Marcel Jousse:
The Oral Style and
the Anthropology of Gesture

Edgard Richard Sienaert

From written style to oral style on to
global style, such has been the advance of
my research and the achievement of my work

Marcel Jousse

Marcel Jousse is little-known to the English-speaking scholarly world: Milman Parry—who was his student in Paris—and Adam Parry mention him and so do Albert Lord and Walter Ong, but his work is by and large either unknown, ignored, or not mentioned. Yet he was a precursor whose seminal work, more than thirty years ahead of its time, expounded many of the ideas contained in studies such as those of H. Riesenfeld (The Gospel Tradition and its Beginning: A Study in the Limits of Formgeschichte, 1957) and B. Gerhardson (Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity, 1961). None of his published works is at present available in English although a translation of The Oral Style is soon to appear (Jousse 1990). The purpose of this article is to introduce Marcel Jousse through a short presentation of the origin and reception of his work, an outline of his ideas, and a bibliography.

Marcel Jousse was born in 1886 in the then still rural and oral Sarthe region Southwest of Paris. It was there that he returned to die in 1961, an end not without some cruel ironies: for four years a stroke had left him progressively without movement and speech, after a life spent researching human gestural and verbal expression. And his death, largely unnoticed, came one year after the publication of Albert Lord’s The Singer of Tales (1960), the first of a host of studies that were to vindicate and corroborate many of his intuitions and findings for so long passed over in silence. As he wrote himself in a letter dating from 1955: “I have published as much as Bergson, but incomprehension and a conspiracy of silence paralysed everything.” And yet, in 1925, his first publication, The Oral Style, had
evoked enormous interest: it seemed so novel in its reconstruction and rehabilitation of orality, so all-encompassing in its possible applications, that it was called “the Jousse bomb.” It had echoed widely in continental Europe in the years immediately following its publication and Jousse was enthusiastically received:; in Rome, where he was invited to give lectures at the Pontifical Biblical Institute and where Pius XI remarked about *The Oral Style*: “It is a revolution, yet it is pure common sense;” at the University of Louvain, where he lectured on the anthropology of language in 1930; in Paris, where he taught at various academic institutions and where he was offered an inaugural chair in linguistic anthropology in 1932, a post which he occupied until the end of his active life in 1957; and at the first international congress of applied psychology held in Paris in 1929, where he presented his ideas to a very receptive audience of psychologists, psychiatrists, and ethnologists—the scientific fraternity of the then-budding social sciences. If these successes confirmed the originality, merit, and scale of his views, however, they also generated a very-soon-embittered exegetical debate between the adepts of the traditional philological school and those of Jousse’s oral style theory. The fact was that his ideas clashed head-on with age-old tenets of biblical exegesis: as Father Léonce de Grandmaison, Jousse’s by no means unsympathetic superior remarked, before even the publication of *The Oral Style*: “You are right. I know very well that you are right and yet, in me, my whole training rebels against you. . . .” Such strong visceral opposition, the resistance of a culture for ages based nearly exclusively on the study of written texts, was to continue unabated for the whole of Jousse’s lifetime. It was in no small measure responsible for the silence that was soon to surround him, although it is true too that his own unswerving conviction and his uncompromising and even defiant stance, right from the beginning, did little to facilitate matters.

In more ways than one, *The Oral Style* had indeed been an act of defiance. The first publication of a scholar then just under forty years old, it had a long and provocative title: *Le Style oral rythmique et mnémotechnique chez les Verbro-moteurs*; it comprised some 200 dense pages with very little spacing, interspersed with Hebrew, Arabic, and Chinese quotations in the original characters, and it had the appearance of an interminable string of quotations with the names of the scholars in square brackets, the author providing the linking passages and a unifying but very often unusual terminology. As for content, there can be no doubt too that Jousse paid the price for being “one of those prophetic geniuses who have the gift of perceiving, half a century before everyone else, some of the governing lines of the future” (Madaule 1976:94). There may also have been practical reasons for this silence, such as the relative rarity of his publications—some five hundred pages of essays, some of which he
reworked and which constitute two thirds of the first of three volumes of re-publications edited by his closest collaborators. But if the impact of his more than one thousand lectures was undoubtedly very real, it was necessarily limited to his live audience. Even his written style is markedly impregnated by oral discourse and tends accordingly to be affective. Jousse, in fact, exemplified his research on oral-style expression in whatever form his teaching took.

This was more than the art of a “natural” teacher and more was involved than just didactic concern. For the idea of marrying theory and practice touches on a fundamental principle of Jousse who saw himself as, and indeed in essence was a man of the concrete, professing to be a paysan, (“a peasant”), le paysannisme meaning the return to original man, man not separated from the soil from which he was made, not divorced from the real. It meant the return to the anthrôpos and this anthropological premise constitutes the principal axis of Jousse’s scholarly thinking. His search was for the permanent and universal psycho-physiological laws, the anthropological laws, that unify what time, space, and custom had separated in so many ethnic varieties. He consistently believed in and stressed a human, an anthropological continuity, refusing to see writing as a dividing invention in the history of humanity. To him, writing had not created a hiatus between oral- and written-style man, between orality and literacy, but the civilization of writing was preceded and shored up by an oral-style civilization. And as style implies laws of expression, it was his aim to unearth these stylistic laws from under the written texts or to discover them wherever the absence of writing had left them intact.

Jousse’s sources for observation, verification, and confirmation of his central intuition and conviction were manifold. First his youth in an illiterate peasant milieu: he evokes his childhood memories in the introduction to his The Oral Style—his near-illiterate mother, who went to school for three winters only but who, like the other women of the village, knew her Gospel “by heart” and rhythmo-melodied it for him, and the long evening gatherings of the peasants when stories would be told and songs sung. Then came his encounter with and study of the Amerindians while a trainee officer in the United States during the first World War, and which was to inaugurate a life-long interest in what he called the ethnic laboratory. In the years following the war he intensely studied experimental phonetics and rhythmetrics, pathological psychology and ethnology, under, respectively, Professors Rousselot, Janet and Dumas, and Marcel Mauss, studies which in practice brought him in contact with kinetically and linguistically incapacitated patients as well as with child pedagogics. Finally, there was the study of the graphic and chirographic testimonies of oral people of the past and of the present—Berbers, Bantus, Afghans, Malagasy, Slavs, Assyro-Babylonians, Ethiopians, Hindus,
Ancient Greeks, the Koranic peoples, and, above all, the Israelites of the Old and the New Testament. All these experiences and studies revealed to him a similitude of mnemonic faculties and mnemotechnical devices, similar because deeply rooted in fundamental human language. To uncover the laws that govern this universal human language from under ethni particularities, to identify the characteristics of the expression that flows from it (and which constitutes what he called the oral style), and to examine how this anthropological oral style can revitalise education and expression of faith—this was to be Jousse’s lifelong quest, personal and professional, for, as he put it, in an oral-style balancing couplet:

The story of my life is that of my work,
The story of my work is that of my life

The Fundamental Human Language

What Jousse endeavoured to answer through all his investigations into the multifaceted oral world was a basic question: how does man, placed amid the innumerable actions of the universe, conserve the memory of these actions and transmit it faithfully from generation to generation to his descendants? More specifically: how does oral man, oral society, in the absence of writing, remember, conserve, and transmit its values and beliefs? Or: how does oral memory work?

Quoting Aristotle’s *Poetics* 148b—“it is from childhood on instinctive human beings to imitate, and man differs from the other animals as the most imitative of all”—Jousse starts out from the fact that the act of miming is the first expression, the first language of humanity and of the human being. What man is miming, ex-pressing, is what the environing universe im-presses upon him. This universe Jousse conceives of as a dynamic whole in which all parts interact constantly. They act, are being acted upon, and react incessantly, hence his formula for a tri-phase cosmological energy, a cosmos of which the essential, infinitely multiplied element is an Action acting upon another Action:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Agent} & \text{agissant} & \text{Agi} \\
\text{Agent} & \text{acting} & \text{Acted}
\end{array}
\]

It is through the constant pressure exerted by the universe upon man, through the constant impregnation of reality upon him, that man experiences and perceives the real. Being part of reality and being globally subjected to its actions, prior even to any awareness, man apprehends the reality that reverberates in him. He is fashioned, sculpted by things, by the
ambiant world that impresses itself on him, plays itself out in and through him. Man thus first relates to the world which imposes upon him the play of actual experiences. But this is not a passive process: on reception of reality, man is also animated by an energy that is released and that makes him react in the form of gestures. Gesture, in Jousse’s terminology, is the result of a reverberation, of an action of the universe in man: “Le Geste, c’est l’énergie vivante qui propulse cet ensemble global qu’est l’Anthropos” (“Gesture is the living energy which propels this global whole that is the Anthropos” [Jousse 1974:50]). Man thus is all gesture and gesture is the whole of man. Considering that all the information and all the forms of human thought and expression are gestural, Jousse was to call this the Anthropology of Gesture.

The human gestures obey the biological rhythm created by a concentration of energy followed by an energetic explosion after an action exercised upon man. The expressive quality and efficacy of gestural language is due to the fact that the subject relives in his gestures the phases of the experienced action in the order in which he saw them occur. The continuous gesture then is a propositional gesture similar to the basic grammatical proposition: subject-verb-object. In this way man plays out what was played in him, plays out his receptions, his “intussusceptions”—to “intussuscept” meaning taking possession of the outside world and carrying it inside. Play, then, is the osmosis of man and the reality that imposes itself upon him, it is the way by which reality is progressively instilled into him from childhood. It is this act of playing out, this play, that is at the origin of all art, for man needs to reproduce what he sees. He cannot but play out, he cannot do without art. Unlike the anthropoid, however, the anthropos can, through his bodily gestures, in an orderly fashion and in order to master them, consciously replay a perceived and intussuspected gesture. This capability to re-play a once perceived reality in its absence, to re-present something past, is unique to man and it is memory that allows him to do so and thus makes him unique: through memory he replays experienced reality stored in him, through memory he conserves and transmits consciously his past actions and reactions and so is enabled to shape his future according to the experiences of the past. Memory is the reactivation of gestures previously internalized, shaped, played in us with the cooperation of our body. And the greater the participation of our body has been in the play—the more gestures participated in the playing out of the reception at first—the better will this past impression be expressed subsequently, the more efficiently will the stored facts be released, for memories are not ideas, much less images built into us, but gestures involving the whole of the human compound. Memory being gestural replay, the better the play—the intussusception—the better the re-play—the memory.
The original language then is corporeal, it is the expression of the entire body, of the entire being, of the whole of man. The gestures by which man replays can be differentiated according to the part of the body onto which the expression is transposed, according to which element of the human compound is called upon for expression of the impression: the body as a whole, the eyes, ears, hands, the phonatory system—gesticulation can be corporeal, manual, ocular, auricular, or laryngo-buccal. Man went from corporage to manuélage to langage as global language was progressively concentrated in manual language—the sign language of the hands—and in laryngo-buccal language—that of the phonatory system, a gesticulatory reduction explained by a concern to economize energy and to free movement for purposes other than communication. This evolution is there for all to see, in all human beings who do not rely on writing—the “still spontaneous” peoples, children, deaf and dumb persons—and, on a secondary plane, in most verbal expression of literates, especially when emotion “takes over”, clearly signaling that corporeal, ocular, and manual gesticulation is imbedded in the anthropos, that it is properly anthropological.

The Oral Style

The shift from mimic global, corporeal, and gestural language to laryngo-buccal language is a vital one, for at this point man moves away from anthropology into ethnology: the initial global universal and spontaneous mimage becomes localized conventional and socialized langage” Living in a particular society, in a particular ethnic milieu that imposes upon him a language and a behaviour through which he is going to express himself, man relates in the second place to his ethnic milieu. Nevertheless, Jousse’s “ethnic laboratory” reveals to him, under a great diversity of cultural, social and linguistic mechanisms, underlying, unchanged anthropological laws—common strains in graphic and oral testimonies which form a style: the oral style. These stylistic laws are:

1. *Le rythmo-mimisme*: the law of rhythm-mimicry. Man is a mimic, he receives, registers, plays, and replays his actual experiences; as movement is possible in sequence only, mimicry is necessarily linked with rhythm.

2. *Le bilatéralisme*: the law of bilateralism. Man can only express himself in accordance with his physical structure which is bilateral—left and right, up and down, back and forth—and like his global and manual expression, his verbal expression will tend to be bilateral, to balance symmetrically, following a physical and physiological need for equilibrium. Hence the omnipresence of parallelism in oral style, not just
in form, but also in thought as the recurrent recourse to comparison and analogy shows.

3. *Le formulisme*: the law of formulism. The biological tendency towards the stereotyping of gestures creates habit, which ensures immediate, easy and sure replay; it is a facilitating psycho-physiological device as it organizes the intussusceptions and the mnesic replay in automatism — acquired devices necessary to a firm basis for action. Formulism is a storehouse linking up with memory in order to maintain firm teaching, founded on a faithful tradition. In the oral style, stereotyped formulas adapt flexibly to a concrete reality, as the traditional formulas can be juxtaposed in new, more or less original combinations, although these will always accord with the physical laws of the body from which they arose.

These three anthropological laws underpin the oral style, which is thus profoundly rooted in the body, hence its great efficacy from the mnemotechnical point of view for in it the movement of body and voice contribute to the shaping of thought in a memorizable form. Jousse studied in particular these anthropological oral style laws and their interplay with an ethnic milieu in the Old and the New Testaments.

Endeavouring to find the voice of Jesus in the Gospels, he asked the following questions: What language did Christ speak? In what milieu did he teach? In what form did he receive the tradition, the “Scripture”? What form did his own teachings take and how were they in turn transmitted by his disciples? This meant detecting and analyzing the memorizing techniques of expression of the Rabbis of Israel as they can be reconstructed from the written version of the Old Testament and which ensured the dogmatic fixity and the recitational correctness of the transmission from mouth to mouth: the balancings, formulae, clamp-words, memorizing rhythms and melodies which will naturally — ethnically — be those of the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth who memorized them for thirty years, and which can be retraced too in the various written versions of the New testament: in him the texts of the Rabbis find their echo and realization. The written text of the Gospels is a palimpsest under which lies the oral tradition. Under the Greek, a mere transfer-translation, are found, repeated and memorized orally from childhood by the Aramaic speaking people of Galilee, the original Aramaic formulas of the Targums which had previously, after Babylon, been translated for the people from the Hebrew. Under the Greek phonemes can be found the Aramaic phonemes and the anthropological mimemes which restore the original and gestural logic of the Palestinian ethnic milieu, its mindset and its expression. Specifically structured in Aramaic, thought in Hebrew, these texts in their structure and thought can be discovered beneath the Greek text, and from behind the Greek transfer-translation of
the Gospel the voiced Gospel of Christ himself can be heard, the one learnt by
the disciples, but which could only be spread over the world in Greek. Only by
replacing the Gospel in the Galilean environment where it originated can it be
fully and correctly understood, and Christianity can only be understood through
judaism. Thus Jousse demythifies the person of Jesus, of Christ, to prove Him to
be rigorously historical as Rabbi Ieshua of Nazareth, whose teaching is a technical
construct in accordance with the pedagogical rules of his milieu and of his time: He
was anthropologically and ethnically informed by Israel.

*Formative Educational Value of Anthropological Oral Style*

When global anthropological immediate *mimage* becomes localized ethnically mediated *langage*, the real and its expression become separated. In ethnic
language, socialized expression clouds the deep anthropological mechanisms to the
point where they are forgotten. If all expression implies a process of abstraction—
something is drawn from reality, abstracted from reality — anthropological expression
uses concrete abstraction, drawn directly from the real, as opposed to algebraic
abstraction, which is cut loose from reality. Such separation of the real and its
expression becomes even more problematic with the introduction of writing, when
gestural replay becomes graphic replay with the concomitant danger of such graphic
replay replaying itself and its social restrictions rather than experienced reality. The
generalisation and predominance of writing in modern society also lead to the near-
abandonment of much of the original anthropological means of communication,
especially as Western education became dualistic, separating the development
of body and soul (e.g. Jousse called gymnastics *un trémoussement absurde*—
“an absurd jiggling”). By ignoring the mnemonic faculties and mnemotechnical
devices of oral society and oral style, cultures of the written word are depriving
themselves, indeed to the point of mutilation, of what is one of their constituent
parts and which therefore holds extremely powerful educational potential. Without
questioning the gains of literacy, Jousse wanted to minimize the losses incurred by
its introduction. He was therefore an ardent proponent of a renewal of pedagogical
methods, founded on a global anthropology which reveals the psychosomatic
conditions for an efficient oral communication, built on the motor elements of the
indivisible human compound. It is such reconstruction of the original Palestinian
rythmo-melodies transposed into French that Jousse undertook in his Laboratoire
d’Anthropologie Rythmo-pédagogique in Paris from 1928 onward in order to test
the practical pedagogical benefits that could be derived from his findings on oral
style in a modern literate environment.
Jousse reconstituted fifty-six recitatives of the Gospels according to the laws of oral style which his learners assimilated—“intussusceptioned”—gesture by gesture, formula by formula, schema by schema, mirroring and echoing a live teacher as was the case in the global teaching of the Rabbis of Israel. Because the living rapport between teacher and learner is so basic to these pedagogics, Jousse and his “rhythmo-melodizers,” Mlles. Gabrielle Desgrées du Loû and Gabrielle Baron, steadfastly refused to have recordings made of these recitatives, although the latter later relented and had the complete series of fifty-six recitatives recorded on four fifty-minute video-cassettes. The very last session given by Mlle Baron in June 1986—she was then ninety years old—is available as the “Vidéo-Testament” de Gabrielle Baron.

Bibliography

Works By Jousse

Published


*The Oral Style* consists of two parts. “The Anthropological Foundations of Oral Style” treats the psycho-physiological foundations of all oral style, in all cultures that do not have writing at their immediate disposal: in man all is gesture and all human gesture obeys universal laws; speech is laryngo-buccal gesture and, in its universal characteristics, spontaneous oral expression reflects these laws of gesture; there is therefore a true oral style. The second part, “The Oral Style,” concentrates on the characteristics of oral style itself, on the mnemonic faculties and the mnemotechnical devices of oral style milieux, with particular attention to the implications of this anthropological research for the study and understanding of the New Testament and of Jesus of Nazareth.

Thirteen essays published between 1931 and 1952. They are, in the order Jousse wanted them to be read:
The first twelve essays are in the main reproduced in the three volumes published posthumously (see below). The thirteenth appeared in book form: it represents the living mechanism of Palestinian oral style and it contains, apart from a succinct introduction on the principles and characteristics of oral style, and in order of increasing complexity, a bi-colour graphic and typographic representation of fifty parallel rhythmic rabinic recitatives translated by Jousse into French. It strikingly brings out their fixed and varying parts, in black and red respectively.

Three volumes published posthumously under the general heading Anthopologie du Geste, Paris, Gallimard:

L’Anthropologie du Geste, 1974
La Manducation de la Parole, 1975
Le Parlant, la Parole et le Souffle, 1978
Of volume I, chapter 1 (“Le rythmisme”) and chapter 2 (“Le bilatéralisme”) were assembled by Jousse himself and are based on lectures and essays. In order to complete the ternary construct of Jousse’s schema, the editor has added the unaltered essay 11 under the title “Le Formulisme.” Volume II is composed of essay XII (“La manducation”) without its conclusion (“La Méthodologie gallo-galiléenne”), omitted for the sake of unity so as to link up directly with part II (“La Manducation de l’Enseigneur dans le milieu paysan galiléen” — “The manducation of the teacher in the Galilean peasant milieu”). Volume III is composed of six chapters, which are respectively essays 2, 1, 3, 7 (partly), 10, and 9 followed by a short conclusion on “The Gallo-Galilean Tradition” — for Jousse saw united in his research as in his person the traditions of his land of birth and those of the Promised Land, a vision on which he expands in the conclusion of essay 12 and in the first item of the unpublished work.

*The Anthropology of Gesture* initiates us in what Jousse sees as the three basic anthropological laws, each studied in particular in the Hebreo-Aramaic tradition: rhythmo-mimism, bilateralism (from which is derived the parallelism that characterises oral style), and formulism — the latter exemplified by the Lord’s Prayer, composed of a series of targumic formulas used as living dominos by Rabbi Ieshua of Nazareth.

*The Manducation of the Word* explains the techniques that allowed rigorously exact memorization and transmission of the Word from generation to generation over 2000 years: manducation by the mouth used for the consumption of food as well as for the emission of speech, the teaching received by the learner being a true nourishment from the teacher.

*Speech, the Word, and Spirit* concentrates on the anthropology of language and of significant gesture: human mimism is inseparable from the style with which the very being of man expresses itself, his body, his hands. The learner becomes, from childhood, the living receptacle of a family and national tradition which is received as being divine and as making divine: it is the creative, accepted, eternal Word, it is also the truth, the *souffle de vérité* — the breath, the spirit of truth.


“Une science en pointillé” in *Cahiers Marcel Jousse* 1, 1987, 11-14. Extract from a lecture given by Jousse on 27 November 1933 at the Ecole d’Anthropologie. The “dotted line” is that of the new science of experimental linguistic anthropology created by Jousse, who took it out of
the hands of metaphysicians and philologists to whom it almost exclusively belonged, but who could do no more than indicate a direction and sketch a basic methodology. Language being gesticulation, this new anthropology of gesture should be applied in psychiatry, in cases such as apraxia and aphasia, and in pedagogics which should study the spontaneous play of human mechanisms in children.

**Unpublished**


The lectures given by Marcel Jousse from 1931 to 1957 at various academic institutions, mainly in Paris. Taken down in stenography and later typed, they are available in Paris at the Ecole d’Anthropologie, the Institut Catholique, and the office of the Association Marcel Jousse. All announcements of Jousse’s lectures stated: “Ce Cours a pour but de rechercher une liaison entre les Disciplines Psychologiques, Ethnologiques, et Pédagogiques.” (“This course aims at linking the disciplines of psychology, ethnology, and pedagogics”).

At the Sorbonne, Amphithéâtre Turgot, from 1931 until 1945 and again from 1951 till 1957, under the general title *La Psychologie du Geste et du Rythme*, before an *auditoire libre* and therefore of varied interests, but with a large number of students and teachers of philosophy, of psychologists and sociologists to whom he presented his new anthropology of gesture (246 lectures).

At the Ecole d’Anthropologie, from 1932 to 1950, on *The Anthropology of Language*: origin of language, gesture, writing and on mimism and mimicry in general. Lectures on the rhythmic recitatives of the rabbis of Israel and especially on Rabbi Ieshua of Nazareth. The post-war lectures were entitled: “The Anthropology of Language and the Colonization;” “The Anthropology of Language and Civilizations;” “The Anthropology of Language and the Gallo-Galilean Civilization—its Gestures, its mimism and its methodology.” His public consists mostly of doctors, psychiatrists,
ethnologists, and anthropologists (351 lectures).

At the Ecole des Hautes Etudes, from 1933 to 1945, on the psycho-physiological laws of memory in the Palestinian oral style, Old and New Testaments. Public: mostly people involved in religion. Here he demonstrates the oral composition of the Gospels: texts of the childhood of Ieshua by witnesses, the doctrinal teachings of Ieshua himself and the compositions of the learners, the disciples having become themselves teachers of the works and words of their Rabbi (300 lectures).

In the Laboratoire de Rythmo-pédagogie, from 1933 to 1940—an experimental laboratory he himself founded and where the laws of evangelical oral style were studied and put into practice. Lectures on the evangelical pedagogics and on their application in primary education. Public: especially future pre-primary teachers.

At the Faculté de Philosophie de Jersey, 1934-37. Fifty-four lectures on anthropology and on psychological technology, the anthropology of mimism and the Palestinian psychology, the anthropology of mimism and the problem of knowledge in the Palestinian ethic milieu.


On Jousse and His Work

Astoux 1987  

Bailly 1981  

Baron 1977  

Baron 1981  

Baron 1982  

Beauperin 1977  
Beauperin 1987  

Boucly 1935  

Brihat 1982  

Chouraqui 1979  

Delpech 1966  

Doucet 1988  

Fédrig 1976  

Figeac 1987  

Flagny 1930  

Fromont 1978  

Fromont 1987  

Hagège 1984  

Houis 1979  

Jacquin 1929  

Jousse 1990  

Kovalevsky 1970  

Lecoq 1987  
MARCEL JOUSSE


Scheffer 1987  

Sibiodon 1988  

Sulivan 1977  

Thomas 1941  

Toupence and Dormoy-Moussier 1988  