Chapter 4

Language-paralanguage-kinesics

The basic triple structure of human communication

"Oh! To hear him!" cried my sister, with a clap of her hands and a scream together (Dickens, GE, XV)

The heavenly gentleness of his smile made his apologies irresistible. The richness of his deep voice added its own indescribable charm to the interesting business question which he had just addressed to me (Collins, M, 'Second Period,' II)

4.1 The basic triple structure of discourse: Language-paralanguage-kinesics

When over thirty years ago I began to study all that traditionally was not regarded as 'language,' that is, the various sign-producing systems that did not even have to coincide with words, I realized that when people talked to me, accompanying or alternating with the strictly linguistic elements of their speech, supporting or contradicting the essential messages conveyed by their words and sentences with their intonation contour, they also utilized other elements that were subtly structured. Although some of these elements had already been called 'paralanguage' (mainly in Trager 1958) and 'kinesics' (Birdwhistell 1952), they were not being studied together. Neither did they seem to pay attention, from an interactive point of view, to other systems which I realized could not be dissociated from what I was already seeing as an indivisible tripartite structure: language-paralanguage-kinesics. Having admitted quite blindly that verbal language is the most perfect interactive tool, it had so far been allotted a very vague and limited connotation, rather than seeing it as something integrated in the extremely complex grid of somatic exchanges, as was discussed in the previous chapters. In fact, it had been thought possible to analyze its reality in a live interactive encounter by perpetuating the greatest flaw in discourse analysis and communication in general: not to see the triple reality of live, spoken language, which exists only as a verbal-paralinguistic-kinesic continuum formed by sounds and silences and movements and silts. And this was what I since then began to study as 'the basic triple structure of communication.' For, when a person was talking to me, I realized
that I was, more or less consciously (but always, to be sure, affected by it) perceiving and valuing not words alone, but what in audible and visual images was defining and communicating to me, and displaying to my eyes and ears in an always fascinating blend, that unique, unrepeatable person and not any other.

[Virginia Woolf] an autumn, indoor, person [...] stretching tapered fingers toward the fire, elaborating her fantasies [...] matching gestures to her words, drawing back her long hair from her forehead as a new fantasy occurred to her, smiling often, laughing seldom, and with never a giggle in her laugh (Nicolson, PM, 200)

It would be fitting to close this introductory section with words from a conference contract quoted by Alfred Hayes, which I am sure encouraged my already developing concept of the triple structure of speech:

The speaker is free to choose his message. He is not free to choose the code of his message — this is strictly imposed by the language [...] The speaker is, however, free to color his message in certain ways, and these ways are predominantly paralinguistic and kinesic. If these signals, differently conditioned by every cultural system, with different effects on the linguistic system, are not properly received and sent, communication is impeded (Hayes 1964:145)

4.1 The semiotic-expressive limitations of spoken words and the verbal-nonverbal expression of the ineffable

4.2.1 If I see or write a simple phrase like 'We-e-e-ell, George, what did you think of that girl, uh?!' I can hardly 'read' it in my mind without imagining certain paralinguistic (besides those graphically represented: hyphenation, [], []) and kinesic elements, which might vary from one speaker to another but still bear more or less the characteristics shown in Fig. 4.1, 'The basic triple structure.'

Lecturing once to students at Bogazici University (Istanbul) Tourism and Hotel Department I pointed out, after looking at this example, that even a simple word like 'Well' could mean, among other things: 'It's over now' (with sadness), hesitation, 'Actually —'; 'No, never mind;' 'In that case, yes!,' 'If there's no other choice, what can I do?'; 'I'm shocked,' reaction to the unexpected, 'Better not talk about it,' 'Okay, let's go!' (snappy), 'What do you have to say for yourself?'; 'Answer me!'; 'Who cares!,' 'Who could have thought of that?' 'Look at him,' as a speaker's turn-opening in conversation, etc.

In fact, words, whether coined and utilized as arbitrary signs ('house') or echoic signs ('swish,' 'gurgle'), lack the capacity to carry the whole weight of a conversation, all the messages being exchanged in the course of it. If we had to conduct a natural conversation solely by means of 'stripped words' (rather hard to imagine), there would be not just an intermittent series of 'semiotic (yet not signless) gaps,' but some
overriding vacuums as well; however, we make no such vacuums as we speak, for they are actually filled by nonverbal activities, either clearly separable among other parts of our delivery (e.g. a click of the tongue, a sigh or a meaningful silence) or stretching over varying portions of it (e.g. quavery voice, high pitch), from single phonemes to sentences to the complete conversational segments called speaker’s turns. We could express anguish with the single word ‘God!’ said ‘with anguish,’ doubt with the word ‘Maybe’ said doubtfully, and fear with a fearful ‘Oh!’ — already adding to them, as can be seen, certain prosodic and paralinguistic modifiers. But, how could we utter just one of those words and express all three emotions, and even add perhaps an element of surprise? Such an emotional blend could not be expressed either by means of a morphologico-syntactical arrangement of words, since we would not, in such a state, include in one periphrastic expression the lexemes ‘anguish,’ ‘doubt’ and ‘fear.’ But what can actually suffuse any of those words with life and convey all three emotions in an attitude of surprise is a series of paralinguistic and kinesic elements subtly interrelated in perfect mutual inherence and cohesion. We find in the more sensitive writers many such instances of this mutual inherence:

‘[...] I [Ada] would have married him just the same, Esther. Just the same!/ In the momentary firmness of the hand [...] a firmness inspired by the utterance of these last words, and dying away with them — I saw the confirmation of her earnest tones (Dickens, BH, LX)

He forced his lips to smile and his voice retained the gentle, persuasive tone the effect of which he was so fully conscious of (Maugham, PV, I)

“The old familiar grind,” he [Mr. Beavis] explained to Mrs. Foxe in a tone of affected self-pity and with a sigh that was hardly even meant to carry conviction (Huxley, EG, IX)
4.2.2 Naturally, any other type of somatic signs, particularly chemical and dermal, can be added to the verbal-paralinguistic-kinesic complex, such as blushing in what may constitute 'blushing speech' or 'speaking blushingly':

Then she [Caddy] good-humouredly and blushingly got up again, and while she still laughed herself, said, 'Don't laugh at me, please [...]!' (Dickens, BH, XXXVIII)

Blushing, he did his best to smile it off. "Angry? Why on earth should I be angry?" But she was right, of course. He was angry (Huxley, EG, XXXIII)

4.2.3 As well, a sole nonverbal activity may contain a whole emotional complex:

Miss Ophelia looked [...] as if she was afraid she should say something; but she rattled away with her needles in a way that had volumes of meaning in it (Beecher Stowe, UTC, XVI)

a human head [...] smiled affably [...] in a manner that was at once waggish, conciliatory, and expressive of approbation (Dickens, MG, VII)

a warm note of pride, almost of defiance, came into her voice (Huxley, EG, IX)

"Reeking with germs!" he heard his mother's angrily frightened voice repeating (Huxley, EG, IX)

In the same words, paralanguage or kinesics we can even combine positive and negative feelings and reactions:

Helen [...] gave vent to her emotions. She cried because of fright, nervousness, relief, and joy (Grey, LT, XIV)

Besides, the nonverbal behavior can, at the very least, add emphasis to the words, whether voluntarily or not:

"[...] Now, mind yourself," he said, with a stamp and a fierce glance (Beecher Stowe, UTC, XXXII)

We see, therefore, that words are not always what exerts the greatest effect upon the listener (just what we mean by 'It wasn't what she said, but how she said it!'):

Something in the tone, even more than in the words, went straight to my heart (Collins, M, 'Third Narrative,' VII)

4.2.4 We should remember that any of the signs emitted as chemical, dermal or thermal reactions (among those included in Fig. 2, Chapter 2) can perform perfectly communicative and quasilexical functions by virtue of their undeniable eloquence (that is why we must include them in the kind of transcription suggested in Chapter 5), as they may appear in two ways):
a. Adding unverbalized information to the words said, which often we simply do not perceive or do not know how to interpret:

When these clothes are gone I’ll get no more except linsey ones,” she said brightly, yet her eyes shone with a wistful uncertainty of the future (Grey, LT, IV)

Her eyes were all aglow, alight with girlish appeal [...] Promise was there, too, could he but read it (Grey, LT, IV)

b. Performing by themselves that quasilexical function in the total absence of words, which just a tearful glance can do, even containing the sort of emotional complex mentioned earlier, as in an eloquent stare (a static behavior, but as kinesically valid as a posture):

The borderman eyed him steadily; but in silence. Words could not so well have conveyed his thought as did the cold glance of dark scorn and merciless meaning (Grey, LT, XIII)

—¿Hija de usted? [Mariflor, ill]/ Respondieron unos ojos llenos de lágrimas (Espina, EM, XIX)

Evidently, the kinesic elements that make face and body features dynamic possess the capacity not only to be ‘lexicalized,’ but to go further, or deeper, and express what otherwise would be ineffable. That is what we see in the best scenes of silent films as equivalent to literary description, when, as spectators, we approach what Balázs (1979:295) calls the “world of microphysiognomy,” for, as was discussed in Chapter 3, the face possesses the greatest wealth of expressive means. That is why Balázs refers to the very expressive monologues, and even mute dialogues, of the last years before sound films; which attained a richness of communicative subtleties that later, we would add, could easily pass unnoticed once they were already accompanied by sounding words, so often a veritable ‘noise’ when coupled to such an expressive kinesics.

4.2.5 It should follow from these considerations that one ought to revise the very concept of ineffability and admit that that barrier, imposed by a purely lexical limitation, is often overcome by means of any nonverbal elements of that type we may add to words, typically paralinguistic and kineic — but, again, of any other kind as well — and at times mutually combined and blended in the subtlest way. What was inexpressible, ‘unsayable,’ becomes, therefore, perfectly expressible and, what is more, usually without any ambiguity, although not strictly ‘sayable,’ as in the last quotation above, or in the following two:

The colour rushed over her face and neck, and she tossed her head in silence with an air of ineffable contempt. At last, biting her thin lips, and bridling up, she said — /’It can’t be. I won’t believe it (Dickens, PP, VIII)
Slingerland [a trapper, vowing to help the girl Allie] shoved out a horny hand and made a giant grip express what evidently just then he could not express in speech (Grey, UPT, VII)

On the other hand, paralanguage and kinesics reveal involuntarily what we want to conceal when we try to filter it through a hardly achieved 'naturalness.' The influential Swiss psychiatrist Paul Tournier defined as neurotic this falsification of feelings:

> It is impossible completely to avoid all affectation when faced with a sick person [...] sentimental commiseration, calculated optimism, worried pessimism, veiled irritation, or helplessness [...] every failure to act naturally brings into being an element of neurosis which in its turn compromises the treatment and inhibits spontaneity (Tournier 1983:53)

4.2.6 Given the expressive functions of nonverbal systems, one should consider whatever concerns the triple structure in any situations within the realm of what in Chapter 8 of Volume II is discussed as reduced interaction (with or among the blind, the deaf, the armless, etc.), as it constitutes an interesting and needed research area. People who, without being able to speak, wish to express themselves can compensate for that expressive limitation with paralinguistic and kinesic nonverbal systems; these systems are perfectly codified from their point of view, but nevertheless they become lost after they are emitted, because their listeners, accustomed to certain fixed structures established for 'normal' speakers, do not perceive them as such and therefore fail to decode the intended messages.

4.3 The written word and the feasible 'orality' of writing

4.3.1 As for the written word — which we utter mentally as we see it graphically represented — it is farther removed from the reality of the verbal-nonverbal construct. For this reason the narrative writer refuses to just let his characters speak in a printed language without once in a while commenting on that language himself and describing its paralinguistic features, and, in fact, its inherent kinesic elements. Written words are not just printed symbols on a piece of paper. First, the paper itself (snow-white, rough and smelly, or time-yellowed) becomes semiotically interrelated with both the events in the story and its readers' attitudes and sensitivity\(^5\); then, those words are mentally (if not sotto-voce) uttered by the reader, who must ascribe to them a series of linguistic, paralinguistic and kinesic elements; besides all the situations described, represented, evoked or present between-the-lines, which transcend the page and constitute an important part of the story.

On the other hand, we can refer to the orality of writing as a tendency in many of us while writing, but also as what we might favor as a norm, namely, a mimesis of
speaking which will enrich the expressive capacity of our text and lend a greater realism to the visually represented words when we actually seek such realism. We can thus make that written text much more dynamic, and to this end we can count on a lexicon and on the more typical expressions of our spoken language, increasing their expressivity by means of as innovative as possible a use of our punctuation symbols, as discussed in Volume III, Chapter 5.

Even in a truly personal epistolary text, we as letter-writers should sensitize ourselves to addressing our readers by 'speaking to them' as we know we would face-to-face. If many of us strive to write as we would speak to our addressees in an intimate, familiar or informal letter, there is no reason why we should not take advantage of all the means 'officially' at our disposal. We can even improve them with our own ingenuity — just as through the centuries they gradually and quite arbitrarily invented punctuation marks for the better evocation of living language — and make more extensive use (though with some unavoidable limitations) of that expressive richness we would freely utilize in a direct encounter.

Conversely, when it comes to present orally what we first have as a written text, we need, first of all, to use in our delivery an abundant gamut of paralinguistic and kinesic elements. Even the oral presentation of a sublime text like God's Word requires (but, unfortunately, that is not always how it is read to us) a paralanguage — and even kinesics, though more subtly — that are truly 'evangelizing.' Hans Gauger, in a course I shared with him and other colleagues, quoted these words by Martin Luther:

> It is altogether different to present something live or in dead letters [...] 'evangelion' means to preach and vociferate the grace and mercy of God earned through Christ our Lord and his death; and it is not in reality what in the books is expressed by letters, but rather an oral preaching and a live word and a voice that resounds in all the world and is proclaimed in such a way that it is heard everywhere ("Epistula Sancti Petri," 1523)

> Letters are dead words, discourse consists in living words which do not become letters as adequately as the spirit or the soul passes through the mouth ("On David's Last Words," 1543)

Although it would be impossible to refer to the Word of God as "dead words," we could assert that Paul's and Peter's words, as we 'see' and almost 'hear' in the Acts of the Apostles, or Jesus' words, were never recorded in the New Testament as "through the mouth." And when Matthew and Mark assure us that Jesus spoke with "authority," that authority would be not only in what He said (verbal language) but in how He said it and moved it (paralanguage and kinesics), which, conditioned, as with any other speaker, by his culture, constituted the style of speech of God made man, for it was recorded that "When Jesus finished these words [at the Sermon of the Mount], the crowds were astonished at his teachings, for He taught them as one having authority" (Matthew 7:28-29, NKJ).56
4.4 Lexicality and grammaticality of paralanguage and kinesics and the other sensible systems

The basic triple structure is the only communicative complex in which an object of the tangible world or an abstraction can be indistinctively denoted by a word from our established lexicon, a paralinguistic construct, or kinesically. A bad odor, for instance, after impinging on the olfactory epithelium and being decoded in the brain, can elicit a verbal reaction (‘That stinks!’), a paralinguistic one (‘Eeugh!’), or a hand-to-nose gesture. Furthermore, considering the capacity of these three systems for mutual substitution within a preserved syntactical order (altered only from a ‘linguistic’ point of view), we can argue that the sentence ‘Oh, I feel —!’ can be completed, rather than verbally (‘Oh, I feel like kissing you!’), proxemically, moving toward one’s interactor while displaying a congruent facial expression; or that blushing can act as a cutaneous predicate of ‘Oh, I’m so—(embarrassed)!’ But this internal co-structuration is never so deep as within the triple structure, where verbal, paralinguistic and kinesic expressions combine invariably in a live sentence. Thus, what makes language-paralanguage-kinesics a functionally cohesive structure — and therefore the true core of human communication — is, first of all, their common kinetic generator, and then their combined semanticity and lexicality and their capacity to operate simultaneously, alternate with or substitute for each other as needed in the interactive situation. But, of course, any nonverbal reaction has the capacity to act as the sole expressive construction:

when […] Elizabeth-Jane produced [a terrible handwriting] […] he [her father, in front of someone else] reddened in angry shame for her (Hardy, MC, XX)

Paralanguage and kinesics may appear (in what is actually a complete verbal-nonverbal sentence) in three basic different ways in relation to verbal language:

a. *simultaneously* to verbal language, that is, superimposed to it:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Pg} & \text{ pitch 2–pitch 3–pitch 1–drawling + glottalization} \\
\text{Lg} & \text{ But… that's terrible!} \\
\text{K} & \text{frowning + headshake}
\end{align*}
\]

b. *as a syntactical replacement* for verbal language, alternating with words in the same sentence:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Pg} & \text{ forceful narial egression — click [tz'] — glottalized voice} \\
\text{Lg} & \text{ Get out of here!} \\
\text{K} & \text{ tight lips + unblinking gaze + /2 pronominal deictics/ + /get out!/}
\end{align*}
\]
but that sentence could also begin verbally-paralinguistically and end kinesically only, with the two pronominal deictics,

\[\text{Pg} \text{ drawing} + \text{ palatalization}\]

\[\text{Lg} \text{ You and you!}\]

\[\text{K Out of here!}\]

c. independently of verbal language, paralanguage being an unambiguous sentence-like construct, accompanied only by kinesics, as in an expression of approval which would be equivalent to 'I see, I think that's very good!'

\[\text{Pg} \text{ Mmmmmmmmm Uh-huuuuu!}\]

\[\text{Lg}\]

\[\text{K smiling} + \text{ raised brows} + \text{ repeated head-nodding}\]

### 4.5 New information, communicative economy, verbal deficiency, anticipation, and formal and semantic congruence

When Kendon (1972a:451) expressed so rightly the obvious but neglected thought that "we must consider movement as well as speech [of which the former is but an inherent part, we may add now] if we are to understand what is entailed in what we somewhat loosely refer to as an act of speech" — and I would link this statement with those just made in Chapter 2 regarding the kinesic-audible basis of speech and communication — he confirmed the additional information provided by kinesics to what is being said (besides phonetic stress and kinesic grammatical markers):

> I told him he was a goddam dirty moron. "What's that?" he said. He put his hand behind his ear, like a deaf guy. "What's that? What am I?" (Salinger, CR, XIV)

This shows that besides the very doubtful redundancy of kinesics in most situations, it is also an economy device, as it 'says' something else in the same length of time, while the verbal message is being uttered. This is seen in other instances, as when the same person addresses two receivers simultaneously, one verbally and nonverbally and another kinesically only while giving directions to a waiter without interrupting his conversation with them, or when someone who is engaged in a telephone conversation with one cointeractant initiates a simultaneous exchange with a second by using a string of kinesic emblems to say (i.e., move) to him: '/Come in/, /I'll be with you in one minute/, /Good to see you!/, /Sit down/ /look at this in the meantime/', while listening to his speaker on the phone (cf. Johnson, Ekman and Friesen 1975:342).

As for paralanguage, we can also see it as providing additional information (e.g.
when a tone of suspicion or mistrust is added to the statement 'Oh, yes, he'll do it for you') and as an economy device (e.g. a glottalized utterance dismissing the subject rather impatiently).

In addition to these two functions, paralanguage and kinesics can act as an anticipation of the verbal message that follows, an extremely important role in interaction, particularly by kinesics, since in many instances the gesture that illustrates what is being said verbally begins, or is even completed, before the words are said, which can have interesting interactive consequences in face-to-face conversation.\(^{57}\) This can happen:

a. in a conscious and voluntarily anticipatory fashion which we understand as already initiating the person's attitude and verbal or nonverbal statement:

Hizo con los dedos de su mano derecha un manojo y, llevándoselos a la boca, los apartó al instante, diciendo: — Es una mujer... [drawing the word 'mujer'] hasta allí — (Galdós, FJ, II, VI)

She [Miss Melbury] was announced [...] She came forward with a smile on her face, and told the young girl it was good of her to come (Hardy, W, VIII)

He hesitated, smiled in anticipation of what he was about to say (Huxley, EG, IX);

b. or, as is more common, because the gesture actually starts first:

He [Mr. Deasy] raised his forefinger and beat the air oddly before his voice spoke./ — Mark my words, Mr. Dedalus, he said, England is in the hands of the Jews (Joyce, U, 33)

Furthermore, gesticulation can be used also for lack of words, that is, out of verbal deficiency (as mentioned in Chapter 2.8). The same lack of appropriate words can be compensated for sometimes by paralanguage, as when a foreign speaker may say 'Aah!' with a tone of disbelief in answer to 'What do you think of him?,' instead of saying verbally 'You cannot really trust him,' which, of course, can also be used by the native speaker as an economy device. On the other hand, we can reach a nonverbal periphrasis, a concept worth acknowledging in order to evaluate the exact role of paralanguage or, much more, kinesics (e.g. the description of the chandelier), in face-to-face interaction.

At any rate, we see that the nonverbal parts of our discourse are perfectly co-constructed with words (or with what we would say verbally) and in perfect congruence with them, for instance: a mother's 'gentle' words, loving tone of voice and calm, slow smile and movements as she tucks her child in and kisses him goodnight), 'tensely' (e.g. the same mother uttering a scolding 'You should be ashamed of yourself!' with low pitch, glottalization and tense facial expressions while nervously tucking him in and with a final pull and slap on the bedspread which looks like an angry 'There!'), or 'authoritatively' (e.g. a superior slowly addressing a subordinate from behind his desk with carefully articulated words marked by slow but ample, intimidating gestures). In fact, even verbal actions seemingly not related with speech proper can occur in that perfect congruence with the ways words are uttered:
Lavinia’s bell rung furiously, twice [...] “Lavinia!” she [Mrs. Jaspar] called, in a high irritated voice (Wharton, AH, III)

4.6 The precarious reality of read discourse

Having referred to live discourse, to the written word and, in the previous chapter, to the ‘speaking face,’ all that and whatever is said here concerning the tripartite nature of our speaking should be related with what it means to speak from a written text. By ‘speak’ is meant not the ‘reading’ of a text (e.g. reading a letter or a newspaper article to someone), but the ‘read discourse’ involved in the reading of a text written to be delivered to an audience, such as a political speech, or some remarks read at an official ceremony. Naturally, to speak of ‘read discourse’ may sound like a contradiction, for there can hardly be, in the first place, a true discurrere, a flowing of ideas become oral words, when the three elements of the structure language-paralanguage-kinesics do not flow spontaneously. Thus, the ‘naturalness’ of a read speech consists precisely in attaining a degree of apparent spontaneity by skilfully combining those three components audio-visualy.

We are all familiar with the difference between, on the one hand, the public speaker who, having tried more or less to memorize a written text (as an actor does), addresses an audience without reading that text; and on the other, the one who somehow does depend on his written words, at which he glances intermittently, and not always when he truly needs to do it, but also, and very much against his will (which causes him anxiety), at certain moments when he much rather not do it. The actor who has completely memorized his lines has managed to externalize that text — assuming he is a perfect actor, something more feasible in the cinema than on the stage, because of the narrower range of expressive subtleties imposed by the latter — with a naturalness that depends on the constantly achieved congruence between paralinguistic and kinesic elements and words; words that do not just issue forth through his mouth and his ‘speaking face,’ but from his whole body, since facial features as much as gaze, hands, trunk, etc., contribute in the exact measure they would if that actor found himself in the actual real-life situation he is trying to portray.58

However, two things may happen to the speaker who is incapable of addressing an audience without a piece of paper in the hand. One, that he will need to read the whole — or almost the whole — text, in which case he cannot give his audience the desired intermittent eye contact, and his gestures will not complement nonverbally the verbal message, normally accompanied by that eye contact; much less if his excessive attention to his written text obliges him to omit them and thus mutilate the structure language-paralanguage-kinesics, as we so often observe.

The other is that he may need only to cast a quick glance at the text to maintain the thread of his presentation, something possible to do with an outline as well. Then,
since that presentation does not require an almost uninterrupted contact with his notes, the flow of visual elements might be subject (but not necessarily so) to a slight decrease in dynamism only those times when his eyes will look for the text. But even so, strictly speaking, his speech will never be a communicative continuum, considering that those very brief pauses are far from being communicative pauses, but an integral part of the continuous interactive flow, as they are but interruptions.

Nevertheless, a different thing is to read when, for instance, one is quoting a text, or reading a poem or a play. In such cases the audience appreciates any attempt at naturalness on the part of the reader, without expecting what they would demand if he read his own words, which even as a reader he should deliver rather conversationally to his listeners.

4.7 A brief introduction to verbal language, paralanguage and kinesics

4.7.1 Verbal language, in the sense of the spoken string of words and sentences, shows, morphologically, (a) a segmental level or 'layer' formed by vowels and consonants made up of phonemes, or smallest distinctive units (with their allophones or variations), combined to form morphemes (words, suffixes), or smallest semantic units, which are themselves combined to form syntagms and syntactic co-structurations; (b) to that almost lifeless body we must attach a suprasegmental layer formed by what is commonly referred to as intonation, consisting of about four degrees of relative loudness (stress), four different pitches, and three terminal junctures (rising, falling, level). These intonation patterns have no referential meaning in themselves, unless they qualify the lexical construct; although a paralinguistic unarticulated closed-lip expiration of air can convey different meanings simply by varying its most important component, intonation. But we can say that in a real communication situation a phrase with its intonation contour is 'colored' by certain paralinguistic and kinesic elements, and that only then are many semantic changes and many otherwise ineffable nuances expressed, as it is then that that phrase reaches completeness.

4.7.2 As for paralanguage — nonverbal qualities and modifiers of voice and independent sounds and silences with which we support or contradict the simultaneous or alternating verbal and kinesic structures — it shows a series of equally segmental (but even more nonsegmental) vocal and narial effects as well as sounds determined, first of all, by the anatomy and physiology of the speaker's organs and, in addition, by his or her idiosyncratic use of those possibilities. That is why we can differentiate in paralanguage:
a. primary qualities, which 'individualize' people and are the closest to the supra-
segmental elements of the linguistic structure: timbre (personal, cultural, abnormal),
resonance (oral, nasal, pharyngeal, etc.), intensity or loudness (personal, cultural,
attitudinal), pitch register (personal, cultural, attitudinal, etc.), intonation (monotone-
melodious), syllabic length (drawing-clipping), and rhythm (smooth-jerky)

'T'm glad you were afraid;/' Why? she asked in slow surprise (drawing) (Grey, RPS, XIV)
b. qualifiers, which can be also basic permanent qualities, but in general constitute
different types of voice: respiratory control (egressive or ingressive 'Ah!'), laryngeal
control (whispering, harshness, hoarseness, stridency, etc.), esophageal control
(esophageal voice), pharyngeal control (hollow voice, muffled voice, etc.), velo-
pharyngeal control (whispering, grunting, bleating, etc.), lingual control (retroflex
voice, velarization, etc.), labial control (with expansion or constriction), mandibular
control (clenched-teeth voice, mumbling, etc.), articulatory control (overarticulated
voice, slurry voice, etc.), articulatory tension control (tense voice, lax voice), and
objectual control (speaking while eating, or with a pipe in the mouth).

'I meet such charming friends' — and her voice seemed to caress that description of
these persons (breathy voice) (James, A, XXI)
c. differentiators, actually paralinguistic-kinesic constructs, and sometimes qualifiers
of language, which characterize physiological (many of a reflex nature) as well as
psychological states and emotional reactions, produced naturally (mostly uncontrolla-
bly) or voluntarily: laughter (e.g. of affiliation, aggression, anxiety, joy, comicality),
crying (e.g. bereavement, empathy, frustration, deception), shouting (e.g. aggression,
fear, mirth), sighing and gasping (e.g. pleasure, displeasure, love, wonder, weariness,
sadness, fear, relief), panting (e.g. medical state, physical and psychological strain),
yawning (e.g. boredom, fatigue), coughing and throat-clearing (e.g. interaction
regulation, uncertainty, social anxiety, reproach, anger), spitting (e.g. random, 'social'
rejection, aggression), belching (e.g. physiological, 'social'), hiccuping (e.g. 'social'),
and sneezing (e.g. social norms, superstition).

Sam and Andy [...] broke into a low, immoderate laugh, snapping their fingers and
flourishing their heels with exquisite delight (Beecher Stowe, UTC, VI)
d. alternants, word-like single or compound utterances occurring either isolated or
alternating with words and kinesics which constitute a veritable vocabulary beyond our
'official' lexicon (and with a growing dictionary status): tongue clicks, narial (nasal)
frictions, language-free sighs, hisses, moans, groans, sniffs, snorts, smacks, blows,
slurps, gasps, pants, 'Uh-hu,' 'Uh-uh,' 'Mm!,' hesitation vowels, momentary silences,
etc. Although traditionally shunned as 'non-speech' and 'marginal,' they occur very
frequently, whether isolated or alternating with words and gesture, consistently
encoded and decoded in each language and culture (often as semantic blends) as
unambiguously as dictionary items (which quite a few are now). The correct interpretation and representation of paralinguistic alternants is a very specific responsibility of the translator, since some of them appear written in their original language, but he just cannot render them correctly in the target language due to his lack of cultural-paralinguistic fluency; he does not retain the original alternants, either because there is truly no equivalent or because it was the character's idiosyncratic utterance whose meaning is not suggested by the context either.

Mr. Bird [...] grumbling to himself. "Pish! pshaw! confounded awkward business!" (Beecher Stowe, UTC, IX)

A faint 'tin-ting' resounded from under Coggan's waistcoat. It was Coggan's watch striking the hour of two (Hardy, FMC, XXXVI)

4.7.3 Kinesics\(^{60}\) consists of conscious and unconscious gestures, manners and postures of visual, visual-audible, and tactile and kinesthetic perception, isolated or in combination with words and/or paralanguage or any other somatic or extrasomatic signs. The following aspects should introduced here:

a. The necessary distinction between gestures (e.g. smiles, eye movements, beckoning, 'emblems' like 'money,' 'I'm hungry,' 'stop,' 'crazy'):

"[...] Don't you like it?"/ "Like it! Mrs. Portway beat the air with her hand. I hate it! I detest it! [...]" (Wilson, ASA, II, II)

manner\(s\) (the 'manner' in which we perform a gesture or adopt a posture, and the way we eat, smoke, shake hands, walk):

Mr F's Aunt [after eating a piece of toast] then moistened her ten fingers in slow succession at her lips, and wiped then in exactly the same order on the white handkerchief (Dickens, LD, II, IX)

postures, of much communicative value socially and personally:

Madame de Chancellle continued, leaning confidentially forward [...] (Wharton, R, XX)

All three (most conspicuously gestures) show a formative or shaping movement (manner), each one with a central or peak movement or point (i.e., the one represented in gesture books, paintings, etc.) and a releasing movement (manner), and always qualified by the parakinesic qualities of intensity, range, speed and duration, and subject not only to intrasystem cobehaviors (i.e., within kinesics by different parts of the body), but also to intersystem (bodily) relationships (i.e. with words, paralanguage, proxemics, tears) and further related to clothes, furniture, etc.

b. The segmental character of gestures, manners and postures, just as that of words and paralinguistic alternants like 'Tz' or a grunt.
c. The intersystemic kinesic co-structuration, that is, kinesic's relationship with words, paralanguage, blushing, etc., even in the same phrase, and intrasystemic co-structuration, for instance, between facial expression and smoking style, or any other combination of two or more body parts within the same system:

'Oh!' cried the old man, moaning impatiently, as he tossed one restless arm upon the coverlet (Dickens, *MC*, III)

Their hostess [when they are being indiscreet] frowned and put her finger to her lips for silence (Wilson, *ASA*, II, II)

d. The importance of parakinesic qualities (equivalent to the paralinguistic ones with relation to verbal language): intensity, range, velocity and duration (similar to stress and articulatory tension, drawling and clipping, and rhythm and tempo of speech), which differentiate personal and cultural styles and all sorts of normal and abnormal visual behaviors:

I [...] departed with a cordial pressure of the hand (A. Brontë, *TWF*, XLV)

It only remains to mention here what is most obvious: that kinesics, however minimal, is always present when we speak, and that the communicative repertoires of each culture, filtered through personal style, are characterized as much by their visual peculiarities (gestures, manners and postures) as by the lexical and paralinguistic ones. And then, that even on occasions when one would not think specifically of kinesics, nor of the basic triple structure, it is precisely the composite nature of the latter that is affecting our perception of, and feelings about, an interaction, as in:

He [old Jolyon] enjoyed that stroll [...] the sound of her voice, the glancing of her eyes, the subtle beauty of a charming form [Irene's] moving besides him (Galsworthy, *ISF*, II)

4.8 On intonation as communication

The fact that a number of nonvocalic, nonconsonantal, closed-lip or open-lip nasalized utterances are regarded by many as intonation ('intonation without words') leads some to the equivocation that intonation can be isolated, separated from a segmental stretch of speech and uttered alone, when in reality we are again producing the two levels referred to above, the segmental one (in this case a paralinguistic construct) and the nonsegmental or intonational one. Such is the case of a paralinguistic alternant like a glottalized gliding mid-to-higher-back vowel (segmental), with open or closed lips, overridden by a pitch contour 4–2, two stresses and a falling terminal juncture (nonsegmental), meaning, according to context and pitch variations, 'Oh, I see!', 'Good!', 'Delicious!', etc.
Although intonation can be both grammatical and attitudinal (Crystal 1971: 200) it cannot carry any more meaning than nasality or whispering would by themselves, unless they occur with words or with paralinguistic alternants (considered segmental) like ‘¡Eeugh!’, ‘Hmm!’ One cannot speak with intonation alone. We can modulate a long stretch like ‘Mmmmmmm,’ attaching to it the intonation contour for ‘May I go with you?’, for instance, or ‘I don’t know where she went’; and if done face-to-face, it would be doubly expressed by facial and other kinesic activities. But when we do that we are simply evoking an established and perfectly coded verbal or paralinguistic utterance, to both of which either a person or a domesticated animal will easily react. And if that person (e.g. child) or that dog has only heard our ‘Mmmmm,’ that paralinguistic construct is like a perfectly lexical item of that established repertoire.

4.9 Segmentable and nonsegmentable elements in the triple structure

The example of the triple structure in Fig. 4.1 allows us to see the segmental and nonsegmental levels in the succession of signs that constitute speech, as indicated in Fig. 4.2, ‘Segmental and nonsegmental elements in the triple structure.’

**Figure 4.2. Segmental and nonsegmental elements in the triple structure**

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<tr>
<td>Intonation</td>
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<td>Static positions</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paralinguistic建构</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Static positions</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

a. *segmental*, preceding or following each other as discrete portions of a noncontinuous whole: words (i.e., phonemes), *paralinguistic alternants* (e.g. ‘Uh’, a nasal egression of contempt), *silences* or measurable breaks in that audible chain of segmentable events, conversational *kinesic constructs* (e.g. a wink, a hair-grooming gesture) which coincide or alternate with the audible ones (although some movements can be heard as well) and are also discrete semantic segments, and *still positions* of one or several body parts within the kinesic stream;

b. *nonsegmental*, clearly changing throughout that communicative stretch of sounds and movements and silences and still positions, with not-so-clear boundaries and overriding those other elements, from syllables or simple kinesic constructs, or both, to much longer portions of speech or whole kinesyntactic complexes, varying slightly but with a cumulative impression never given by the clearly discrete parts, therefore not being segmentable: *intonation, primary qualities* (e.g. volume, tempo), *qualifiers* (e.g. laryngeal control) and *differentiators* (e.g. laughing or sighing while speaking),
and the *parakine* qualities of intensity, range, velocity and duration. Naturally, while two segmental vocal constructs cannot go together (e.g. silence with an apico-alveolar click), vocal segmental constructs and kinesic segmental ones can (e.g. a word with a gesture), and so do vocal nonsegmental and kinesics (e.g. high pitch and gesture).

4.10 The ten realizations and mutual combinations of language, paralanguage and kinesics

From what has been said so far, we see that we can communicate with words accompanied by an almost imperceptible amount of paralanguage or kinesics, with a gesture and without emitting any sound, or with only throat-clearing and a neutral facial expression; a rather false concept, since that absence of expression communicates already by itself, which suggests the presence of deeper levels in interaction which have not been duly studied, although they are intimately related to language. Thus, all three systems in the basic structure of speech can occur singly or combined in ten different realizations:

*verbal language*, in a rather neutral way, not qualified by any conspicuous and meaningful paralanguage or kinesics: a straightforward 'What time is it?,' 'Guten Morgen,' etc.

*verbal language-paralanguage*, when the specific meaning is conveyed precisely by the verbal part: an unambiguous 'I hate you,' even if it is qualified by not-so clear paralinguistic features:

> Why, you're only a cheap four-flush — damned, bull-headed rustler!'/ Duane hissed the last word (Grey, LSR, XVII)

*verbal language + kinesics*, verbal expressions which are always accompanied by the corresponding kinesic equivalent, either because there is a verbal reference to the gesture or because the speaker of that culture typically accompanies specific verbal expressions with fixed kinesic behaviors, that is, as emblematic constructs or as speech markers or identifiers (those 'most native' speech-accompanying behaviors): Spanish 'El metro estaba asi' ('The subway was like this,' 'asi' simultaneously accompanied by a chest-high upward movement of the bunched fingers of one hand which then open and close once or twice, meaning 'crowded'); the North-American's 'How much is that fridge, please?' with pointing head-nod accompanying the verbal demonstrative:

> She [Sophy] stood up with a smiling head-shake. "Oh, it's not so often that people try to give me any pleasure [%]" (Wharton, R, VII)

*verbal language-paralanguage-kinesics*, the most conspicuous constructs, as the three cosystems are behaviorally balanced and thus constitute the best examples of a
speaker’s ‘nativeness’: the emphatic ‘Oh, no!’ drawing both words + half-closing eyes, dropping shoulders and turning to one side as though avoiding seeing or thinking of the cause of the failure, French ‘Oh, là, là!’ with drawing + eyebrow raise, rounded lips, wide-open eyes and shaking a horizontal hand up and down parallel to the shoulder.

Oh! To hear him!’ cried my sister, with a clap of her hands and a scream together (Dickens, GE, XV)

paralanguage alone, that is, the segmental vocal or narial utterances called alternants (e.g. a hiss, a click, ‘Hum!’) and the so-called differentiators (i.e. laughter, crying, yawning, which can co-occur with words and also by themselves), when they are not conspicuously and semantically accompanied by kinesics (whose total absence is very rare): a beckoning ‘Pss!’, English emphatic negation ‘Uh-uh!’; a sardonic laugh, disconsolate weeping, etc:

*Sólo pudo articular un sonido gural, débil expresión de su ira, atenazada por la dignidad* (Galdós, LDB, XLVI)

“Yo ho, my boys!” said Fezziwig. “No more work tonight. Christmas Eve […] ‘Hillihoo!’ […] ‘Hilli-ho, Dick! Chirrup, Ebenezer!’” (Dickens, CC, II)

paralanguage-verbal language, when the paralinguistic component of an expression is much more conspicuous and meaningful than the verbal part, as in a drawled, almost whispered, ironic ‘Oh, I seeee…!’, with rather sustained pitch, or the low-pitched ‘Naaa!’ of dismissal or negation:

“Did you take part in the ‘dig’?” asked Clarissa in a sporty voice that she somehow felt necessary for the colloquialism (Wilson, ASA, I, I)

paralanguage-kinesics, where the more important part is still the kinesic one, as in the typical Italian slightly glottalized, drawled, central vowel ‘AAAa!’ + slight eyebrow raise and slight shoulders-and-hands shrugging to signify (as typically stereotyped in so many films) ‘I can’t do it, anyway,’ ‘What can I do?’, ‘That’s life,’ ‘I don’t have a clue,’ etc., a so-called ‘ideograph’ within the nonverbal categories (Chapter 6):

‘Ho!’ cries Mr Smallweed, rubbing his hands with an artful chuckle (Dickens, BH, XXVI)

kinesics alone, the most conspicuous and popular nonverbal occurrences of communication, although many kinesic behaviors escape the usual cultural inventories for their subtlety and evasiveness, as with all those visual behaviors that constitute the essence of what, for instance, we regard as Spanish, Italian or Japanese style in conversation, that almost intangible kinesic ‘foreign accent’:

Lance spread wide his hands to the watching men, as if to say “Now see what you’ve done” (Grey, MR, VI)
kinesics-paralanguage, constructs in which often the paralinguistic part can be absent without detriment to its semantic content: one of the most North-American emblematic gestures, an oblique sharp tilt of the head (with or without thrusting the fist in front of the chest) when accompanied by a lateral-palatal click + eye wink, meaning 'Well done!,’ ‘You got it!,’ 'Thataboy!':

and Colonel Zane laughed as he slapped his friend on the shoulder (Grey, LT, II)

kinesics-verbal language expressions whose kinesic behavior is semantically more important than the verbal itself, as in a slow, hateful head-shaking of negation preceding, simultaneous to or lingering after 'no':

Well, then, I'll not,' said George, with an obstinate jerk of his head (Dreiser, JG, III)

Speaking on the telephone, or seeing others do it, we realize which of the three systems is more important in a verbal-paralinguistic-kinesic construct. If the gesture does not seem semantically indispensable, it will turn out to be a verbal-paralinguistic expression mainly; but, if it is ambiguous because we cannot perceive its visual part, it will be a kinesic-paralinguistic one instead, since we could do without words.

4.11 Ontogenetic and social development, spatial and temporal transmission, and balance and pathology in the triple structure

4.11.1 What is said in Chapter 5.6 about the acquisition of verbal and nonverbal systems by the native and foreign learners will summarize already the developmental curve for the language-paralanguage-kinesic structure, therefore the reader is referred to that section. We must again emphasize, however, the need to not look exclusively, as has been done in so many studies, at 'language development,' for it will be seen that the three repertoires of the basic speech structure — intimately related with the rest of the somatic and extrasomatic systems — keep maturing simultaneously. For this reason it is always totally unrealistic to want to focus only on language. That triple development is carried out throughout the biological (above all anatomical) and cognitive growth until the individual reaches adulthood.

On the other hand, while the ontogenetic development of language, paralanguage and kinesics takes place parallel to each other for some time — thus any imbalance can immediately reveal some abnormality of development — later the musculo-skeletal configuration and facial features become established for kinesic behaviors by adolescence. But the cognitive-social process continues, during which the acquisition of vocabulary, of certain paralinguistic features and alternants and some significant gestural and postural additions (not only physiologically functional) continues through life, even though perhaps hardly noticeably at times in paralanguage and kinesics. At the same time, social development is related to socioeducational opportu-
nities and status, since various types of social deprivation (in terms of lack of sufficient exposure to a variety of social situations) in childhood, adolescence and young adulthood result typically in more limited and often inhibited verbal and nonverbal repertoires.

These are the types of limitation, referred to in the section that follows, regarding speakers of different socioeducational levels, particularly when speaking of the lowest one. Lacking the capacity to refer to certain higher-level topics and concepts, and the social situations in which they could acquire them, they possess fewer expressive forms within their verbal, paralinguistic and kinesic repertoires. However, today television has a decided influence in that respect, which is worth studying, since we observe, for instance, certain verbal and nonverbal borrowings that strike us as even incongruent with respect to the general style of specific speakers. I think it rather curious that my two eminent colleagues and friends, the linguists Walburga von Raffler-Engel and Mary Ritchie Key, should have misunderstood on several occasions my references to the 'expressive limitations' of speakers of a socioeducationally lower status. I would never deny the expressive richness of their repertoires within their more limited cognitive experience and within their own choices of conversational topics, as happens with the more versatile paralinguistic and kinesic expressiveness of the average woman in southwestern Spain, regardless of her social background; in fact, she clearly surpasses the expressive means of the rest of us while discussing identical topics and in identical situational context. And yet, we also identify (as in any other areas) the above-mentioned inferiority of their verbal and nonverbal 'vocabularies.' In a word, if speech is made up of words, paralanguage and kinesics, it is only logical that their acquisition and use should not reach the versatility attained by other speakers who are exposed to a greater variety as well as more models. Again, this does not apply only to kinesic illustrations of the words said; for instance, the light rubbing of thumb and forefinger when saying 'Well, I don't know, it's something...very subtle, something hard to define, you know?' since that speaker, to begin with, will not use the word 'subtle.' The Spanish psychiatrist-novelist Martín Santos sums up quite eloquently what has been said so far:

Todo aquel mundo donde las palabras alcanzan una significación que el [Pedro] no posee [...] y donde los gestos alcanzan su belleza en una gama que para él permanece invisible [...] constituye un reducto de seres de otra especie (Martín Santos, TS, 139)

On the other hand, that richness or poverty of kinesic repertoires applies not just to gestures, but to manners and postures as well, which do not develop so widely in speakers who have not reached more 'refined' levels of expression; for instance, the woman who pushes her hair from the forehead with a delicate gesture of the index and middle fingers, while the rustic one tends to do it with the whole hand, just as the latter removes a speck from her lower eyelid with the heel of the hand and not with the tips of the little or middle finger, as the more refined usually does. Similar observations can
be made regarding postures: standing, sitting with or without crossed legs or ankles, the way arms are crossed, etc. Besides, these behaviors betray different esthetic levels, that is, esthetic concepts, across society: what is elegant, ladylike, gentlemanly, corny, etc., in our perception of others.

4.11.2 We must also realize how in humans visually perceived movement and auditorily perceived sound travel through time, in spite of their also rapid fading, while many animal species exchange chemical messages of very long duration. A derisive smile, an intent static look or an anguished tone of voice can linger and linger and truly regulate our subsequent behaviors and thoughts as the stored visual and acoustic images are repeated as in a 'playback' time and again in our memory.

We can also reconstruct the physical appearance of a person by gradually fitting together mainly language, paralanguage and kinesics until that triple structure brings the person to life in our minds; and with no mental effort whatsoever one may easily relive the physical presence of someone else — and even act on it in different ways — by carefully seeing and hearing with the eyes and ears of the memory, as described often in literature:

He [Beaton] tried to read [...]; but Alma's looks, tones, gestures, whirred through and through the woof of the story like shuttles (Howells, HNF, II, VI)

The voice of Tanis Judique [on the telephone] was clear and pleasant. The black cylinder of the telephone-receiver seemed to hold a tiny animated image of her: lustrous eyes, delicate nose, gentle chin (Lewis, B, XXVIII)

4.11.3 Finally, if language, paralanguage and kinesics under normal circumstances show such perfectly co-structured balance, abnormal circumstances should be reflected in a characteristic lack of equilibrium among the three systems; not only as regards lack of congruence between the verbal and nonverbal behaviors (which might respond to intentional or unintentional deceit), but as truly symptomatic of pathological states (e.g. the animated display of language, paralanguage and kinesics during the more elated and physically active phase of the manic depressive, and then their very low-key behaviors during the depressive phase). In fact, even in ordinary medical situations, as between admission for major surgery and then discharge after a successful outcome, the lay person usually notices how differently the patient talks and moves as a well person again ('She's her own self again!').
4.12 The total conditioning background of the triple structure and of communication in general

All the somatic and extrasomatic systems mentioned in Chapter 1 and after are conditioned by a series of factors that must be considered in any study of communication, although here it is applied mainly to the basic triple structure. These factors, shown in Fig. 4.3., 'Conditioning background of communicative activities,' are outlined as follows.

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Figure 4.3. Total conditioning background of communicative activities

1. Biophysicopsychological
   a. Race, sex and age (and their anomalies) determine, for instance, people's voice timbre, qualifiers like the creaky voice of old age, as well as many gestures, manners and postures:
[the old clerk] rubbed his hands, nodded his palsied head, winked his watery eyes, and cried in his whistling tones, 'Good! Good!' (Dickens, MC, XI)

Su voz estaba ya cascada por los años y por los achaques (Cela, PD, 167).

b. The **physiological state** of cold, heat, pain or any momentary abnormality (e.g. due to physical exertion) triggers also different paralinguistic and kinesic behaviors:

the second C. I. D. man was back, puffing frantically in haste. Gasping for breath, he shouted (Heller, C22, 99)

c. Our **medical state** can make us lower the loudness and tone of voice or adopt postures and gestures of physical and psychological discomfort:

she [Helen] breathed a little fast and coughed a short cough [from consumption] (C. Bronté, JE, VIII)

d. **Nutritional and pseudonutritional habits** (involving solids as well as liquids) can be betrayed permanently or circumstantially, for instance, by frequent belching (with its associated culturally prescribed kinesic behaviors), and even have certain traumatizing effects on paralinguistic and kinesic behaviors (particularly in the type of voice and postures they condition) as well as in those that cannot be displayed (e.g. due to intoxication, accumulation of fat deposits, the excessive consumption of beer that causes 'beer belly'):

'I'm sure I've — hic! Oh dear!—got one' [...] 'Do you think if I drink water it would take off the hiccup? Hic! Oh, I feel perfectly helpless' (Lawrence, WL, XXVIII)

e. The **psychological configuration**, as regards personality features and pathological states, is reflected (as with medical state) in the presence or absence of certain paralinguistic and kinesic behaviors, such as the monotonous speech of the manic-depressive patient, in the liveliness of the extrovert, or in the reactions of the shy person:

*(In the living room Laura [a crippled girl who cannot properly attend to her caller] clenched her hand to her lips, to hold back a shuddering sob* (Williams, GM, VI)

f. **Emotional states** are reflected in our paralinguistic and kinesic behaviors (e.g. passionately and breathily whispering, speaking in fear brokenly and with gasps and audible breathing, in gestures of surprise, grief, etc.):

there was a strained silence; then she said, with a voice that had too much of a sob in it for him not to suspect the truth (Dreiser, JG, V)

2. Environmental

a. The **natural environment**, as when we admire an awesome view ('Aaaah!'), stretch pleasurably on the grass, those typical 'beach displays,' or walking with hunched shoulders from cold:
The whipping air made him stretch out his hands to the fire (Grey, RT, III)

b. The built environment, from wide spaces to very small ones (with their lighting and perhaps 'public' or 'intimate' music, colors, etc.), the stone benches or porch steps in certain cultures (eliciting the gathering of people at certain times of day and in certain seasons), the proximity and visual and acoustic separation of dwellings, etc., all elicit in each case conscious or unconscious choice of vocabulary, paralanguage and gestures and postures:

Although they all spoke in whispers, their arrival [at the opera] was the signal for certain murmurs of "Sh! Sh!" (Norris, P, I)64

c. The objectual or artifactual environment, because of the influence on our communicative behaviors (not always acknowledged and utilized) of the 'relaxed' or 'stiff' characteristics of furniture — and, for instance, what has been called (Sommer 1969) its 'sociopetal' (positive) and its 'sociofugal' (negative) layout for personal interaction — interior decoration, presence or absence of certain elements and their social significance (e.g. for the guests of a host whose much higher social status is revealed by his 'intimidating' environment):

she [Fay] climbed on a chair and straddled it with her arms folded across the top of its back and rested her chin in her arms (West, DL, XI)

Ernesta [an uneducated small-town woman] estaba escuchando, sentada casi de perfil y en el borde de la silla (Aldeco, FS, 322)

d. The socioeconomic and educational background, which conditions our language, paralanguage and kinesics because of the degree of socialization and sensitization (and, therefore, of the opportunities we had for enriching our communicative repertoires), as well as the maladjustment affecting some speakers in a milieu above their own:

en viéndome delante de una persona principal [...] no se qué decir, ni qué hacer con las manos (Galdós, TC, I, III)

[the famous architect Mr. Pecksniff, about to lay the corner stone] when he chatted with the Mayor, they [the public] said how easy! when he folded his arms they cried with one accord, how statesman-like! [...] When [...] laid his hand upon the man's shoulder, giving his directions, how pleasant his demeanour to the working class (Dickens, MC, XXXV)

[when the boss offers him a job] Fainy shuffled his feet. He had a husk in his throat [...] standing first on one foot and then the other (Dos Passos, 42P, 'Mac,' 34)

3. Cultural patterns

a. General cultural style, quite obvious as the verbal and nonverbal production of speech which involves linguistic, paralinguistic and kinesic repertoires common to all members of a culture, together with proxemic patterns. For instance, the Indian
novelist Raja Rao refers to a specific Anglo-Indian “tempo” which is precisely an important part of each cultural style. He concedes that Indians are all “instinctively bilingual,” but that

[their] method of expression has to be a dialect that will some day prove as distinctive and colorful as the Irish or the American [...] The tempo of Indian life must be infused into our English expression [...] We, in India, think quickly, we talk quickly, and when we move we move quickly (Rao, K., “Foreword”).

b. The characteristics of regional or subcultural groups, which sometimes determine dialectal verbal and nonverbal peculiarities, not only in conversational interactions but in the performance of certain activities:

as English rustics have their slice of cheese, he had a cake of tobacco; in his right a penknife [...] cutting a quid or plug from his cake of tobacco, and whistling softly to himself the while (Dickens, MC, XXI)

c. Religious (or superstitious) and moral values, or their absence, are often reflected verbally (topic selection) and nonverbally (e.g. voice loudness and pitch of indifference or lukewarmness when discussing religion or visiting a church as a tourist, voice and gestures lacking commiseration when referring to others’ misfortunes):

Mío Cid [...] La cara del cavalo tornó a Santa Maria, alcé su mano diestra, la cara se santigua (Poema del Cid, v.215)

She [Coral] crouched low in the hole with her fingers crossed for good luck (Greene, ST, IV, IV)

d. Relationships and role expectations, as denoted by voice, gestures and postures between lovers, close friends, employer-employee, doctor-patient, master-servant, husband-wife, etc.:

The train came. Witta [his father] grabbed his hand [Eugene’s] affectionately. “Be a good boy,” he said, swallowing a gulp (Dreiser, G, I, III)

e. Norms of etiquette and good manners (which we accept or reject) dictating peculiarities of voice and kinesics in certain situations, the verbal and nonverbal behaviors when coughing, yawning, sneezing, etc., in different social backgrounds and settings, of a very interesting historical development (Wildeblood 1965) and a worthy research area in each culture and according to its own conditioning factors (moral code, dress, furniture, etc.):

Ana, al darle la mano [to Mesia, he] dio aquel tirón enérgico que él siempre daba, siguiendo la moda que en Madrid empezaba entonces (Alas, R, XVI)

Elinor [...] wondered how Walter could have lived with anyone who crooked the little finger of the hand that held the teacup and who took such horrible small bites from a slice of bread and then chewed only with the front teeth (Huxley, PCP, XXI)
[David] had fairly good manners; he did not wolf or gulp or gobble or crunch or talk with his mouth full (Porter, SF, III)

f. Esthetic values, of cultural and social character, but rooted in personal sensitiveness, which prescribe certain characteristics of language, paralanguage and kinesics (e.g. voice loudness, laughter, paralinguistic emotional expressions, gestures, manners and postures), often constituting an unconscious and natural personal and group style:

native distinción [...] aroma aristocrático lleno de atractiva sencillez [...] el noble reposo de sus maneras [...] en sus mismos silencios observantes y pensativos [...] un grave misterio señoril (Espina, DM, I, VIII)

Jasper Stringwell-Anderson crossed his legs elegantly and observed Gerald closely through narrowed eyelids (Wilson, ASA, I, II)

4. Socioeconomic-educational levels

a. The hyperrefined, meaning those persons who can often show affectation in both vocabulary and voice, way of laughing, studied gestures, manners and postures:

cómo manejan el abanico, cómo dan el brazo, cómo se sientan a la mesa, cómo entran en el palco, cómo se quitan y ponen el abrigo (Galdós, D, I, XVIII)

[Polly] rolling the r’s, hissing on the s’s, humming like a bee on the m’s, drawing out the long vowels and making them round and pure. “Ghost rattle of ghost rifles, in-fi-nit-es-imal ghost cannonade” (Huxley PCP, XI)

b. The average educated, of simply standard verbal and nonverbal repertoires.

c. The middle-low socioeducational status persons, identifiable in many cultures by their less refined and less controlled repertoires and a 'louder tone':

Big Bill grasped his cup around the top so that the spoon stuck up between his first and second fingers. He drew in a snort of air with the coffee to cool it (Steinbeck, GW, XV)

d. The pseudoeducated persons, an intriguing subject of study, socioeducationally astride the educated groups and the least educated ones, often unwilling to identify themselves as members of the less educated community (perhaps 'small-townish') to which they nevertheless belong. To this end, they typically display verbal, paralinguistic and kinesic expressions that are standard to the higher-up, show certain arrogance when poorly handling a conversational topic, may display certain incongruities and lack of judgement in their clothes and accessories, as well as in the use of certain verbal and nonverbal hyperurbanisms, and they often disdain and even mock the speakers of their own group. They are, in a word, somewhat hybrid social elements, a complex product of social, psychological and sometimes economic pressure, all characteristic of one of Galdós' heroines:
tenía [Rosalía Pipaón de la Barca de Bringas] un orgulloso cursi, que le inspiraba a menudo, con ahuecamiento de nariz, evocaciones declamatorias de los méritos y calidad de sus antepasados (Galdós, T, IV)

e. The lowest socioeducational status, diametrically opposed to the hyperrefined, unaware (or on occasions consciously ignoring) of the social rules of the other groups, much less 'articulate' and therefore of a more general naturalness; this is reflected in less conscious self-control in their postures, in more of a tendency to speak louder, the less smooth speech rhythm, laughter, the managing of reflexes like coughing, yawning and sneezing:

the man blew his nose into the palm of his hand and wiped his hand in his trousers (Steinbeck, GW, XVI),

[the small-town woman] Come un trozo de patata sin separar la cuchara de la boca y sorbe el caldo (López Pacheco, CE, I, I) 

5. Shared behaviors

a. *Family borrowings* (apart from inherited traits) within the family, between different generations and within each one, easily observable even in famous families:

She looked the image of her father, standing there with her hands behind her back (Woolf, Y, 1880)

b. *Conjugal borrowings*, observable sometimes while speaking with a husband or a wife at a social gathering, and then with the other, even before knowing their relationship:

Lou’s wife, formerly Annie Lee, has grown to look curiously like her husband. Her face has become longer, sharper, more aggressive (Cather, P, II, III)

c. *Borrowings from social models* whose social status or personality somehow hold ascendance over some or many and can easily become behavioral models, whether they are public figures (particularly politicians and actors) or individuals who have an influence on us and consciously or unconsciously we admire:

[Mesia, from Madrid, at the provincial theater] Ponía los dedos en el antepecho del palco y cruzaba las manos, y se volvía para hablar con sus amigos […] de una manera singular que Trabuco no supo imitar en su vida (Alas, R, VII)

d. Verbal and nonverbal codes within specific social and occupational groups, as with the characteristic nonverbal style of many preachers, certain teenage behaviors, the deafmutes’ sign language, sport codes, etc.; which implies also the frequent difference in the verbal and nonverbal style of our own speech, whether interacting in a familiar milieu or a formal one (e.g. ‘You can tell when he’s speaking to his boss on the phone’):

toda la chusma le saludó como es usanza cuando una persona principal entra en la galería, diciendo: ‘¡Hu, hu, hu!’ tres veces (Cervantes, DQ, II, LXIII)
[a lawyer in court, observed by his sister] the way he flung his arm out. That belonged to his public life, his life in the Courts. And his voice was unfamiliar. But every now and then [...] it was his private voice (Woolf, Y, '1891').

4.13 Conclusion

After identifying all the communicative possibilities of sound and movement (sound-producing external movements are treated in Volume II) and the mutual inherence of both in the production of language and paralanguage and kinesics (speech facial gestures), this chapter has explained the tripartite reality of our speaking and how what verbally would be simply ineffable can actually be expressed with the assistance of nonverbal somatic signs; this even beyond the ten realizations of words, voice and gesture, which, like those three activities, possess lexical and grammatical qualities and can be perfectly segmented along the speech stream. On the other hand, it has been seen what happens to the written representation of our speaking activity — a topic developed throughout Volume III, devoted to the literary text — what is, or can be, the orality of that text, and the limitations of read discourse. Finally, after pondering the personal development of nonverbal repertoires, their socioeconomic and educational differences and the capacity of nonverbal systems to persist particularly through time, a host of factors have been identified which condition the production of audiovisual speech, thus rejecting so many simplistic interpretations and conclusions regarding, for instance, voice or gesture, so prevalent in the less scientific literature.

Much of what has been said in this chapter could be summarized in the autobiographical words of fourth-century Saint Augustine's about how he began to communicate as a child:

I myself, with that mind which you, my God, gave me, wished by means of various cries and sounds and movements of my limbs to express my heart's feelings, so that my will would be obeyed [...] when they named a certain thing, and, at that name, made a gesture towards the object, I observed that object and inferred that it was called by the name they uttered [...] That they meant this was apparent by their bodily gestures, as it were by words natural to all men, which are made by change of countenance, nods, movements of the eyes and other bodily members, and sounds of the voice, which indicate the affections of the mind in seeking, possessing, rejecting, or avoiding things [...] to those among whom I was I communicated the signs of what I wished to express. I entered more deeply into the stormy society of human life [...] (Augustine, C, Book I, 8).
4.14 Topics for interdisciplinary research

1. Semantic and grammatical functions of paralanguage and kinesics in conversational discourse.
2. Intrasytemic and intersystemic co-structuration of language, paralanguage and kinesics in a given language.
3. Intrasytemic and intersystemic co-structuration of language, paralanguage and kinesics cross-regionally.
4. The ontogenetic development of linguistic-paralinguistic-kinesic constructs.
5. The ontogenetic development of the basic triple structure as observed in one’s own children.
6. Socioeconomic and educational differences in nonverbal repertoires.
7. Linguistic-paralinguistic-kinesic structures of colloquial [a language]: towards a verbal-nonverbal atlas.
11. The ten realizations of language, paralanguage and kinesics in colloquial [a language].
12. An inventory of linguistic-paralinguistic-kinesic structures for the teaching of [a language] as a foreign language.
13. Social stratification and etiquette of linguistic-paralinguistic-kinesic structures.
14. A manual of good manners at the lower social levels.
15. The pseudoeducated speaker: communication and social environment.
16. The development of the linguistic-paralinguistic-kinesic structure of the foreign speaker.
17. Development of linguistic-paralinguistic-kinesic structures through treatment in medicine and psychiatry.
18. Presence and description of language, paralanguage and kinesics in a literary author.
19. Language-paralanguage-kinesics style in specific occupations.
21. The campaigning politician’s speech: vocabulary, voice, kinesics.
22. The verbal-nonverbal style of preaching: an interdenominational perspective.
23. Occupational verbal-nonverbal speech repertoires.
24. The triple structure language-paralanguage-kinesics of television talk-show hosts and hostesses.
25. The singers' triple structure language-paralanguage-kinesics of opera and musicals.