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Kendon: Nonverbal Communication, Interaction and Gesture

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a political pamphlet; photographs, of course, are political. The author's interpretation is consistent with the manipulation of images and the essay's visual strategy. That is to say, the author's analysis of manipulated images is here intermingled with her own manipulations of the same material.

However, without and even with its "soft-sell" propagandistic elements, the essay is also a photographic history of Palestinian Arab society written from that society's perspective. The photographic self-discovery of Arab society is a complex task. Photography is not culturally valued. A religious text published in Cairo at the beginning of this century still treated photography as unlawful from the Islamic standpoint; only later texts, from the 1930s, tolerate it. Graham-Brown, in one of her readings, points to superstition—fear of the evil eye—as preventing people from posing for photographers. In addition, socio-economic conditions in pre-industrial societies were not favorable for a wider diffusion of photography. To the best of my knowledge, there were no Moslem photographers in nineteenth-century Palestine, and even later; and the majority of the population was Sunni-Moslem. One studio portrait in this book is credited to D. Subrinji. This photographer, signed elsewhere Dawid Sabounji, perhaps the first Arab photographer in Palestine, lived in Jaffa and took photographs of Jews and Jewish insitutions as early as 1892. I do not know of his photographs produced for an Arab clientele, or anything about his life (nor does Graham-Brown give any details). Khalil Raad, the first Arab photographer in Jerusalem, was a Christian from Lebanon. Afif Tannus, whose pictures are included in the book, has a Christian family name. Graham-Brown criticizes him as having "imbibed many of the paternalistic ideas common among the British (and Americans) in a co-Ionial setting." Family portraits in this book, except for one or two, are of Christian families. The photographers who took them are not identified

In conclusion, most of the photographed middle-class families, and most if not all of the photographers, are not representative of the attitudes toward photography prevailing among the majority of the indigenous population. Hence, the photographic self-discovery of the Arab Palestinian society in its historical dimension has to be based on systematic and critical analyses of photographs taken by others. Sarah Graham-Brown's essay contributes to the demystification of outward-manipulated images, and thus to a process of cultural decolonization. I therefore recommend it, with my expressed reservations, to the interested reader.

Adam Kendon, ed. Nonverbal Communication, Interaction and Gesture. New York: Mouton, 1981.

Reviewed by Bruce K. Eckman New School for Social Research

Mouton has decided to publish a series, *Approaches to Semiotics*, under the general editorship of Thomas Sebeok and Jean Umiker-Seboek. Each volume will draw from past articles in *Semiotica* and will be organized around a unified semiotic theme for use in research or as a textbook. A leading expert in the particular field will edit each volume, writing an introductory chapter to set each *Semiotica* piece within the field and within the larger research context, and to update the literature subsequent to the original articles' publication.

This book is Mouton's first effort and it is a good one. Adam Kendon has done a very fine job of setting nonverbal communication within a larger context. In fact, his introduction is really the most stimulating part of the book. In addition, teachers and students who want an overview of one theme and are not familiar with the area will find seminal articles in the field placed next to each other for critical comparison and comprehension.

The first section addresses theoretical and methodological issues. This is to be applauded as an attempt to lay out theoretical issues for future work in nonverbal communication, the need for which is frequently heard at conventions and professional gatherings. Kendon has made an admirable attempt to tease out the theoretical issues in his introduction, but more could and should have been done. Some of the researchers whose work is reprinted here (e.g., Ekman and Friesen, "The Repertoire of Nonverbal Behavior: Categories, Origins, Usage and Coding") have published much more recent work in other journals, which could have helped the new student in theory development. Kendon has moved the field forward in his introduction, but reading the original authors' changes in thinking and refinements would have been more illuminating.

A second limitation of this section is the combining of theoretical and methodological issues at the expense of the latter. In reading the various articles about social encounters and gesture, one question repeatedly comes to mind: "How did the authors code their observations to come to that conclusion?" Since this problem is at the heart of many nonverbal controversies, a whole section on methodology and its recent developments would have been useful.

Some of the articles in other sections outline their coding schemes (A. Kendon, "Some Functions of the Face in a Kissing Round" and H. G. Johnson, P. Ekman, and W. V. Friesen, "Communicative Body Movements: American Emblems"), while others (M. Rosenberg, "The Case of the Apple Turnover: An Experiment in Multichannel Communication Analysis") appear completely subjective, with no stated rules of analysis or hierarchies developed. Rosenberg optimistically claims that his analysis is "able to translate intuition into operation, . . . allowing one to know what he knows and to state this knowledge so it can be known to others," but he delivers very little on his promise.

Every new book of essays seems to be a forum for a particular point of view. This book is more broadly based, for instance, than Robert Rosenthal's *Skill in Nonverbal Communication: Individual Differences* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), because of *Semiotica's* wider range of authors and professional audiences. If there is a predominant "type" of research reported here, it is "situational" or "contextual" analysis as exemplified by Birdwhistell, Goffman, Scheflen, and Kendon.

Typically, contextual analysis is hampered by very good and very bad research. This volume, even if a little uneven, is better than most in its selections of contextual research. The best examples are ones such as Kendon's "Kissing Round," D. Schiffrin's "Handwork as Ceremony," or W. John Smith, J. Chase, and A. K. Leiblich's "Tongue Showing," in which the contexts are set within a larger setting and make meaningful sense out of nonverbal patterns and rituals. Occasionally, the reader will wonder, "What can I do with this information now that I have it?" as in Rosenberg's "Case of the Apple Turnover." When this happens the author has not made clear and sufficient links between the research presented and the larger body of theory and/or research.

Overall, this book contains a number of good examples of research for the student reader. The selections do not particularly cover language and its relationship to nonverbal behavior or paralanguage. Two articles deal with speech and gesture, but they are not up to par with the rest of the book and do little to further understanding of the state of the art in these areas. However, there are several cross-cultural articles that are interrelated, building from one another; they could be springboards for cross-cultural interests. In addition, Kendon suggests in the introduction several areas of research that have not been systematically studied to date and deserve to be examined theoretically and empirically.

Considering the limitations of publishing only from a journal's past articles, the quality of this volume suggests how good *Semiotica* has been over the years as a professional outlet in the nonverbal field. It also portends of future volumes worth reading.

Briefly Noted

Jay Ruby, ed. A Crack in the Mirror: Reflexive Perspectives in Anthropology. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982. 299 + ix pp. \$20.00 (cloth).

Twelve essays which focus on the concept of "reflexivity" as it is manifested in the work of anthropologists, with an introduction by Barbara Myerhoff and Jay Ruby. The contributors include Richard Schechner (a version of whose essay was published in *Studies* 7:3), Victor Turner, Dennis Tedlock, and Barbara Babcock. Two of the papers, by Jay Ruby and Eric Michaels, deal specifically with the use of film and video in anthropological research.

International Directory of Film and TV Documentation Sources. Brenda Davies, ed. Fédération Internationale des Archives du Film (FIAF), Brussels, 1980. SB. No price. 86 pp. Available in the United States from The Museum of Modern Art, Department of Film, 11 West 53 Street, New York, N.Y. 10019.

A valuable listing for film scholars of international organizations which contains materials for the study of film. Each entry contains names, addresses, hours of service, description of facilities, etc. It is a nice supplement to Nancy Allen's "Film Study Collections: A Guide to Their Development" (1979) and Linda Harris Mehr's "Motion Pictures, Television, and Radio: A Union Catalogue of Manuscripts and Special Collections in the Western United States" (1977).