

expectancies, permissions, and controls) are a necessary and perhaps predominant constituent of the content exchanged between vocalizing humans. As such, social relationships and the shared feelings about these relationships could not be haphazard, emotionally based additives, but must be patterned, learned, and integral aspects of communication behavior. Not until my work in kinesic structure revealed the structured nature of relational body motion (parakinesic) material was I prepared to accept the implications of those aspects of speech behavior which are so easily ignored as idiosyncratic or merely emotive. Some of this material is discussed on pages 108ff. on paralanguage.

My study of Kutenai kinship contributed little that was noteworthy about circum-Plains kinship systems, but out of the Kutenai experience came insights which continue to shape the direction of my research. Perhaps the most important was that perception is shaped by culture—that men do not take common perceptions and then shape them into differential conceptions. I was immediately impressed by the eyesight of the Kutenai, who could tell an Indian from a white man far beyond the point where features were at all distinguishable. That I was able to do the same thing within weeks did not reduce my pastoralist certainty about native visual acuity. To my mind, I had “learned” to do what they did “naturally.” It was only after I made a mistake and misjudged two men at a distance as white men when one was Indian that I again became curious about appearance and identification, a matter which I am still studying and only beginning to get into perspective.

During the latter days of my stay in British Columbia I realized that Kutenai speakers moved differently when speaking Kutenai and when speaking English. Was the Kutenai when speaking English being an imitation white man? My premature judgment that the Indian was “acting like” a white man inhibited the discovery that there was a systematic relationship between audible and visible communicative behavior, that these are coercive and interdependent language systems. That recognition was not to come until I began to isolate kinesic morphology and, with the aid of linguists, to study the relationship between speech and body motion. I returned from the field in 1946 knowing that the Kutenai looked different from Canadian whites. And I was aware that both Indians and whites looked and moved differently in differing situations. However, these insights had insufficient strength to erase my commitment to the traditional conception that body motion was *from time to time*

stereotyped and conventionalized in matters such as stance and gesture, and thus, in formal interaction, was an artificial appendage to speech. Inherent in this position was the belief that more customarily body motion was “natural,” that is, a “primitive” response to underlying and universal physiological and emotional states. The hypotheses based upon these beliefs were challenged by the data and I came to question the beliefs, as the following selections show, and eventually discarded both of them, but with reluctance.



5. There Are Smiles . . .

LAUGHING and crying seem to be such universally recognized human expressions that from the beginning of my interest in human body motion communication I was tempted to see these as basic physiologically derived expressions, the study of which could provide us with a starting point for measuring special individual conventionalized behavior. When I began to film real children in real contexts, the temptation remained but the confidence in the method rapidly faded.

As long as we studied the laughing or crying situations as identified by the participants, it was easy to code (linguistically and kinesically) the laughter as laughter, the crying as such. It was not nearly so easy to code the constituents of these contrastive social acts exhibited by an isolated individual whose context was unknown. Since I found the sounds made by persons laughing or crying confusing, I decided to turn to smiling and “sad-faced.” The latter category proved impossible to handle, but over the years the question of smiling, of when it is appropriate, and of how the child learns its appropriate employment have remained as concerns—particularly when we are trying to understand the children we see who are, socially and emotionally, seriously distressed and distressing.

Early in my research on human body motion, influenced by Darwin's *Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*, and by my own preoccupation with human universals, I attempted to study