

TAXONOMIES OF THE BODY -- PART II*

The international lingua franca of the ballet world, regardless of nationality of the dancers, is a terminology composed of French words and phrases. The following discussion is based on the distinction between 'ballet French' (used by ballet dancers, whether of French nationality or not) and 'spoken French' (used by non-dancers, whether of French nationality or not). The distinction is relevant because in ballet French usage, the terms in the lexicon are meant to denote specific actions or movements of the body. In spoken French the same terms are meant to designate or qualify objects or the states of objects, or else refer to force or energy which is some kind of transaction between subject and object.

The analysis to follow will recall several Saussurian concepts, i.e. signification, arbitrariness, etc., but the process of analysis will lead us beyond applications of these concepts to broader considerations of naming and usage. Unfamiliar terms will be explained as the analysis goes along.

Acts, Objects and Participles

There are interesting differences which are readily apparent between usages in spoken French and ballet French:

- (i) in ballet French, the linguistic morphemes derive their meaning and force from specific acts and performances of acts, whereas in spoken French, they seem to state observations and perceptions about objects in the outside world, and
- (ii) the speaker of French will notice immediately, upon looking at a list of terms denoting action signs in ballet that the past participle¹³ is often used, i.e. 'plié', 'jeté', 'renversé', 'développé', etc.

The entirely spoken language oriented person will ask, 'why is the past participle used?' 'Does it refer to some subject which is understood and not stated?' 'Is it used as an imperative?' (cf. the usage of the past participle as an imperative in Russian¹⁴). 'Is this past participle to indicate the completion of an action?'

In these questions, there is an implicit opposition which can, perhaps, only be mediated by reflexive forms of verbs in a spoken language. This opposition can be stated clearly by pointing out the difference between actors and observers of actions (See Williams, 1980:21-28). Or in a more closely linguistic context, the opposition seems to emerge in some radical differences between Saussurian 'signifieds'. That is to say, in many cases, we shall see that the spoken 'signifier' is the same, but the concept, or the mental image is different. This is in accordance with the Saussurian idea that the linguistic sign '...unites, not a thing and a name, but a concept and a sound image' (1966:66).

*Editorial Note: Part I of this article was printed in JASHM Vol. 1, No. 1, Spring, 1980.

To a spoken language oriented person, it is obvious that the forms of the words listed in Appendix I, say, in the case of 'plié', the usage by itself discounts gender. Such a person wonders if 'plié' is a masculine past participle or a masculine noun¹⁵. Additions of morphemes in a ballet French context do not help. For example, 'demi-plié' or 'grande plié', for in the latter case, the adjective 'grande' is in the feminine form. Moreover, the word 'plié' would not be found in an ordinary French dictionary, although it is found in ballet French dictionaries¹⁶.

Obviously, there are difficulties here. What does the ballet French terminology mean? It might be taken by a casual observer as an abuse of or a degenerated form of the French language. On the other hand, anthropologists may well ask if the terminology is analogous to a 'pidgin' dialect, or is it a class-specific form of speech? We suggest that ballet French does not properly fit any of those categories and that questions and answers of this kind yield little information about the dancers' usage. We will ask, instead, 'does the ballet French usage illuminate certain semantic characteristics of human body language that might not be obvious otherwise and that consistently tend to be overlooked?'

Speakers' vs. Dancers' Usage

The French speaker would investigate 'plié' in accordance with traditional grammatical definitions. In fact, only one interpretation could be put on the morpheme: it would be related to the verb, whose infinitive is 'plier' meaning 'to bend' or 'to fold'. 'Plié' is specifically the past participle formed from this infinitive and would never be used on its own in spoken French. 'Plier' would be used in the following ways:

- (i) as a transitive verb,
- (ii) as referring to an action performed by an agent upon an object, and/or
- (iii) it could not be used as an intransitive verb (though in English it could, i.e. 'bend'), but it could in French take a reflexive form, 'se plier', in which case it still has an object.

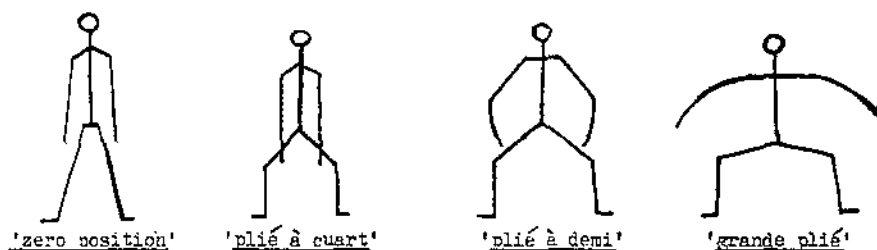
In ballet French, the form 'je me plie' means 'I bend myself', thus the agent and the object are the same.

As a past participle, 'plié' would be used in spoken French either with an auxiliary verb, that is, 'j'ai plié le baton', and the auxiliary verb is 'avoir'; or, the reflexive form is used and the auxiliary verb is 'être', in which case the past participle must agree in number and gender with the subject of the sentence, so that, if it is a woman speaking, the utterance would be written 'je me suis pliée', and so forth.

As the reader may already have anticipated, most of this is irrelevant with regard to ballet French. In the spoken ballet French idiom, the morpheme 'plié' is associated in a one-to-one relationship with the action of bending the knees (with subsidiary, accompanying bends taking place at other points of articulation, as e.g. the thigh joints and ankles). The 'signified' to the speaker might consist of a mental image of folding a piece of paper, bending a stick, or pleating material (if the transitive

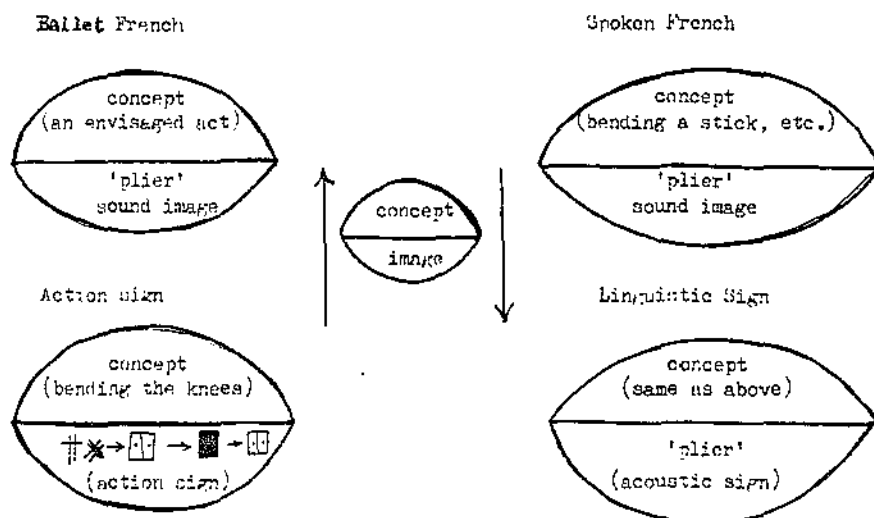
form is envisaged) or in the reflexive, the mental image might consist of the action of bending over to pick something up off the floor. The dancer will envisage bending his/her knees in a specific way.

In ballet French, 'plié' means to bend both knees (the degree of bend in the action referred to is unspecified by the single word): in terms of specified degrees of bending, the term has the meanings shown in Oppenheimer's illustrations below:¹⁷



The plié may be done in first, second, third, fourth or fifth positions¹⁸. The word 'plié' may be used as an imperative, i.e. an enchainement is given by the ballet master and during its performance, 'Plié!' is uttered, usually with great force. Here, the word means 'you are not bending your knees enough'. On the other hand, the word may be used by the instructor as a noun, such as at the beginning of a class or a 'warming up' period, e.g. 'now do pliés in second, first, fourth and fifth positions'.

If we look at these terms in the light of the Saussurian signification formulation, the following are the cases:



The differences are fairly easy to see:

- (i) the concept associated with the sound is different, and
- (ii) the important difference would seem to be that the speaker is conceptualizing an action performed on something else, while the dancer has a mental image of an action performed with his/her own body.

The second point has been noted previously, i.e. in the discussion of differences between transitive and reflexive forms¹⁹.

The idea of subject-object, as commonly understood by speakers, is, for all practical purposes, irrelevant to the dancer's usage of the infinitive 'plier', except insofar as the dancer's body is thought of as an 'instrument' or an 'object' upon which or with which the act is performed, an idea that could well exemplify the main thesis of Mauss' seminal article, Le Technique du Corps (1936/1966). The speaker apparently has an in-built notion of separate 'things' (in the above case, agents and objects) that usually does not include the notion of the speaker's own body (and rarely, anyone else's body) as an instrument.

As ordinarily defined, 'transitive' means an action passing from agent (or source) to object. 'Intransitive' means no transaction between subject and outside world²⁰. Neither simple definition is adequate to handle the relation between agent and object or the relation between the dancer and energy use, far less a metaphysics of 'self'²¹. However, the notion of reflexive verbs does provide a means; if not the only means in this case, whereby the speaker can comprehend the dancer's usage of 'plié' or any other verbal adjective, for the reflexive forms of verbs mean that the agent-object or the subject-object relation of the energy transaction are identical. Thus it is clear that the element of identity in these cases is closely connected with tense constituents of reflexive forms of verbs. It is of interest to note here that Kealiinohomoku's current research may produce evidence of a totally different relationship in the Hopi context.

The above-defined relations between agent and object form the greatest gaps of understanding between the dancer and the non-dancer, although further examination of the lexicon of ballet French terminology will reveal further sources of misapprehension as well. The above is fundamental because of the concept of 'energy' or 'force' which is involved. the ballet dancer's training develops a high level of awareness of the energy internal to the body-instrument. Some disciplines emphasize the conscious control of this energy, as e.g. T'ai Chi Ch'uan, which is the art of consciously controlling and directing the flow of 'chi' (i.e. 'energy') in the body. This factor of energy control is not made explicit in the teaching and performance of ballet, but is implicit in the technique. The Chinese military art is explicit about such controls, hence it provided an upper limit case for my Doctoral research. Generally speaking, in western action sign systems like the ballet, the 'energy quotient' of the performed action sign is referred to as 'dynamics' of some kind, or in the 'effort-shape' system of analysis, as 'qualities' of movement.

Another major difference between French speakers' usage and ballet French speakers' usage of the same terms is to be found in the notion of 'person'. That is, speakers do not often include themselves, or images of themselves -- specifically, images of their own bodies -- performing the actions indicated by the infinitive 'plier'. Instead, they seem to envisage someone or something else performing the action which they observe. In strong contrast to this, the dancer is equipped with a vast stock of images of him/herself moving various parts of the body, or the whole body,

in space. The speaker's image of the action is likely (although not always) to exclude the agent and focus on the object as it is affected by the action, i.e. the folded paper, the bent stick, the bit of clothing retrieved from the floor, and such.

Some Further Examples

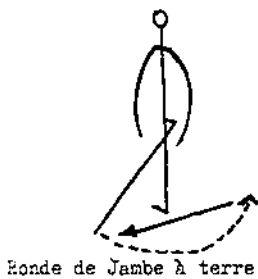
So far, the subject of usage of acoustic signs by dancers and non-dancers has been introduced and the general examination has drawn attention to two major conceptual differences which seem to exist between two groups of people in two situational contexts, using the same set of acoustic morphemes (See Part I of this article, pp. 2, 3 and 4). These are (i) reflexivity (manifest in the dancer's notion of the instrumentality of the physical body) and (ii) person (manifest in the dancer's inclusion of body images of agents at a conceptual level). The first example used was that of a past participle used by itself by dancers in the balletic context, i.e., 'plié'. The next examples are taken from ballet usages of nouns:

Rond de Jambe (à terre et en l'air)
 Grande Rond de Jambe (à terre et en l'air)
 Double Rond de Jambe
 Temps de Cuisse
 Gargouillade

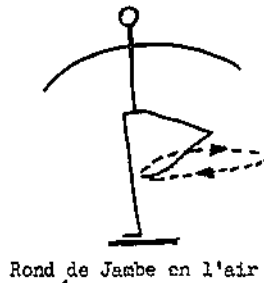
French speakers might have a concept of 'rond de jambe' as some way of describing a circle with the whole leg²², possibly with the toe. In this case, the ballet French usage of the linguistic sign is more grammatical than the previous case of 'plié', although it is questionable whether the 'rond' is meant to be used as an adjective or a noun. In the case of 'grande rond de jambe' there is gender disagreement between the feminine adjective and the masculine noun. The mental conception might be much the same for the speaker here, as in the case of 'rond de jambe', but with a wider radius of circle indicated. A 'double' ronde de jambe could either be some sort of jump inscribing a circle with both legs at the same time, or it could be the same circular action performed twice with one leg, or it could be the same action performed first with one leg and then with the other.

'Temps de Cuisse' is especially confusing to speakers of French for it would seem to refer to an anatomical absurdity, i.e. the thigh moving on its own. As for the 'temps' of the utterance -- it is also puzzling. If one defines 'temps' as meaning 'tempo' in a musical sense, then it could denote some sort of measured beat or rhythm. Basically, the morphemes 'temps' and 'cuisse' seem incompatible, not to say anomalous, when taken together, and if 'temps' suggests 'weather', which in the French language it can do, then the speaker seems forced to conclude that there has simply been a mistake.

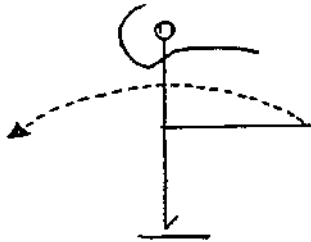
The last term on the above list; 'gargouillade', might seem to the speaker an epitome of incomprehensibility. Resorting to the dictionary (OCF:385) yields the following: 'In singing, the word means vulgar quivering or warbling', and the second meaning is 'an old dance'. The word 'gargouiller' means to gargle, to rumble. What the word probably calls to an ordinary speaker's mind with reference to dancing is some sort of kicking or thrashing about with the legs.



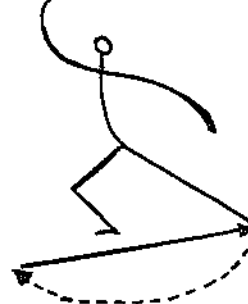
Ronde de Jambe à terre



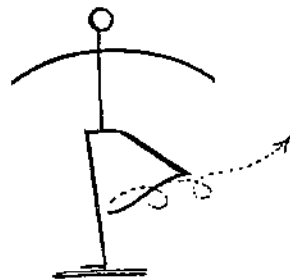
Rond de Jambe en l'air



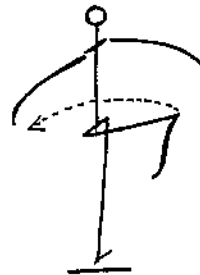
Grande Rond de Jambe en l'air



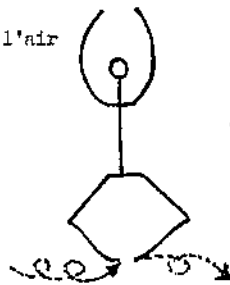
Grande Rond de Jambe à terre



Double Rond De Jambe en l'air



Temps de Cuisse



Gargouillade

The difficulty is, of course, that the linguistic morphemes convey absolutely no notion of the spatial character of complexity of the action signs. Not only are the examples given very good illustrations of the Saussurian principle of arbitrariness both of linguistic and of action signs, they illustrate the extent to which information is compacted into the mental image of the dancer using ballet French which is not given in the linguistic sign to the ordinary French speaker.

Ballet French actually amounts to a technical language with specific referents (i.e. mental images plus resultant actions) of specific movements which are associated with the sound images. When people hear others speaking a language they do not know, the sounds are perceived, but the social facts remain unperceived because the associational links simply are not there. The problem with a technical language like ballet French is that a French speaker does have mental images and associational links with the morphemes, but they involve a different set of concepts from the ones the dancer has. Moreover, the speaker has a set of conventional rules through which he or she may try to understand the ballet French usage, but which do not appreciably aid the speaker in grasping the dancer's set of images and rules.

We submit that technical languages depend on the speaker's experience in many subtle ways which are not by any means given in the spoken or written words themselves. For further illustration of this, we would draw attention to 'menu French' as a paradigm example. Menu French is a technical language in a similar mode to that of ballet French, where the usage refers to specific products and transformational processes which are the results of whole concatenations of actions on the part of chefs (with regard to the menu) and actions on the part of dancers (with regard to ballets). We have concluded that the understanding of these terminologies depends on the French speaker's experience of French cookery, on the one hand, and the technical apparatus and lexicon of ballet, on the other. Curiously, while it is a mark of higher status, culture and education in the minds of many to understand such linguistic anomalies as 'sautéed potatoes', 'steak bleu' or 'pêches flambée', it does not seem to be the case with phonological units such as 'sauté en attitude', 'arabesque adorée' or 'temps de cuisse'. However, we find 'penché arabesque en fondue' no more disturbing than 'cheese fondue' or 'battement frappé' no more incomprehensible than 'chocolate frappé'.

Terms used in ballet French such as 'jambe', 'cuisse', 'cou-de-pied', 'port-de-bras', and the like are used to indicate specific members of the semasiological body which (i) are to move, or which (ii) form reference points on the dancer's body for movement of another body member. The dancer would define 'jambe', for instance, as the whole leg, but in terms of action signs in the idiom of ballet, the term sometimes denotes a movement of the lower leg alone (cf. *rond de jambe en l'air* in the diagrams) or the leg up to and including the thigh joint (cf. *ronde de jambe à terre*).

The action sign can therefore reference the entire leg, as in the case of *rond de jambe a terre* or *grande rond de jambe en l'air*, or the lower half of the leg only, as in the case of a single or double *rond de jambe en l'air*. *Temps de cuisse*, for the dancer, focuses on the passage of the thigh through the body-instrument space and terms such as *cou-de-pied* and the positions '*retiré*' and '*passé*' refer, respectively to the ankle (i.e. '*sur le cou-de-pied*'; or the neck of the foot -- the ankle) and a position relative to the knee of the supporting leg. A leg, to a dancer, is not merely something one stands upon or uses while walking in an entirely unconscious manner.

Anthropologically, the importance of the above can hardly be over-estimated. Ardener's work reminds us that there are lexicons of terms for the human 'social body' and 'sexual body' which are not the same; cf. 1971:xxvii. The lexicon of the ballet dancer's terminology does not refer to the ordinary speaker's notions of a social body or a sexual body²³. Nor does the dancer's terminology refer to an 'anatomical body'. The ballet French lexicon refers to the semasiological body, i.e. a body as an instrument of expression and meaning. Where the terms do not specifically refer to parts of the body, they refer to actions or movements through space of body members. An anthropology of the body or of human movement that does not proceed from these basic notions of lexemes of the body itself and their usages in a variety of situational contexts is, at the very best superficial, and at the worst mere dilettantism.

Body Image and 'Person'

At this point we will recall that the dancer's image of the actions to which ballet terminology refers will inevitably include his or her own body, whereas the speaker's image will tend to be that of an object affected by an action. It has often been noticed that dancers, and performers of all kinds, tend to use the personal pronoun 'I' with somewhat greater frequency than in the common polite usage of ordinary speakers in the context of everyday life.

We suggest that what may appear to the ordinary speaker as an expression of self-centredness or self-dramatization should be seen, at least on some occasions, in a different light. Whereas the ordinary speaker will use the impersonal pronoun 'one' or 'you' (in French, '*on*' or '*vous*'), meaning bodies (or persons) which/who can be pointed to in the world exterior to the speaker and whom the speaker may observe, the dancer, and many performers, possess notions which involve different body images and a wholly different kind of orientation in space. The major difference with reference to body image is that of seeing the body as an instrument on the part of the dancer. This difference of image of the body is, in turn, affected greatly by the associative aspects of the relations between sound images or action images and concepts to which the ballet French lexicon refers. For example, the dancer often says, "If I do this..." or "If I do or say that...", where a non-dancer would be more likely to say "If you do this" or "If one does or says that", making the same statement in a more generalized fashion. We wish to draw attention here to the difference between agent-centred orientation and object-centred orientation.

The dancer acquires agent-centred orientation in the process of training; in the process of the transmission of the semasiological body language he or she will use during professional life, be it ballet French or the terminology of any other stable dance tradition in the world. Two terms that illustrate practically how such transmission and such concepts are acquired in ballet are 'en dehors' and 'en dedans', i.e. 'outside' and 'inside', respectively. Agent orientation is inbuilt into these terms with regard to the dance because of the spatial point of reference for the actual motion involved. To a dancer, the phrase 'rond de jambe à terre', for example, by itself only means a narrowing of grammatical possibilities of usage of members of the body-instrument. The additional phrase 'à terre', or 'en l'air' specifies where the action will occur in space. But 'grammar' and 'place' are not enough to specify an action sign. As yet, no direction has been indicated. For that, the terms 'en dehors' and 'en dedans' are necessary.

To an ordinary speaker of French, 'en dehors' might simply mean 'on the outside' or 'outwards', 'en dedans' might mean 'inside' or 'inwards'. These adverbs would mean, for instance, 'indoors' or 'outdoors'. Used as prepositions, they might mean 'inside (a room)' or 'outside (a room)'. To the dancer, 'en dehors' denotes a centrifugal motion -- outwards -- away from the central axis or centre front of the body. Conversely, 'en dedans' is a direction of action towards the centre axis of the body. The spatial point of reference for the two terms is the central axis of the dancer's own body, thus it is agent-oriented and not external-object-oriented. The measure of the existential body-instrument space of the dancer is his or her own body. This type of orientation gives rise to some usages of the personal pronoun 'I' which are decidedly unfamiliar to the ordinary speaker, and these usages need not be puzzling if the dancer's orientational viewpoint is really understood.

First, the dancer is often talking about 'self' as that self exists in the ballet -- inside of the action and not outside of the action watching the action. Second, the dancer often refers to 'self' in relation to the role enacted in the ballet²⁴. Third, a performer's usage of the pronoun 'I' often connotes the impersonality of the 'self' directing the role played, as e.g. in the case of Dame Margot Fonteyn talking about how she feels about dancing the Swan Queen or some other role. It would not stretch matters too far to say that very often performers use this 'impersonal I' in other contexts besides the theatre. The dancer, describing an hypothetical situation through the viewpoint of the 'I' which controls performances and the speaker's description of the same situation in exactly the same words (except for the substitution of the impersonal 'one' or 'you'), are, in fact, often found to be describing the situation from entirely different points of view. Their speech will reflect entirely different concepts of what the situation is. It will also reflect different concepts of their respective relations to the situation.

The ballet French 'I' speaker is seeing the situation from a central, agentive standpoint, surveying a total situation from a position within the situation, whatever attitudes of like or dislike may be held towards it. The speaker of French using the impersonal 'you' or 'one', is meant

to be separate from, or 'outside' the situation. This usage establishes a distance, not only between the 'one' and the speaker, but additionally between the 'one' and the situation in which the 'one' participates.

A Closer Look At Linguistic Elements

As we have noted, ballet French makes use of many past participles: 'plié', 'chassé', 'développé', 'échappé', 'retiré', etc. Earlier on, several categories were suggested under which the spoken-language oriented person might approach this form of speech as it appears in ballet French. We will now address the question 'does it refer to some subject which is understood but not stated?'

It appears that possible unstated subjects of this kind and in this context might be specific parts of the body or specific movements. Again, we will use 'plié' as an example: in a conventional grammatical context it is conceivable that this past participle might be in agreement with the (understood) subject of 'le genou'; 'knee'. However, this does not really make sense in the case of 'plié' because the action designated by the same morpheme in ballet French involves bending not one but both knees. This being the case, spoken language grammatical consistency would demand that the past participle agree with the subject in number and gender, thus it should be written (perhaps) 'pliés', referring to two knees.

This may well be the place to point out that ballet French is essentially an oral, as contrasted to a written form of French. The person oriented to spoken and written French (or a traditional grammarian) would possibly be inclined to consider such an example as the above ample proof of the illiteracy of dancers. Some might even extend this notion to the dance form in general. We prefer to look at the matter in another way: given that recognition is granted to the technical ballet French usage of the term 'plié', i.e. two bending knees plus an acoustic sign consisting of a past participle which is singular, the verbally oriented person still sees a discrepancy between two knees and a singular past participle. But a fair-minded speaker might be prepared to entertain a further consideration: perhaps the reference is NOT to two bent knees as static objects, but to the permutation of the whole body in the vertical dimension of space. This is, of course, how the dancer conceives of 'plié'. For dancers, the past participle refers to a smooth, continuous action which has, so to speak, a beginning, a middle and an ending. It does not denote the state of an object, except insofar as the dancer's own body is conceived of as an instrument or an object.

At this stage of the argument, we encounter two particularly abstruse problems: those of time and continuity. As we proceed, it will not be difficult to see why dancers tend to insist that what they do 'cannot be put into words' and why many of them feel that even a three-dimensional notation, such as Laban's system, is inadequate representation of their performance -- or their art of self-defense in the case of a T'ai Chi master, or their liturgy, in the case of a Dominican priest. How much is a bit of white paper with black lines on it like a dance? Or, how much are bits of white paper with black lines on them like a symphony orchestra playing music, or for that matter, how much are the black marks on this page like a person speaking?

No two-dimensional representation of the act of dancing, whether in action signs or linguistic signs, purports to do more than represent the experienced reality of the dancer -- at the level of 'la parole' -- or the reality of the dance at the level of 'la langue'. On the whole, the dancer's attitude can be summed up as one which states 'if you want to know what dancing is, then dance. Or at least try to dance, for it is only through doing dance that you can approach the realities of the experience of it'. Fair enough, but this suggestion does not advance our knowledge about the dance very far, nor does it tell us anything about why communication gaps exist between dancers and non-dancers in the same society.

Many non-dancers have noticed the confidence, the air of subtle superiority, the apparent mastery of the physical environment, the ease, with which the professional dancer conducts him/herself off-stage. This is often, although not always, in striking contrast to the dancer's lack of verbal skills²⁵ and forensic ability. Drawing attention to this opposition (and, in turn, its implied opposite on the part of speakers) is meant to point to certain spin-off elements which accrue from dancers' training, and not to actual moves in the dancers' body language game. The encounter represented between, as it were, 'intellectuals' and dancers is not, in the above case, comparable to the 'intellectual' trying to comprehend the dancer's body language idiom, as in a direct theatre or class situation. Rather, the encounter outside of the performance context is more akin to an encounter between two people who use the same language in vastly different ways.

It is a case where the non-dancer is like a fisherman who is told to go to a boxing gymnasium to find a hook for his fishing line, or the intellectual is like a farmer who expects to find his cattle in an electromagnetic field or a semantic field. It is rare when either party to the encounter attempts to discover a meta-language common to both. Indeed, perhaps one does not exist. Neither understands the other's 'language', in both cases a result of over-determination²⁶, and there are common grounds for misapprehension. Hayakawa emphasizes the source of confusion in his familiar sentence, 'The map is not the territory'.

There are two kinds of points involved here: (i) the false hypothesis of the speaker that words like 'plié', for example, refer to material objects like 'knees' rather than to an action consisting of composite movements of several body parts and the false hypothesis on the part of both speakers and dancers that lexemes for the body are interchangeable with reference to meaning. The lexicons of terms listed in Appendix I, part 1, p. 12, represent, as it were, conceptual maps of the 'territory' of the human body. They are clearly not interchangeable -- and that is not to say that people do not interchange them or cannot interchange them. There are some whose apperceptions of the body are dominated by, or more accurately, limited to, the sexual lexicon of terms. With reference to that very ambiguous word 'dancing', this lexicon may well be appropriate with regard to, say, stripper's dancing, but it is entirely inappropriate with regard to ballet, Kathak, much of Ghanaian dancing or the many varieties of 'folk' dancing. And (ii) the commitment (usually unconscious) on the part of the dancer to treating actions as if they were 'things'.

This need not be troubling, for, as we have shown, actions can be written down, there can be numbers of them, and they have properties which can be clearly defined. While it is necessary to keep in mind that no set of linguistic signs or action signs reproduces the reality of a 'plié', far less that of an entire ballet, say, Checkmate, as it is experienced by an individual dancer, it is also necessary to keep in mind that reproducing experiential reality of that kind is not the business of scholarship or research. If the examples offered seem too simple or somewhat overdrawn, I would want to say that it is much easier to ignore such problems than it is to dissolve them. If we are going to assume that people who speak the same language should understand one another, and it becomes patently clear that they do not, are we not justified in making enquiries?

We might conclude that 'grammar' does not merely tell us how parts of spoken language are used 'correctly'; grammar also tells us what kind of object anything is (Wittgenstein 1958:116e). Moreover, as in conventional language, the body language itself is the vehicle of the thought and if (in the case of the present example of ballet) the technique of ballet did not exist, there could be no intention of dancing ballets, choreographing ballets or anything of that kind, therefore it is necessary to examine in detail what the dancer's usage of words -- what this particular 'grammar' -- means, i.e. the dance idiom itself as 'grammar'. Both speakers and dancers may use a given language (spoken or otherwise); they may even be supremely articulate in a language, yet they may not be able to explain the rules upon which it is based.

None of this alters the fact that an inequality exists between speakers and dancers in western societies because whereas the latter group are often asked how it is they 'express' themselves, and the stress is usually laid upon their emotions, the former (say, an orator or a fluent political speaker, a brilliant conversationalist) are rarely asked how it is they manage to express themselves and in how far their language expresses their emotions. On a world-structural level, the inequality probably exists in western societies because spoken language generally tends to be associated with 'real' knowledge, where body languages are not often, if ever, associated with 'real' knowledge. In the minds of many, there is an unfortunate equation between linguistic signs and thought and action signs and non-thought.

Historical justifications for such comprehension gaps between people who are classified as 'verbal' or 'non-verbal' do not close the gaps. To mention the mind/body split in Descartes' thinking, for example, merely points to the problem: it neither explains nor solves it. To mention logical positivism and the fact that in its more radical forms this philosophy tended to discount any human experience which could not be 'expressed in words' in certain propositional forms as 'irrational' or 'subjective' does not alter the social facts of an assumed inferiority of body languages to spoken languages. The status of the verbally articulate individual is much higher in our society than the status of the physically articulate person, but over-determination with regard to either mode of expression is misguided, just as over-determination regarding auditory (in contrast to visual) modes of registration is misguided. But, it is not status differences or social inequalities that are of primary importance to this analysis.

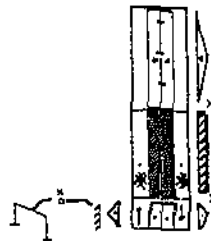
Names

What is it that ballet dancers 'name' or 'conceptualize' with regard to the lexicon they use?

.....we call very different things "names", The word "name" is used to characterize many different kinds of use of a word, related to one another in many different ways... (Wittgenstein 1958:18e:38).

What is the difference between naming a part of the body, naming a person, and naming that which combined parts of the body perform as an action -- for that is the difference we must perceive between the names 'cou-de-pied', 'plié', 'Maina Gielgud' and 'the black queen'.

There are comparatively few terms in the technical language of the ballet which name body parts and none which name persons, though names for role-designations are common in the ballet dancer's spoken language game. In the technical lexicon of terms, most of the dancer's words refer to movements or spatial configurations, directions of movement, etc. in specified ways. The meanings of these names are explainable, first, by a performance of the action, just as the meaning of 'chair' is explained by pointing to a chair, or to a picture of a chair. Thus, we can define 'plié' ostensively either by performing a plié, pointing to someone performing a plié or to a filmed performance of a plié, or to the following notation symbols:



This, we say, is what we mean by 'plié' as defined by its usage in the idiom of ballet. The dancer knows what 'a plié' is, not by the rules which define the acoustic sign 'plié' as a past participle of the infinitive 'plier', but in accordance with the rules of the balletic body language game.

According to these rules, the 'plié' starts from and returns to 'zero position' in the designated idiom. The action which is named is the continuous, uninterrupted flow of motion from start to finish. We can therefore say that

- (i) the dancer is either performing a plié or is not,
- (ii) the dancer is either performing the motion correctly or not, in accordance with the rules for turn-out, carriage of the body, etc.,
- (iii) the dancer is either 'on the beat' (if there is music or time structures external to the performer involved), or is not, and

- (iv) the dancer is either in control of the situation and in control of the body members involved, or is not.

Thus, 'a plié' used as a noun to name an action is a sample of ascriptions of movement and as a name signifies only that which is an element of reality in that particular body language idiom. The understood subject of the past participle demanded by the speaker is neither one or two knees, nor is it Margot Fonteyn or Rudolph Nureyev, nor is 'plié' as an ascriptive name 'really' the name of the dancer's body or a mis-use of spoken language. A 'plié' is neither singular nor plural except in the sense that one performs one, two or many of them, i.e. one dancer can perform, say, five 'pliés' or five dancers can perform one 'plié' simultaneously, etc. Questions of number and gender as they are commonly thought of with reference to linguistic signs are irrelevant in the ballet French lexicon, which can be performed by either sex. The same could not be said of an 'inclinatio profunda' in the Dominican rite, of course. The ascription of movements which that name signifies may only be performed by men in that context. An 'inclinatio profunda' in the liturgical body language of the Mass is, so to speak, gender specific. Names of movements in T'ai Chi Ch'uan are not gender specific in that sense: cf. 'Needle at Sea Bottom', 'Slant Flying' or 'Step Back and Repulse Monkey' (Da Liu: 1974:29)²⁷. These, and any other movements in T'ai Chi are performed by both men and women.

Further conceptual errors about action signs can be avoided by speakers and dancers, if they do not confuse ascriptions of movements with ascriptions of meanings. That is to say that a 'plié' performed in a class-room means that the dancer is practising the technique of the idiom. Few would think it legitimate or sensible to challenge an actor, practising elocutionary phrases such as 'the rain in Spain stays mainly on the plain', by saying, 'do you mean to say that it never rains in the mountains in Spain?', but it is not uncommon for dancers to be required to produce immutable 'meanings' of some kind when in similar situations for the actions which comprise their body language. A 'plié' as a move in the ballet dancer's body language game does not have one meaning, but then, words like 'sōl', or 'in', for example, do not have one meaning either.

In naming an action, very little has, in fact, been done. The name by itself merely points to an element of what is the case in the idiom of ballet. The sound 'plié' calls a picture of the action to the dancer's mind. There are many things which can be said of such pictures (and others like them) and their relation to the resulting actions. A few aspects are relevant here: first, the picture is not like a still photograph. There can be no such thing as one photograph of 'a plié' because it, and its companion terms, denote continuous actions. The pictures are thus more like film clips than single photographs, but even this does not convey the full implications of the word 'picture' in a dance context because the picture of a single 'plié' does not relate it to anything else, either to the other movements in a given stretch of actions, or to the actions performed by other dancers. Second, the picture the dancer has of a 'plié' is going to have a definite effect upon its application, i.e. the resulting action. This is especially true with regard to dance training²⁸.

Different Questions

Spatial deixis, i.e. aspects of direction, location, orientation are generally taken to mean the relation between a people and their physical geography, as e.g. in Clayre's study of the Melanau; cf. 1976:71-86. In his study, the relevant topographical layout of the Melanau is examined in detail, and the inclusion of specific features highly relevant to the cultural setting is clearly shown. In contrast to this, we are here concerned with a group of people (ballet dancers) who construct semantic spaces that are not specific to any geographical location. The ballet, Checkmate, can be danced anywhere, given a minimal stage area for its performance. In Appendix III of this article, I have illustrated some aspects of a deictic analysis of the lexical elements of ballet terminology, using criteria of personal and extra-personal reference and internal and external motivation for elements of direction, motion and location as they are understood by those who use ballet French. The analysis, incomplete as it is, aims to draw attention to important features of human structured spaces and their morphology as represented by materials (i.e. dancers, rites, etc.) which are commonly known in anthropology as 'ritual' material. The analysis suggests a need for asking different questions with regard to such material.

Perhaps the important questions are similar to those asked by Wittgenstein about spoken language, as e.g. 'when does one know how to dance ballet (or any other idiom)?' 'When does one know how to perform a Mass, or when is a student of T'ai Chi designated 'master'? These questions are not in essence much different from asking, as he did, 'when does one know how to play chess?' But anyone knows there is something different between knowing how to dance Checkmate and knowing how to play a chess game. We must begin somewhere, so we will say that knowing how to play chess is in one sense tantamount to saying that one knows the rules of the game. Similarly, knowing how to perform a 'plie' implies that one knows at least a few rules of the ballet game. Knowing how to dance Checkmate implies knowing many of the rules of the ballet game and knowing how to choreograph Checkmate implies knowing more levels of rules²⁹.

One striking difference in knowing how to play chess and knowing how to dance, of course, lies in the fact that in playing chess games, one is moving counters on a board external to oneself and in dancing Checkmate, one is moving oneself about on a stage. Everywhere, we encounter the two fundamental and related notions of reflexivity and of the instrumentality of the body. These are inescapable properties of the action sign. From the performer's point of view (the agentive standpoint), we also inevitably encounter the notion of intention. Some ethnographic examples are appropriate here. During rehearsals of Checkmate, Makarova asked many questions about the sequences of movements she was required to perform as the Black Queen preceding the death of the Red King. 'Do I know that I will stab him, or am I not sure about this?' 'Does the Queen know that she is going to win?' (N.B. the usage of the personal pronoun³⁰).

Depending upon what is the case to the choreographer, the movements Makarova will execute will subtly change -- not in their form, of course, but in their character³¹. She will still be carried on by her two black knights and stand poised above the terror-stricken, feeble old King, but her intention regarding the actions will decidedly influence how the action of stabbing him is performed. Likewise, Dupreil, as the Red Knight, at the moment when he stands poised with sword drawn over the defenseless Black Queen must know why he hesitates and turns away. As the knights represent chivalry in Checkmate, his hesitation in the choreographed actions is connected with a code of honour which ultimately dictates the hesitation. He cannot kill a woman, thus his hesitation is not guided by cowardice, sentimentality, fear or foolishness. A 'coup de grace' requires that an opponent be (i) male and (ii) armed. His act of chivalric restraint makes his subsequent murder by the Queen and her stabbing of the Red King (which completes the ballet) doubly ruthless -- unmitigated, wanton acts of aggression. The fact that the kinesemes of action chosen by the choreographer for both Knight and Queen when they raise their swords are virtually 'the same' as gross physical movements points to the vast ethical, linguistic and moral differences involved in the two actions. And here, the choreographer's intentions can be seen to be primary: de Valois intended that the above ideas, actions and relations be seen, 'said', 'communicated' or what have you by the choreographed actions. These intentions cannot be rightly disregarded, unless we are prepared to disregard the notion of human intentions and language-use entirely, in which case we can justifiably defend biological, ethological or emotional theories of the origins and basis of dancing.

Conclusion

When we look at a dance or a Labanotation text of a dance or any movements whatsoever, it is perhaps useful to look at them as conceptual maps of a territory of human belief, philosophy, practise and commitment. Here, especially in the text, we see a 'route map' over which people have walked (or danced, etc.) A 'score', as e.g. that of the Roman rite, is a moving, three-dimensional diagram of a ritual over time. This text references the event itself as it is (or was) empirically observable. But the score itself consists of nothing more than lines, blots, squiggles and marks on a piece of ruled paper. Nevertheless, these lines, squiggles and marks remove human movement from the opaque realm of the 'non-literate', the 'irrational' and the 'instinctive'. Moreover, the score aids us in visualizing the multiple-dimensional realities that anthropologists deal with all the time. One can explain how these lines, etc. are (as in the case of the Mass) the map of the seven ministers' movements, and one can explain all the rules for interpreting the map. The same, of course, holds for the scores of Checkmate and T'ai Chi Ch'uan, or any imagined score of any empirically perceivable movement 'event' in natural time.

It is no good saying that if the words are subtracted from the actions then what remains is 'non-verbal behaviour', or that if the actions are subtracted from the words then what remains is 'rationality'. The entity we call 'a train' is composed of an engine and carriages. There is no 'train' if either the engine or the carriages are subtracted one from the other. We merely torment ourselves needlessly with reductionist

approaches such as this³². Nor need we concern ourselves seriously with theories of symbols that do not include alphabets, ideographs and words themselves in the list of what 'symbols' are. If it is true that 'symbolic' knowledge is knowledge, not of things or of words, but of the memory of things and words, of conceptual representations, then one can hardly imagine knowledge that is more symbolic than mathematics, truth tables and a calculus of validation. Our difficulty in the past has been, perhaps, that we have not regarded the complexity of human action systems from a beginning standpoint of a study of taxonomies of the body and the lexicons of movement terminology connected with body languages. In any case, this kind of procedure and point of departure is one of the devices to be found in the methodological armoury of semasiology. We expect that our results over the next two decades will be significant, because our analytic re-interpretations proceed from a different interpretation of 'facts', whether of everyday movements or of the dance.

Drid Williams

FOOTNOTES

13. The word 'participle', fr. L. 'pars' = apart + capere, v. to take, i.e. 'takes part', is a part of speech partaking of the nature of both verb and adjective. The past (or present) participle is, therefore, a form of verbal adjective which in conventional language modifies a noun, but which takes the adjuncts of the verb from which it is derived.
14. Thanks are owing to Anne Oppenheimer, not only for this information, but for her endless patience in answering my many questions regarding the speaker's view of ballet French. She has acted both as informant and as illustrator for this article.
15. Where 'je plie' means 'I bend (something)', 'je me plie' (reflex: present) means 'I bend (myself)', but the usage of the auxiliary i.e. 'j'ai pli  ' indicates the past tense, i.e. 'I have bent...'. No matter what grammatical rules obtain for written or spoken forms of these utterances, it is the performance of the movement which is of primary importance to the dancer, whether male or female. In fact, the term 'pli  ', shorn of its grammatical spoken or written language associations, as an action sign, might in one sense be looked at as a p-structural concept which over-rides the biological gender of the dancer.
16. See Cohen:1959; Chujoy:1949 and Collins-Larousse:1967.

17. These iconic representations are used here and later in the chapter to illustrate the positions as a concession to readers unfamiliar with Labanotation. They are inadequate representations simply because a 'plié' to a dancer is not a static, 'sculpture' or a position. A 'plié' is an action consisting of descent and ascent on a vertical axis. The terms designate a degree of bend only. They are not, as it were, 'mutually exclusive' but conditional terms. One might view the matter in this way: between 'zero position' and 'grande plié' are (perhaps) hundreds of positions, just as between the numbers 30° and 40° on a thermometer there are many levels to which the mercury might rise or fall. 'Plié à demi' would correspond to half the distance between 'zero' and 'grande plié' as 35° would represent a half-way mark on the thermometer.
18. The illustrations are drawn in second position.
19. In the examples so far used, it is hard to see where the dancer's usage of the reflexive leads with regard to philosophical or linguistic considerations, as e.g. 'causes' or 'effects' of transactions of energy. I know of no studies in either of those fields which deal with the problem from an agentive standpoint.
20. The terms 'transitive' and 'intransitive' are here referred to in their strict, traditional grammatical definitions.
21. Consider, as an example, this question, asked by Makarova during rehearsals of Checkmate, referred to later in the chapter: 'Do I (the controlling 'self' of the performer) know that I (the Black Queen) will stab him (the Red King, not the dancer performing the role) or am I (the controlling 'self') not sure about this? There is no question here of Makarova stabbing Leslie Edwards (who was performing the role of the Red King). The 'event' of the actions of Makarova and the 'event' of the stabbing of the Red King by the Black Queen are mediated by conscious control of the 'selves' involved. Few outside of the theatre understand these aspects of 'self-control' with regard to movements.
22. Several interesting associations have turned up among language-oriented informants, such as e.g. 'a well-rounded leg', associated with the notion of a 'well-turned' leg, or a round (i.e. circular) decoration on the leg -- a garter, perhaps?
23. See Ardener (1971) and Appendix I — p. 12 — in the first part of this article for terms for the 'sexual body', as well as Ardener's referents for diachronic aspects of the term 'jarbe'.
24. The concept here referred to generally as the concept of 'multiple selves' is not unfamiliar to ordinary speakers of English and other Latin-based languages, although it is rarely thought of in such a specific way. Consider the attribution of responsibility involving actions, words, etc. which is implied by the phrase 'in loco parentis' for example, where a person acts not in terms of his or her own social

persona (i.e. which may not include being a parent at all), but in terms of the social persona of another. Or, consider the abbreviation 'pp', often found at the conclusion of business correspondence next to a signature. In this case, 'pp' means 'per persona', indicating that someone has taken the responsibility for the contents of the letter by signing the name of, say, an absent departmental head. Then too, one may vote, 'in absentia persona'. Even these formalizations of a concept of multiple selves present intricacies of our concept of 'self' which emphasize the point I would want to make. It is extremely difficult, as a dancer, to figure out just what an interviewer on a television programme means, for example, when asked, 'how do you feel toward the person who is dancing the opposite role?' This kind of question is frequently asked, and in fact was asked of Dame Margot Fonteyn in a recent interview by Michael Parkinson about the men who danced Siegfried opposite her Odette. Fonteyn gracefully attempted to explain that she did not think of them 'as men' in that context at all, and it was clear that Parkinson was considerably confused as to what she meant. But one would want to ask how does a performer answer that kind of question so that it is coherent to someone who is not familiar with the disciplines involved in consciously handling roles? An actor in Brechtian theatre might have the same difficulty.

25. One would certainly not wish to reduce this discussion to a banal level of 'verbal skills', 'physical skills', or 'social skills' but these are, after all, common language terms in which proficiency in usage of sign systems is discussed.
26. 'Over-determination': used here in an Ardenian sense to mean an over-emphasis or, perhaps, an over-proficiency in one area at the expense of others.
27. To underline the point that movements are only inadequately described in verbal terms, we here append a description in English of the movement 'Step Back and Repulse Monkey' by the T'ai Chi master, Da Liu:

The left hand grasps the monkey's hand as the right hand pushes the monkey's head away. At the same time the player steps back. From preceding form drop right arm to side. Turn left palm to face down and press fingertips forward. As the body turns to the right, the right arm circles back, and both palms turn up. As the body turns forward, the right arm circles around and moves forward past the ear, the left arm falls to the side with the left foot stepping straight back. The right arm moves in front, fingertips pressing forward; the right toes straighten. The left arm continues back as the body turns to the left. Repeat these actions on the left side, and then again to the right.

Or, 'Slant Flying', i.e.

The hands sweep upward and downward in a diagonal motion, resembling the flying pattern of a bird winging low over the banks of a river.

Drop right hand across to left thigh, cross left arm over the right hand. With the right foot take a large step to right and forward over the diagonal (135 degree angle), turning with the body.

The right arm moves diagonally up across the front of the body, palm slanting up. Simultaneously the left toes turn in and the left hand drops to the side ... etc. (page 29)

28. I here refer, again, to the relation of images and movement set out in detail in Sweigard:1974.
29. This is not to say, of course, that 'knowing' simply consists of rule acquisition, but that in 'learning' looked at as a process, rule-acquisition is built in to the process insofar as human action sign systems are concerned. A dancer learns rules which are then meant to be applied to all kinds of situations, enchainements, etc. which may have never been encountered before. The point is that the process of teaching a dancer is considerably different from the process of training an animal and the difference lies, of course, in the whole notion of rules and the ability to apply rules to new and different situations.
30. Here again we encounter the subtle distinction between 'I' the performer, and 'I' the character or role being performed. And it is upon this distinction that the difference we insist upon between symptoms and symbols in action signs rests.
31. This comment turns around the axis of constituent and contingent elements of the sign system, or in more familiar terms, the comment raises issues of 'form' (or content) and 'style'. A notated score of Checkmate presents the reader with constituent aspects of the ballet. Individual performers add their various styles to the performance of the ballet, but they are not at liberty to change the choreography, per se.
32. One does not wish to criticize an elegantly written book by an anthropological colleague whose honesty and courage one can only admire, for one would have thought it would require liberal amounts of both to tackle such an immense and widely debated subject as the whole field of symbolism within the confines of a 149 page essay that encourages us all to 're-think' these matters in terms of what seem to be old and well-tried arguments, i.e. those of Cartesian rationalism and British sceptical empiricism. Suffice it to say that in the light of the research in hand, one remains totally unconvinced that the re-thinking of symbolism is adequately done in those terms alone; cf. Sperber:1974.

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APPENDIX III: ELEMENTS OF SPATIAL DEIXIS IN BALLET FRENCH

The most common deictic category is that of reference: to what does the sign refer and is the reference to something external to the speaker/actor or is the reference 'internal', i.e. referring to some aspect of the person speaking or acting. There are several obvious cases of externally motivated terms in the ballet dancer's lexicon. They are e.g.

- | | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| 1. pas de chat | 2. temps de poisson | 3. pas cheval |
| saut de chat | | |
| 4. ailes de pigeon | 5. cabriole | 6. en tire-bouchon |

This is not a complete list, but it will serve to indicate what is meant by extra-personal reference: The words here refer to

1. A cat, 2. a fish, 3. a horse, 4. a bird's wings, 5. a goat and 6. a corkscrew. These are all creatures (in five of the cases) external to the dancer plus a fairly common object. In no case are the actions simple 'mimes' of the animals or object in question. There are cases of ballets in which dancers will actually 'play' cats, and when they do they are usually dressed in an appropriate representational costume complete with tail and ears, mittened hands, etc.

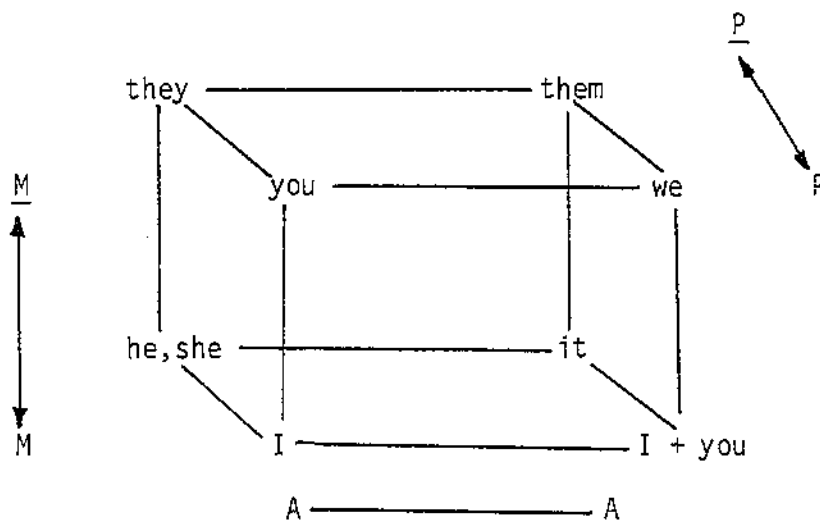
The performed actions indicated by the linguistic terms above could, I think, be best classified as 'metonyms' composed through a process of breaking up the movement of the animals and the object in question into its component parts, thus replacing the motion of the actual animal with an action which is logically or iconically similar. One is forced to say 'logically or iconically' because the movements involved do not seem to recall the animals or the corkscrew to mind to someone who does not know the idiom of ballet. A 'pas de chat' or its related 'saut de chat' is taken from the fact that a cat will gather its feet under itself when it springs. The 'temps de poisson' is meant to reproduce the arching leap of a fish up and out of the water. The 'pas cheval' reproduces the pawing movements horses are wont to make with their hoofs. The wings of the pigeon are reproduced by a leap with culminates in the beating of the legs together first to one side and then the other. The goat's nimble jump is indicated by a beating together of the legs in the air in front of the dancer, and the corkscrew is reproduced via the spiral form of the corkscrew by starting a multiple turn pirouette in a deep 'fondu' and, whilst turning, straightening the supporting leg.

Usage of the action signs in the dancer's body language game never, or hardly ever, is restricted to the role of a cat, for example, although if the dancer is dressed as a cat in a particular ballet, he/she will usually perform some 'pas de chats' at some point; however, the Swan Queen's entrance in the second act of Swan Lake is completed with a grande pas de chat, thus the literal cat can hardly be looked upon as meaningful.

Other instantiations of external motivations and extra-personal reference in the lexicon are these; where the action sign is dictated by the musical form, i.e. polka, polonaise, mazurka, waltz, etc. These movements have a specific time and step structure and found their way into the lexicon via the musical forms. They may be used to express a variety of characters and ideas by a choreographer, however, in a range of dance works from farce through to and including tragedy.

A third kind of externally motivated, extra-personal reference terms are, for example, 'à la barre', 'au milieu', 'en menage' and the set of terms for the Directions of the Body, i.e. 'à la quatrieme devant et derriere', etc. These are externally motivated because they either designate a place in a classroom or the stage (as 'à la barre' or 'au milieu') or they indicate the location and direction of a series of movements (en menage), or they denote positions of the body in relation to the audience.

I would want to summarize the final set of 'reference gestures' in the following way:



There are three axes of relations involved here: the vertical axis relations indicate minimal \longleftrightarrow maximal inclusion in a group, yielding the deictic categories $M \longleftrightarrow \underline{M}$; the horizontal axis relations indicate inclusion and exclusion of the audience, thus we can notate them $A \longleftrightarrow \underline{A}$; and the third axis (the 'front-back' axis) indicates proximity/distance spatially, and 'us' as differentiated from 'them' referentially. The notation for this category is therefore $P \longleftrightarrow \underline{P}$ (where \underline{P} = distant).

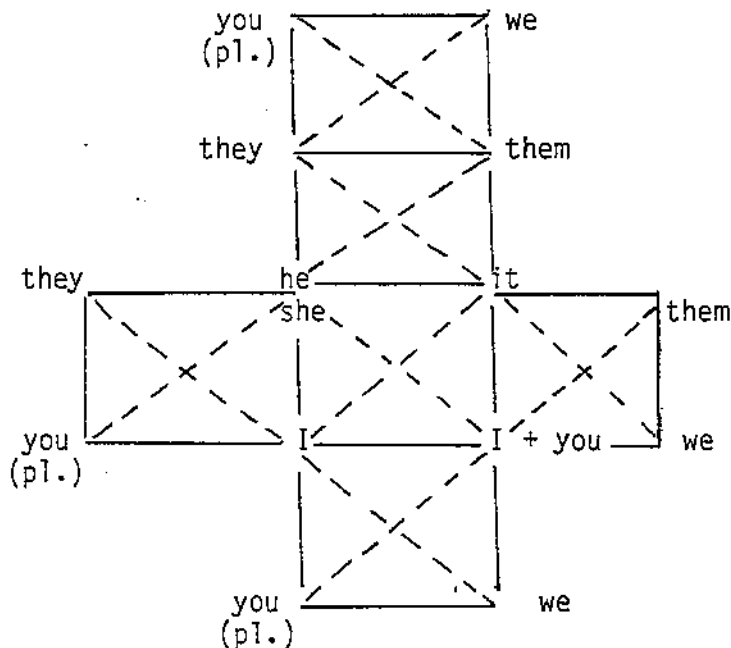
It will be noticed that the above cube of relations can be read as internally consistent, as it were, in three directions around the cube, i.e.

$M \longleftrightarrow \underline{M} =$ I: you (plural)
 I + you: we
 he, she: they
 it: them

$A \longleftrightarrow \underline{A}$ = I: I + you
 you (plural): we
 they: them
 he, she: it

$P \longleftrightarrow \underline{P}$ = I: he, she
 I + you: it
 we: them
 you (plural): they

Moreover, the cube unfolded yields any other possible combination of referential relations which logically might be involved thus:



There are the set of four internal, diagonal relations which complete the set, i.e. I: them, I + you: they; it: you (pl.) and he, she: we.

This cube of oppositions based upon minimal and maximal inclusions in a class, inclusion of watchers or exclusion of watchers, and relative distance relations, i.e. 'here' and 'there' as in 'I here', 'he, she there' are the kinds of personal and extra-personal references which can be made of other people, oneself or 'things' in body languages. I suggest that most systems of mime in western theatre dance are based upon these elements. While there are other oppositions which are important, such as male/female or positive/negative, and which can, in context, be indicated by gesture, they would probably not be found to be primary to referential gestures in the same sense that these oppositions are fundamental.

Specific idioms of body language might not include all of the possible relations indicated logically by the cube of relations, but then, s-structural realizations of P-structures rarely do.

Obviously, none of the above set of terms appear as such in the lexicon of ballet terminology, but it is equally clear that an analytical structure which ignored them would be wrong-headed, to say the least.

The final set of terms to which I would like to draw the reader's attention are those which are, in contrast to the first sets examined, both internally motivated and classified as 'personal reference' terms. Again, the list is not complete, but space prevents classification of the whole lexicon:

1. en dehors/en dedans
2. tombé/retombé
3. Dessous/dessus
4. entrechat quatre, six, etc.
5. développé/enveloppé.
6. de côté

The terms 'en dehors/en dedans' have been explained in the text of the chapter, so no more need be said about them here. They are examples of the deictic category 'orientation', where the orientation is definitely in terms of personal and not extra-personal reference and where the actions are internally motivated.

The terms 'tombé/retombé' refer to the dancer's own body falling and recovering in space and are therefore internally motivated and indicate personal reference. 'Dessous/dessus', i.e. 'under/over' respectively, refer to stepping under or over one's own supporting foot with the free foot, as in a variety of 'pas de bourrées'. They do not refer to stepping over and under something external to one. Number four above can best be described verbally as a 'braiding' or 'weaving' with the legs for a specified number of times while in the air. 'Développé' and 'enveloppé' refer to the unfolding of, say, a leg into an extension in the air and folding the leg back 'in' towards the body, respectively, thus they are terms denoting directions towards or away from the dancer's own centre of gravity. Finally, 'de côté' means, to the dancer, one or the other side of his/her own body, thus a movement done 'de côté' means with the side towards the front of the stage, or other required direction.