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Nonverbal Communication serves as a core textbook for undergraduate and graduate courses in communication and psychology.

Online resources for instructors, including an extensive instructor's manual with sample exercises and a test bank, are available at www.routledge.com/9780367557386

Judee K. Burgoon is Professor of Communication, Family Studies and Human Resources and Director of Research at the Center for the Management of Information at the University of Arizona. She has authored or edited over 300 articles, chapters, and books on nonverbal and interpersonal communication and deception.

Valerie Manusov is Professor of Communication at the University of Washington. She is the editor of *The Sourcebook of Nonverbal Measures: Going beyond Words* and the co-editor of *The SAGE Handbook of Nonverbal Communication*.

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NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION







Nonverbal Communication

Second Edition

> udee K. Burgoon, Valerie Manuso and Laura K. Guerrero



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Judee K. Burgoon, Valerie Manusov, and Laura K. Guerrero



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Contents

	List of Boxes	xii
	List of Figures	xiv
	List of Tables	XV
	Preface and Acknowledgments	xvi
PA	RT 1	
Fo	undations	1
1	Introduction and Overview	3
	The Importance of Nonverbal Communication 4	
	Definitional Issues 11	
	Defining Communication 11	
	Defining Nonverbal Communication 13	
	Determining Communicative Content 16	
	Overview of Nonverbal Codes 22	
	Overview of Functions 23	
	Skills and Abilities Associated With Nonverbal Communication 25	
	Forms and Importance of Skills 26	
	Overall Claims About Skills 28	
	General Abilities 29	
	General Deficits 32	
	Research Streams 34	
	Social Science Experiments 35	
	Observational Research 35	
	Ethological Studies 35	
	Discourse Studies 36	
	Ethnography 36	
	Self-Reports/Surveys 37	
	Summing Up 37	
2	Bio-Evolutionary Influences on Nonverbal Communication	43
	Biology and Evolution in the Study of Nonverbal Communication 43	
	The Evolutionary Approach 44	
	Natural Selection 44	
	Applications to Human Behavior 46	

	_
V/1	Contents

	The Biological/Physiological Approach 47 Psychophysiology 47	
	How Nonverbal Behaviors Are Affected by Evolution and Biology 50	
	Facial Displays 50	
	Touch 54	
	Vocalics 59	
	Pupil Dilation 60	
	Olfactics 63	
	Physical Appearance 65	
	Summing Up 69	
3	Sociocultural Influences on Nonverbal Communication	76
	Defining Culture 78	
	Characteristics of Culture 81	
	Individualism and Collectivism 82	
	Contact/Noncontact and Immediate/Non-Immediate 85	
	Power Distance 87	
	High and Low Context 88	
	Gender Orientation 90	
	Cultural, Cross-Cultural, and Intercultural Interaction 91	
	Culture-Specific Studies 91	
	Cross-Cultural Studies 93	
	Intercultural Studies 97	
	Challenges and Opportunities 101	
	Emphasizing Differences Over Similarities 102	
	Stereotypes and Overgeneralization 102	
	Implicit Bias and Microaggressions 103	
	Viewing Cultural Norms as Static 103	
	Viewing Cultures Through an Ethnocentric Lens 105	
	Summing Up 106	
4	The Visual and Auditory Codes: Kinesics and Vocalics	112
	Kinesics 112	
	Scope and Importance of Kinesics 112	
	Origins and Acquisition of Kinesics 114	
	Features of the Kinesics Code 118	
	Kinesic Norms and Expectations 129	
	Vocalics 132	
	Scope and Importance of Vocalics 132	
	Origins and Acquisition of Vocalics 133	
	Features of the Vocalics Code 135	
	Vocalic Norms and Expectations 142	
	Communication Potential of Kinesics and Vocalics 143	
	Summing Up 144	

1	4	Q
_ 1	т	,

5 The Contact Codes: Haptics and Proxemi	5
--	---

Haptics 149

The Importance of Touch 150

Dimensions of Touch 153

Functions of Touch 154

Moderators of Touch Use and Perception 164

Proxemics 166

The Importance of Space and Territory 167

Types of Territory 171

Conversational Distances 174

Moderators of Personal Space and Territoriality Use and

Perceptions 175

Summing Up 179

6 The Body as a Code: Appearance and Adornment

185

The Importance of Physical Appearance and Adornment 186

Perceptions Associated With Physical Attractiveness 187

Physical Attractiveness in Relationships 189

Physical Attractiveness in Professional Contexts 194

What Makes a Face Attractive? 196

Koinophilia 196

Facial Neoteny and Sexual Maturity 196

Symmetry 198

The Body 199

Body Symmetry 200

Body Stereotypes 200

Body Image 202

Coloring 204

Adornment Cues 206

Cosmetics 206

Body Modifications 209

Clothing 211

Perfume 213

Summing Up 213

7 Place and Time Codes: Environment, Artifacts, and Chronemics

222

Environment and Artifacts 222

Origins and Acquisition of the Environmental and Artifactual Code 224

Features of the Environment and Artifactual Code 225

Norms, Expectations, and Standards for the Environmental and Artifactual Code 233

Communication Potential of the Environmental and Artifactual Code 236

Chronemics 238

Origins and Acquisition of the Chronemic Code 238

V111	Contents

	Features of the Chronemic Code 242	
	Norms and Expectations for Chronemics 244	
	Communication Potential of the Chronemic Code 251	
	Summing Up 252	
PAI	RT 2	
Fu	nctions	257
8	Displaying Identities, Managing Images, and Forming Impressions	259
	Identity Displays 260 National Culture Identifiers 260 Ethnicity and Race Identifiers 262 Sex and Gender Identifiers 265 Additional Identifiers 268 Summary 270 Image or Impression Management 270 Theories of Image Management 271 Summary 275 Impression Formation 276 Perception 276 Stereotyping 278 Expectancies 279 Cognitive Biases 282 Accuracy and Consistency of Impressions 284 Forms of Impressions and Relevant Nonverbal Cues 285 Summary 290	
	Summing Up 291	
9	Expressing Emotion	299
	The Nature of Emotional Experience 299 Emotions as Adaptive Responses to Events 299 Emotions as Affective Responses 300 Emotions as Physiological Responses 300 Emotions as Cognitive Responses 301 Approaches to Understanding Emotional Experience 301 The Basic Emotions Approach 301 The Emotion Prototypes Approach 303 Dimensional Approaches 304 The Nature of Emotional Expression 305 Emotional Expression as a Biological Response 305 Emotional Expression as a Social and Relational Response 306 The Link Between Emotional Experience and Emotional Expression 310 The Universalistic Perspective 310 The Neuro-Cultural Perspective 313	
	The Behavioral Ecology Perspective 314	

	Nonverbal Expressions of Emotion 315 Facial Cues of Emotion 315 Vocal Cues of Emotion 318 Body and Activity Cues of Emotion 319 Skill in Encoding and Decoding Nonverbal Expressions of Emotion 321 Emotional Intelligence 321 Decoding Ability 323 Encoding Ability 324 Summing Up 325	
10	Relational Messages: Developing and Expressing Closeness	332
	Intimacy as a Relational Message 332 Expressing Intimacy and Closeness 334 Affection and Liking 337 Positive Involvement/Immediacy 343 Patterns of Interaction 345 Similarity and Reciprocity 345 Synchrony 347 Nonverbal Cues in Relationships 348 "Romantic" Relationships 348 Families 359 Friendships 361 Workplace Relationships 362 Summing Up 365	
11	Relational Messages: Power, Dominance, and Status	373
	Defining Power and Related Terms 374 Power 374 Dominance 375 Status 379 Principles of Power, Dominance, and Status 380 Principles of Physical Potency 381 Principles of Resource Control 389 Principles of Interaction Control 393 Dyadic Power Theory 400 Summing Up 401	
12	Coordinating Interaction	407
	Choosing Interaction Partners 407 Propinquity 407 Gaze 409 Physical Attractiveness 409 Setting the Stage for Interaction 409 Aspects of the Framing Process 410	

	Situation and Context 411	
	The Case of Privacy 412	
	Managing Conversations 417	
	Listener Cues 418	
	Principles of Conversation Management 420	
	Beginning, Changing, and Ending Conversations 422	
	Initiating Interaction 422	
	Topic Management and Exchange 424	
	Terminating Interaction 424	
	Models of the Turn Exchange Process 425	
	Interaction Adaptation Patterns 426	
	The Patterns Defined 427	
	Research Evidence of Interpersonal Adaptation 429	
	Theories of Interaction Adaptation 430	
	Effects of Interaction Adaptation 433	
	Coordinating One's Own Behavior 435	
	Summing Up 436	
13	Influencing Others	443
	Social Influence Motives 445	
	The Relative Importance of Nonverbal Signals in Influence 446	
	Estimates of Influence 446	
	Analogic Versus Digital Signals 447	
	Compresence 448	
	Factors That Influence Persuasion 448	
	Source Factors 449	
	Message Factors 459	
	Channel Factors 471	
	Summing Up 472	
1.4	Deceiving and Detecting Deception	481
14		401
	An Ancient Art 481	
	Modern Detection 481	
	Defining Our Quarry 482	
	The Pervasiveness of Deception 483	
	The Nature of Nonverbal Deception 487	
	Perspectives on and Theories of Deception 488	
	Physiognomic Perspective 488	
	Evolutionary Perspective 488	
	The Leakage Hypothesis 490	
	Four-Factor Theory 494	
	Interpersonal Deception Theory 495	
	Self-Presentation Theory 496	
	Motivation Impairment Effect 497 Cognitive Load Theory 498	
	Truth-Default Theory 499	
	TIME PRIMATE THEOLY 177	

525

542

Actual and Perceived Indicators of Deceit 499
Moderator Variables Influencing Deception Displays 502
Detecting Deception 506
Accuracy in Detecting Deceit 506
Stereotypes, Biases, and Heuristics 507
Accuracy in Detecting Suspicion 509
Factors Influencing Detection Accuracy and Credibility Attributions 509
New Methods of Detecting Deception 513
Summing Up 515

Author Index Subject Index

Boxes

1.1	Books as Backdrops	6
1.2	Intentional Disregard	9
1.3	Do Definitions Matter?	16
1.4	A New Use for an Old Gesture	20
2.1	Natural Selection at a Glance	45
2.2	Why Do Zoom Calls Fatigue Us?	49
2.3	Universal Expressions of Pride	51
2.4	Why We Cry	54
2.5	A General Theory of the Biology of Nonverbal Communication	68
3.1	Why Do Arab Men Hold Hands?	79
3.2	The Sounds of Appalachia	92
3.3	Global Interpretations of Selected US Gestures	96
4.1	A Zen Parable	113
4.2	Hands and Fingers Do the Talking in Rome	123
4.3	What's in a Blob?	124
4.4	Emblems and the Savvy Traveler	125
4.5	Bringing Up Baby	134
4.6	Speaking Naturally (or Do Neither as I Say nor as I Do)	136
5.1	The Magic of Touch	150
5.2	Virtual Interpersonal Touch	155
5.3	Doing the High Five	160
5.4	Sex Differences in Touch	164
5.5	Personal Space in the Modern World	168
5.6	When Western Ways Collide With Local Mores in Doctor-Patient	
	Interviews in Trinidad	178
6.1	Dating Really Is Like a Meat Market	190
6.2	Blue-Eyed Men Have Clear View of Their Ideal Partner	205
6.3	Glamour and Beauty Through the Ages	208
7.1	The Harkness Method	228
7.2	Pink Jails and Inmate Violence	231
7.3	Making a House a Home	234
7.4	Human Chronotypes	241
7.5	Learning Time	242
7.6	Time Orientations and Your Career	246
8.1	Arab Hijab: A Sign of Oppression or Pride?	263
8.2	Race and Caste	273
8.3	The Implicit Association Test	278

		Boxes	xiii
8.4	Is Beauty Better Than Brains?		280
9.1	Emotional Contagion in the News		308
9.2	The Facial Affect Coding System		311
10.1	A Middle Schooler's Touch		340
10.2	Nonverbal Immediacy in the Classroom		343
10.3	Nonverbal Immediacy in Doctor-Patient Relationships		344
10.4	Touch in the Workplace		363
11.1	The Dominance Behavioral System		376
11.2	Sex Differences in Power and Dominance: Subordination or Social Skill?		381
11.3	The #MeToo Movement		392
11.4	Contrasting Snapshots From Two Powerful Politicians		398
11.5	Dominance-Nondominance Coding		399
12.1	Getting the Floor When You Want It		419
12.2	Socially Distant Greetings		422
13.1	The Dangerous Fallout of Some Forms of Persuasion		443
13.2	Attractiveness and Survival in the "Organizational Jungle"		450
13.3	The Spillover Effect of Touch and Trust		453
13.4	"Shaping Ability" in Politics		455
13.5	CEO Image Can Make or Break Firm		458
13.6	Effective Nonverbal Communication During Employer-Customer		
	Interactions		463
13.7	Do Voices Persuade?		467
14.1	King of Sting		483
14.2	Deception in Nature		485
14.3	The World of Spies		491
14.4	Will Mind Reading Replace Human Deception Detection?		514

Figures

1.1	The value hierarchy for communication behavior	21
4.1	A sampling of resting, standing, and seated postures from Hewes's	
	anthropological classification	117
4.2	Birdwhistell's kinemes for the brows, eyes, and mouth	120
4.3	Sample gestures from Poggi's Gestionary	122
4.4	A spectrogram showing how the spoken words "nineteenth century"	
	are graphed	140
7.1	When do you have the most and least energy? Which type are you?	241
9.1	Structure of the prototype approach	303
9.2	The two-dimensional model	304
9.3	The three-dimensional model	305
9.4	Examples of facial action units	311
9.5	The neuro-cultural model	313
11.1	Dominant/submissive and affect styles	399
14.1	Samples of (supposed) physiognomic indicators of (a) honesty,	
	(b) genuineness, and (c) deceptiveness from Vaught's Practical	
	Character Reader (1910)	489

Tables

1.1	Assessing Your Communication Competence	30
2.1	A Measure of Posttraumatic Growth	48
3.1	Self-Construal Measure	84
3.2	Regions and Cultural Dimensions	91
4.1	Taxonomy of Gestures and Facial Expressions	128
4.2	Structural Features of Vocalics	139
4.3	Measuring Liking and Voice	141
5.1	The Social Touch Questionnaire	165
6.1	Exhibitionism Measure	189
7.1	Types of Solitude Experiences	223
8.1	Responses to Intentional Touch	268
9.1	The Emotional Contagion Scale	307
9.2	Common Cultural Display Rules	309
9.3	Common Interpretations of Facial Expressions According to	
	the Universalistic and Behavioral Ecology Perspectives	315
9.4	Rapid Signals Associated With Various Emotions	317
9.5	Vocal Characteristics of Emotional Expressions	319
9.6	Synthetic Compilation of Acoustic Patterns of Basic Emotions	319
10.1	The Affectionate Communication Index	338
10.2	Nonverbal Communication and Flirting Styles	353
10.3	The Nonverbal Perception Scale	356
11.1	10 Outrageously Successful Leaders Who Were Introverts	377
12.1	Flight, Freeze, or Fight Questionnaire	415
12.2	Termination Cues	425
13.1	Behavioral Manifestations of Vices and Virtues	454
14.1	The Many "Faces" of Deception	482
14.2	Motives for Deception	487
14.3	Online Deception	493
14.4	Sample Propositions of Interpersonal Deception Theory	496
14 5	Stereotypical (Perceived) and Objective Indicators of Deceit	501

Preface and Acknowledgments

This text follows a long lineage of books by Judee K. Burgoon. When she developed the idea for the first version of a nonverbal textbook, *The Unspoken Dialogue*, there were no textbooks on nonverbal communication. By the time it was published, however, two books were already on the market, and several others soon followed. Now there are upwards of 60 books, both popular and scholarly, dedicated to this topic, attesting to the intense interest that nonverbal communication has attracted.

Judee soon realized that tackling the literature on nonverbal communication would require a team effort and invited Thomas Saine to join her in writing the first book. Thomas was not primarily a nonverbal communication scholar, but he *was* a scholar whose deep interest in interpersonal communication topics led him to take a leap of faith to team up with a junior author whose interest *was* deeply steeped in nonverbal communication. We are all deeply grateful to his recognition that this area would bear so much fruit.

When it came time to revise *The Unspoken Dialogue*, Thomas, who had moved on to new interests, was replaced by two new scholars who, as former PhD advisees, matched Judee's tireless interest in this topic and whose extensive research efforts had taken them into many applied facets of nonverbal communication. The new team of Judee K. Burgoon, David B. Buller, and W. Gill Woodall authored three editions of *Nonverbal Communication: The Unspoken Dialogue* that greatly expanded the coverage of the functions of nonverbal communication and introduced extensive comparison of verbal to nonverbal signals. To Dave and Gill, we are indebted for further solidifying our theoretical and research foundations and for taking us into many important applications.

As new interests drew Dave and Gill to different research opportunities, it was time to reconstitute the team. This time, Judee was joined by two veteran nonverbal communication scholars, Laura K. Guerrero and Kory Floyd, who brought to the first edition of *Nonverbal Communication* the broadening of the bio-evolutionary and sociocultural underpinnings of nonverbal communication as well as a deep understanding of interpersonal communication that further strengthened our foundations. We thank Kory deeply for the substantial insights he brought to the volume, in particular to the biological, physiological, and evolutionary aspects of nonverbal communication. Like his predecessors, Kory found himself in demand elsewhere, which opened the possibility of adding a new author to the team, hence the addition of another long-time nonverbal expert, Valerie Manusov.

This new version of *Nonverbal Communication* continues our commitment to a research-rich but student-engaging approach to the ever-growing, multidisciplinary area of nonverbal communication. This edition is a significant update of the last one, removing one chapter, combining two others, and adding a third. It reflects significant technological and social changes in our world and includes more scholarship from researchers around the globe. Chapters offer measures to allow students to be a part of the research we cite and include nonverbal

communication "in the news" that reflects how central nonverbal communicating is to our very humanness.

The volume could not have been completed without the editorial and technical assistance of our new editor, Brian Eschrich; editorial assistant Grant Schatzman; production editor Alf Simmons; and copyeditor Kate Fornadel. We are grateful to the entire team for making the process timely and as effortless as possible. We also thank Ben Compton for his work on the indices and the instructor's manual. And, as ever, we thank our families for their patience as we crafted this new edition.

Part 1

Foundations

1 Introduction and Overview

The word not spoken touches us as music does the mind.

-William S. Cohen

Humans are social creatures. We spend most of our waking hours in contact with other people—learning, working, playing, dating, parenting, negotiating, buying, selling, persuading, or just plain talking. We not only communicate with people face to face; we watch them on television and videos, listen to them on talk radio, interact with them through cell phones and chat rooms, and meet with them on Zoom. With so much of our daily lives consumed by communication, our ability to navigate the waters of daily living—and our prospects for happy, healthy lives—depends on the ways in which we (and others) communicate. And our ability to communicate is enhanced when we know more about the communication process. A major part of that process is the "unspoken dialogue": the nonverbal aspects of communication to which former Senator Cohen's poem alludes.

This textbook is about that unspoken dialogue: all those messages that people exchange beyond (and alongside) the words themselves, with an emphasis on the intricacies of the communicative forms. Be it mundane greetings at the grocery store or delicate international negotiations, the nonverbal aspect of communication plays a crucial role in our lived experiences. Human relating hinges on the ability to express ourselves nonverbally and to understand the nonverbal communication of others.

Despite the awareness of the importance of communication generally, and nonverbal communication specifically, some consider the study of nonverbal communication trivial or suspect. This sardonic observation by Aldous Huxley (1954) reflects such a view:

[T]he subject is for academic and ecclesiastical purposes, non-existent and may be safely ignored altogether or left, with a patronizing smile, to those whom the Pharisees of verbal orthodoxy call cranks, quacks, charlatans and unqualified amateurs.

(pp. 76-77)

Such cynicism is belied by the publication of thousands of articles, books, documentaries, and investigative reports on the subject, however. In contrast to Huxley's gloomy assessment, there is a strong body of knowledge about nonverbal communication that springs from the academic disciplines of communication, psychology, psychiatry, sociology, geography, anthropology, linguistics, semiotics, and biology, among others. This body of information is so vast and diverse, in fact, that making sense of it is no small task, especially given that scholars from different fields may approach nonverbal behavior with diverse perspectives, assumptions, and methodologies. To capture this complexity as well as possible, it is important to take a

multidisciplinary approach (that is, drawing not just from the communication discipline), and the ideas and research that we discuss in this book do so.

In this text, we explore multiple facets of nonverbal communication, first through some important *foundations*: (1) the complex nature of nonverbal communication and (2) the various codes (systems of cues) that constitute it and then through an investigation of the primary *functions* or (3) the many purposes nonverbal cues can serve. We embed it in a larger framework about what are called *cultural codes* in which all of our communication with others exists. This view helps to make sense of some of the variety in nonverbal communicating while also accepting its biological and evolutionary foundations. It also explains the ways in which nonverbal cues become patterned, the meanings that they are given, the ways in which they are complicated, and how all of this changes overtime, at least to some extent. Importantly, we ground our conclusions in the large body of multi-disciplinary research, providing some explanation of what forms this research can take, and we bring in real-world examples to illustrate the ideas. Our hope is that you come away from reading it with an understanding that the unspoken dialogue *matters in fundamental ways* and that having this understanding and knowledge enhances your experience with nonverbal communication.

The Importance of Nonverbal Communication

You may have heard that 93% of all meaning is derived from nonverbal behavior. As scholars of nonverbal communication, and as people who value its communicative importance, you might think that statistic would be something we'd want to claim is accurate. Yet, if true, the estimate would mean that only 7% of meaning comes from verbal content (i.e., the words themselves), and a quick observation of communication shows that the statistic does not apply to most of our exchanges nor to what we see and hear from TV, films, and online. More specifically, this claim was based on specific results from a few early studies by Mehrabian and his colleagues (e.g., Mehrabian & Ferris, 1967; Mehrabian & Wiener, 1967) yet talked about as if it applies to all communication.

To help set the record straight, we want to explain their claim a bit more. In those studies, the researchers' purpose was to (1) see how people determined the attitude of the speaker or (2) assess what cues influenced the persuasiveness of a message by comparing what behaviors people used to make their determination (brief and/or scripted words, vocal cues, and body cues that are tied to the social influence function, covered in Chapter 13). The study on attitudes, for example, used only a single word alongside changing voice and body cues to get estimates about what a speaker was feeling about a topic. As such, the nature of the studies' design worked to overstate the importance of the nonverbal cues (even if their findings were accurate for the specific applications the authors were testing), and it should not be applied outside of those studies in the broad way that it is. So, the 93% estimate is *not* the way to show the importance of nonverbal cues in an overall sense.

But there are many other ways of doing so. As we will see throughout this book, nonverbal communication is *consequential*. By that we mean that nonverbal cues play a role in some of the most glorious and most devastating aspects of our lives. They are key in bonding with partners and with babies (positively consequential), and they play a role in bias against other groups, abuse, and sexual harassment (negatively consequential). As such, Huxley's (1954) view that nonverbal cues are "fluff" is simply not accurate. Rather, the power of nonverbal messages is indisputable. There are several possible reasons why by their very nature they are so central to our lives.



Photo 1.1 The omnipresence of nonverbal communication is present in interactions such as this. What nonverbal behaviors do you see?

Nonverbal Communication Is Omnipresent

Nonverbal cues pervade virtually every communicative act. In face-to-face (FtF) interactions, all the nonverbal forms come into play. Body, face, voice, appearance, touch, distancing, timing, and physical surroundings all have a part in creating messages, with or without anything being said. A friend's gestures, facial expressions, posture, and eye contact may reveal interest. A supervisor's vocal pitch, loudness, and tempo may signal dominance. A political candidate's physical attractiveness, dress, and grooming may connote credibility (or its lack). A lover's close proximity and touch, and the environment in which they chose to interact with you, may establish intimacy. A group leader's temporal behaviors, such as verbal pacing, and giving undivided attention may create conversational coordination. A religious sanctuary's architecture, furnishings, and artifacts may dictate what degree of decorum and formality is to be followed and how we feel and communicate within that space.

Even in mediated communication, such as television broadcasts, online conversations, or telephone calls, where some nonverbal features are not available, several important ones remain. The decision to talk to someone by phone rather than in person (that is, the choice of *commu*nication modality) can, for example, itself be a nonverbal message of detachment or non-urgency, and people have been found to make strategic modality choices based on the nature of the message they want to send to another (Oeldorf-Hirsch & Nowak, 2018). Chronemic (temporal) and vocalic (sound) features are also still present when we call someone on the phone.

Even text-only communication can have nonverbal elements, as emails and text chats have features embedded in them to capture some nonverbal nuances: Use of different font colors, punctuation, and capitalization are all instances of adding nonverbal cues back into an otherwise verbal medium (Luangrath et al., 2017, call this textual paralanguage). In particular, researchers have found that, similar to nonverbal cues in FtF settings, emoticons have illocutionary force (that is, they function to clarify what a person's words mean or how they are meant to be taken; Dresner & Herring, 2010). Online classes and group meetings allow people to see one another's faces (and choice of backgrounds/environments; see Box 1.1), such that some kinesic (body movements) and environmental cues are still present. Further, social media provide opportunities to use photographs about what is important to us; we also show our approval or anger about a post with nonverbal likes, hearts, and "caring" or angry faces.

Box 1.1 Books as Backdrops

In a May 2020 New York Times article, Amanda Hess discussed the greater use of TV broadcasts based in people's houses. She asserted that the new norms dictated by COVID-19 meant that people could be strategic as to what environmental cues they used during a broadcast. In particular, Hess said that as "industry shelters in place, the bookcase has become the background of choice for television hosts, executives, politicians and anyone else keen on applying a patina of authority to their amateurish video feeds."

As examples, Hess noted that then-presidential candidate Joe Biden went quiet for a while but, when he "re-emerged, it was in front of a carefully curated wall-length bookshelf punctuated with patriotic memorabilia like a worn leather football and a triangle-folded American flag." Migrants' rights activist Minnie Rahman's background featured her *Encyclopaedia Britannica* collection, and British politician Liam Fox's "bold grab at credibility is somewhat undermined by the hardback copy of *The Da Vinci Code*."

This link between bookcases and credibility appears to be a feature of many chosen backgrounds. There was even an anonymous Twitter account, called Bookcase Credibility, which emerged to comment on its use. Its tagline is "What you say is not as important as the bookcase behind you."

Whereas we might take issue with the strength of that claim, according to Hess, the "bookcase offers both a visually pleasing surface and a gesture at intellectual depth. Of all the quarantine judgments being offered right now, this one feels harmless enough. One gets the sense that for the bookcase-background type, being judged by their home libraries is a secret dream finally realized."

Excerpts from Amanda Hess, "The 'Credibility Bookcase' Is the Quarantine's Hottest Accessory," May 1, 2020, New York Times.

Nonverbal Behaviors Are Multifunctional

One of the basic arguments in this text is that nonverbal communication serves important functions for communicators. In the examples we have given already, we talked about how we use nonverbal cues to instigate judgments or assessments of others (impression formation), to let others know they are important to us (these are called relational messages), to reveal aspects of ourselves (identity displays), and to persuade others about something in which we believe (social influence). These are just some of the many communicative functions in which nonverbal cues are central.

Functions are the purposes, motives, outcomes, or goals of communication. They are different than the specific meanings nonverbal cues can have. If someone you like sits close to you, you may determine that their behavior means they like you (depending on other cues in the setting). But the underlying function of the nonverbal cue is to (potentially) send a relational message. Or you may want to show others that you belong to a particular political