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Lund University, Dept. of Linguistics
Working Papers 35 (1989), 89-98

Bodily Behaviour in Emotive Expressions

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INTRODUCTION

When we hear an utterance like *He raised his eyebrows* or *He shook his fist against his brother*, we interpret the behaviours as signs of certain inner emotions, and the metaphors are quite transparent. But few of us come to think of the relationship between bodily behaviour and adjectives such as *rädd* 'afraid'. In this paper I will investigate the etymological origin of some basic emotional words and relate them to the corresponding bodily behaviour.

BACKGROUND

Since Darwin's *The expression of emotions in man and animal* (1872), the nonverbal 'language of the emotions' has been a vital research area. In fact, emotions and attitudes are mainly expressed by the use of the nonverbal channel. These functions are not as easily expressed by means of the verbal language. Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1970:462 states that "To communicate emotions we do not necessarily require language even today, because our innate expressive behaviour repertoire is quite sufficient."

The verbal language, in contrast, has its main function in communicating events and thoughts, i.e. the referential function. One of the characteristics of human verbal language is that it allows the communication of events outside the immediate context of the 'here and now'. Emotions are evoked by some sort of stimulus. Emotions typically occur in social situations, where humans interact and/or react on stimuli. In social interaction, 'body language' (facial expression, gestures, posture, touching etc.) and vocal signs (tone quality, prosody, cries, laughter etc.) are important means of communication for humans as well as for other social species.

One example of the inferiority of the verbal channel in communicating emotions is that when the verbal content conflicts with the nonverbal message the verbal message is ignored, and people trust the nonverbal signal (see

Mehrabian 1972). Facial expression, posture and tone of voice are more reliable than words.

Is it then at all possible to express emotions by verbal means? Yes, it must be, since even in writing, where we have no access at all to nonverbal information expressed by tone, face or gestures, we have means of expressing emotions. (No orthography has yet been developed to cover all the nonverbal signs of emotions e.g. in the voice.) We have specific lexical items – adjectives, nouns and verbs – designed for emotional expressions. Sometimes certain adjectives, such as *glad*, *sorry*, *angry*, *afraid*, are referred to as 'emotional adjectives'. There are also specific syntactic constructions with specific verbs which are used for emotional expressions, e.g. *X feels Y*, *X is Y* (where Y is an emotional adjective).

Thus, although the nonverbal channel can be considered the prime channel of emotive expressions, there are also verbal possibilities. The etymologies of the emotional words, however, often seem to be based on descriptions of bodily behaviour. The words for the inner states of mind are often derived from the exterior signs of these states.

NONVERBAL EXPRESSIONS OF BASIC EMOTIONS

Research on nonverbal emotional expressions has found that the following eight emotions are the ones most clearly expressed and interpreted: happiness, surprise, fear, sadness, anger, disgust, shame and interest (see Argyle 1975).

There are also some expressions which can be classified as interpersonal attitudes rather than emotions, such as dominance, submission etc. The distinction between emotions and attitudes is hard to draw, as witnessed by e.g. hate, fear, love. In this paper I will confine myself to some basic emotions and the interpersonal attitudes dominance and submission.

Emotions can be expressed nonverbally by means of the face, the body and the voice, separately or in combination. Facial expression has been said to be the prime channel for communicating emotions, followed by body, which is followed by voice (Mehrabian 1972, O'Sullivan et al. 1985). Comparisons across emotions have revealed that some emotions are perceived and interpreted more clearly by particular channels. Thus the face is said to show happiness and sadness best, whereas the voice is better at showing sadness and fear (Apple & Hecht 1982).

The question of innateness versus cultural dependence of nonverbal expressions is much discussed in the literature. Data on facial expressions from different cultures (Ekman 1973) and data from deaf and blindborn

children (Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1970) suggest that some facial expressions are not due to cultural experience but are universal and can be regarded as innate. What might be learned is the control over the expression rather than the facial expression itself. Gestures, posture and other bodily behaviour such as touching differ much more between cultures than do facial behaviour. These are the behaviours which often cause misunderstanding and annoyance between groups. To be sure, there are also behaviours which may be performed similarly in different cultures, such as bowings and body contact in greetings, erect posture, loud voice and pointing to show dominance, etc.

Interestingly enough, emotions in narrative fiction are often described by a combination of a description of a person's inner feelings and a description of the person's bodily behaviour (cf. Poyatos 1977). This gives a more convincing picture of a character's emotions and it underlines the importance of nonverbal signals in emotional expressions.

Sometimes the bodily behaviour is directly related to the inner emotions by the author, as in example (1):

(1) "...och av skam och förtvivlan *dolde han ansiktet i händerna* på precis samma sätt som Vronskij hade gjort." (Tolstoj: Anna Karenina)

Literally: 'From shame and despair he hid his face in his hands in the same way as Vronskij had done.'

In other cases the nonverbal emotional expression is left without comment from the author, as in example (2):

(2) "Jag tror det inte, jag kan inte tro det! utbrast Dolly och *vred sina magra händer framför bröstet*." (Tolstoj: Anna Karenina)

Literally: 'I don't believe it, I cannot believe it, cried Dolly wringing her hands before her breast.'

When the nonverbal behaviour is not commented upon there is always a risk for misinterpretation by the reader, as some behaviours are culturally learned. One example is *beating one's breast*, which can be used either as an expression of remorse (which is the Biblical sense) or as an expression of self-confidence (which is the Swedish meaning of this gesture; cf. Sigurd 1973:21).

VERBAL EMOTIVE EXPRESSIONS

There has long been a 'written language bias' in linguistic research (cf. Linell 1982). This bias is also reflected in the literature on emotional expressions. Thus, interjections, curses and other emotional expressions typical for spoken

language have not been investigated to the same extent as expressions used in written language. The present study will show that the relation between the bodily experience and the words describing inner states of minds and feelings are worth studying.

Transparent emotional metaphors

Metaphors represent an important source for the investigation of emotional expressions. Many of the metaphorical expressions used to convey emotions are based on descriptions of the human body, of face, posture, movements, and gestures. Much of our nonverbal behaviour is innate, and it would therefore not be surprising if different cultures use similar descriptions of the body to describe a specific emotion.

Metaphor is a widespread phenomenon in the world's languages. Ullmann 1963 states that "it is hard to imagine a language which would have no onomatopoeic terms and no transparent metaphors". He suggests that all languages have two types of words: words which have an arbitrary relationship to meaning, and words which are transparent or 'motivated'. Examples of transparent items are onomatopoeic words and metaphors. Ullmann also points to the fact that "the associations on which metaphors are based seem to be deeply rooted in human experience and largely independent of culture and environment". We could then predict that descriptions of innate bodily behaviour should be used as metaphorical expressions, since this is part of human experience.

Metaphors are basic to cognition. We perceive and categorize the world through metaphors. One type of metaphor, described by Lakoff & Johnson 1980, is that everything that is 'up' is positive, and everything that is 'down' is negative. This may easily be related to human physical behaviour, since "drooping posture typically goes along with sadness and depression, erect posture with a positive emotional state" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:15).

Examples of emotional metaphors in Swedish

Other metaphors involve a more specific description of how parts of the body or the whole body is used. Transparent metaphors in Swedish (and often also in English) are e.g. adjectives like: *rakryggad* 'straight-backed', *halsstarrig*, *nackstyv*, *styvnickad* 'stiff-necked' and idioms like: *se ner på någon* 'look down on somebody', *se upp på/till någon* 'look up at somebody', *få någon på knä* 'bring somebody on his knees', *krypa för någon* 'creep into somebody's graces'.

All these expressions may be related to position in a social hierarchy. It is as important to humans as it is to wolves and to many other species living in groups to signal social position, and this is made by continuously sending and receiving nonverbal signals. The metaphorical expressions used in verbal descriptions of a person's social position are transparent by the fact that they are based on nonverbal signals. For example, to be *rakryggad* 'straight-backed' does not mean to have a stiff backbone, but to act as if one is proud and self-conscious, and not willing to give way (*böja nacken* 'bend one's neck'). This is expressed nonverbally by an erect posture.

Posture is extremely important to convey feelings of dominance or submission, which is exemplified in the Swedish metaphors below:

dominant, non-submissive	submissive, cowardly
<i>rakryggad</i> 'straight-backed'	<i>utan ryggrad</i> 'without backbone'
<i>halsstarrig</i> 'stiff-necked'	<i>krypande</i> 'creeping'
<i>nackstyv</i> ---" ---	<i>slokörad</i> 'lop-eared, crestfallen'
<i>styvnickad</i> ---" ---	
<i>sätta näsan i vädret</i> 'turn one's nose up'	
<i>få någon på knä</i> 'bring sb to his knees'	
<i>hög svansförling</i> 'high tail, proud'	<i>svansen mellan benen</i> 'tail between legs'

The dominant/submissive metaphors can be related to the directions up or down. As will be shown in the following, many other aspects of body language are found in metaphors. One striking fact about metaphors expressing emotions is that they often contain part-whole relationships. This means that we do not need detailed information of the whole body; one significant part of the body may stand for the whole body. For example, when we use idioms such as *to shake one's fist against someone* (Sw. *knyta näven mot någon*) we take one significant feature of an angry and threatening posture, namely the fist, to communicate the whole picture of a threatening person, including posture, the facial expression, groans etc. In the expression *set one's jaw* (Sw. *sätta upp hakan*) the jaw is used as the distinctive feature to give a picture of a person deciding not to give way. Interestingly enough, not only human bodily behaviour is used to illustrate emotions, but also the behaviour of other species (e.g. tail between legs).

In the following, metaphorical expressions of emotions will be ordered according to parts of the body used as distinctive features to signal specific emotional states. English equivalents are given if possible, otherwise literal translations within quotation marks. I indicate the meaning roughly by expressions such as show *arrogance*, display *fear* etc.

EYE (Sw. *öga*)

göra stora *ögon* 'open one's eyes wide': *show surprise*
 höja *ögonbrynen* 'raise one's eyebrows': *show surprise*
 blunda för något 'close one's eyes to sth' *display unwillingness to see*

EAR (Sw. *öra*)

spetsa *öronen* 'prick up one's ears': *show interest*
siokörad 'lop-eared': *show disappointment*
 dra *öronen* åt sig 'pull back one's ears': *display suspiciousness*
hällörad 'ear-leaned': *show fawning*

NOSE (Sw. *näsa*)

få lång *näsa* 'get a long nose': *show disappointment*
 ha *näsan* i vädret 'turn one's nose up': *display arrogance*
 rynka på *näsan* åt 'wrinkle nose at': *show contempt*

LIP (Sw. *läpp*)

hänga läpp 'hang lip': *show disappointment*

JAW (Sw. *haka*)

tappa *hakan* 'drop jaw': *show surprise*
 upp med *hakan!* 'jaw up!': *show courage!*
 sticka ut *hakan* 'stick the jaw out': *display courage*

CHEEK (Sw. *kind*)

vända andra *kinden* till 'turn the other cheek': *not display aggression*

HEAD (Sw. *huvud*)

hålla *huvudet* högt 'keep one's head high': *show pride*
 hänga med *huvudet* 'hang one's head': *show depression*

NECK (Sw. *nacke*)

styvackad, nackstyv 'stiff-necked': *show obstinacy*

BRISTLE (Sw. *borst*)

borsta upp sig, *resa borst* bristle: *show arrogance*

BREAST (Sw. *bröst*)

brösta sig 'breast oneself': *show pride*
 slå sig för *brösten* 'beat one's breast': *show pride*

SHOULDER (Sw. *axel*)

rycka på *axlarna* 'shrug one's shoulders': *show indifference*

ARM (Sw. *arm*)

med öppna *armar* 'with open arms': *display hospitality*

HAND (Sw. *hand*)

slå ifrån sig med båda händerna 'dismiss with both hands': *show rejection*
 äta ur *handen* på ngn 'eat from someone's hand': *be under the control of someone*

CALF (Sw. *vad*)

spänna *vad* 'strain calf': *show pride*

FOOT (Sw. *fot*)

stå med båda *fötterna* på marken 'have both feet on the ground': *show stability*

TAIL (Sw. *svans*)

hög *svansförling* 'high tail': *show pride*
svansen mellan benen 'tail between legs': *show humiliation*
svansa för, efter 'wag one's tail for': *show fawning*

TOE (Sw. *tå*)

ha en öm *tå* 'have a sore toe': *show sensitivity to something*

BLOOD (Sw. *blod*)

kallblodig 'in cold blood': *showing no feelings*

Idioms of the kind exemplified above are often looked upon as being language-specific. Persons using another language than their mother tongue hesitate to translate idiomatic expressions from their mother tongue into the second language (Kellerman 1979). It is therefore surprising to note the similarity between the Swedish metaphors above and their English correspondences. In most cases the same body part is used to convey the same emotion. There are exceptions, however:

Swedish

få lång näsa 'get long nose'
hänga läpp 'hang lip'
rynka på näsan åt 'wrinkle at the nose at'
sticka ut hakan 'stick the jaw out'
få kalla handen 'get the cold hand'

English

get a long face
be down in the mouth
sneeze at
stick one's neck out
get the cold shoulder

The distinctive part of the body is somewhat changed (from nose to face, lip to mouth, jaw to neck etc.), but the metaphor itself is the same.

Opaque metaphors

The bodily experience can also be hidden. Such cases can be called opaque metaphors. Some of the Swedish emotional words can be etymologically derived from bodily behaviour or experience. For example, the noun *skam* 'shame' stems from the Indo-European root (*s*)*kam* 'cover', and the meaning is 'that the face is covered as a sign of shame' (Hellqvist 1957:925), which of course no modern speaker thinks of. The cover of the face is a bodily expression of shame. Other examples are *ånger* 'regret', which can be derived from Latin *angor* 'contracted throat' (Hellqvist 1957:1422), one bodily experience of that feeling.

Rädd 'frightened' is the past participle of the verb *rädas* 'to be frightened', which in turn is causative to the Indo-European stem *kret* 'shake, tremble', which gives *rädd* 'been made tremble' (Hellqvist 1957:866). Also the English

adjective *horrified* can be traced back to the sense 'tremble', and adjectives such as *shaken*, *shocked* etc. also refer to the physiological state of fright. By assuming a metathesis process it may also be possible to relate *arg* 'angry' to the same stem as *ragg* 'bristle' (Hellqvist 1957:811). This is an interesting connection, since humans do not bristle (except in metaphors!). This bodily behaviour is seen with dogs, wolves and other hairy animals when they express anger. *Glad* 'glad' belongs to a group of words beginning in *gl-* which all have the sense of brightness and smoothness: *glitter*, *glimmer*, *glossy* etc. These words can all be associated with a happy face. *Vred* 'wrathful' is the opposite of *glad*. *Vred* is related to the verb *vrida* 'wring'. The face may be totally distorted by wrath.

Of course, not all Swedish emotional words can be etymologically derived from bodily experience; we also have groups of words with other derivations, such as *förvånad* 'surprised', related to *vån*, *väntan*. *Förvånad* means *överväntan*, 'beyond expectation' (Hellqvist 1957:264). But taken together with the examples of expressions that are understood metaphorically, these words point at a tendency in human verbal language to take bodily behaviour into consideration when denoting inner feelings.

CONCLUSIONS

We have shown that descriptions of outer bodily behaviour are often used metaphorically to denote corresponding emotions. We have also shown that many emotional adjectives are such hidden and forgotten metaphors. True expressions of emotions are e.g. interjections and curses. A speaker uttering the words: *I am glad* or *I feel angry* is probably detached from his own feelings and is actually describing the feelings instead of expressing them (Linell 1985:268). This is also the main role of the verbal language; to represent facts and thoughts and describe outer bodily behaviour. As Wierzbicka 1972:59 states: "Thoughts have a structure which can be rendered in words, but feelings, like sensations, do not. All we can do therefore, is to describe the external situations or thoughts which are associated in our memory or in our imagination with the feeling in question." We know how we feel when we perform a certain nonverbal gesture, and therefore the description of the behaviour is equivalent to a description of the inner feeling.

Since emotions are based on bodily experience, and much of the bodily behaviour is innate, we could predict that metaphors expressing emotions should be based on bodily behaviour in all human languages. Lakoff 1987 has investigated expressions for anger in English and he suggests that "the

conceptual metaphors and metonymies used in understanding anger are by no means arbitrary; instead they are motivated by our physiology." This suggestion could be enforced further by including more emotions than anger; a possible universal is that metaphors used to describe and understand emotions are based on our bodily experience of the emotion.

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Lund University, Dept. of Linguistics
Working Papers 35 (1989), 99-111

The Clitic Group as a Prosodic Category in Old French

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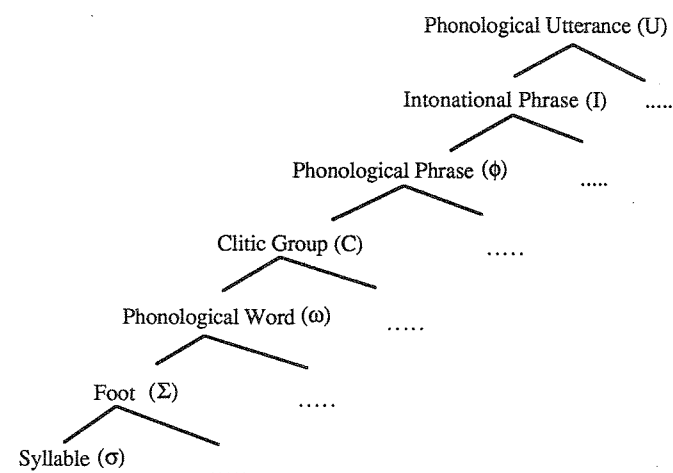
Abstract

Data are presented from Old French which motivate the independent status of the clitic group as a prosodic category at this stage of the language. Not only is the clitic group characterized by a specific stress pattern different from that of words and phonological phrases, but also, a process of syncope (shwa deletion) is seen to have as its domain the clitic group.

INTRODUCTION

In Nespore & Vogel 1986 the organization of postlexical phonology can be represented as in the hierarchy in (1):

(1)



In this model, each prosodic constituent constitutes the domain of application of specific phonological rules and phonetic processes. Of these constituents, perhaps the most controversial is the clitic group (C). It is not present, for