counterpart. These two words

were used exactly like the *tu* and *vous* in French and many other languages: the familiar *du* was used to address your siblings, close relatives, schoolmates and so on. The polite *ni* was used for people you didn't know, someone older than you, your superiors, your teacher, doctor, boss and others. Often you would even use the polite form to address your grandparents, your in-laws, and perhaps aunts and uncles. As still is the case in many other languages, it was not rare even to hear children calling their parents *ni*.

But then something happened. *Ni*, the polite form of 'you', got a bad name. It became not a dirty word, but nevertheless a tainted one. Why did this occur?

In the early 1900s, it became fashionable among Swedes to address people by their profession, standing, name or relation. It may be useful to compare the phenomenon with certain situations in English-speaking countries: in court, you might address the judge as 'milord' instead of 'you'; and if you ever get to meet the regent of a country, you will probably say 'Your Majesty', not 'you'.

In Sweden, however, this way of addressing people permeated much of society: superiors, underlings, employees, relatives were all addressed according to who they were. The familiar *du* was reserved for immediate family and close friends, but in direct conversation with others, you would say 'Would Doctor Johansson like another cup of

coffee?' and 'Will the chambermaid bring me my tablets, please?' and 'Does Miss Svensson need some help?' and 'Come now, Aunt must be joking!'

This convention often resulted in almost comical verbal exchanges — especially when people of different standing spoke to each other:

'Does the Director wish that his shoes be polished, as the Director's colleagues are joining him for dinner?'

'No, Miss Anna. Miss Anna may take her leave, as long as Miss Anna makes sure that she has finished her normal duties.'

And progressively, the previously polite *ni* became a word used to address people who did not have a profession, who had no job, no title, no position, no status, no relation, and whose name you didn't know or didn't care to know. In short, *ni* was for nobodies. The word was used in the same way as English 'you' is used in 'Oh, it's *you* again', 'Now listen here, you' and 'What are *you* doing here?' That is, in a slightly derogative way, intentionally lacking respect.

In other words, *ni* lost its politeness.

All of 'you' are my equals

By the mid-1960s, Sweden was well on its way to becoming the idealistically egalitarian, classless society that it is still striving to be. It had already been a socialist state for 20 years. And addressing each other by profession or title was seriously out of date. Yet, there was a dilemma: *du* was a bit too 'pally', but on the other hand, its polite counterpart *ni* had acquired that bad ring to it.

Enter the *du*-reform. The *du*-reform was an official government initiative in the true Swedish spirit: let's dispense with old-fashioned deference to authority and let's all call each other by the familiar *du*. After all, we Swedes are all equal. The aim was that every Swede would readily adopt a universal *du*, and soon all citizens would say *du* to their priest, teacher, manager, mayor and king.

Overall and over time, the scheme worked. When it was first introduced, the *du*-reform was met with varying degrees of acceptance. Initially, some people felt uncomfortable saying *du* across the board to all and sundry and high and mighty, ranging from petrol station attendants to Supreme Court judges. But today, the familiar *du* is almost universally accepted as the only form of address in Sweden. Nevertheless, general *du*-ing took a long time to settle in, and brought with it one unexpected side effect: the now common phenomenon of not using any form of address at all.

...SO NOW WE LOSE THE OTHER 'YOU', TOO

In today's Sweden, the stigma of *ni* still remains. Even people who have no idea of the history of *du* and *ni* often have a strong aversion to the word. If and when *ni* is used – even with good intentions – it is likely to cause suspicion, annoyance or irritation. Especially in service and retail situations, *ni* is a risky form of address. A 31-year-old female professional from Gothenburg was asked in a survey whether she had been called *ni*:

> Yes, by disgusting young male and female shop assistants in fashionable expensive shops. I feel humiliated, I feel like I am a thousand years old or that they think that I am stupid [...] not nice, feels incredibly silly and out of date, there has been a *du*-reform after all.

That's a strong statement against what simply used to be a polite form of address. Other people call it 'smarmy', and often associate *ni* with grovelling, fawning, false politeness and even derision.

But what if you do wish to be a little extra polite in Swedish? Although it is perfectly all right to say *du* even to members of the royal family in Sweden, using *du* to address a customer in a retail shop, for instance, might carry some slightly too familiar overtones. English-speaking people will recognise the feeling: being called 'mate' or 'love' in

a shop in Australia or the United Kingdom, or 'pal' or 'buddy' in an American one, might be perfectly OK, but might also cause just that little bit of a cringe.

The Swedes have the perfect solution. Several new studies have found that there is a strong trend in Sweden towards dispensing with forms of address altogether.

Instead, it has become common in the Swedish service and retail industry to use completely neutral language that does not include the person spoken to, such as 'Can I be of assistance?', 'Is the size all right?', 'How about this colour?' and 'Perhaps the other model will be better.'

The result can be a completely impersonal exchange, the language entirely stripped of any interpersonal references:

'Good morning. Can I help with anything?'
'Yes, I am after a pair of tennis shoes.'
'Any particular kind?'
'Well, these look okay.'
'What size?'
'42'
'How about these?'
'They're a bit tight.'
'43, then.'

'Yes, that's better.'
'Anything else?'
'No, that's all.'
'That'll be 275.50 please.'
'Thanks.'
'Bye.'

Only in Sweden...

It is interesting to note that in neighbouring Finland, where there are some half a million speakers of Swedish, *du* as a familiar form and *ni* as a polite form are much more prevalent, and *ni* has not experienced the same shift from 'polite' to 'iffy'. A recent study shows that in Finland, *ni* is much more commonly used with people you don't know, and even forms of address such as 'Miss' (for example in a bank) are seen as polite and even flattering.

The bottom line

The Swedes are stuck with their government-endorsed *du*, and almost all are content with being called *du* by strangers – or by the newish trend of being called nothing at all.

But 'familiarity breeds contempt' as the saying goes, and this may be especially true in some settings. As discussed in another part of this book, Swedes are notably reluctant to use each others' names. Not so English speakers. On the other hand, while English speakers love to sprinkle names into the conversation and have only a single neutral 'you', over-familiarity can still occur. For example, many a customer is somewhat taken aback when a sales assistant hands back the credit card with a cheerful 'Thank you, Mrs Jones.' What? He called me by my name?

Sometimes, tombstones and other monuments over a dead person comprise a broken column. This symbol is a farewell to someone who died prematurely and whose life – like the column – was 'cut short'.

'A nickname' derives from 'an eke-name', where 'eke' means 'additional', 'extended', as in eking out something (Onions 1966).

In the Muslim world, the normal verbal greeting is *as-salamu 'alaykum* ('peace be upon you'). This is, according to the Qur'an, how you will be greeted by the angels as you enter Paradise, and it is also the way you greet your fellow humans. The normal reply is *alaykum as-salam*, ('and upon you, too, peace'). However, the Qur'an also states that 'when you are greeted with a greeting, greet with one fairer than it', which means that you are invited to redouble the greeting back and out-greet the greeter, as in *wa-'alaykumas-salam wa-rahmatullahi wa barakatuhu*, which means 'and on you be peace, and also God's mercy and also His blessing' (Lawrence 2006).

Mister Doctor:

titles of medicos, surgeons and barbers

When is a doctor called 'Mister'? When the doctor is a surgeon. According to age-old tradition, surgeons were called 'Mr' in order to distinguish them from barbers.

Yes, you read it correctly. For a long period, surgeons and barbers were easily confused, as both professions were closely related – so closely that, in England, a professional guild called the United Barber–Surgeons Company was formed in 1540. This co-op was to live on for nearly 200 years.

What did doctors have to do with barbers? The two groups had quite a lot more in common back then than they do now. Along with giving you a nice haircut, your friendly neighbourhood barber was trained to perform a host of 'ordinary' medical procedures, such as cutting out tonsils or amputating a limb or removing gallstones. It fell upon hairdressers to learn these tasks and then to perform them either in the barber's chair or in the cosy comfort of your own kitchen. In addition, your local multi-tasking barber also often served as a family dentist.

The barber usually had only elementary training or apprenticeship in the art of crude carving, but still could call himself 'Doctor'. One of the most common duties of the barber was to perform phlebotomies, that is, bloodletting. In fact, the spinning barbershop pole is commonly considered to be a symbol of red blood and white bandages (there are also red, blue and white poles, thus differentiating between venal and arterial blood).

So in order to distinguish themselves from the ordinary backyard operators with the briefest training, academically educated surgeons called themselves 'Mister' (a word

that in those days had more to do with 'Master' than an everyman title), and the tradition lives on to this day – at least in Britain, Ireland, Australia and New Zealand.

There can be some complications these days, however. What do you call a woman surgeon? Female medics – unthinkable in the old days – often do not feel comfortable with being called 'Miss' or 'Mrs' or 'Ms'. In any case, many surgeons, male or female, these days prefer 'Doctor', because that's what they are.

But change happens slowly. The old tradition has now been labelled as 'snootiness' or 'tribalism' by some, and described as outmoded by others. Yet the use of 'Mister' seems deeply rooted in the British Isles. In Australia it is gradually disappearing from north to south, with Brisbane leading the way, Sydney taking the middle stand and Melbourne being the most conservative. In America the custom is almost unknown.

As far as modern coiffeurs go, they probably won't mind what you call them, as long as you let them doctor your hairdo and don't ask to have anything else cut off.

I forget my name:

loss of first name by marriage

Although by no means mandatory, it is common for Western women to take the husband's surname upon marriage. But they always keep their first name.

Do they? Not long ago in Macedonia it was de rigueur – and still happens, especially in the countryside – that a woman, upon marriage, loses not only her maiden surname, but also her first name. She simply becomes her husband's wife.

Thus, if a woman called Ivana marries a man whose first name is Petre, not only does she take his surname, but her first name becomes 'Petrejca'. Similarly, Tome's wife becomes 'Tomejca'; the bride of Atanas becomes 'Atanasica', and Stojan's wife will be known as 'Stojanica'.

While the custom is slowly disappearing, it is still common not to know a married woman's 'real' first name, even if she is a neighbour or close acquaintance.

Western varieties

In Hungary, before 1950, a married woman commonly lost both her own first and last names entirely, and

instead became called by her husband's first and last names, with a marker suffix meaning 'wife of'. Nowadays, a Hungarian woman has many choices of combining her own names with her husband's in a variety of ways, as well as keeping her full name unchanged.

The old-fashioned English version of a married woman being referred to by her husband's name, 'Mrs John Doe', for instance, should in many people's opinion be marked as an archaism.

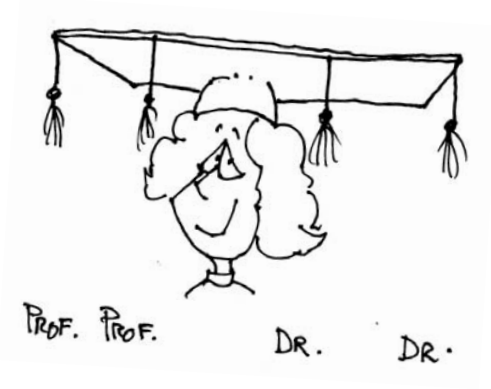
Other namelessnesses

In Qing Dynasty China (up until the early 1900s), if you were unfortunate enough to be born a female into a poor family, chances were that you wouldn't have a name at all: daughters were commonly called 'number-one girl', 'number-two girl' and so on.

Although nowadays Chinese people do have a family name and a first name (in that order), within the home both males and females may be referred to as 'younger sister number two', 'older brother number three' and so on, instead of their names. The age marker is relative to the speaker's age. It can even go so far as to call your relatives 'paternal uncle number one' and other nameless call signs.

In modern Japan it is not uncommon to encounter men with first names like 'Ichirō', 'Jirō', 'Saburō' and 'Shirō'.

The list could go on, but that would signify a very large family, because these names mean 'first son', 'second son', 'third son', and 'fourth son' respectively. These are proper first names, and are not used instead of 'real' first names. The practice is fast disappearing in Japan, as it becomes rarer and rarer to have lots of children.



Doctor, Doctor, Help!

In German academia it pays to keep track of the professorships and the doctorates. People with multiple titles (for example, doctorates in more than one discipline or different universities) tend to use them all. Thus you get 'Professor Professor Doktor Doktor Wolfgang Schultz' and even longer strands of achievements.

Often, a *Herr* or *Frau* is also placed before the titles in formal situations, obituaries, CVs and similar.

Ike & Dick

Past president Dwight Eisenhower is supposed to have told Richard Nixon at his inauguration:

This is the last time I will call you Dick for some while.

(Firth 2004, p. 6)

When your coz is your sis:

kinship terms

Do you have a *jiubiaoxiong*? There is a good chance you have, but perhaps weren't aware of it. The Chinese use this word for 'my mother's brother's son who is older than I am'.

How far can kinship terms go?

When it comes to kinship words, English is fairly meagre. Your uncle and aunt can be on your mother's side or your father's. Grandparents fall in the same ambiguous category. A cousin is a cousin, without giving the side of the family or the cousin's sex. The words 'nephew' and 'niece' give the sex but not the lineage. In addition, your aunt's husband is almost automatically called your uncle, although he is not, just as your blood-related uncle's wife becomes your aunt for lack of anything else to call her.

When it comes to kinship systems, there are several types, first devised in 1871 by the American ethnologist and anthropologist Louis Henry Morgan and further refined by many others. Morgan first classified kinship systems into two main groups: classificatory and descriptive. In the simplest of terms, an example of the classificatory type

is 'grandparent', while an example of the descriptive type has separate words for 'father's mother', 'father's father', 'mother's mother', 'mother's father' and so on.

Morgan then proceeded to divide each of the two main groups into sub-systems, depending on how various peoples viewed their relations.

From simple...

One of the simplest of all is the 'Hawaiian model', which is of the classificatory type.

In this kinship system, there are no uncles or aunts, and no cousins. Your parents and all their siblings are referred to as your fathers and mothers, and all children born of your fathers and mothers become your brothers and sisters. You have as many grandpas and grandmas as there are siblings in that generation. It's all one happy family.

Note that this doesn't mean that a person living under this system doesn't *know* who his or her 'real' parents and grandparents and children are; it is only a matter of how Hawaiian-model disciples look upon kinship, and how they describe kinship relations.

Another extremely simple kinship system was discovered only very recently. The remote *Pirahã* tribe of the Brazilian jungle seems to have only four words for relatives: 'parent/grandparent', 'sibling', 'son', and 'daughter'.

...TO COMPLEX...

At the other end of the scale is a much more complex model, sometimes labelled as the 'Sudanese', which is a descriptive type of kinship system. This means that there is a specific word for just about every relative, detailing the generation, gender, and side of the family. For example, you don't say just 'uncle'; you say either 'father's brother' or 'mother's brother'. Similarly, you don't say 'grandmother', but have separate words for 'father's mother' and 'mother's mother'.

In between the simplest and the most complex kinship systems are several other ways of referring to one's relatives, with different points of view and varying degrees of precision.

...TO INTRICATE...

Some cultures use the descriptive system with yet another twist: relative age. This means that not only do you have to remember the generation, gender and to which side of the family your relative belongs, but also how old he or she is! For instance, in Chinese you don't simply say 'aunt', and it is not even enough to say 'father's sister' or 'mother's sister': you must also distinguish between 'father's elder sister' and 'father's younger sister' or 'mother's elder sister' or 'mother's younger sister'.

A question arises here: in regard to kinship terms, what are the likely effects of the famous Chinese one-child policy? If this policy were ever completely implemented and enforced, surely it would render the entire kinship system (and its comprehensive terminology) obsolete. With only one child in every family, there would be no place for words like 'brother' or 'sister', and, by extension, for 'uncle' or 'aunt' or 'cousin' or 'nephew' or 'niece', let alone specifications about their respective lineage or age. Essentially, there would just be a need for the words 'mother', 'father', 'daughter' and 'son', with the equivalent of 'grand-' in front of each as need be.

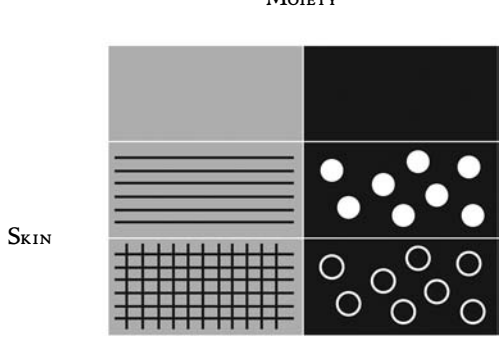
...TO PERPLEXING

In some Australian Aboriginal societies, a different and highly sophisticated system of kinship exists. This system could be said to disregard actual kinships between individual relatives, but instead focuses on the structure of the tribe. Some tribes do not even have words for 'son' or 'daughter', 'nephew' or 'niece': instead all children one generation younger than oneself are called 'male-child' or 'female-child', regardless of whose child it is.

Similarly, in some tribes all male relatives of your mother for instance, are seen as one and the same, whether they are your mother's father, your mother's brother, your mother's brother's son or your mother's brother's son's son.

Many Aboriginal kinship systems entail separate intra-tribal divisions called 'moieties' (meaning 'halves') and generational layers called 'skins'. The main purpose of this system is to restrict whom you are allowed to marry.

This is an effective way of preventing incest, even in very small groups of people. A boy from one moiety (i.e. half of the tribe) can only marry a girl of his own corresponding 'skin' (i.e. generation) in the other half of the tribe. Here is a simple illustration:



There are two moieties: the 'grey' and the 'black' half of the tribe. A boy from the 'grey/lines' skin must marry a girl from his own generation in the other moiety, that is, a

'black/spots' girl. Their children become 'black/bubbles', because all children take on the mother's moiety. Those children in turn must marry 'grey/crosshatches' partners, and *their* children again become either 'grey/lines' or 'black/spots', depending on to which moiety the mother belongs. And back and forth and round and round it goes.

This tribe-crossing, generation-rolling system is cyclical. What's more, the words for relatives of corresponding 'skins' are the same regardless of generation. This can be very confusing to an outsider, in that the same word is used for 'grandfather' and 'grandson', for instance. In some Aboriginal languages, a woman might refer to her great-grandmother as her 'daughter' and her great-granddaughter as her 'mother'.

Triangular relations and departed family

Certain cultures find family relationships so important that there are special words for relations that are common in some way to both interlocutors, thus describing a triangular relationship; for example, in the Warlpiri language (Northern Territory, Australia) there is a kinship term for 'your mother's brother who is also my father'.

The kinship terminology needn't stop at living people. While English has only the three words 'orphan', 'widow' and 'widower', some languages have many more terms

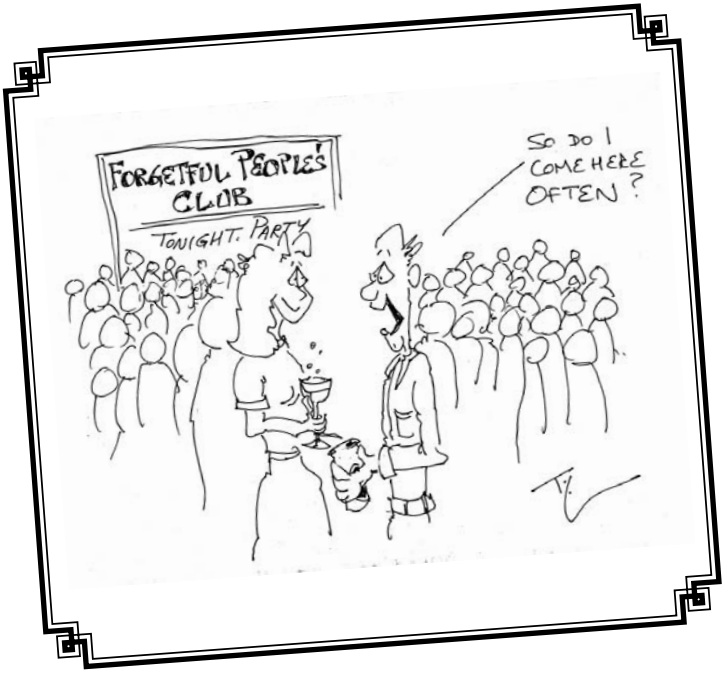
depending on who has lost which relative, in the manner of a special term for 'someone whose brother died'.

Bonus effects

One advantage about the Aboriginal kinship system is that it has little to do with blood lines and blood relations. In other words, you don't have to be actually related in order to be someone's brother or sister, for instance.

This has great benefits in times of famine, drought, illness, old age and so on, where one tribe's moieties and skins can be extended to another tribe's. In periods of hardship or need, for example, a person can work out the corresponding layers of a neighbouring tribe and find a 'brother' or 'sister' or 'grandson' there who can be relied upon to provide help.

In fact, it is not uncommon for Aboriginal tribes to 'adopt' strangers into the kinship system, such as Western aid workers who have close dealings with the local people.


FORGETFUL PEOPLE'S CLUB
TONIGHT: PARTY
SO DO I COME HERE OFTEN?

You, thou and other politenesses:

familiar and polite 'you'

Many languages have ways of referring to another person in a respectful way. The English way of using 'Sir' and 'Madam' is a good example.

One thing that modern English lacks is the two-tiered system of the word 'you', as used in countless other languages, for example *tu/vous* in French, *ty/vy* in Russian, *du/Sie* in German, *tu/Lei* (or *tu/voi*) in Italian, *du/ni* in Swedish, *tú/usted* in Spanish, *ni/nin* in Chinese, and so on. (Linguists use the French as their model and call the two the 'T-form' and the 'V-form', regardless of language.)

But until a few hundred years ago, English too made this distinction, in separating 'thou' (the casual and familiar form) from 'you' (the polite and respectful form). The use could not be described as obsolete from Standard English until about 1800, and can still be heard today in certain dialects, such as in Newfoundland, Canada. The familiar/polite distinction can be found in Shakespeare's plays, for instance, where friends call each other 'thou', while reserving 'you' for superiors:

Thou poisonous slave ... come forth!
(*The Tempest,* Act 1, Scene 2)

But:

I told you, sir...
(*The Tempest,* Act 4, Scene 1)

It wasn't always so, and usages have glided in and out of fashion over the centuries. To begin with, 'thou/thee' was simply the singular form, while 'you' was the plural. By the 1500s, 'you' had taken over as the pronoun used for both singular and plural (as it is today), and 'thou/thee' was only

used in certain situations. A hundred years later still, 'thou/thee' came back as the familiar singular and 'you' became the polite singular form.

You had to be careful, though, because 'thou/thee' wasn't just a closer, more intimate, more loving and friendly word; it could also be used to convey contempt, disdain and insult, and could cause great offence in situations where 'thou' was intentionally used when 'you' would have been appropriate.

Thouing and Youing in other tongues

Some interesting uses of these forms of address occur in other languages. The Swedes, as we have seen, have all but done away with their polite form, and often with their familiar form too, instead opting for a completely 'you-less' language.

In Japan, the entire language is permeated with several levels of politeness. Courtesy, familiarity, and reverence affect not only personal pronouns but also grammar and vocabulary. Most non-Japanese will recognise the honorific *–san* which can be used after both a surname (*Yamada-san*) and a first name (*Haru-san*). The use of honorifics goes much further than just the English 'Mr', 'Mrs', 'Sir' and 'Madam', and learning even the fundamentals of Japanese courtesy demands a lot of time and devotion of the foreign student. Suffice to say that many Japanese women refer not

only to their husband as *–san*, but also their sons as soon as they reach a certain age.

If you are familiar with the French language, you may watch a French newscast on television and hear the anchor people addressing each other as *vous*, but at the same time using each others' first names, as in *Bonjour à vous, Madeleine – Et à vous, Pierre.*

Even more surprising, being extremely rude and impolite in French may, paradoxically, entail the honorific address. For instance, when telling a stranger that 'You piss me off,' it would often be much more natural to say *Vous me faites chier* than *Tu me fais chier.*

Duzen and Vouvoyer

When is it OK to stop standing on ceremony and drop the polite V-form for the familiar T-form?

This is a complicated matter, and a fuzzy one without any clear-cut rules. A recent study conducted at Melbourne University has found some interesting differences between four European languages that distinguish between the T- and V-forms, namely Swedish, French, German and Italian.

As we have seen, Swedish has almost completely banished the polite form to the scrap heap, so there is rarely a need to 'drop the formalities' when everyone has been saying *du* from the outset.

In France, the distinction between the T- and V-forms is still very much alive, especially in certain workplaces and other hierarchical organisations, but many people claim that *tu* is becoming more and more common in French society, especially among the younger generations and in certain industries such as computing, fashion, publicity, media and so on. However, there is little chance that *vous* is going to disappear any time soon: the polite form is still very much ensconced in French life.

> Tutoyer [saying *tu*] does not come to me easily. Formerly the tarts used to find it elegant that I called them *vous*.
> (Marcel Proust's friend, Sydney Schiff)

It seems that in Germany, where the two forms are as entrenched as they are in France, the social parameters are becoming blurred, and while the French rarely have trouble deciding which pronoun to use, the Germans are becoming increasingly uncertain in many situations. In any case, the use of the casual *du* is on the increase in the public space, and it is no longer only young people who use it: the age ceiling for using *du* is steadily rising.

The Italians are somewhat divided between the north and the south, where southern Italy seems to be a little more relaxed about using the familiar T-form. In the southern part you can also use an honorific (e.g. 'Signora')

together with the T-form; this is unacceptable in the north. There is also an interesting phenomenon that often takes place in conversation between, say, a younger and an older person, where the young adult uses the formal V-form but gets the casual T-form back from the older person. This non-reciprocal use is uncommon in other T-/V- languages.

However, the non-reciprocal use can be found in Shakespeare. In *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, Fenton calls Anne 'thou', while Anne addresses Fenton back with the polite 'you':

Fenton: "Why, thou must be thyself"
Anne: "Maybe he tells you true."
Fenton: "I will confess thy father's wealth"
Anne: "Hark you hither"
(*Merry Wives of Windsor,* Act 3, Scene 4, Lines 4–23)

Miss-takes

The same Melbourne University study also demonstrates how important it is to use the right form of pronoun – and how risky it is to go against convention. Even people who differentiate between the T- and V-forms in their own country can find themselves in hot water when they travel to another country where the split forms are also used, but according to different rules.

A German tourist is thrown out of a French café for addressing the young waitress with *tu*, just as he would say *du* in his homeland. A translator faces a dilemma when trying to convert a politesse-less Swedish text into an honorific-rich language. In 2004, British Prime Minister Tony Blair addressed Jacques Chirac with *tu* and called him by his first name to the horror of the UK press, while French journalists took it all in their stride: Chirac was a renowned *tu* proponent, and the two statesmen had agreed to use the T-form by previous arrangement, anyway.

Include me out!

dual, trial and other grammatical curiosities

Addressing each other or referring to each other is commonly done by using personal pronouns, such as 'I', 'you', 'she', 'we', 'they' and so on.

At first glance, a speaker of English sees nothing complex about the word 'we', for instance. It simply means a group of two or more people, including the speaker. Likewise, the plural 'you' means addressing a group of two or more people, but excluding the speaker. And similarly, 'they' means referring to a group of two or more people, but excluding both the speaker and, if present, the person being addressed.

Easy. But why make it so simple when you can complicate things? Some people think much further when it comes to personal pronouns, and have many more words for 'we', 'you' and 'they'.

Inclusive versus exclusive

Many languages use a different 'we' depending on whether the person(s) addressed is/are included in

the 'we'. Thus, the inclusive 'we' means either 'you and I', or 'you and I and someone else', while the exclusive 'we' denotes 'he/she and I' or 'I and some other people, but not you'.

Example:

This means that in languages with inclusive/exclusive forms it is possible to say 'Alex! We won the lottery!' without Alex wondering whether to give up the day job.

Dual

Dual signifies a grammatical number 'two' between singular (one) and plural (many). There are peoples on all continents whose grammar counts things according to 'one, two, many'.

This goes for personal pronouns such as 'we' as well: people use the dual form to differentiate between 'we, just us two' and 'we, the whole lot of us'.

In short, these languages have different words for 'we' as in 'the two of us', and 'all of us', 'you' as in 'the two of

you' and 'all of you', and 'they' as in 'the two of them' and 'all of them'.

Example:

This means that in languages with dual/plural forms it is possible to say 'they had dinner', and you will immediately know if it was a quiet meal for two or a larger gathering.

But wait, there's more! If the people in question then also have the inclusive/exclusive notion in their language and way of thinking, the simple 'we' and 'you' split into even more variants:

'we, meaning I and you, Pat' (dual inclusive)

'we, meaning I and one other person, but not you' (dual exclusive)

'we, meaning I and you and other people' (plural inclusive)

'we, meaning I and other people, but not you' (plural exclusive)

Example:

This means that in languages with both inclusive/exclusive AND dual/plural forms it is possible to say 'we are in debt' and at the same time define whether it is the two of us who are in debt together; I and another person; all of us including you; or, for instance, my country but not your country.

...AND NOW THAT SIMPLE LANGUAGE TRIAL

Tok Pisin is a language that started off as a kind of pidgin English in Papua New Guinea. It is now spoken by a few million people, and is the first language of many. It uses a fairly simple grammar and relatively small vocabulary. Together with a handful of other languages, Tok Pisin also has a rather complex system of personal pronouns, in that it uses not only inclusive/exclusive and singular/dual/plural, but also a grammatical form called 'trial', that is, pronouns based on threesomes ('the three of us', 'the three of you', 'the three of them' and so on). The system has so many components that it might be helpful to draw up a table:

	Singular	Dual	Trial	Plural
1st person exclusive	Mi *(I)*	Mitupela *(He/she and I)*	Mitripela *(I and two others, but not you)*	Mipela *(I and other people, but not you)*
1st person inclusive	—	Yumitupela *(I and you, Pat)*	Yumitripela *(I and you, Pat, and a third person)*	Yumipela *(I and you, Pat, and two or more others)*
2nd person	Yu *(you, Pat)*	Yutupela *(the two of you)*	Yutripela *(the three of you)*	Yupela *(all four or more of you)*
3rd person	Em *(he or she)*	Tupela *(the two of them)*	Tripela *(the three of them)*	Ol *(all four or more of them)*

This might look daunting, but to many people, like much of Tok Pisin, it all makes sense and is easy to learn.

Addressing salad

Some languages go much, much further in their distinctions of how to refer to other people by means of pronouns.

Take the now-extinct Wadjuk language of Western Australia that had different words for 'the two of us', depending on whether the other person in the twosome was a particular brother or sister, or any brother or sister, or husband and wife, or the 'we two' between brothers-in-law, or between a parent and child.

Gender might also play a role, and some languages, such as the Australian Aboriginal Nunggubuyu, have different pronouns depending on sex ('you two men', 'you two women', 'we two men', 'we two women' and so on).

Even more subtle things happen in the way we refer to each other. For example, some languages have special ways of referring to a person, depending on whether he or she is present, out of sight but within earshot, or absent altogether.

For me to know and you to find out:

naming and name taboos

There is something mystical about names. The number of the beast, the Bible states, is 666 – a man's name, and one of the world's most enduring enigmas. In most cultures, names can be secret, divine, forbidden, powerful and dangerous to pronounce or even think of. If you know how, names can be used to exorcise evil powers, steal people's souls, or to bring about untold fortune. Your name is YOU. Perhaps this intensely personal connection with one's name is the reason why even the most secular and urbane people can get very irate and exasperated if their name is misspelt or otherwise misrepresented in the media.

The Inuit are only one of many peoples who believe that the essential ingredient of a human being is its name.

Name and character

Your name is believed to be not only you, the person on earth, but also your destiny, as reflected in the ancient Latin saying, *nomen est omen*, or 'name is fate'.

Does your name shape who you are? Does it affect your self-image? Do others perceive you according to the name you have?

Some modern sociologists believe so. Your name might affect both how other people form their first impressions of you, and how you might perceive yourself. For instance, if your name is 'Sebastian' or 'Hubert', or 'Hortense' or 'Sybil', others might already have some preconceived ideas about what you are like, as opposed to if they hear that your name is 'Al' or 'Joe' or 'Becky' or 'Sue'.

The Ashanti people of Africa give their children a 'soul name' according to the day of the week the child was born. 'Monday's child', 'Tuesday's child', and so on in the Mother Goose fashion. And each day-child is supposed to be suffused with certain characteristics of that weekday. For example, a *kwadwo* ('Monday boy') is a quiet child that doesn't act up and takes things in his stride, whereas a *kwaku* ('Wednesday boy') is boisterous and mischievous and has a short fuse.

Age-old beliefs

The ancient Egyptians advised, according to the *Book of the Dead*, that it was important to remember your name. For when you died, you would need your name at the other side of death. Seeing that you no longer had a

body (perhaps mummified in Luxor), your name was a very important thing to take with you. It was akin to a passkey. After all, your name was thought to already exist in heaven, so maybe you had to match it with your earthly one.

The Egyptians believed that your name was one of the eight things that make up a person: a natural body, a spirit-body, a heart, a double, a heart-soul, a shadow, a spirit-soul and – last but not least – a name.

In fact, chapter XXV of the *Book of the Dead* is entitled 'The chapter which maketh a man remember his name in the Underworld', and says:

> let me remember my name in the House of Fire [...] If any god cometh after me, I shall be able to declare my name to him forthwith.

Whose taboos?

To address someone by name is an important part of human interaction, but sometimes it is simply out of the question. Name taboos are very common in the world, and exist in many cultures on all continents.

Mind you, perhaps some names *ought* to have been tabooed, and you can't but wonder about parents who name their children Julia Caesar or Justin Case or Cec Poole or Delores Crooke or Jack Hammer or Crystal Chantelle Lear, for instance. The world is full of such deliberate or

accidental namings that seem funny perhaps for anyone who does not have to live with the appellation.

Then you have people who don't seem to mind at all. The musician and entertainer Frank Zappa's four children, named Dweezil Zappa, Moon Unit Zappa, Ahmet Emuukha Rodan Zappa, and Diva Thin Muffin Pigeen Zappa never saw a need to change their names. Instead, it appears that several of the Zappas saw their zappy names as a boon and used them in their own career moves in the entertainment industry.

At another far-out end of the spectrum is that bastion of British humour: *Monty Python's Flying Circus*. Nowhere else

will you find more exquisite – and extraordinary – naming of people. Take the hapless traveller, Mr Smoketoomuch, who has never in his life been taunted on account of his name, and who is completely perplexed when his travel agent suggests that maybe he should cut down.

Some names are history these days, such as little Russian children being proudly named 'Elektrifikatsia' and 'Revolyutsia' ('Electrification' and 'Revolution') during the Soviet era. And Adolf is no longer exactly on the top-ten chart of popular names.

Whether 'Papandovalorokomondoronikolakupulovski' (subject to spelling variations) is actually the longest name to have graced the pages of the Moscow phone book remains unconfirmed, but in today's world, you don't have to live in South East Asia, the Balkans or Armenia to find names like 'Mm', 'Oo', 'Ng', 'Hrpka' and 'Mkrtchyan' in your local telephone directory. Of course, these names only look and sound foreign to outsiders: in the country of origin, they are perfectly normal, even common.

Uncle X

While 'funny' and 'strange' names are readily available from many sources, another human phenomenon is a little harder to access: the practice of not using names at all.

Many societies have name taboos that prohibit the use of names in several ways. The most common are:

- the names of certain relatives
- one's own name
- the name of someone who is dead.

The proscription of relatives' names goes hand in hand with the 'avoidance-speech' or 'mother-in-law language' described elsewhere in this book. The main characters (who shall remain unnamed) include parents, parents-in-law, sometimes siblings and even one's spouse.

The way around it is often to use kinship terms instead.

This name taboo amongst one's kin is often accompanied with other avoidance rules, such as not being able to look at, speak to, touch, eat with, or even be anywhere within eyesight of the kinsperson. In one culture, a bride is allowed to take one good look at the groom's father, never to look at him ever again in her life.

From namelessness to thoughtlessness

Using someone's name can be a matter of life and death. The Tlingit people of Alaska believe that you can murder a person by using his or her name repeatedly. Married Ainu women of northern Japan are not to pronounce their husbands' names for fear of killing the spouse.

In southern Africa, some women are banned from pronouncing the names of their husbands' male ascendants, or even words that sound similar to the name, or even a word that has a component that is also an element of the name. The woman is even forbidden from 'thinking' the name, pronouncing it in her mind. The result is that in order to avoid even imagining a word akin to a relative's name, a special 'women's language' has developed that is quite different from the way men speak.

Parental avoidance

The Kanuri people of western Africa usually name their children after the children's grandparents. This causes a problem, because a Kanuri person is not allowed to say the names of his or her parents. Consequently, mum and dad can't call their kids by name. Kanuri sons and daughters are therefore often known as 'little father' and 'little mother'.

Don't call me, I'll call you

In other societies it is improper to pronounce *one's own* name. While it is perfectly fine for others to know your name, you cannot tell them your name yourself should they ask. The common solution in these cultures is to grab

a bystander or passer-by who knows you and have this third person giving your name to the person making the enquiry.

In some of these cultures where one must not say one's own name, people take on exotic appellations to 'mask' their actual names, sometimes real and imagined heroes such as Dick Tracy, Roy Rogers and Benjamin Franklin. Yet other cultures have a set of so-called 'small' or 'outer' names to shield their real ones.

Why is the name so important that it needs to be protected? Some cultures believe that a person's name is too sacred and intimate to be used in addressing that person (for instance several Native American societies), while others place more importance on protecting your own name, because it could be used against you. Your name is connected with your soul, and therefore can be 'taken' by spirits and ghosts, or used in magic, voodoo and so on, much in the same way as a skein of hair or a piece of clothing or your nail clippings.

Calling the dead

A common custom around the world is to avoid mentioning the name of a person who has died. The same often goes for showing or playing images, film, voice recordings and photographs of the dead person. As a modern example,

television shows in Australia featuring Aboriginal people carry a warning, stating that images of and references to deceased people may occur in the program.

The taboo on the use of dead people's names is common around the globe. Why?

In his book *Naming and Identity*, Richard Alford gives a number of feasible explanations, including:

- active attempts made to forget the dead person
- avoiding painful memories
- reluctance to remind relatives of their loss
- (among the Aranda of Australia:) the dead person is not properly mourned. If properly mourned, relatives could not even stand to say or hear the person's name
- if you use the name of a dead person, you will die of the same thing
- using the name will call the dead forth.

All of these reasons make sense, or are at least understandable. They stem from emotion, sympathy or superstition. But look at it from a practical viewpoint: what if your name is the same as the dead person's? Suddenly, you cannot be called by name.

In Madagascar, some tribes will begin to refer to the dead person by a 'generic' name (the Bara Tribe uses 'Master Shining' which is the same way they address the

moon, whose real name is already taboo and cannot be used). People with the same name as the dead person must change their own names at once.

Among Australian Aborigines and Native Americans, not only does the deceased person's name become a no-no, but also everyday words that sound like the name.

Sometimes, in Papua New Guinea for example, a death could have even more earth-moving results. An entire village may be demolished and moved to another location and have its name changed when someone important dies. This moving and renaming of villages renders even the most recent map of Papua New Guinea obsolete.

But it doesn't end there.

Re-calling the dead

Some cultures have nothing against using the names of the dead; on the contrary, they want to use and reuse deceased people's names over and over again down the generations.

One example is the Irish tradition of giving an ancestor's name to a newborn child according to a specified pattern.

This naming structure is not nearly as common now as it was in the past; however, it must be a boon for genealogists and family-tree compilers to be able to take an 'educated guess' at an ancestor's name.

Sons		
First	Named after…	father's father
Second		mother's father
Third		father
Fourth		father's eldest brother
Fifth		mother's eldest brother

Daughters		
First	Named after…	mother's mother
Second		father's mother
Third		mother
Fourth		mother's eldest sister
Fifth		father's eldest sister

What happens if there is a hitch in the succession of names? If a child dies (and this used to be a common occurrence in poor starving Ireland, where an infant's chance of survival was no better than tossing a coin), the name was 'reserved' for the next, as yet unborn, child of the same gender.

An additional dilemma occurred if there was duplication. For instance, if the father's father and the mother's father bore the same name, the first and second son would have the same name. In this case, the naming of the second-born would drop one notch in the list, and instead be named after his father.

Another way of perpetuating the name and spirit of the dead can be found among the Inuit of the Arctic: the *atiq*. A village elder gives a newborn child the name of a dead person, known as the *atiq*. It doesn't have to be a relation or ancestor of any kind: it can be any dead person. The essential belief is that a person who dies is not 'properly' dead until his or her name is passed on to a newborn. The child then 'becomes' the dead person.

> No child is only a child. If I give my grandfather's *atiq* to my daughter, she is my grandfather. I will call her *ataatassiaq*, grandfather. She is entitled to call me 'grandson'.

In 1978, Minnie Aodla Freeman, an Inuit woman born on Cape Horn Island in 1936, put it in these words:

> No one really dies until someone is named after the dead person. So to leave the dead in peace and to prevent their spirits from being scattered all over the community, we give their names to the newborn. The minds of the dead do not rest until the dead have been renamed.

This name-giving can happen several times, and an Inuit can have many names of both male and female people who have died. The multi-layered naming system, which some people describe as a form of reincarnation, is known as *sauniq*, and has nothing to do with gender. Only the Polar Eskimos of Greenland have developed separate names for men and women.

Some Inuit elders have the power to 'see' who the child should be, as it were, or to 'recognise' the late person in the newborn. Much like the Tibetan experts with extra-ordinary divination skills who scour the world to find the child who is predestined to become the next Dalai Lama.

An example can be found in the Inuit film *Atanarjuat: the Fast Runner*, in a stirring conversation between the old woman Panikpak, who can 'see', and who has given her own late mother's name to the young (unrelated) woman Atuat:

> *Panikpak*: Little Mother, you are just as beautiful as I remember you when I was a child in your arms.
>
> *Atuat*: When I was your mother? Was my namesake very beautiful? Did you love me very much?
>
> *Panikpak*: Of course! That's why I named you Atuat! I recognized you right away.

Dead names – new words

In many cultures it is common for names to be based on everyday objects or notions. Think 'Olive', 'April', 'Jade', 'Ginger' as first names; think 'Baker', 'Hunter', 'Stone', 'Brown', 'Smith' as last names. Now imagine that a person called by one of these names dies, and suddenly you won't be able to use the very *word* anymore.

This happens in many societies. Sometimes the word has to be avoided for a certain period of time; sometimes it simply has to disappear forever.

A new word has to be invented for the object or notion in question, and in certain societies it is up to the elder women to modify the vocabulary. Not only is the person dead, but his or her name too, and its corresponding word in the language.

Some people, like the Yanamani in South America, take a pragmatic approach. When naming a child after a thing in their world, they choose a highly insignificant object, such as an obscure animal part, in order not to jeopardise an important word in their language.

Bye-bye!

how things have changed

Languages develop, customs change, and the way we perceive and interpret things drift. This last farewelling chapter deals with that commonest of phrases, 'bye-bye', and how it has changed status in just a few decades.

Nowadays, 'bye-bye' is a throw-away phrase, used many times every day by English speakers and others alike. It has become as ubiquitous and natural (and neutral) as 'OK'.

But not so in 1959. According to the sociologist Sandor Feldman, a woman saying 'bye-bye' to a man indicated a much greater closeness than a straight 'goodbye'. It had even seductive overtones: the woman wanted to make clear that she wished to meet again, and the phrase was suggestive of more things to come.

Feldman must have viewed the simple 'bye-bye' with great suspicion. As a lovely, loving, perhaps lustful farewell, he gets the last quote in this book:

> Women, particularly young ones, use the 'bye-bye' when parting from men with whom they do not but wish to have a close relationship. They think, by using the phrase, that men may accept the familiarity

graciously. Sometimes, however, the person to whom the 'bye-bye' is addressed finds the phrase irritating because he is uncertain whether he should allow himself to be trapped by the 'bye-bye' or whether he should maintain his authority and stick to the 'good-bye', thus indicating to the woman that she is in no position to say 'bye-bye' which means more closeness.

Postscript

Greeting rituals are considered to be a human universal, present in one form or another in all human societies. In 1991, the American Professor of Anthropology, Donald E. Brown, published a list of human behaviours found in all cultures without any known exceptions. In other words, features that can be found in language, society and psyche, whether deep in the jungles of Papua New Guinea or high in the chrome-and-glass towers of New York. The list covers hundreds of behaviours, spanning from 'tickling' and 'envy' to 'wariness around snakes' and 'music', and includes 'customary greetings' (interestingly, 'customary farewells' are not included in the list).

Not only is greeting behaviour a human universal, but common among animals as well. Pair animals (such as many birds) tend to display greeting behaviour only between 'spouses', while social animals greet not only their mates, but other animals of their own kind as well.

Hoofed herd animals and pack animals such as wolves tend to greet each other by lowering their bodies and perhaps making themselves small (other animals might puff themselves up in a bristling display to look larger, stronger and more threatening, but whether this could be classed as 'greeting behaviour' is debatable).

Lowering the body is extremely common in human greetings as well. Consider bowing, curtseying, kneeling, kissing hands, kissing feet, hugging knees, kowtowing, prostration and many other forms of greeting that are described in this book – they are all methods of lowering your own body before the other person. Even removing one's hat is way of instantly decreasing one's height. As a sign of courtesy, people get off their horses (or bicycles) in order to 'come down'. Some go so far as to take off their sandals and place them beside their feet.

Conversely, a person who is already sitting or lying down might get up in order to enable the 'lowering-down' to take place. Yet, a manager might not stand up when a secretary enters the room, nor might a seated woman rise to greet a visiting man.

The customs are multifaceted and varied. It is fascinating to discover how many differences there are in the way we greet each other. But the more you study greeting etiquette, the more you realise that you're watching variations on a theme; a core theme that seems to sit in the marrow of our bones. The very fundamentals of both human and animal behaviour suggest that greeting is not only a human universal, not only a cultural phenomenon, but something truly essential.

Notes

Gestures & Signals

Take a bow

The bow, as with so many… 1 Samuel 20:41; 1 Samuel 25:41

Bending: the rules… see <http://pweb.sophia.ac.jp/britto/deekid/task17/tomoko17.html>

Another instance… Marsh 1990, p. 102

Hit the floor!… see <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kowtow>

***Kowtow* (or *koutou*)…** Patten 1998, p. 275

'Presently the birthday…' Cao 1980, vol. 3, ch. 71, p. 407

This display of submission… Patten 1998, pp. 276–80

The Indian *namaste*… see <http://www.moksayoga.com/>; <http://www.thaimyway.com/article/Salutation/salutation.html>; also Morris 1994 p. 194

In ancient Byzantium… Bäuml & Bäuml 1997

The traditional Arabian salaam… Morris 1994, p. 26; Bäuml & Bäuml 1997

Bending over backwards… Fürstenberg 2009

So firmly ensconced… '*Malmö för dummies*' is a series of articles in the Swedish newspaper Sydsvenska Dagbladet (often abbreviated to 'Sydsvenskan'). See < http://sydsvenskan.se/utbildning/article363168/Malmo-for-dummies.html >

Hi, Hitler!

Already in 1933… Allert 2008, p. 6

The National Socialist… ibid. p. 6–7

Five-year-olds… ibid. p. 9

They called it… ibid. p. 35

The propaganda… ibid. p. 37

Other ways… ibid. p. 45

The practice spreads… ibid. p. 7

the American athletes… Birchall 1936, pp. 1 and 33

Hitler in America?… Ellis 2005

If there is some doubt… ibid. pp. 6–10

Bellamy and Upham… ibid. p. 19

Perhaps because… ibid. p. 114

By 1942… ibid. p. 118

Hitler made… *Enyclopædia Britannica* 2009

Do a nose job

Whether the Inuit… Freuchen 1961, p. 146

The custom is thought… see <http://www.newzealand.com/travel/about-nz/culture/powhiri/the-ceremony/hongi-embrace.cfm>

In 2003… 'Nose rub warning', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 April 2003

'Queequeg…' Melville 2003, ch. 12, 'Biographical'

Several sources… Bäuml & Bäuml 1997

The Egyptian hieroglyphic… Budge 1978, vol. 2, p. 603

Most linguists… Pinker 2007, p. 301; Crystal 2008

Faraway hongi… Reed 1974, p. 131

XXXX!

The kiss as a form of greeting... Morris 1994, p. 155

Kissing is described... Genesis 29:11–13; Genesis 33:4; Romans 16:16; 1 Corinthians 20; 1 Peter 5:14

These lines cause... Vajda, G 1957, 'L'amour de Dieu dans la théologie Juive du moyen-age', quoted in Chevalier & Geerbrant 1996

Spirit-sharing... Blue 1997, p. 141; Matthew 26:49

The Romans knew... Blue 1997, p. 154; Frijhoff 1991, p. 211

The non-erotic kiss... Firth 2004, pp. 3–4

'American and English people...' ibid., p. 4

Kissing as a greeting... Blue 1997, p. 154

In ancient Rome... Bäuml & Bäuml 1997

In Spain... Bäuml & Bäuml 1997

'Greet one another...' Romans 16:16

As far as secular... Bogucka 1991, p. 194

Many cultures... Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1996

With all kissing... Morris 1994, p. 76

There is one step... ibid., p. 76

As a powerful gesture... ibid., p. 76

children were expected... Bogucka 1991, p. 198

But kissing somewhere... Blue 1997, p. 154

'And Joab...' 2 Samuel 20:9

The great Dutch humanist... Frijhoff 1991, p. 225

'Oh Faustus...' 'The Epistles of Erasmus', in Frijhoff 1991, p. 225

'Look at these people!...' Firth 2004, p. 24, citing Junod, HA 1927, 'The Life of a South African Tribe', vol. I, p. 352 (also 1962 edn, University Books, New York)

Kissing as a sign... Genesis 31:55; Ruth 19:14

To kiss someone on the hand... Blue 1997, p. 154

In the 16th century... Bäuml & Bäuml 1997

'those that are good...' Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, Act 3, Scene 2

'I will kiss...' Shakespeare, *Love's Labour Lost*, Act 5, Scene 2

The essence of hand-kissing... Morris 1994, p. 113; Firth 2004, p. 26

And do recognise... Bogucka 1991, p. 195

There are at least two... Varga 2006, personal correspondence

In Poland... Ślupkov, e-correspondence, 24 November 2008

In the south... ibid.; Bogucka 1991, p. 196

The blow-kiss... Blue 1997, p. 154; Morris 1994, p. 67

Even the classic... Blue 1997, p. 154

The South American writer... Allende 2004, p. 101

The modern cheek-kiss... Blue 1997, p. 155; Frijhoff 1991, p. 224

When the rural... Frijhoff 1991, p. 224

In southern Spain... Driessen 1991, pp. 240–1

In the Mediterranean... author's personal encounters

Criminal peck... *The Guardian* 2007; *ABC News* 2007

In Bollywood... Mehta, V, 'Gandhi's Italian lessons', in *The Australian*, 19 June 2004

'The protocol...' Thompson 2008, p. 21

The air-kiss is not a new invention... Roodenburg 1991, p. 162

Flashy hello

General reference: Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1972

In 1972… Bäuml & Bäuml 1997; Crystal 1997, p. 406

In some cultures… Crystal 1997, p. 406

Getting the shakes

By far the most common… Morris 1994, p. 78; Axtell 1998, p. 18

Handshakes figure… Proverbs 22:26; Job 17:3

Homer… Iliad vi:233, x:541, xxiv:671

'I knew when seven…' Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, Act 5, Scene 4

About a hundred years… Roodenburg 1991, p. 173

In baroque continental… Roodenburg 1991, p. 171; Morris 1994, pp. 124–5

However, the story… Roodenburg 1991, p. 176

But the Quakers… ibid. pp. 178–9

In northern Europe… ibid. pp. 178–9

in 16th century Poland… Bogucka, 1991

And baffled they were… Roodenburg 1991, p. 176, citing Fresne 1858, 'De l'usage et de la politesse dans le monde', Paris, p. 35

She also gave… '*est de bien mauvais ton et peut vous exposer à recevoir un affront'.*

'They advanced towards…' Flaubert, *Madame Bovary,* ch. 6

'He offered me his…' Davenport-Hines 2006, p. 31, citing Hopkins, G (transl.) 1953, 'Letters of Marcel Proust to Antoine Bibesco'

'If I followed your...' Tadié 2000, p. 378, citing 'Lettres de Marcel Proust à Bibesco' 1949, Clairefontaine, Lausanne, p. 30

a form of kowtow... Bogucka 1991, p. 201

'Having done with...' Turgenev 1998, p. 18

'The person walked over...' Han 2004, p. 193

'First of all he bowed...' Aisin-Gioro 1987, p. 109

While inside the Middle Kingdom... White 1922, p. 66

Some researchers think... Hermann 1941, cited in Feldman 1959 pp. 269–70

Why? Because... Morris 1994, p. 125

It was, to the Gileadites... Judges 12:5–6

The Freemasons... Ewin 2008

It is outside the scope... Axtell 1998, p. 25

Another African variant... Morris 1994, p. 153

If you use your left... ibid. p. 126

There are two main examples... Chupungco 2000, pp. 320–1

And secondly... Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1996

This latter example... ibid.

Slaps, daps, thumps and bumps

General: material on urban greetings such as high-five, dap etc. in the form of text, lists, still images and videos is readily available on a number of web sites, including Wikipedia.

Soon, the whole world knew... various newspapers, such as: *Chicago Tribune,* 5 June 2008; *Washington Post,* 5 June 2008,

p. C03; *New York Daily New,* 6 June 2008; *Pretoria News,* 19 June 2008; *The Age* 6 June 2008 and many others

The fist bump... Stephey 2008

The sterile bump... McNeal Jr 2006

Handy acrobatics... an informative overview of various forms of dap can be found at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uwjeTOTn0xk>

I DIPS ME LID

'Me pal 'e trots 'er up...' Dennis 2001, p. 15

Hat removal... Morris 1994, p. 140

'Manners books'... ibid., p.140

In Holland... Roodenburg 1991, p. 162

For example, van Laar... Bogucka 1991, p. 197

So you would most probably... Roodenburg 1991, p. 164

Even if the person... Roodenburg 1991, p. 164

Other theories... Morris 1994, p. 140

Yet another interpretation... Freud 1956

The removal of the hat... Feldman 1959

'When they...' quoted in Shamdasani & Münchov 1994

And that was only... Feldman 1959

According to several... Feldman 1959; Morris 1994, p. 141

Both practices... Morris 1994, p. 148

Touching the brim... ibid., p. 123

There are very few... ibid. p. 123; Johansson 13 December 2008

Hello? Hell, no!

In the comedy… *Black Books* 2004

But it is not all about handshakes… see *Encyclopædia Britannica,* under 'London Olympics', 'Ralph Waldo Rose', 'the Battle of Shepherd's Bush'

Likewise, in the 1936… Birchall 1936

The language of greeting… Feldman 1959, p. 109

Waves of emotion

'Distance' is… Morris 1994, p. 66

Japanese students… Iwata, 23 November 2008; Lam, 23 June 2005

Another example… Axtell 1998, p. 26

A variation… Morris 1994, p. 131

This form of wave… Axtell 1998, p. 26

A special kind… Morris 1994, p. 218

Customs & Behaviours

No hug for Dr Livingstone

'As I advanced…' Stanley 1872, p. 331

It hurts to say goodbye

General reference: information on the Parthians and the Parthian shot is available from most trusted encyclopedias and other sources.

How stiff can your upper lip get?

'As we approached…' Kinglake 2004 (1898), ch. 17

In 1936, the Nanda Devi… Tilman 1983

'Outgoing?'… Fox 2004, pp. 139–40

Chinese whispers

General references: Chinese behaviour: Stafford 2000; Polish behaviour: Bogucka 1991

From Russia with love

General reference: Monahan 1983, p. 130

Cut it out!

To 'cut someone'… *Black Books* 2004; *NME* 2008

It is a form of dismissal… Fox 2004, p. 401

Most sources describe… Grose 1811; *Brewer's Dictionary* 2001

I don't speak to my mother-in-law

General references: Hale 1973; Yallop 1982, pp. 161–3

The Lardil language… Hale 1973, pp. 401–59

Phonethics

Not much research… Godard 1977

What does this mean?… Crystal 1997, p. 48

In an unpublished… conducted by the author. Full results available on application

This finding is underpinned… Tell 2004, p. 22

Thanks for having me on!

Take the use of names… private survey 2008

Eskimodesty

Grandma has sucked… Freuchen 1961, p. 150

'Visiting is an important…' ibid., p. 95

The Eskimos have a word… Jacot de Boinod 2005, p. 3

The feast goes on… several accounts in Freuchen 1961, notably ch. 5

In this chapter… (footnote) Kaplan 2002

Names & Addresses

What's so good about it?

'Have you eaten?'… Hong 1988, p. 223

The normal Arab greeting… Lawrence 2006, p. 3

The Masai ask… corroborated by numerous web sites, for example <http://archive.uua.org/re/reach/fall00/social_justice/how_are_the_children.html>

the New Zealand Maori… corroborated by numerous web sites, for example <http://uk.encarta.msn.com/dictionary_1861714779/kia_ora.html>

You can only greet once… Crystal 1995, p. 286

You say 'good day'… Firth 2004, p. 7

You can say 'good day'… ibid., p. 14

You can't greet with 'good night'... ibid., p. 11

Continental 'goods'... ibid., p. 11

Good, so get going... Fox 2004, p. 57 ff.

'Just when you think...' ibid., p. 58

'How do you do?'... ibid., p. 37 ff.

Ahoy, Ahoy! Pick up the phone!

Strangely enough... Koenigsberg 1999

By 1880, 'hello'... ibid.; *New York Times,* 7 September 1880 p. 1; *New York Times,* 10 September 1880 p. 5

'The shortest speech...' Koenigsberg 2005

The true origin... Onions 1966

'Ho, Guildenstern!' Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act 4, Scene 2

'Hillo, ho, ho, my lord!...' ibid., Act 1, Scene 5 (Bate & Rasmussen 2007 add an explanation in a footnote: 'Hamlet mockingly responds as if Horatio's call were that of a falconer summoning his bird to return.')

In Shakespeare's plays... see <http://www.opensourceshakespeare.org/concordance/>

The unlucky Mr Szczęściarz

Sweden in the 1960s... *Sveriges Rikes Lag* 1963, 11/10 (Swedish Law)

Wang is King in China

It used to be 'Li'... Spencer 2007

The 100 names... Eberhard 1990, p. 203

With so many 'Lis' in China... *CBC News* 2007
His explanation?... *CBS News* 2005

Finding Björk

General reference: Gunnarsson 2005, 2009

Yoo-hoo! Who? You!

General references: Norrby 2006; Norrby & Håkansson 2004

Mister Doctor

General references: 'Farlander' 2002; Loudon 2000; Robotham 2005; Whelan & Woo 2004

I forget my name

General reference: personal experience; personal correspondence
In Qing Dynasty China... Chang 1991, p. 22
Although nowadays Chinese... Eberhard 1990, p. 204
In modern Japan... Iwata 2009; Chamberlain 1982, p. 345

When your coz is your sis

Do you have a *jiubiaoxiong*... *Times New Chinese-English Dictionary* p. 241
When it comes to... Morgan 1966
Another extremely simple... Everett 2008, pp. 86–7
In some Australian... Yallop 1982, p. 149

Similarly, in some tribes… ibid. p. 152

Many Aboriginal kinship systems… (general about moieties etc.) Yallop 1982, pp. 155ff.; Blake 1981, pp. 36ff.

Triangular relations… *Encyclopædia Britannica 2009*, under 'Australian Aboriginal languages'

Bonus effects… Blake 1981, p. 40

You, thou and other politenesses

It wasn't always so… Yaswen 2003

You had to be careful… Roodenburg 1991, p. 152

In Japan, the entire… Iwata 2008

Even more surprising… Warren 2006

This is a complicated matter… Schüpbach et al. 2006

In France, the distinction… Warren 2006

However, there is little… Schüpbach et al. 2006, p. 4

'Tutoyer [saying *tu*]…' Davenport-Hines 2006, p. 267

The Italians are somewhat… Schüpbach et al. 2006, p. 6

Miss-takes… Schüpbach et al. pp. 9–10; *Daily Telegraph* (UK) and *The Times* (UK), 10 May 2004

Include me out!

General references: Information on dual, trial and other forms can be readily found in many books on grammar, comparative linguistics etc.

Take the now-extinct Wadjuk language… Blake 1981, p. 19

Gender might also… Yallop 1982, p. 75

For me to know and you to find out

General reference: for detailed information on naming and name taboos, see Alford 1988; for an exhaustive treatment of naming around the world, see Foucart 1967 (pp. 130–6) and many others following (pp. 136–77) in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

The Inuit… Alia 2007, p. 20

'*nomen est omen*'… Wilson 1990, p. 549

Some modern sociologists… ibid., p. 552

The Ashanti… ibid., p. 549

The ancient Egyptians… Budge 1981, p. 81

The Egyptians believed… ibid., p. 81

In fact, chapter XXV… ibid., p. 32 ('Underworld' = *Khert-Neter*)

'let me remember…' ibid. pp. 436–7

To address someone by name… Alford 1988, p. 105

Then you have people… the Zappa children's names can be found all over the internet

At another far-out end… *Monty Python's Flying Circus: the Complete Series 2006*, 'The Complete Third Series', episode 31: 'The All-England Summarise Proust Competition', segment: 'Travel Agents Sketch'

In Madagascar… Holden 2000, p. 188

Among Australian Aborigines… such as Tiwi (Australia) and Yurok (America); Holden 2000, p. 188

One example is the Irish… numerous internet sites describe this naming system

Another way of perpetuating… (and following paragraphs) personal e-correspondence (2009) with the producers/ directors of *Atanarjuat*

'No child is only a child….' Alia 2007, p. 20, citing Brody, H 1987, 'Living Arctic: Hunters of the Canadian North', Douglas and McIntyre, Vancouver & New York

'No one really dies…' Alia 2007, p. 18, quoting Freeman from her own book, 'Life Among the Qallunaat' 1978, p. 72

This name-giving… Cohn 2009, personal e-correspondence

The multi-layered naming… Alia 2007, p. 17

'*Panikpak*: Little Mother…' *Atanarjuat* (film dialogue transcript)

Bye-bye!

'Women, particularly young ones…' Feldman 1959 pp. 71–2

Postscript

Greeting rituals are considered… Pinker 2007, Appendix, p. 436

Not only is greeting behaviour… Marsh 1990, p. 101

Hoofed herd animals… ibid., p. 101

Lowering the body… Firth 2004, p. 19

The very fundamentals… Marsh 1990, pp. 101–6, suggests that human greeting behaviour might be innate

Sources

ABC News, 'Indian court orders arrest of Gere, Shetty over kiss', 26 April 2007, accessed Apr 12 2008, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2007/04/26/1907595.htm>

Aisin-Gioro Pu Yi 1987, *From Emperor to Citizen: the Autobiography of Aisin-Gioro Pu Yi*, Oxford University Press

Alford, R.D. 1988, *Naming and Identity: a Cross-Cultural Study of Personal Naming Practices*, HRAF Press, New Haven, Connecticut

Alia, V. 2007, *Names & Nunavut: Culture and Identity in the Inuit Homeland*, Berghahn Books, Oxford & New York

Allende, I. 2004, *My Invented Country*, Harper Perennial, New York

Allert, T. 2008, *The Hitler Salute: on the Meaning of a Gesture*, Metropolitan Books, Henry Holt & Co., New York

Andersson, O. 1945, *OA Karikatyrer*, (compiled by Hasse Z.), Albert Bonniers Publishers, Stockholm

Atanarjuat: the Fast Runner 2001, motion picture, directed by Zacharias Kunuk, Igloolik Isuma Productions, distributed by Madman Cinema, distributed on DVD by The AV Channel Pty Ltd

Axtell, R.E. 1998, *Gestures: the Do's and Taboos of Body Language Around the World*, John Wiley & Sons, New York

Bate, J. & Rasmussen, E. (eds) 2007, *The RSC Shakespeare Complete Works*, Macmillan, Basingstoke, UK

Bäuml, B.J. & Bäuml, F.H. 1997, *Dictionary of Worldwide Gestures*, 2nd edn, Scarecrow Press, Maryland

Birchall, F.T., '100,000 hail Hitler; U.S. athletes avoid salute to him', *The New York Times*, 2 August 1936

Black Books 2004, television series, Channel Four Television Corporation, Assembly Film and Television Production (DVD film), distributed by Kaleidoscope Film and DVD

Blake, B.J. 1981, *Australian Aboriginal Languages: a General Introduction*, Angus & Robertson Publishers, Australia

Blue, A. 1997, *On Kissing: Travels in an Intimate Landscape*, Kodansha America, New York

Bogucka, M. 1991, 'Gesture, ritual and social order in sixteenth to eighteenth century Poland', in J. Bremmer & H. Roodenburg (eds), *A Cultural History of Gesture: from Antiquity to the Present Day*, pp. 190–209, Polity Press, Cambridge

Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase & Fable 2001 [orig. 1959], Millennium edn, (Room, A. rev.), Cassell & Co., London

Budge, E.A.W. 1978 [facsimile of 1920 edn], *An Egyptian Hieroglyphic Dictionary*, Dover, New York

—1981 [orig. 1960], *The Book of the Dead: the Hieroglyphic Transcripts of the Papyrus of Ani, the translation into English and an introduction by E. A. Wallis Budge, late keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities in the British Museum*, 3rd edn, University Books, New Jersey

——1989 [orig. 1910], *Egyptian Language*, 3rd edn, Routledge, London

Cao, X. 1980 [orig. circa 1760], *The Story of the Stone* (aka *A Dream of Red Mansions*, a.k.a. *The Dream of the Red Chamber*), Penguin Classics, London

CBC News, 'Name changes – common surnames', *In Depth*, 26 July 2007, accessed 18 May 2008, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/name-change/common-surnames.html>

CBS News, 'Let George do it!', *The Early Show*, 26 May 2005, accessed 18 May 2008, <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2005/05/04/earlyshow/leisure/books/main692870.shtml>

Chamberlain, B.H. 1982 [orig. 1904 as *Things Japanese*], *Japanese Things*, Charles E. Tuttle, Tokyo

Chang, J. 1991, *Wild Swans: Three Daughters of China*, 1st edn, Anchor Books, New York

Chevalier, J. & Gheerbrant, A. 1996, *The Penguin Dictionary of Symbols*, Penguin, London

Chupungco, A.J. 2000, *Sacraments and Sacramentals*, Pontifical Liturgical Institute, Lithurgical Press, Collegeville, Minnesota, USA

Crystal, D. 1995, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

——1997, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*, 2nd edn, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

——2008, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, 6th edn, Blackwell Publishing Ltd, Oxford

Dagens Nyheter 2008, 'DO stämmer Arbetsförmedlingen', 30 May 2008

Davenport-Hines, R. 2006, *A Night at the Majestic: Proust and the Great Modernist Dinner Party of 1922*, Faber & Faber, London

Dennis, C.J. 2001 [1915], 'The songs of the sentimental bloke', in *The Complete Sentimental Bloke*, A&R Classics, HarperCollins Publishers, Australia

Discover Japan 1987 [orig. 1975 as *A Hundred Things Japanese*], vol. 1, Kodansha International, Tokyo/New York

Driessen, H. 1991, 'Gestured masculinity: body and sociability in rural Andalusia', in J. Bremmer & H. Roodenburg (eds), *A Cultural History of Gesture: from Antiquity to the Present Day*, Polity Press, Cambridge, pp. 237–52

Eberhard, W. 1990, *Times Dictionary of Chinese Symbols*, Federal Publications, Singapore

Eibl-Eibesfeldt, I. 1972, 'Similarities and differences between cultures in expressive movements', in Hinde, RA (ed.), *Non-verbal Communication*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

Ellis, R.J. 2005, *To the Flag: the Unlikely History of the Pledge of Allegiance*, University Press of Kansas, Kansas

Everett, D. 2008, *Don't Sleep, There are Snakes: Life and Language in the Amazonian Jungle*, Profile Books, London

Ewin, G. in 'Can we help?' television interview, Australian Broadcasting Corporation, episode 19, 20 June 2008, viewed

on-air and accessed 21 Jun 2008 <http://www.abc.net.au/tv/canwehelp/txt/s2279998.htm>

'Farlander' (pseud.) 2002, 'Blood, bandages and barber poles', in *BBC h2g2* (e-encyclopaedia), accessed 7 Apr 2008, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/dna/h2g2/brunel/A885062>

Feldman, S.S. 1959, *Mannerisms of Speech and Gesture in Everyday Life*, International Universities Press Inc., New York

Findlay, H. & Riemer, N. (eds) 1982, *Watch your Language!*, Australian Broadcasting Corporation, Sydney

Firth, R.W. 2004, 'Verbal and bodily rituals of greeting and parting', in J. S. La Fontaine & A. I. Richards (eds), *The Interpretation of Ritual: Essays in Honour of A. I. Richards*, Routledge, London [orig. publ. 1972, Tavistock, London]

Foucart, G. 1967 [1917], 'Naming (primitive)', in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 9, T & T Clark, Edinburgh, pp. 130–6

Fox, K. 2004, *Watching the English: the Hidden Rules of English Behaviour*, Hodder & Stoughton, London

Freuchen, P. 1961, *Book of the Eskimos*, Fawcett Premier Books, USA

Freud, S. 1956, 'A connection between a symbol and a symptom', in P. Rieff (ed.), *Delusion and Dream and Other Essays*, Beacon, Boston, pp. 143–4

Frijhoff, W. 1991, 'The kiss sacred and profane: reflections on a cross-cultural confrontation', in J. Bremmer & H. Roodenburg (eds), *A Cultural History of Gesture: from Antiquity to the Present Day*, Polity Press, Cambridge, pp. 210–36

Fürstenberg, C. 2009, 'I Malmö hälsar man med bakåtnick', in *Sydsvenskan*, accessed 19 March 2009, <http://sydsvenskan.se/kronikorer/claesfurstenberg/article365077/I-Malmo-halsar-man-med-bakatnick.html>

Giddens, A. 1997, *Sociology*, 3rd edn, Polity Press, Cambridge

Godard, D. 1977, 'Same setting, different norms: phone call beginnings in France and the United States', in *Language in Society*, vol. 6, Alden & Mowbray Ltd, Oxford

Grose, F. 1811, *1811 Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*, C. Chappell, London. Transcript by Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation 2004 (e-book), accessed 3 April 2008, <http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/5402>

Guardian, The , 'India may arrest Richard Gere over kiss', 26 April 2007

Hale, K. 1973, 'Deep-surface canonical disparities in relation to analysis and change: an Australian example', in T. A. Sebeok (ed.), *Current Trends in Linguistics*, Mouton, The Hague, vol. 11, pp. 401–59

Han, S. 2004 [orig. 1996], *A Dictionary of Maqiao*, Fourth Estate (imprint of Harper Collins Publishers), Sydney, Australia

Hermann, I. 1941, 'Anklammerung, Feuer und Schamgefühl', in *Int. Zeitschrift Psych. & Imago*, vol. 26, pp.252–74, abstracted in English in *International Journal of Psychology* 1942, vol. 23, p.88

Holden, L. 2000, *Encyclopedia of Taboos*, ABC-CLIO Ltd, Oxford

Hong, B. 1988, *Situational Chinese*, New World Press, Beijing

Houston, C. 1979, 'In memoriam: Harold William Tilman', in *American Alpine Journal*, The Mountaineers Books, Seattle

Jacot de Boinod, A. 2005, *The Meaning of Tingo*, Penguin, London

Kaplan, L. 2002, 'Inuit or Eskimo: which names to use?', Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska (Fairbanks), accessed 7 January 2009, <http://www.uaf.edu/anlc/inuitoreskimo.html>

King, 1949 'Hand Gestures'. In B.J. Bäuml. & F.H. Bäuml (eds) 1997, *Dictionary of Worldwide Gestures*, 2nd edn, Scarecrow Press, Maryland

Kinglake, A.W. 2004 [orig. 1898], *Eothen*, University of Adelaide (e-book), accessed 30 November 2008, <http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/k/kinglake/alexander_william/eothen/chapter17.html>

Koenigsberg, A., 'All things considered', radio interview, National Public Radio (USA), 19 March 1999. Transcript by Burrelle's Information Services, New Jersey, accessed 15 Apr 2007, <http://www2.cs.uh.edu/~klong/papers/hello.txt>

——2005, 'The First "Hello!": Thomas Edison, the phonograph and the telephone', part 2, in *Collector Café* (internet site), accessed 20 October 2005, <http://www.collectorcafe.com/article_archive.asp?article=800&id=1507>

Larsson, H. 2005, *Personnamn vid dubbelt medborgarskap* ('Personal names in cases of dual citizenship'), motion raised to Swedish Parliament, 2005/06: L284, accessed 12 January

2009, <http://www.riksdagen.se/Webbnav/index.aspx?nid=410&typ=mot&rm=2005/06&bet=L284>

Last Emperor, The, 1987, motion picture, directed by Bernardo Bertolucci, Yanco Films Ltd and Tao Film SRL, distributed by Magna Pacific Pty Ltd

Lawrence, B. 2006, *The Qur'an: a Biography*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney

Levillain, P. & O'Malley, J.W. 2002, *The Papacy: an Encyclopedia*, Routledge, London

Levins, H. 2004, *Social History of the Pineapple*, accessed 16 June 2008, <http://www.levins.com/pineapple.html>

Loudon, I. 2000, 'Why are (male) surgeons still addressed as Mr?', in *British Medical Journal*, 2000, vol. 321, pp.1589–91 (23 December), electronic version accessed 7 April 2008, <http://www.bmj.com/cgi/content/full/321/7276/1589>

Manser, M.H. (ed.) 2003, *Oxford Concise English-Chinese Chinese-English Dictionary*, 3rd edn, Oxford University Press (China), Hong Kong

Marsh, P. (ed.) 1990, 'Greeting and parting', in *The Marshall Cavendish Encyclopedia of Personal Relationships: Human Behaviour Volume 1: How People Interact*, Marshall Cavendish Corporation, New York

McNeil Jr, D.G., 'Elbows to the ready if outbreak emerges: bird flu would rule out handshakes', in *International Herald Tribune* and *New York Times*, 12 February 2006

Melville, H. 2003 (1851), *Moby-Dick*, Penguin, London

Monahan, B. 1983, *A Dictionary of Russian Gesture*, Hermitage, Ann Arbor, Michigan, USA

Monty Python's Flying Circus: The Complete Series 2006, television series, Python (Monty) Pictures Ltd, distributed by Sony Pictures Home Entertainment Australia (DVD film)

Morgan, L.H. 1966 [orig. 1871], *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, Anthropological Publication, Oosterhout, the Netherlands

Morris, D. 1994, *Bodytalk: a World Guide to Gestures*, Jonathan Cape, London

NME News, 'Bob Geldof still blanking Peaches after wedding saga', accessed 27 December 2008, <http://www.nme.com/news/daily-gossip/39074>

Norrby, C. 2006, 'Variation in Swedish address practices', in *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics*, vol. 29, no. 2, December, Monash University, Melbourne, pp. 18.1–18.15

—& Håkansson, G. 2004, '"Kan jag hjälpa dig med något?": om tilltal i en servicesituation', (in Swedish), in *Språk och Stil*, Ny Följd, Textgruppen i Uppsala AB, (dist. Swedish Science Press), no. 13, p. 2003

Onions, C.T. 1966, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK

Pack, B.L. 1999, *Symbolism of the Pineapple*, accessed 16 June 2008, <http://www.mindspring.com/~sixcatpack/pineappl.htm>

Patten, C. 1998, *East and West*, Macmillan, London

Pinker, S. 2002, *The Blank Slate: the Modern Denial of Human Nature*, Viking Penguin, New York

—2007, *The Stuff of Thought*, Allen Lane, (imprint of Penguin Australia), Camberwell, Victoria, Australia

Reed, A.W. 1974, *An Illustrated Encyclopedia of Maori Life*, A. H. & A. W. Reed Ltd, Auckland, New Zealand

Rhoads, E.J.M. 2000, *Manchus & Han: Ethnic Relations and Political Power in Late Qing and Early Republican China, 1861–1928*, University of Washington Press, Seattle

Robotham J., 'Don't call me Mr – surgeons move to axe title', in *Sydney Morning Herald,* 30 May 2005

Roodenburg, H. 1991, 'The hand of friendship: shaking hands and other gestures in the Dutch Republic', in J. Bremmer & H. Roodenburg (eds), *A Cultural History of Gesture: from Antiquity to the Present Day*, Polity Press, Cambridge, pp. 152–89

Ruiz, A. 2003, *The Spirit of Ancient Egypt*, Algora Publishing, New York

Schüpbach D. et al. 2006, 'A cross-linguistic comparison of address pronoun use in four European languages: intralingual and interlingual dimensions', the University of Melbourne, Melbourne, < http://espace.library.uq.edu.au/eserv/UQ:13126/Schupbach-etal-ALS2006.pdf >

Shamdasani, S. & Münchov, M. (eds) 1994, *Speculations after Freud: Psychoanalysis, Philosophy and Culture*, Routledge, London

Spencer, R., 'Too many Wangs as China runs out of names', in *Telegraph*, 6 June 2007, electronic version accessed 18 May 2008, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2007/06/12/wnames112.xml>

Stafford, C. 2000, *Separation and Reunion in Modern China*, Cambridge University Press, New York

Stanley, H.M. 1872, *How I Found Livingstone: Travels, Adventures and Discoveries in Central Africa, Including Four Months' Residence with Dr Livingstone*, 2nd edn, S. Low, Marston, Low & Searle, London

Stephey, M.J., 'A brief history of the fist bump', in *Time*, 5 June 2008, accessed 15 March 2009, <http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,1812102,00.html?iid=digg_share>

Sveriges Rikes Lag 1963 [orig. 1734], *Namnlag,* (Swedish Naming Law), 91st edn, P. A. Norstedt & Söners Förlag, Stockholm, 11/10, p. 1411

—2005, 'Namnlag (1982:670)', (Swedish Naming Law), with updates up to 2005:442, accessed 12 January 2009, <http://www.notisum.se/rnp/sls/lag/19820670.htm>

Tadié, J.-Y. 2000, *Marcel Proust: a Life*, (transl. Euan, C.), Penguin, New York

Tell, J. 2004, *Lagom: sanningar och myter om det vi kallar svenskt*, (in Swedish), Bokförlaget DN, Stockholm

Thompson, D. 2008, *The $12 Million Stuffed Shark: the Curious Economics of Contemporary Art and Auction Houses*, Aurum Press, London

Tilman, H.W. 1983, 'Gentleman's relish', in J. Perrin (ed.), *Mirrors in the Cliffs*, Diadem, London, pp. 220–1

Times New Chinese–English Dictionary 1999, Federal Publications, Singapore

Turgenev, I. 1998, *Fathers and Sons*, (transl. Freeborn, R.), Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK

Warren, J. 2006, 'Address pronouns in French variation within and outside the workplace', in *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics*, vol. 29, no. 2, December, Monash University, Melbourne, pp 16.1–16.17

Whelan, C. & Woo, H.H. 2004, 'Mister or Doctor? What's in a name?' in *Medical Journal of Australia*, vol. 181, no. 1, p. 20, electronic version (eMJA) accessed 13 May 2009, <http://www.mja.com.au/public/issues/181_01_050704/whe10281_fm.html>

White, W.G. 1922, *The Sea Gypsies of Malaya: an Account of the Nomadic Mawken People of the Mergui Archipelago with a Description of their Ways of Living, Customs, Habits, Boats, Occupations, &c., &c., &c.,* Seeley, Service & Co. Limited, London

Wilson, G. (ed.) 1990, 'Your self-image', in *The Marshall Cavendish Encyclopedia of Personal Relationships: Human Behaviour Volume 2*, Marshall Cavendish Corporation, New York

Yallop, C. 1982, *Australian Aboriginal Languages*, André Deutsch Limited, London

Yaswen, C. 2003, 'Those who *thee* and *thou*: the second person singular pronoun after 1800', University of Toronto, (e-paper), accessed 5 January 2009, <http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/~cpercy/courses/6362/2/6362Yaswen2.htm>

Zimmerman, M.A. 1988, *Dealing with the Japanese*, Unwin Hyman, London

Picture sources

Andersson, O. 1902–1906, *Mannen som gör vad som faller honom in*, courtesy Wikimedia Commons: p. 119

Day, J.A.C. (ed.) 1975, *Decorative Silhouettes of the Twenties for Designers and Craftsmen*, Dover Publications, New York: p. 37

Harter, J. (ed.) 1980, *Food and Drink: a Pictorial Archive from Nineteenth-Century Sources*, 2nd edn, Dover Publications, New York: pp. 24, 50

——1980, *Men: a Pictorial Archive from Nineteenth-Century Sources*, Dover Publications, New York: pp. 77, 80, 86, 126

Hayez, F. 1859, *The Kiss*, courtesy Wikimedia Commons, through The Yorck Project/Directmedia Publishing GmbH: p. 44

Hornung, C.P. (ed.) 1956, *Handbook of Early Advertising Art: Pictorial Volume*, 3rd edn, Dover Publications, New York: pp. 25, 54, 75

Nordisk Familjebok 1923–1937, Auguste Rodin's 'The Kiss', courtesy Wikimedia Commons: p. 31

Simon, K.-P. 1996, (private photograph of stone relief of Antiochus I of Commagene and Heracles), courtesy Wikimedia Commons: p. 56

Wikimedia Commons (no author attributed): pp. 13, 22, 96, 145

All other drawings and photographs by the author.

Index