TAXONOMIES OF THE BODY*

Introduction

I am happy to be here today and to give the first of the papers for this graduate seminar on the anthropology of human movement. It is hoped that the occasion will mark the beginnings of significant developments in this relatively new field of enquiry in a university context. We anticipate scholarly discourse and intellectual contributions through two media of communication: the spoken word (as in this seminar series on Fridays, where research problems, methodological or theoretical issues and matters of general interest can be discussed face-to-face) and the written word in the form of a bi-annual publication of a Graduate Journal of Anthropological Studies in Human Movement--wherein ideas generated out of discussions in the major program and the seminar can be disseminated and shared with others who have similar interests, but who are scattered throughout the world or who, though close geographically, are in cognate disciplines.

In connection with today's presentation, I feel particularly close to a colleague who is at the University of Northern Arizona; Joann Wheeler Kealiinohomoku. My offering today represents some of the preliminary work on a book that we hope to have completed by the end of this year. This volume will be based on Kealiinohomoku's work on Hopi ritual and on my work on the classical ballet. Although we represent American cultural anthropology and British social anthropology respectively and have dealt with very different kinds of ethnographic materials, we recognize that we consistently share similar methodological and theoretical preoccupations with reference to anthropological studies of the dance and other types of human action systems. One of our major concerns turns around taxonomies of the body and lexicons of movement terminology. We ask how and in what ways do these nomenclatures affect actual observable 'behaviours' in any given ritual or dance? Are they translatable in the obvious sense into the terms of another taxonomy or set of 'behaviours'? The material to follow is meant to give you some ideas about the kinds of data and its related problems that we are trying to come to grips with in the interests of cross-cultural research.

Different Kinds of Facts

A recurring theme in writings and discussion about 'the dance' (about dancers and about the act of dancing) is the role played by human anatomy, kinesiology and physiology. The question is, to what extent do anatomical, kinesiological or physiological features of the human body such as differences in skeletal structure, muscle length, genetic inheritance, sex, or even nutritional aspects of the human growth process and the like can be said to determine dance 'behaviours'[1] or dance ideologies in any one society. There seem to be two 'poles' in our general discourse between which the subject of anatomy swings like a pendulum: at times,

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the subject and its cognates are emphasized to the exclusion of everything else, or often, kinesiological or anatomical features are dismissed altogether (except, of course, when injury or malfunction occur), because the universalistic claims for their determining effects have been held to obscure rather than to clarify any of the issues that arise about obvious differences in the rich variety of existing stable dance traditions in the world. The 'dissenting group' who would hold the latter position would be found among American cognitive and British semantic anthropologists.

The aim of this paper is to recognize human anatomy in particular as an important factor in our comprehension of any existing dance or ritual tradition wherever it may be found, but as sets of socio-linguistic facts rather than as 'natural' facts.[2] The 'facts of life' and the 'facts of movement' as set forth in western science by the fields of anatomy, kinesiology and physiology really only operate at a general biological level: that is, they inform us as to how the species is reproduced; how blood is manufactured and how the vascular system operates; how muscles create toxins as they work and how these in turn are then taken care of as waste products by the lymphatic system and so on. We learn, too, about how bones are held together, how muscles move bones and much more. But within the context of a dance or ritual tradition, these kinds of facts take on particular cultural meanings and specific social and linguistic significances. We might usefully consider the proposition that in the human domain, the physical boundaries of the body in no way delimit the conceptual boundaries of the body, the space it occupies or the actions it performs.

The task of the anthropologist of human movement--and in my view, of anyone else concerned with a notionally complete comprehension of non-vocalized systems of human movement--is to analyze and interpret, first, how these social and linguistically significant distinctions are mapped on to basic anatomical facts and vice versa. In any systemic context, we must study these distinctions and, second, after investigating these distinctions in their systemic contexts, we should then try to understand, with Peter Winch (1958:60)[3] 'what hangs on the differences', for it is here, at the level of taxonomies of the body and lexicons of movement used by dancers, ritual agents or whomever, that we can begin to find the sets of facts that will yield information about social and ideological structures, both of the dance or ritual tradition itself and about the society of which a dance, for instance, is but an encapsulated example. Before I tackle this kind of data with reference to English-speaking ballet dancers, however, I would want to acquaint you with the kinds of general anthropological thinking that are compatible with the particular theoretical and methodological standpoint I represent in social anthropology. We will begin with an extended quotation from Ardener (1977), and with some more familiar everyday movements.

The Shaking of Hands

Ardener asks us to "...consider the shaking of hands in England and among the Ibo of south-eastern Nigeria. In both languages there are apparently inter-translatable terms for the gesture. The English hand is bounded at the wrist.[4] The Ibo aka is bounded just below the shoulder.

The fingers and thumb are called mkpese aka, in which mkpese is 'any thin elongated object' (cf. 'a stick' mkpese osisi--osisi 'tree', 'a match' mkpese ɔkhe--ɔkhe 'fire'). The more open-gestured nature of the Ibo handshake compared with the English handshake is linked in part to this difference of classification. For the English person, the possibility of presenting an only slightly mobile hand at the end of a relatively stiff arm becomes a choice reinforced by language. For the Ibo-speaker, even if that is a possible gesture it has no backing from language. On the contrary, for him, gripping the forearm and other variants of the gesture are still covered by the concept of shaking the aka, and are, as it were, allomorphs of the common gestural morpheme. For the English-speaker such arm-grips are gesturally (that is, not merely linguistically) separate from shaking hands--they are gestures of a different 'meaning'.

We do not resort to any linguistic determinism if we argue that the gestural classification rests to a certain degree on the labeling of body parts. The possibility of a different classification of greetings exists for the English speaker because of the particular placing of a conceptual boundary, which does not exist in Ibo (underline is mine). Thus, on the average of observations, an Ibo in 'shaking hands' may involve the movement of an area greater than the 'hand' more often than an English person. Consistently shaking the hand alone with articulation only at the wrist might therefore seem to the traditional Ibo a slightly incomprehensible restriction of movement, equivalent perhaps in flavour to being, in the English case, offered only two or three fingers to shake. From the opposite point of view, to the English person 'shaking hands' and 'arm-grip' are two kinds of greeting. To the Ibo they are degrees of intensity, demonstrativeness of warmth of 'the same' greeting. As a result even a 'warm' handshake in the English sense may seem relatively 'cool' as a greeting to an Ibo.

'Help' is translated nyɛ aka in Ibo which appears to mean 'give (a) hand' and thus to be directly parallel usage in the two languages. Yet in close face-to-face cases, such as when assistance over a log or up a steep slope is asked for (nyɛ m aka 'give me a hand') a forearm may be offered to be gripped as often as the hand, if in practical terms either may suffice. In an English language context the request 'give (or lend) me a hand' in those exact circumstances would only rarely fail to result in the offer of the literal 'hand'. With regard to the 'degree' of helpfulness, it is a 'warmer' gesture for the English-speaker to be offered a hand than a forearm. The apparent deficiency is thus now on the opposite side of the cultural-linguistic divide.

We may easily ask here, following a respectable anthropological tradition, whether the bodily classifications are not simply determined by the social events the body mediates. One chain of argument might develop from the observation that when the hand is engaged in work, or in preparing palm-oil or food, there is a polite reluctance to offer help or greeting with it. The offering of a portion of the 'arm' is, however, still conceptually the 'same' gesture, and not a completely 'substitute' gesture, as it would have to be in English. Thus, in such circumstances, where an Ibo will offer another part of his aka, the English person will have to say, 'I'm sorry, I can't shake hands'. Socially speaking the

more extended Ibo aka may be determined, let us say, by an over-riding requirement that the physical gesture be made in the maximum number of circumstances.[5] This view implicitly argues that conceptual boundaries are modified like rules: as if a rule with too many exceptions (anomalies) leads to a revised rule to accommodate the exceptions. Douglas (1966) was very helpful in relating the idea of anomaly to the study of social categorization. It does not in fact seem as if the existence of anomalies leads necessarily to the revision of categories--hence, she argues, the existence of taboo and pollution phenomena. It is more sound to recognize that the lingustic and social classifications are part of a simultaneity. Once the social space was 'linguified', that is, once it was mapped to some extent by language, the automatisms of language extend into the definition of the elements in the space.

In considering this particular case we may note certain implications. Handshakes and the like belong to an area of human social life which are commonly taken to be the most 'observable'. Such behaviour can, it is often thought, be relatively objectively described in much the same way as is expected (not, as we have seen always safely) to be done with animals. Indeed, 'greeting' in animals is even considered by some to be the same sort of phenomenon.[6] Yet even in this simple zone it is clear that the critical humanization has taken place--such that the handshake and the helping hand are 'sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought' mediated by language. We may think the actual instance socially trivial, but in fact the relations of naive English-speakers with naive Ibo-speakers have no more characteristic framework than this. It is commonplace to draw attention to differences between cultures in complex domains (colour terms and the like). The excellence of such work has perhaps led to the too abstracted view of cognitive processes. The classification of the event and the 'event' are simultaneous. That is why language penetrates the social. That is also why, by a paradox, linguistics, including socio-linguistics as commonly practised, does not seem to exhaust its significance..." (Ardener 1977:6-9)

A Further Example of 'Greeting'

Some aspects of Jan Pouwer's ethnography of the Mimika people of West New Guinea provide excellent examples of a type of social conception of the body that is behind most of this kind of material. Pouwer asks

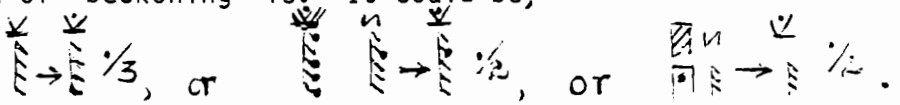
> ...in what way can one formulate an English equivalent for the concept of the Mimika...that the essence of life, called IPU is located in each of the jointing parts of the body separately, such as the knuckles, shoulder-blades and knee-caps. To these Papuans each individual person has a number of substantive IPU. English equivalents such as spirit or principle of life or for that matter mana hardly convey the meaning of IPU (1973:3).

In our terminology, Pouwer is describing one aspect of the semasiological body of a Papuan, i.e. that 'meaningful' or 'expressive' body that I mentioned only vaguely before when I spoke of 'conceptual boundaries'. That is to say that the semasiological body of a Mimika is dominated by the concept of IPU, thus the notion of IPU is a kind of conceptual consensus,

a kind of social 'rule' which generates whole sets of actions on their part. Their gestures of greeting are good examples:

> If one were to travel through various parts of West New Guinea, one might observe the following gestures by Papuans who notice you. They might put a hand to their navel, their breasts or their armpits; they might also beckon you. If you are lured into approaching the beckoner, he will be quite surprised, for his hand simply said 'Hello'. And so did the navel, the breasts and the armpit, and so on. All of them are visible observable signs of an invisible message which has to be inferred (Pouwer 1973:4).

The point can be relatively simply stated: no code--no 'message'. A taxonomy of the body of the Mimika would have to include a 'map' of the 'territory' that told us how and in what ways IPU is distributed, for it is clear that this socio-linguistic (and probably religious) concept determines how these gestures are made. It is important to note, too, that there is no way of telling, from Pouwer's account, what the specific action of 'beckoning' is. It could be;



The concept of IPU, then, is an organizing principle that underlies behaviour. One of our objects of study in the anthropology of human movement is to discover how and in what ways movement is classified and organized in the minds of humanity. The terms 'culture', 'society' and 'ethnicity' are not terms that reference material phenomena; they are terms that reference the cognitive as semantic organizations of phenomena. With this in mind, we shall now examine

Another General Conception of the Body.

The work of Franz Steiner on Polynesian taboo gives valuable information, not only on a host of actions performed and a complete analysis of the terminology of taboo, but on the concept of the body that, as it were, lies 'behind' all this:

> To understand this better (i.e. the restricting power of personal taboos), we must realize that in Polynesian belief the parts of the body formed a fixed hierarchy which had some analogy with the rank system of society. Although it need not be stressed in a sociological context, it cannot be accident that the human skeleton was here made to play a peculiar part in this ascetic principle of mana-taboo. Now the backbone was the most important part of the body, and the limbs that could be regarded as continuations of the backbone derived importance from it. Above the body was, of course, the head, and it was the seat of mana. When we say this, we must realize that by 'mana' are meant both the soul-aspect, the life force, and a man's ritual status.

> This grading of the limbs concerned people of all ranks and both sexes. It could, for example, be so important to avoid stepping over peoples' heads that the very architecture was involved: the arrangements of the sleeping-room show such an adaptation in the Marquesas. The commoner's back or head is thus not without its importance in certain contexts. But the real significance of this grading seems to have been in the possibilities it provided for cumulative effects in association with the rank system. The head of a chief was the most concentrated mana-object of Polynesian society, and was hedged around with the most terrifying taboos which operated when things were to enter the head or when the head was being diminished; in other words, when the chief ate or had his hair cut. Hair-cutting involved the same behavior as actual killing, and the hands of a person who had cut a chief's hair were for some time useless for important activities, particularly for eating. Such a person had to be fed. This often happened to chief's wives or to chiefs themselves, and among the Maori these feeding difficulties were more than anything else indicative of exalted position. The hands of some great chiefs were so dangerous that they could not be put close to the head. (Steiner 1956:45-46).

Unless we know that 'fixed hierarchy' of bodily parts and its relation to the rank system of the community, how can we understand the meanings of its dances?

The Body as Metaphor

In a valuable article entitled "The Semiotics of the Body" (Blacking 1977:343-373), Roy Ellen tells us that

> Metaphorical correspondences of this kind (i.e. those between body parts and artifacts) usually involve some generalized recognition of material similarity. Such usages are found widely in the central Moluccas of Indonesia (Jansen 1933). Among the Nuaulu, payments for lifting clan-specific dietary taboos on affines involve, for example, the following correspondences:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | 10 kondai (women's hair pins) | = ribs |
> | kain timor (handwoven cloth) | = skin |
> | long machete | = spine |
> | two rings | = eyes |
> | five bracelets | = bones of arms and legs |
> | one hoho (large brass bell) | = heart |
> | one large red porcelain plate | = head |
> | one necklace | = intestines |
>
> A similar set of correspondences exists for homicide payments. In the context of making ritual payments, but not necessarily in any other, the relationship of, say, rings to machete is the same as the relationship of spine to eyes. Although there is a concrete relationship system for body parts, this is not so for artifacts, other than what is the result of cultural convention. Consequently, the relational correspondences between the various artifacts is secondary and derivative,

> unlike the situation where there are two series of material items each with clearly defined and unalterable relationships, one is concrete both in terms and relations, while in the other, though the items are concrete enough, the relations are quite abstract...(Ellen 1977:357-8; in Blacking 1977).

Ellen's article is, in my view, the richest in the Blacking collection, but this may merely reflect my unashamed bias towards American 'cognitive' and British 'semantic' anthropology. Nevertheless, it is worth while to cite two more examples from Ellen's work: first, his usage of Griaule's ethnography of the Dogon (1965:94-7), that tells us how parts of a granary are related to parts of a woman, the parts of the house compound with parts of the body and the village explained in terms of an extended anatomical metaphor. We will look at the granary material here:

> (i) The Dogon granary is interpreted as being:
> like a woman, lying on her back (representing the sun) with her arms and legs raised and supporting the roof (representing the sky). The two legs were on the north side, and the door at the sixth step marked the sexual parts.... The granary and all it contained was therefore a picture of the world-system of the new order, and the way in which this system worked was represented by the functioning of the internal organs (19[illegible]:37).

Napier was therefore right to say that the whole of "Dogon society is meant to be <u>like</u> a human body, it may be reduced or analyzed in terms of 'my' body, a Dogon should be able to increase his understanding of it as he increases his understanding of himself..." (1978:203).

Finally, I should like to mention Ellen's evidence regarding Nuaulu correspondences between fingers and relationships between primary kin. Here, the set of relations is expressed <u>directly</u> in terms of the anatomical metaphor:

a. hand:	thumb	:1st finger	:2nd finger	:3rd finger	:4th finger
	mother	:1st son	:2nd son	:3rd son	:daughter
b. foot:	big toe	:1st toe	:2nd toe	:3rd toe	:4th toe
	father	:1st son	:2nd son	:3rd son	:daughter

Knowing this, it may be the case that there are gestures in Nuaulu dance that denote kin relations, but I will not dwell further on that kind of thing here.

<u>The Semantics of Human Anatomy</u>

Ardener and I would want to suggest along with those anthropologists in the American tradition[7] whose chief interest is in the study of signs, that the perception of the anatomical (or kinesiological) body and its 'natural' divisions[8] is not the same in all cultures, nor, indeed, is it the same within all socio-linguistic registers within the same ethnicity. What this paper really amounts to, then, is a preliminary enquiry into the semantics of human anatomy and I have tried to indicate some of the ways that lead us to a 'semasiological' point of view.[9] The rest of the

time I have available to me will be spent in a discussion of English-speaking ballet dancers' usage and understanding of their lexicon of movement terminology.[10] As we will necessarily enter into analytical domains of the deictic categories of 'identity', 'continuity', 'orientation', 'direction' and 'reference'[11] I want to emphasize the point that we do so because all of these are inherent in the ballet dancer's everyday speech and in the technical language they use to conduct and to participate in classes; or to communicate with one another about their idiom of dancing whether inside a rehearsal situation or not. It will become clear, I think, that in the universe of dance traditions, no less than in other areas of human body languages, anatomical, cultural and linguistic perspectives constantly merge. Indeed, we will have to begin with certain obvious contrasts between a speaker of French who knows nothing about ballet and body languages, for example, and a speaker of 'ballet French' who is basically unaware of the many difficulties involved for the French speaker confronted with a dancer's usage of French for the first time.[12] Our initial concern, then, is not with 'behaviour' but with words: words as they are used ordinarily in the French language and the same words as they are ordinarily used by English-speaking teachers, dancers and choreographers of ballet.

Drid Williams

...To be continued in Vol.I. No.2.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Ardener (1973) for a complete discussion of this term, its socio-historical background and the consequences of using it in certain contexts.

2. "Ardener 1971 and 1977. Williams has worked on the 'dancer's body'. Hilary Callan has pointed out that in hospital there are at least three bodies: the one the patient sees, the one the nurse sees and the one the doctor sees..." (Ardener, S. 1978:44). The major point relevant to this paper is the fact that we often forget that our own medical models of the body, etc. are no less culture-bound than any other model of the body or its attendant taxonomy.

3. "There is a sense in which to acquire a habit is to acquire a propensity to go on doing the same kind of thing; there is another sense in which this is true of learning a rule. These senses are different and a great deal hangs on the difference...whereas a dog's acquisition of a habit does not involve <u>it</u> in any understanding of what is meant by 'doing the same kind of thing on the same kind of occasion', this is precisely what a human being has to understand before he can be said to have acquired a rule..." (p. 61). It is well to remember that the taxonomies of animals' bodies are supplied for them <u>by human beings</u> and that their movements are often explained relative to human activities or expectations.

4. See the appended list of terms in English, French and so on for an idea of what is meant by 'the social body', the 'medical body' or 'the sexual body' (Appendix I). See Tyler (1969:Introductory Essay) for further explanation of how these taxonomies are viewed by cognitive anthropologists.

5. Ardener does not mention the fact that in cases like these, it is customary in certain contexts to substitute the left for the right 'hand'.

6. Callan 1970:43, argues that the categories 'greeting', 'rank', 'hierarchy', 'dominance' and the like are applied to animals by what she calls the 'Aha!' reaction. "What one tends to get is a double thrill of recognition...'aha! here's an animal being territorial (or dominant)', 'aha! human beings are territorial (or dominant as well)'... Concealed premise: that we know and can recognize territoriality or dominance in animals without having drawn on our own workaday model of society in the first place." For an excellent account of the problems confronting the student of human movement, see Williams 1977.

7. As for example, Goodenough, Haugen, Black, Hymes, Tyler and Gumperz.

8. It is worthwhile to consider the whole of the collection of essays Defining Females (Ardener, S. 1978), as an effort to prise the notion of 'womanhood' away from its biologically deterministic terminology. Hastrup's article on "The Semantics of Biology: Virginity" is a particularly good example. I have merely echoed Shirley Ardener's statement (1978:13) in her Introductory article to the above-mentioned collection, and would want to say that in the field of human movement, Hastrup's statement that "biology and culture are mutually affecting spheres of reality" is applicable in movement studies no less than it is in women's studies.

9. The Doctoral work on which this paper is based (Williams 1975) turned around an application of the ideas of Ferdinand de Saussure to human movement. The concern throughout was to seek realistic ways to re-constitute and interpret movement data that would give us a more comprehensible picture of the nature of the human beings who generate dances and other types of movement 'behaviour' and to prevent distortions of the unique character of the material. It was in the linguistic analogy to human actions, encoded in the phrase, 'the semasiological point of view' that we found the best and most practical means of cross-cultural or cross-disciplinary comparison of the data. Work with taxonomies and lexicons of movement are but one of the methods used.

10. See the appended lexicon (II) of movement terminology for a complete listing of balletic terminology.

11. 'deixis'--'deictic categories': in a spoken language context; "The notion of deixis (which is merely the Greek word for 'pointing' or 'indicating'-- it has become a technical term of grammatical theory) is introduced to handle the 'orientational' features of language which are relative to time and place of utterance" (Lyons, 1968: 275ff). Spoken components of situations are such adverbials of place and time as 'here' and 'there' and 'now' and 'then'...thus 'deixis' is a particularly apt term for many specific elements of human body languages too and are used as such. 'Deictic categories' are those of e.g. direction, location, orientation and reference. For their usage in an anthropological context, see Clayre (1973).

12. This problem was finally drawn to my attention with convincing clarity by Erik Schwimmer, editor of The Yearbook of Symbolic Anthropology (1978), to whom I owe thanks for the honesty with which he discussed the lexicon of ballet terminology which appears in 'Deep Structures of the Dance' (Williams 1978) with me, and the candor which prompted him to suggest an analysis and explanation of the lexicon for those unfamiliar with ballet usage.

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APPENDIX I

Taxonomies of the Body:

English (The 'Social' Body)	French	Anatomical Terms	Sexual Terms
head	la tete	cranium	.....
face	le visage	.....	.....
chin	le menton	.....	.....
throat (neck)	la gorge (le cou)	larynx	.....
shoulders	les epaules	scapulae	.....
chest	la poitrine	thoracic cavity	tits, titties
breast	le sein		nipples, boob
waist	la taille		
hips	les hanches*	pelvis; vagina, penis	pit, cunt, quim, crack,
thigh	la cuisse	femur	pussy, prick
leg	la jambe	tibia i.e. "leg"	tool, balls
knee	le genou	patella	cock, penis,
calf	le mollet	gastrocnemius	vagina, bottom,
ankle	la cheville		ass/arse
foot	le pied	tarsus	.....
toes	l'orteil	metatarsus (phalanges)	.....
hand	la main		.....
arm	le bras		.....
elbow	le coude		.....
wrist	le poignet	carpus	.....
fingers	les doigts	metacarpus	.....
abdomen	le ventre		.....
the back	le dos		.....
the small of the back	les reins	the lumbar region	.....

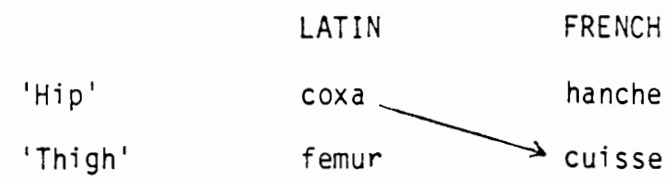
The above list of anatomical terms is obviously not complete. One would have to introduce an anatomy text for that, but even in the above cases, it is difficult to 'match' the anatomical terminology to the terms ordinarily used for the social body, as the anatomist's taxonomy is infinitely precise and does not name 'general' areas, as does the ordinary speaker's taxonomy. Like most technical terminologies, the anatomical terminology aims at precision, naming (in the case of bones, for example) not only the bone itself, but parts of the bones as 'condyles', 'epicondyles' etc. I have included only fairly commonly known terms in the list above.

A French-speaking teacher of ballet, or French-speaking dancers, would use terms in classes from the list of terms for the social body, where in the case of speakers of English or Russian, the body terms are substituted for those in the lexicon of the language the dancer ordinarily speaks, but even so, there is relatively little talk in a dance class about body parts per se. In a dance class, it is the movement itself that matters; how the movement is executed and its inclusion in a variety of enchainements. The terms for the sexual body are, in that context, totally irrelevant, but it would be interesting to compare this study with equivalent data from stripper's taxonomies and lexicons.

* Please see next page where Ardener's analysis of this term is presented.

"It is precisely the diachronic aspect of human category systems that even modern social anthropologists have for the time being tended to neglect.

Figure 4 'Hip' and 'Thigh'



In the naming of bodily parts, 'hip' in Latin was 'coxa' and 'thigh' was 'femur'. In French the reflex of 'coxa' (la cuisse) has come to mean 'thigh' and a new term of Germanic provenance, 'hanche', now fills the category once occupied by 'coxa' (see Fig. 4). The situation in Italian, French and Portugese is similar. The linguist says:

> 'The explanation lies in the awkward situation which had arisen in Latin: femor,-oris had become homonymous with fimus 'dung' following the modification fimus,-i to femus,-oris under the influence of stercus,-oris. In order to avoid the now unacceptable femur, speakers had recourse to the name for the nearest part of the body, coxa, which hence-forward designated the region from the hip to the knee. And as this extension inevitably led to confusion, they turned in case of need to German *hanka, which they had sometimes heard used by Germanic mercenaries and colonists' (von Wartburg, 1969:118).
>
> The anthropological problem lies precisely in the last sentence. The acceptance of *hanka is not a self-evident further step. It had social as well as linguistic aspects and we are in that world of diglossia, idiolect, register, and diatype, which is analysed by the contributors to Part II of this volume.
>
> As von Wartburg himself notes, 'apart from titta "female breast", no other name for a part of the body was borrowed from Germanic at this early period' (p.118). This arouses the suspicion that what appears to be a category slip caused by adventitious homonymy, may be in effect the merging of portions of two different registers pertaining to the body: a 'polite' and a 'sexual' body. (Wartburg's 'German wet-nurses' can surely be only part of the story?) Coxa was borrowed into Late British, and survives in Welsh (coes: Lewis, 1943:23) for the whole leg. The conservative nature of British Latin (Jackson, 1953:109-112) tends to confirm the evident politeness of coxa, rather like the Victorian 'limb'...The 'polite' body has many fewer sub-divisions than the 'sexual' body. The 'medical' body may have more divisions than either and can be ambiguously polite or sexual. The Romance 'lower leg' took on a Greek vetinary terminology: camba, and in French this became 'the whole leg', thus subsuming coxa, as jambe does cuisse to this day. The present French bodily classification contains the debris of all classifications -- a veritable bricolage (Levi-Strauss 1962), which still continues while the soutien-gorge exists (to support a 'throat' which includes 'the breasts'). The linguistics of bodily categories would benefit from links with the social anthropology of bodily symbolism" (Douglas, 1966).

Ardener, E. 1971. Social Anthropology and Language (Introductory Essay) Tavistock, London.

APPENDIX II

Lexicon of Ballet French Terminology

Directions of the body:

- à la quatrième devant
  - derrière
  - en avant croisé --- derrière croisé
  - en avant effacé --- derrière effacé
- à la seconde
- écarté

Positions of the Feet: 5 (Cecchetti)

Positions of the Head: 7 (Cecchetti)

Port de Bras:

- à la première
- à la seconde
- à la troisième
- à la quatrième devant
  - en attitude
- à la cinquième en bas
  - en avant
  - en haut

arabesque a la première

- à la seconde
- à troisieme
- à deux bras
- en lyre
- adorée
- temps de l'ange

Positions of the Hands

Positions of the Feet:

pied à terre

à quatre

à demi

à trois quatre

sur la pointe

sur le cou de pied

The Seven Basic Movements of Ballet Dancing:

(i) plier, to bend; (ii) étendre, to stretch; (iii) relever, to raise; (iv) glisser, to slide; (v) sauter, to jump; (vi) élancer, to dart; (vii) tourner, to turn around (From Beaumont-Idzikowski:1940:32).

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Plié: à quatre

à demi

grande

'Steps' arranged roughly according to the transformational rules for the legs:

Rule 1: equal weight stress

sous-sous		echappé
soubresaut		relevé (1,2,3,4,5 positions)
changement:	petit	plié (1,2,3,4,5 positions)
	grande	pas de chat
entrechat:	quatre	gargouillade
	six	tour en l'air
	huit	ciseaux
	dix	temps de poisson

Rule 1: equal weight stress (continued)

saut de chat

assemblé: petit

grande

en tournant

abaissé

Rules 2,3 and 5: unequal weight stress

entrechat: trois (royale)

cinq

sept

neuf

sissone

failli

temps de flêche

jeté

jeté battement

tour jeté

grande jeté

brisé

brisé volé

cabriole

ailes de pigeon

piqué

posé

coupé

glissade

temps lié - temps levé

demi-contretemps

contretemps

tombé

retombé

pas cheval

révérance

pirouette

abaissé

en tire bouchon

renversé

Rule 4: alternating stress

pas de bourrée

pas couru

pas marché

pas allé

detourné

déboulé - chaîné

galop

chassé

pas de basque

tour de basque

saut de basque

emboité

balancé

Rule 7: iterated stress

- ballotté
- flic-flac
- battement: fondu
  - grande
  - tendue
  - frappé
  - petit
  - relevé
  - en cloche
  - dégagé
  - en rond
- fouetté: sauté
  - posé
  - relevé
  - en tournant
- temps de cuisse
- rond de jambe: à terre
  - en l'air
- double rond de jambe
- developpé and enveloppé
  - (passé - retiré)
- ballonné
- battu

Steps dictated by rhythmic patterns:

- polka
- polonaise
- mazurka
- waltz
- czardas
- tarantella

Directional and Orientational Terms

de coté	dessous - dessus
en croix	devant - derrière
soutenu	demi-position
de suite	en manège
voyagée	à la barre
serée	au milieu
cambré	
allongé	
en dehor	
en dedans	

Rhythmical or 'dynamic' terms:

adage or adagio (also used to indicate 'support' classes; i.e. classes in 'lifts' or pas de deux)	
allegro	aplomb
rubato	élan
ballon	bravado
élévation	
batterie	

Miscellaneous Terms:

repertoire	maître de ballet
ballerina	decor
premier danseur	pas d'action
enchainement	romanticism
arqué	classicism
jarretté	pas de deux, trois, quatre, etc.
choreographer	

.....

The lexicon above amounts to a minimal 'vocabulary' plus attendant motions, directions, orientations, etc. which a keen student would have to learn to be knowledgeable about the idiom of ballet.

We are not suggesting that knowing the above lexicon means that the individual can dance or that knowing these terms means that he/she will be a good dancer. One can learn what these terms mean and not be able to dance at all; often the position taken by the 'critic' with regard to the ballet.

Knowing what the above technical terminology means to the dancers, teachers of dancing and choreographers of dances would, however, go some way towards crossing the barrier of usage which exists between speakers of ballet French and ordinary French-speakers.

These terms refer to the dancers' stock-in-trade; the movements which comprise the particular body language game of the ballet dancer. Other types of dancers have different lexicons. Limitations of space prevent any examination of these here.

One concluding comment regarding this lexicon and the people who use it every day in contrast to the group of people commonly referred to as 'audiences' who come to watch this group perform. Common to the latter group is a romantic misconception as to what kinds of people the dancers are. There are many who are still under the influence of the writings of, say, Nietzsche, Rilke and other romantic authors who conceived of the dancer as some kind of 'special' person -- perhaps, in the case of the 'stars', 'mad geniuses' of some kind -- who dance because they have to. That is, a popular idea of the ballet dance is one which assumes that dancers have no idea why they dance; they are simply driven to. According to various avant-garde views, it makes little difference what a dancer dances or what he or she happens to think; it is the audience who really accounts for the meaning of the work they do, and even the general audience is thought to be in a shaky position, for they would (it is thought) flounder about hopelessly in this 'non-verbal', 'dionysian' sea were it not for the critic, who in a rather poor way attempts very often to assume the role of theorist, although this role is more often assigned to the aesthetician, who rarely enters the theatre via the back-stage door. The 'critical circle' consisting of journalists and aestheticians forms a small cultural nucleus which exerts a powerful influence upon dancers and the dance, one which is not by any means free of snobbery, the essence of which lies in the 'verbal/non-verbal' distinction.