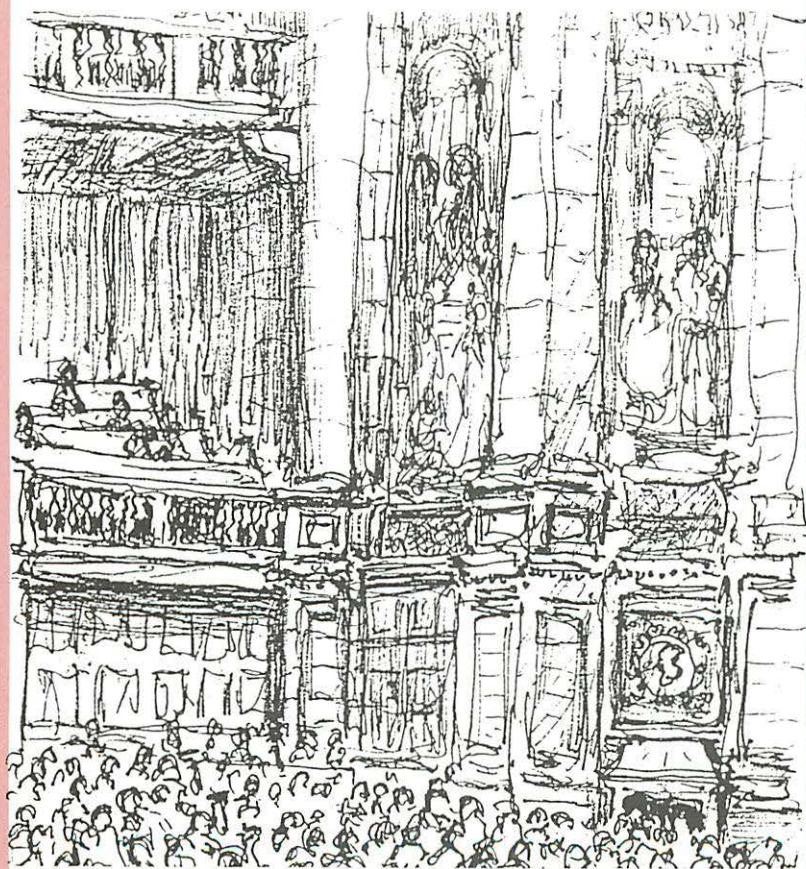


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Nonverbal Communication in the Classics: Research Opportunities

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1. Rationale and Purpose

The criticism of Greek and Roman literature has a very long history indeed, stretching back to classical antiquity. The field is, in common parlance, 'well-plowed'. Some have even argued that there is little left to do, little in the way of original interpretations and evaluations of the Classics.

A published paper ought ... to say something "new and true". The opportunities for this in classics are less than in more modern subjects, unless one is willing to work in highly specialized ancillary disciplines like papyrology or epigraphy or to edit authors whom no one reads.... Concern that classics may go the way of phylogeny, comparative anatomy, and geography, though exaggerated, is not unfounded. The chief duty of their practitioners is to transmit the known rather than discover the new (Calder 1981: 242).

This pessimistic view of things is unjustified.¹ The masterpieces of Greek and Roman literature are complex artistic creations; the store of meaning reposed in them is no more exhaustible than that in more recent literary achievements. They are susceptible to analysis through modern critical techniques and interpretive perspectives; under such examination, they continue to disclose previously undetected meanings. No one, for example, would claim that the style of Homeric epic had been fully appreciated before the comparative work of Milman Parry. Successive movements and methods in literary criticism — formalism and 'New Criticism', myth criticism, structuralism, deconstruction, reader-response criticism, etc. — con-

tinue to enlarge our understanding of ancient as well as modern texts. Interdisciplinary approaches can be especially effective. Pre-Freudian discussion of, say, dreams in Greek epic (cf. Devereux 1957: 381-382) or tragedy (cf. Devereux 1976) had certainly not exhaustively stated what was 'new and true' on the subject.

It is a fact that scholars have elaborately explicated the significance of spoken communications by characters or narrators in classical literature. Rhetorical tropes, metaphors, similes, *paradeigmata*, syntax, word choice, verbal music — all have been painstakingly tabulated and evaluated. By comparison, however, critics have not adequately attended to the unspoken or nonverbal communications in the classics. Although they have occasionally discussed gesture in literature,² classicists have not often drawn on the large and growing body of modern research in nonverbal communication.³ Thus, much may still be learned about ancient literature by adopting this new angle of approach, combining the disciplines of psychology, sociology, anthropology, speech theory, and physiology among others.⁴

My purpose is to suggest ways in which one may fruitfully evaluate the representation of nonverbal communication in Greek and Roman authors.⁵ Especially profitable subjects of inquiry are physique, clothing, and personal artifacts; gestures, posture, and bodily movements (*kinesics*); facial expression, including gaze and eye behavior; and bodily contact, territoriality, and spatial behavior (*proxemics*). Some very interesting studies of such phenomena in later texts have already demonstrated the positive results that may be achieved by the literary critical investigation of nonverbal behavior.⁶ The rationale for such work is well stated in E.T. Hall's early effort to point out the value of literary evidence as "a key to perception" in regard to spatial behavior or *proxemics*: "Writers, like painters, are often concerned with space. Their success in communicating perception depends upon the use of visual and other clues to convey different degrees of closeness..."; he cites passages from Shakespeare, Thoreau, Butler, Twain, St.-Exupéry, Kafka, and Yasunari Kawabata illustrative of "how great writers perceive and communicate the meaning and uses of distance as a significant cultural factor in interpersonal relations" (Hall 1966: 94).

I will, then, focus on the depiction of nonverbal communication as an intrinsic element in the subject matter of various compositions. In general, such depictions are part and parcel of the artistry of a given author. It should be pointed out that ancient writers also sometimes discussed nonver-

bal communication per se quite directly (see Volkmann 1985: 573-580). Quintilian's extended treatment of gestures as features of good oratory is, of course, well known.⁷ He has recommendations for the proper positioning and movement of various parts of the body to achieve particular desired effects.⁸ Two shorter passages from Cicero are also noteworthy. In the *De Partitione Oratoria*, the great master of Latin prose style asserts that

it is most important for the speaker to modify his delivery in correspondence with the variations of his matter and also of his language. For he invests his speech with lucidity, brilliance, convincingness and charm *not by his language but by changes of voice, by gestures and by glances*, which will be most efficacious if they harmonize with the class of speech and conform to its effect and variety.⁹

And in his *De Oratore*, in a passage stressing the importance of the orator's self-arousal for effective instigation of emotion in his audience, Cicero very nearly anticipates modern findings in regard to sensory feedback loops:

It is impossible for the listener to feel indignation, hatred or ill-will, to be terrified of anything, or reduced to tears of compassion, unless all those emotions, which the advocate would inspire in the arbitrator, are visibly stamped or rather branded on the advocate himself.... The very quality of the diction, employed to stir the feelings of others, stirs the speaker himself even more deeply than any of his hearers.¹⁰

The center of focus here will not be such direct observations on the nature of nonverbal communication. Rather, I will select narrative or dramatic passages in which nonverbal phenomena are integral to an overall artistic design that may usefully be approached from this vantage point. For the purposes of the argument, I will unravel a bit the threads of the compositional fabric in an effort to understand more fully the reasons for the effectiveness of a specific scene or passage. The following are not finished, detailed analyses; rather, they are hints for future research.

2. Personal Appearance

Face-to-face interactions involve communication by physical appearance — like it or not. In a very influential book, Erving Goffman (1959) has perceptively used the metaphor of dramatic performance to describe aspects of our “presentation of self” in daily life. One component in such presentation is physical appearance. Attesting to the importance of this element are

efforts made to control appearance, to enhance features thought positive and to conceal or mute those thought negative. The management of impression entails the choice of items of dress (including badges and other insignia) and the use of cosmetics, prosthetics, and jewelry, among other things. The presentation of self in classical literature is a potentially rewarding area of research. Greek and Roman authors were often concerned with the divergence between appearance and reality. Preoccupation with dress and appearance is a principal feature of Roman satirical writing. Juvenal, for example, goes so far as to say the appearance of poverty is the most painful aspect of the condition (3.147-153). The situation of persons being other than what they seem is often exploited; usually, it is an instance of clashing verbal and nonverbal signals.¹¹ Such is the case with the fluent but ugly Thersites in *Iliad* 2; and Odysseus, of course, made a career of defeating expectations based on appearance, beginning even in the *Iliad*:

he would just stand and stare down, eyes fixed on the ground beneath him nor would he gesture with the staff backward and forward, but hold it clutched hard in front of him, like any man who knows nothing. Yes, you would call him a sullen man, and a fool likewise. But when he let the great voice go from his chest, and the words came drifting down like the winter snows, then no other mortal man beside could stand up against Odysseus. Then we wondered less beholding Odysseus' outward appearance.¹²

The intensely anthropomorphic Greco-Roman conception of the gods meant that human appearance was no guarantee of human essence. This circumstance is frequently used to good ironic effect, as, for example, during the interview between Telemachus and the disguised Athena in *Odyssey* 1. Indeed, the gods regularly rely on dissimulation as a means of testing mortals, as in the comic-macabre interactions of Pentheus and the "stranger" in Euripides' *Bacchae*. Mortals must learn to be cautious in their dealings with strangers. As the suitors say to the insolent Antinoös in the *Odyssey*,

the gods do take on all sorts of transformations, appearing as strangers from elsewhere, and thus they range at large through the cities, watching to see which men keep the laws, and which are violent.¹³

Many of the stories in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* center on such tests.¹⁴

A related area of inquiry is stigma, in the rather broad sense in which Erving Goffman (1963: 2-3) has defined it:

While the stranger is present before us, evidence can arise of his possessing an attribute that makes him different from others in the category of persons available for him to be, and of a less desirable kind — in the extreme, a person who is quite thoroughly bad, or dangerous, or weak. He is thus reduced in our minds from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one. Such an attribute is a stigma, especially when its discrediting effect is very extensive; sometimes it is also called a failing, a shortcoming, a handicap. It constitutes a special discrepancy between virtual and actual social identity.

Persons afflicted by such a 'special discrepancy' may adopt various strategies in their social interactions. They may try to 'pass,' they may seek to limit damage by information control, they may seek solace in the company of others likewise afflicted, they may even flaunt their handicap to amuse and gain acceptance from 'normals.'

There are obvious examples of visible differentness affecting an individual's social identity (actual or perceived) in classical literature. One thinks of Thersites, Philoctetes,¹⁵ or the self-blinded Oedipus. Perhaps more interesting, however, are cases of less conspicuous special discrepancies. Might not Antigone's personality (or Phaedra's) be better understood as that of a character motivated by a strong sense of difference from normal individuals?

You speak of my darkest thought, my pitiful father's fame
spread through all the world, and the doom that haunts our house,
the royal house of Thebes.
My mother's marriage-bed.
Destruction where she lay with her husband-son,
my father. These are my parents and I their child.¹⁶

In Roman literature, Petronius's *Satyricon* provides a riotous profusion of appearances and realities. Virtually every character is attempting to 'pass' by posing as something he or she is not. Among the social stigmas being dissembled are low social status (slave, freedman, non-aristocrat), sexual impotence or ambiguity, low financial status, lack of education, criminal background, etc. Clothing, hair style, jewelry, insignia, all are used calculatedly.¹⁷ They complement, reinforce, and sometimes ironically undercut the disclosure of social status by topics of conversation, for example, at the dinner with Trimalchio (*Satyricon* 26-78). In the world Petronius fashions, every presented self is discreditable, every interaction strategic.¹⁸ Anxiety and fear of exposure inform much of the plot.

3. Bodily Signals

The ancients knew very well that bodily movements and gestures were an important channel of communication. As we have mentioned, orators in particular knew that the physical signals sent by the speaker's body could either increase or, if not properly managed, undermine the persuasive power of his words. Thus, theoreticians like Quintilian made quite elaborate prescriptions for bodily movement during speech.

However, not only the orator, but every speaker, when in the presence of an addressee, is — like it or not — emitting bodily signals.¹⁹ These may be voluntary or involuntary, intended or unintended, obvious to all or only self-perceptible.²⁰ The importance of this channel of communication is shown by the fact that, when spoken and unspoken signals are at variance, the unspoken is usually taken to be the more reliable indication of true feelings.²¹

Of interest to the literary critic are scenes in which a character is either sending signals unawares or is struggling to manage involuntary messages. Directed to specific literary issues, nonverbal communication research might clarify the, so to say, nosology and semiology of unexpressed/unrequited love in classical drama (e.g., Euripides; Plautus and Terence) and lyric poetry (e.g., Sappho,²² Catullus). At the beginning of Euripides' *Hippolytus*, for example, Phaedra's conscience will not permit her to disclose her psychic turmoil verbally, yet cannot prevent her body from 'leaking' information about her distress. Euripides "subtly allows physical symptoms to reveal inner tension" (Lesky 1965: 152). One might usefully examine the specific significance of Phaedra's various behaviors (anorexia, head tossing, binding and loosening of clothing and hair, etc.), behaviors that (on some level, intentionally?) encode messages about mental states and force the Nurse to play "twenty questions."²³

The abstention from speech, in and of itself, is also a nonverbal communication (see, in general, Bruneau 1973 and Poyatos 1981b). Aias' snubbing of Odysseus (*Odyssey* 11) and Dido's of Aeneas (*Aeneid* 6) are well-known examples of pregnant silences (see Besslich 1966, Cramer 1976). One might also consider instances of bodily 'silence' or physical inactivity, as in momentary paralysis or hesitation. Aeneas, for example, is occasionally frozen by fear, as during the storm at sea in *Aeneid* 1, or hesitant at critical moments, as when he does not know how to respond to Dido in Book 4 or to Turnus in Book 12.²⁴ Indeed, the latter scene is among the best examples in the epic of nonverbal signals (physical appearance, posture,

and dress, eye movement, gesture, etc.) supplanting or overriding the verbal:

Aeneas checked
a savage blow; his eye wavered, he halted;
his hesitation had grown with every word.
Just then at shoulder-peak he saw the baldric,
proclaimed by clasp and shining studs the belt
of Pallas, the lad whom Turnus fought and killed:
he wore it — spoils of the fallen, an ill-starred prize.
Aeneas, seeing the trophy, felt fierce pangs
revive; a flame of fury and dreadful rage
flared up ...²⁵

Doomed Turnus' dress speaks louder than his words.²⁶

4. Facial Expressions

The human face — in repose and in movement, at the moment of death as in life, in silence and in speech, when seen or sensed from within, in actuality or as represented in art or recorded by the camera — is a commanding, complicated, and at times confusing source of information. The face is commanding because of its very visibility and omnipresence. While sounds and speech are intermittent, the face even in repose can be informative. And, except by veils or masks, the face cannot be hidden from view (Ekman 1982:1).

The human face is an extremely versatile instrument of communication (both intended and unintended). There are literally thousands of facial expressions which, though many are micromomentary, effectively serve a wide range of purposes. They may substitute for or intensify a verbal communication, convey or conceal an emotion, establish or modify the parameters of social interaction, regulate the efficient exchange of words. Modern researchers have explored such functions of facial signals in great detail. A first step in the examination of facial expression in the classics must be the taking of inventory, that is, the compilation of a lexicon of descriptive terms. Some facial expressions are universally recognized, perhaps even phylogenetic in character, and easily indicated in a general way in words: smiling, scowling, etc. But finer discriminations among, say, types of smiles or eyebrow movements,²⁷ are not easily denoted in words. A systematic review of vocabulary would be very useful. And even granting that no purely verbal indication of an expression can capture exactly its visual impact, the surveying of terminology will alert us to the extent of

descriptions of facial expression in the work of a given author as well as to significant patterns or breaches of patterns in the deployment of such descriptions.²⁸

Having gathered the data for verbal descriptions of nonverbal communication, we may then assess it both on its own merits and as it coordinates with spoken communications in the given work. Are there, for example, cases in which the unspoken elements clarify or heighten the spoken? Do nonverbal signals appear to be at variance with verbal? How are such mixed messages read by characters involved? An especially important but problematic area for such study is drama.²⁹ Obviously, the use of masks reduced to one the number of emotional signals that an actor could send facially. For a modern audience, accustomed to cinema, in which an actor's face may fill a movie screen, it is difficult to imagine the effects of such a limitation in the range of this channel of communication. And, indeed, there is evidence that the ancients themselves felt this limitation to be a drawback:

Everything depends on the countenance, while the countenance itself is dominated by the eyes; hence our older generation were better critics, who used not to applaud even Roscius very much when he wore a mask. For delivery is wholly the concern of the feelings, and these are mirrored by the face and expressed by the eyes (*De Oratore* 3.221).

Cicero also often saw (or imagined he saw) emotion flashing through the eyes of the actor's mask.³⁰ A valuable study might concentrate on the efforts of ancient dramatists to compensate verbally or by other bodily gestures for lack of messages carried by changing facial expression.³¹ Moments of alarm or sudden recognition would be a good starting place.³² For example, what G. Devereux has cleverly explicated as the "psychotherapy scene" in Euripides' *Bacchae* (1168 ff.) (Devereux 1970a) contains the single most difficult sequence of events in Greek tragedy to manage without change of facial expression. The dialogue between Cadmus and Agave requires careful reexamination in light of the constraint of fixed facial mien.

Of the various parts of the human face, the eyes are the most expressive. These 'windows of the soul'³³ can convey very definite messages quite apart from verbal communications.³⁴ The study of eye behavior in classical authors could reveal much about their representation of human interactions. An investigation of scowling (the formula *hypodra idôn*) in Homer led to larger conclusions regarding the apparent or putative status claims operative in scenes of verbal interaction (Holoka 1983). A more inclusive

study of eye behavior in the epics remains to be done. What, for example, does the verb *ossomai* denote or connote, especially when modified by the adverb *kakon/kaka*? How does it differ from, say, (*deinon*) *derkesthai*?

In Latin literature, the topos *oculi sunt in amore duces* in love elegy (especially Propertius and Ovid) might be reconsidered on the basis of studies of the role of gaze, eye contact, and pupil dilation in human interactions (e.g., Rubin 1970, Argyle and Cook 1975, Anderson et al. 1980). One might also consider scopophilia as a theme in Petronius' *Satyricon* (e.g., section 26 — unobserved observers; section 78 — the observed unobserved observer!).

5. Spatial Behavior (Proxemics)

Virtually everything that man is and does is associated with the experience of space. Man's sense of space is a synthesis of many sensory inputs: visual, auditory, kinesthetic, olfactory, and thermal. Not only does each of these constitute a complex system — as, for example, the dozen different ways of experiencing depth visually — but each is molded and patterned by culture (Hall 1966: 181).

In his book on the role of the human experience of space, E.T. Hall discriminates four "distances in man": intimate, personal, social, and public, each with a close and a far phase. He discusses in some detail how such proxemic patterns are constituted and how they vary from one culture to another. He stresses the importance of the ability "to recognize these various zones of involvement and the activities, relationships, and emotions associated with each" (Hall 1966: 129). A study of classical literature from the perspective of "zones of involvement" could reveal much about spatial behavior and its implications both in specific authors and in their culture at large. On a purely mechanical level, for example, the layout of the Greek theater and the physical location of dramatic actions in that theater no doubt had important implications.³⁵

In the *Iliad*, for example, space and the integrity of precisely delimited regions or territories play a major part in the behavior and motivations of individuals. The walled space of Troy, the entrenched position of the Achaean ships and encampment, the contested region of the plain between city and ships — these are obvious instances of what may be called territorial incentives on the level of public distance. But there is also frequently a subtler interplay of personalities within the personal and social zones of

involvement. When Chryses, (significantly) in his priestly regalia, comes to appeal face-to-face to Agamemnon, the latter refuses him with the following warning:

Never let me find you again, old sir, near our hollow
ships, neither lingering now nor coming again hereafter,
for fear your staff and the god's ribbons help you no longer (1.26-28).

The king's space is off limits. Moreover, he taunts the priest with the idea of the distance that will separate him physically from his beloved daughter:

The girl I will not give back; sooner will old age come upon her
in my own house, in Argos, far from her own land, going
up and down by the loom and being in my bed as my companion (1.29-31).

Notice, besides the merciless emphasis on the distance of separation, Agamemnon's claim to possession both personal ("in my own house") and intimate ("in my bed").

Agamemnon's relations with Achilles, too, are conditioned by a sense of space(s) violated. In the course of their argument in Book 1, the king threatens to come in person (*autos*, line 185) to Achilles' shelter, that is to transgress his personal space,³⁶ and to take Achilles' woman, that is to transgress his intimate space as well!³⁷ Although Agamemnon in the event does not go in person,³⁸ Achilles takes the affront as directly personal, reporting to his mother that Agamemnon took the girl himself (again, *autos*, line 356).

Another interesting investigation might be made of accounts of human behavior as affected by the lack of space. Thucydides, for example, in his famous narrative of the plague that struck Athens, emphasizes the morally aberrant and repugnant behavior of his fellow citizens. The disregard of conventional mores is almost more horrifying to him than the physical symptoms of the malaise. He is in fact describing what modern students of proxemics label a 'behavioral sink.' A number of important studies of animal behavior have established the deleterious psychological, social, and physiological effects of stress associated with overcrowding. In particular, lack of adequate space is accompanied by aggressive and other anti-social behaviors and by changes in the activity of glands, both exocrine and endocrine, in a vicious cycle:

When aggressiveness increases, animals need more space. If no more space is available, as occurs when populations are approaching a maximum, a chain reaction is started. A blowup of aggressiveness and sex-

ual activity and accompanying stresses overload the adrenals. The result is a population collapse due to lowering of the fertility rate, increased susceptibility to disease, and mass mortality from hypoglycemic shock.³⁹

I do not mean to assert that the plague at Athens was caused solely by overcrowding of the population, but that psychological factors play a role in physical well-being is abundantly clear. Siege descriptions in classical literature might repay a careful reexamination from the perspective of modern research on the effects of overcrowding.

6. Conclusion

The possibilities for analysis and interpretation I have touched upon are by no means exhaustive. Equally productive investigations of other sorts of nonverbal behavior in classical literature could be undertaken. Allusions to smell and taste need reevaluation (e.g., Burton). The whole area of paralinguistic cues needs study.⁴⁰ How, for example, do ancient authors indicate such phenomena as (a) vocal characterizers, like laughing, weeping, belching, yawning, (b) vocal qualifiers, such as volume, pitch, intonation,⁴¹ or (c) vocal segregates, including 'shh', and nonverbal assent or dissent utterances like 'uh-huh'?⁴² How, if at all, are the tempo and rhythm of speech or the use of pauses conveyed? What are the assumed implications of how something is said, quite apart from what is said? Classicists are well trained to search for answers to these and other questions regarding the handling of nonverbal communication in literature. Their discipline, requiring a mastery of two ancient languages, puts a very high premium on determination of precise significance. Untold numbers of doctoral dissertations have been devoted to the painstaking delineation of the semantic field of individual words or groups of words. Sensitized to the special communicative potentials of nonverbal behavior through familiarity with modern research, classicists would be ideally equipped to detect and elucidate material largely overlooked till now, and to, yet again, say much that is "new and true" about Greek and Roman literature.

NOTES

1. Calder's remarks provoked a chorus of dissent: Newton (1981) and Callahan et al. (1981).
2. Most earlier work has been in the collection of references — see, e.g., Sittl (1890), still useful as a compendium of citations; see also Grajew (1934) on gestural language in Greek epic and Evans (1948) on physical appearance in Homer, Apollonius Rhodius, Vergil, Ovid, Lucan, Valerius Flaccus, Silius Italicus, and Statius. A recent concise sketch of the late pagan and Christian iconographical significance of gesture and bearing in literature and (mainly) art is Kötting (1978).
3. A recent exception is the model study by Lateiner (1987).
4. E.g., dance therapy and ethnology, motor learning, psycholinguistics, ethology, physical education and therapy; see Davis and Skupien (1982).
5. For preliminary definitions and distinctions indispensable to such study, see Ekman and Friesen (1969) and Poyatos (1986).
6. For a good discussion of the theoretical implications, see Poyatos (1981a). On specific writers: Windeatt (1979) on Chaucer, Homan (1980) and Cobin (1983) on Shakespeare, Höfle (1981) on Dante, Roberts (1982) on Fitzgerald, Schmid (1984) on Chekov, Portch (1985) on Hawthorne, Hemingway, and Flannery O'Connor, and Marmot Raim (1986) on Maupassant.
7. *Institutiones Oratoriae* 11.3.65 ff.; the Roman author's remarks on hand gestures as a *communis sermo* of all peoples are quoted as a starting point in Bates (1975).
8. Cf. the pseudo-Ciceronian *Ad Herennium* 3.15.26-27.
9. 7.25 (my emphasis); all translations of Cicero are from H. Rackham (1942).
10. 2.189, 191. On the phenomenon of facial feedback (i.e. the arousal or modification of emotion through facial expression), see the succinct review of research in Ekman (1982). 169-171). Cf. N.H. Frijda (1986: 241): "Expressive behavior is important for emotional experience. Emotional experience consists, in part, of feedback from expressive behavior."
11. Ovid often capitalizes upon this in a piquantly morbid way: e.g., the hapless Io startled by her new, bovine 'voice' and physique in *Metamorphoses* 1.635-641.
12. 3.217-224, trans. Lattimore (1951).
13. 17.485-487, trans. Lattimore (1965); cf. the circumspection of Odysseus in *Odyssey* 13.221 ff.
14. E.g., 8.611-724 (Philemon and Baucis), 1.212 ff. (Jupiter and Lycaon); cf. *Fasti* 5.495 ff., where the old man Hyrieus proves nonverbally the sincerity of his verbal offer of hospitality to the disguised Jupiter and Mercury: *addidit et voluit verbis* The motif is common in other traditions as well; cf. Genesis 18 (the Lord and Abraham) and John 4:1-26 (Jesus and the Samaritan woman at Jacob's well).
15. Even among the gods, there is the lame Hephaestus. Cf. Pavlovskis (1989) on the implications of Aeschylus' portrayal of the god as lame (or not) in *Prometheus Bound*; she does note that "several of the words and phrases Hephaestus uses ... seem to be puns pointing to his own disability"

16. *Antigone* 857-866, trans. Wyckoff (1954). Cf. Euripides, *Hippolytus* 337-343 on the curse (=stigma) inherited from Pasiphaë.
17. See Auerbach (1953). For a good discussion of how "Petronius is fully aware of how to use language to characterize his different personalities in widely varying situations," see Knoche (1975: 120-23).
18. Cf. Witke (1970: 155-56): "Petronius presents a world where all human conduct is based upon self-gratification, usually achieved through eroticism, though also often enough through wealth and its display." On strategic interaction, see Goffman (1969).
19. The seminal work on human body motion as a form of communication is Birdwhistell (1970).
20. The polygraph test or 'lie detector' is an example of the magnification of bodily signals otherwise unperceived even (consciously at any rate) by the speaker.
21. See Bugental et al. (1970), Mehrabian (1972) and Argyle (1975) esp. 126-132; Argyle makes the point (362-363) that nonverbal signals are both more powerful and more likely to be genuine than verbal.
22. Devereux (1970b) has astutely analyzed the clinical picture of Sappho's physiological responses to the sight of her beloved; those responses are reported as nonverbal communications from body to mind or soul.
23. Euripides, in an earlier version of the *Hippolytus*, had made Phaedra reveal directly to Hippolytus her feelings for him (as in Seneca, *Phaedra* 640-671). Such audacity was considered too shocking, and the playwright's second *Hippolytus* eliminated the offensive scene. The revision also evidently entailed a greater reticence on Phaedra's part in general; see Knox (1952) for a brilliant analysis of the tension between silence and speech throughout the play. The recasting meant an intensified intra-psycho conflict communicated only nonverbally in the opening scenes.
24. The participle *cunctans* ('hesitating') is used of Aeneas only in these two passages: *Aeneid* 4.390, 12.940.
25. *Aeneid* 938-947, trans. Copley (1975).
26. The depth of meaning carried by the nonverbal signal is well characterized by Otis (1964: 380): "Turnus' [verbal] appeal for pity toward his father Daunus (934) was meeting an apparently favourable response from the pious son of Anchises ... when it was utterly extinguished by this [nonverbal] evidence of callous indifference to another father and son."
27. See, on Greek eyebrow gestures, Stanford (1959) at *Odyssey* 9.468.
28. Cf. Levine (1982), Holoka (1983), and Lateiner (1989) on, respectively, smiles and laughter, frowns, and teeth in Homeric epic.
29. Some good work has been done on gesture in Greek tragedy; see, e.g., Taplin (1978) and Mastronarde (1979), though neither makes much use of the findings of students of non-verbal communication outside the field of classical studies. For comedy, see, e.g., the discussion of 'bawdy gesture' in McLeish (1980: 103-108): "[bawdy gesture] links the verbal bawdy of the dialogue with older, non-verbal forms of phallic comedy."
30. *De Oratore* 2.193: "the actor-man's eyes seemed to me to be blazing behind his mask as he spoke."

31. Zoja Pavlovskis (1977) has argued persuasively that the distinctive quality of an actor's voice, which "admits of almost no camouflage," likely lent an ironic dimension to many Greek plays in which one actor sometimes played more than one role. Might there have been in addition distinctive gestural signatures evident even when the actor was not speaking?
32. E.g., *Oedipus Tyrannus* 728; cf. the note in Jebb (1885) *ad loc.*: "having turned around on account of (=startled by) what care, — like a man whom a sound at his back causes to turn in alarm: — far more expressive [viz. *hypostrapheis*] than *epistrapheis*, which would merely denote attention."
33. Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* 1.20.46. Cf. *De Oratore* 3.221: "[the eyes are] the only part of the body capable of producing as many indications and variations as there are emotions, and there is nobody who can produce the same effect with the eyes shut."
34. Consider, e.g., the hapless Iphigeneia described by the chorus in Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 239-246. Though bound and gagged, she 'shoots' her killers with meaning-laden, accusatory eye-shafts: Holoka (1985).
35. Cf. Rehm (1988) 307: "The fifth-century theater of Dionysus was irrepressibly three-dimensional — large, out-of-doors, and open — a far cry from the framed stage of a proscaenium-arch theater. An aggressively public space, this theater directs the performers out towards the orchestra and the audience, not back towards the *skene*."
36. See Horowitz et al. (1964) and Roger and Schalekamp (1976) on the significance of personal space for an individual's self-esteem and sense of security.
37. In his offer to return Briseis in *Iliad* 9, Agamemnon very explicitly assures Achilles that he has not violated the girl's (and by implication Achilles') bed (9.132-134).
38. Kirk (1985) *ad loc.* has a lengthy discussion of this apparent inconsistency, concluding rightly that it has not resulted from sloppy conflation of two versions and that "psychological subtleties" are involved; he observes, less convincingly, that there may be "a degree of oral inconsistency and imprecision."
39. Hall (1966: 38), paraphrasing the findings of Christian (1963); Hall also has a good summary (1966: 23-32) of the pioneering experiments conducted by Calhoun (1962) with Norway rats. Cf., more recently, McCain et al. (1976), and the bibliography by Mallenby and Roberts (1973).
40. The classification given here follows Malandro & Barker (1983: 279). On paralinguistics in general, see the concise discussion by Crystal (1975) and esp. Poyatos (in press a, b, 1992).
41. One would give much to know how Menelaus speaks the words addressed to Helen in *Odyssey* 4.266.
42. The Greek language is rich in flavoring particles that, while devoid of concrete semantic substance, function in all of the subtle ways defined by students of paralanguage. Saul Levin (1978) has argued that one such particle (*ê men*) may have been used in combination with a hand gesture.

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