Gestured masculinity: body and sociability in rural Andalusia

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In the previous chapters the contributors to this volume have mainly studied gestures in the past. As an anthropologist, specializing in Mediterranean cultures, I want to present a case study of male gesturing in contemporary rural Andalusia. My point of departure will be that the study of gestures should be firmly grounded in an analysis of networks and social relationships, and in sets of cultural notions that govern and maintain these relationships and provide identity to the actors involved. Given the wide range of gestic behaviour, some disclaimers have to be made. I concentrate on one specific setting – the drinking establishment – and on a small number of gestures. These are emblematic or iconic in the sense that they represent cultural notions independently of speech, although they may also be used to add emphasis to verbal expression. I will discuss their role in male sociability. Given the extreme paucity of reliable historical sources covering different periods, I leave aside the question of the origin, diffusion, and the eclipse of specific gestures.

Mediterranean people, probably like most peoples, make extensive use of a vast range of gestures and body movements to convey
messages silently. In travel accounts as well as scholarly writings, Mediterranean gesticulation has been frequently misrepresented as spontaneous and even instinctive behaviour expressing the emotions of the actors. Many of the gestures I observed in Andalusian cafés, have nothing spontaneous about them nor are they a mirror of temperament. They are, in fact, to a greater or lesser degree, formalized. The messages they convey are predictable. This holds particularly true for the obscene gestures which are almost exclusively executed in jest as part of ritualized competitive interaction among drinking companions. Such gestures are staged, evocative, ordered, stylized, and carry a message." They articulate the dominant notion of masculinity. But before going into the details of description and argument, let me first review how Spanish gestures have been represented in popular and scholarly literature.

GESTURE AND NATIONAL STEREOTYPE

Northern travellers have frequently observed Spanish gesticulation with affection, but they have also deprecated and ridiculed it. They have stressed its range and intensity in contrast to the control and rigidity of the body in English or German interaction. On the basis of such 'observations' extreme conclusions have been drawn concerning the Spanish 'character'. Let us consider some paradigmatic examples.

Richard Ford, who wrote one of the best nineteenth-century travel books, provides a list of seven common gestures as an appendix to his discussion of the Spanish language and its dialects. He concludes his list with the following reflection:

To speak Spanish well [a man must] suit his action to his words; especially in Andalucia and southern countries, where bodily excitement keeps pace with mental imagination. It is no still life, and, although a pantomime, is anything but a dumb show: gesticulation is a safety-valve of the superabundant energy and caloric of the South . . . As far as power over, stress, intonation, and modulation (forgive the word) of the voice is concerned, even a Parisian might take a lesson on gesticulation . . . The Spaniards, in
this respect perfectly Oriental, are formal and ceremonious, etiqueteros, sensitive and touchy... As they have nothing to do, the grand object is to kill time, and practice has made them perfect... all this is very natural and excusable in a self-loving, proud, decayed, semi-oriental people, and it is quite distinct from the disposition to take affront which characterises the Anglo-Americans... Excess of ceremony is considered a high manner in the East, although among more western nations it is one indication of low breeding.

Of special interest is his remark that 'most of the finger-talk... is confined to the lower classes'. This may have been true for the Spanish cities but probably not for the rural towns. Also note how Ford, apart from airing the usual prejudices toward southerners, implicitly relates a presumed excess of gesturing and etiquette to a decline of civilization. At the same time there is a hint of cultural relativism in his observations on ceremonious behaviour.

Preoccupation with national character and civilization also marks the work on Spanish gesticulation published in the 1930s by two German linguists. Both have been strongly influenced by Wilhelm Wundt's *Völkerpsychologie*, in particular by the popular idea that primordial speech was a gesture and that gesticulation is a mirror of the soul. In his study of colloquial Spanish, entirely based on literary sources, Beinhauer deals with a small number of gestures that accompany speech. He maintains that gesticulation, intonation, and mimicry play a more prominent role in Spanish than in the 'more abstract northern languages', a contrast explained with reference to the 'strong imagination, talent for improvisation and enjoyment of theatricality' on the part of the Spaniards. Flachskampf, who wrote the first catalogue of Spanish gestures, amplified such statements. Following Wundt, he claims that gestures are 'manifestations of a pre-logical and emotional substratum'. Consequently, a systematic study of gesturing will yield access to the 'soul of a race'. Like a collector of butterflies, he gathered approximately one hundred gestures which he treated as isolates neatly classified under various headings. The two main categories are *gestos cultos*, confined to the upper classes, and 'affective' or 'irrational' gestures. The latter serve as a vehicle for the expression of unbridled emotion and make up the larger part of
his catalogue. They are divided among seven subclasses: surprise and admiration, approval and disapproval, beckoning, disappointment, mockery and insult, refusal, magic and obscenity. Apart from the arbitrariness of such classifications, the ethnographic value of his inventory is further restricted by the dissociation of gestures from performers and context.

A more recent gesture inventory, published for the benefit of teaching Spanish, suffers from the same flaws. Green, an American linguist, describes the performance of 120 different gestures in narrative form, many of them illustrated by drawings. Gestures that function as a replacement for speech are excluded, as are erotic and obscene gestures because 'their pedagogical value is naturally limited.' Regional and class differences are simply assumed to be non-significant. Since observations were almost exclusively conducted in an academic setting in Madrid, the selection and interpretation of gestures are strongly biased. Many of the depictions of individual gestures are shallow and incomplete. One example will suffice to illustrate these points. Embracing among men is described as follows:

The Spanish embrace is a gesture of greeting which is often, but not always, accompanied by verbal behavior. It is a distinctively masculine gestural phenomenon, and is executed only by close friends. It often serves to conclude or seal a business agreement. An example of the latter context from a Spanish novel: 'Se dieron un abrazo sellando lo acordado' (Zununegui, La vida como es, p. 76). American movers would rarely be observed in such a display of affection. In normal social interaction, Spanish men use the familiar handshake, but it should be noted that the handshake is observed much more frequently in contemporary Spain than in the United States. Handshaking between men and women is likewise more common in Spanish culture.'

Green does not include the postures and gestures preceding the actual embrace nor does he describe the accompanying verbal greeting. Two men who are equals, relatives, or close friends and have been separated for some time, meet and walk towards each other with extended arms, exclaiming before or during the embrace: 'Hombre, cómo estás? Tanto tiempo sin verte, coño!' If
pronounced during the embrace, the words are emphasized with firm pats on the shoulder. The form, duration, and intensity of the embrace depend on many factors, including age, class, social distance, lapse of time since last meeting, and setting (arranged or casual meeting, agreement, festivity, burial, etc.). The specific combination of these factors determines variations in the form and sequence of actions. Men who are friends but not very close may perform a semi-embrace which consists of handshaking with the left hand gripping or patting the shoulder at the same time. Intimate friends and relatives may kiss each other on the cheeks while embracing. Similar specifications can be made with regard to the handshake. In Spain, members of a face-to-face community rarely use the handshake as a gesture when meeting each other. They prefer other body-contact movements. Handshaking between men and women is less common in towns and villages than in cities. Strangers usually shake hands briefly, while a businessman may grip the right hand of his business partner with both hands. Degree of social proximity or distance generally determines the extent of spatial distance and the intensity and duration of the physical performance. Differences in the degree of physical performance of both parties are often an index of status differentials, the superior party moving less than the inferior. A description of the Spanish embrace should also contrast masculine and feminine body movements. The female equivalent of the male embrace is typically more restrained and involves less physical performance when executed in public: the hands are placed slightly on the shoulders while the lips brush the cheeks. It is wrong to assume, as Green does, that the male embrace is a 'display of affection'. In Andalusia, male embraces are often quite formal. Here men have other gestures at their disposal to show their affection. I hope these marginal notes, which could be expanded at length, suffice to show that gestures of greeting are ethnographically complex phenomena. Decontextualized descriptions of bare physical movement yield caricatures of gestures.

The stereotype of the excessively gesticulating Spaniard, linked to his spontaneous, emotional, quick-tempered and high-spirited disposition, looms large in the accounts so far discussed. It persists in the images of Spain created by the tourist industry but also surfaces in recent ethnographies. This cliché should be seen in
relation to Western attitudes towards gesticulation. In the course of the civilizing process the upper classes of western Europe consciously suppressed the use of gestures and body movements, employing a less obvious and more subtle repertoire of gestic behaviour." Civilized behaviour, control of emotion, and body movements were equated and became important markers of social class and status. This mechanism of creating and maintaining power differentials not only plays an important role in the relationships between elites and masses but also among nations. The stereotype of the gesticulating Spaniard fits well into the overall symbolic ordering of the north–south divide which roughly seems to follow the anatomy of the human body.13 The gesticulating south is associated with emotion and spontaneity, and the more rigid north with rational (verbal) and control functions.

MALE SOCIABILITY IN AGRO-TOWNS

The agro-town is the dominant habitat of southern Spain and its population ranges from 700 to 60,000 inhabitants. It prevails statistically as the home for the majority of landowners, farmers, peasants, and agricultural workers and it is superior to the countryside in terms of power and civilization." This compact settlement is overwhelmingly rural in its basis of subsistence yet urban in size, townscape, and orientation. In Andalusia the opposition between town (pueblo) and country (campo) is fundamental. The agro-town, where houses are huddled on narrow streets, is the realm of cultura and ambiente, whereas the country is the non-social space of fields, animals, isolated farmsteads and hamlets. The people who live there are considered slow, ignorant, and uncouth.

The tavern, bar, or café is the focal institution of public life in these urbanesque settlements. The drinking establishment is more than a recreational centre where men gather for daily rounds of sociability and exchange. It is a social context for the creation and maintenance of friendship and for the celebration of masculinity.15 Andalusian men distinguish between three different degrees of friendship. The first is ordinary friendship which is casual and takes place in cafés, social clubs, and other public places. Men who
congregate in bars constitute fluid groups of companions. This kind of friendship rarely goes beyond the reciprocation of drinks, cigarettes, snacks, and information. Out of daily sociability may arise a second degree of friendship, called *amistad de compromiso* (committed friendship), which involves exchanging all kinds of services implicating members of the respective nuclear families of both parties. The most intimate type of friendship is *amistad de confianza*, a tie of mutual trust and affection which should go beyond mere self-interest. Although the first degree of friendship is rather superficial, it is very important in the sense of serving male identity functions.

Andalusian men of all ages and classes spend much of their leisure time in bars. When a man gets up in the morning he immediately leaves his house to visit a café and have a glass of coffee, anisette, or cognac. If he works in the town or its vicinity, he will have some glasses of wine between one and two before going home for lunch. After the summer siesta he will have another coffee between four and five. The high time of bar attendance is in the evening between seven and ten when the cafés fill up with men busily talking and gesticulating. Alcohol, cigarettes, snacks, gestures, tall stories, horseplay, discussions of work, politics, sex, and football are the recurrent ingredients of bar sociability. Bar attendance is in fact a highly patterned social activity regulated by a strict etiquette.

A wide variety of bars is felt to be a necessary condition for the *ambiente* of agro-towns. Attending them on a regular basis is considered imperative for a real man (*to' un hombre*). The bar is the place to show off masculinity and commit oneself to the game of power and domination. The essence of manliness is to 'have balls' (*tener cojones, un hombre de cojones*). Apart from sexually aggressive behaviour, it implies the will-power and ability to defend one's interest. A true man does not allow others to boss him around. Masculinity is by definition competitive. It is won or lost in confrontations with other men and with women. It entails comparison, challenge, defence, and offence and hinges upon honour. The ultimate proof of honour lies in the use of physical violence. It has been argued that in Andalusia the emphasis in manliness is entirely on sexual aggression rather than on physical toughness. It is true that the actual use of violence is rare in
Andalusian agro-towns. Violent behaviour is considered ugly (feo) and strongly condemned. However, this does not mean that physical strength and aggression are entirely absent in masculine behaviour. It is my contention that it is ritualized in many of the gestures performed in drinking establishments.

Gesturing male identity

Physical performance in bar sociability is direct and obtrusive. Men display their potential for physical aggression, proving their virility to their companions. This is apparent from the amount of force when they smite each other on the back or shoulder, hit their coins on the counter, knock their dominoes on the table, or order drinks with a sharp and loud clapping of their hands. Men perform a large number of body-contact gestures when greeting each other or taking leave. These include striking the back of the head, the back of the neck, the chest, or stomach. Such slaps of 'affection' among equals and drinking partners are usually executed with considerable force. They communicate a man's strength and test the other man's toughness, how much he can take, and whether he is able to control himself.

In Andalusia, as elsewhere in Spain, virility is thought to reside in the testicles. Hence they play an important part in the body language of men in bars. Men frequently touch their testicles, lifting them up with one hand, for instance, upon entering a bar, taking a position at the counter, or while driving a point home during a debate. These are all situations in which they have to assert themselves. There are also iconic gestures specifically related to the cojones as in the case of the superlative cojonudo (cojones and nudos are 'balls'), meaning huge, powerful, and enormous: the gesticulator extends his arms a short distance at the level of the chest, fingers slightly curled, hollow palms facing upward, and alternately moving the hands up and down as if weighing something or juggling with balls. Testicles are also targets in pranking. A man stealthily approaches a friend, who is involved in a conversation at the counter, surprising him by grabbing his testicles from behind to the amusement of his drinking partners.

Another part of the male body which represents masculinity,
honour, and shame is the face. It is a man's visible self, embodying
his identity and integrity before the community. If a man possesses
a good face, he has shame. If he has a 'hard' face, he is insensitive,
immoral, without shame. There is a standard gesture in the
repertoire of male sociability indicating that a man has a hard face
(cara dura): the gesticulator slaps his right cheek two or three times
with the right hand; the mouth corners are lowered. This gesture is
usually performed independently of speech, for instance to point
out a man present in the bar. A variant of this gesture may be
performed on a friend as part of horseplay. It consists of pinching a
man's cheek to imply that he is a hard-faced one.

The eyes are a source of power and knowledge, instruments of
domination. They figure in several iconic gestures. One of the
most widespread is the eyelid pull. The gesticulator pulls down the
loose skin below the lower lid of his right eye with the extended
index finger of his right hand. This is a classic example of a gesture,
sufficient by itself, which may be used in many different ways,
according to the context. It is a polyvalent gesture. Morris lists two
common meanings of the eyelid pull: alertness on the part of the
gesturer himself or on the part of a companion.** In Andalusia, as
elsewhere in Spain and southern Europe, its dominant meaning is
ojol, a friendly warning to be alert. In Andalusian bars I have
observed the same gesture in yet other important ways. It is
performed to indicate to a companion that a third man is a tio
prepara'o, a guy to count on. But it may also be executed to point
out a shrewd man. And, finally, it may be used to communicate
that the gesturer sees through the hidden intentions of another
man. In the latter case it is accompanied by a grinning mouth
distension.

Another group of gestures, in which face and finger movements
are combined to send out a message, relates to the law of
hospitality in bar exchanges. Elsewhere I have dealt with the
etiquette governing social drinking in Andalusia.** Generosity and
reciprocity are sacred values which are tied to the ethos of equality.
A man who frequently accepts drinks without reciprocating not
only offends the law of hospitality but also the code of masculinity.
If he persists in his anti-social and anti-masculine behaviour, he will be stigmatized for being a sponger (gañote, literally a gullet). There is a silent way of pointing out such men:
the gesturer moves his thumb and index finger fork-wise up and down the Adam's apple, his head thrust upward and face in deprecating grimace. This gesture is sometimes directed at solitary drinkers.

Obscene, derisive, and abusive gestures constitute a special category in the gestic repertoire of Andalusian men. Some general remarks are appropriate before going into details. Rude gestures are directly linked to notions of sexuality, masculinity, and femininity. In the context of agro-towns they are performed in exclusively male gatherings, regardless of class, education and occupation, although they may be observed more frequently among working-class men than among the elite. They are not executed in the presence of women. Obscene gestures challenge and threaten the masculinity of the male at whom they are addressed. In a face-to-face community they are rarely used to offend. If performed with serious intention they would trigger off violence. However, they may be directed at outsiders, for instance boys and men from neighbouring towns who visit the annual fair. Strangers in a city context may also exchange them, for instance in traffic situations. But within the pueblo their use is generally confined to male joking in bars. Rude gestures are the gist of cachondeo. 23

Competitive joking is very popular among drinking companions in Andalusian cafés. *Cachondeo* is a playful yet aggressive type of joking in the sense that the initiator tries to get a rise out of his victim. Since it capitalizes so strongly upon male sensibilities, *cachondeo* means a challenge to a man's dignity and self-control (*formalidad*). Self-control is another important ingredient of the masculinity code. The victim must keep his face, withstand the jest, and strike back in a cool manner. A man who loses his temper is scorned by the audience. In sum, *cachondeo* is a test of manliness.

Intimate and easy-going body contact among men in homosocial gatherings sharply contrasts with the generally professed disgust of homosexuality. Several iconic gestures imply homosexuality and when directed at heterosexual men they become serious insults. A homosexual man and an effeminate man are conceptually identical in Andalusia. Not all men are cut for the macho role. The opposite of being a real man is being weak (*flojo*). A weak man spends too much time at home and is perceived as being dominated by females. The following gestures indicate homosexuality or effeminacy and
are common throughout Andalusia. The most graphic one is to kiss the raised and extended forefinger, place it into the opening of the left fist, and move it in and out of the opening. The symbolism of this gesture is simple and direct. Less obvious is a second gesture: the left lower arm rests in the palm of the right hand and is moved upward until the extended forefinger presses against the left cheek. The forearm cum extended index finger is a phallic gesture, the cheek being converted into buttocks. The third gesture is similar: the extended index finger of the left hand is 'screwed' into the centre of the left cheek.** Whatever the origin of these gestures, it is obvious that they directly challenge a man's virility. In the context of the agro-town they are used in a variety of ways. They are sometimes applied to particular men who are assumed homosexuals or to persons mentioned in a conversation. They may be made to heterosexual men as an intended insult. Usually, however, they are used among friends in order to tease. It has been noted that Andalusian men have an obsessive fear of playing the passive role in a homosexual encounter, of 'being converted symbolically into a woman'.25 A standard expression, tomar por culo (to take by the ass), voices this fear of subordination by anal penetration. It means making a fool of a man by taking his honour away. Many of the rude jokes men play upon each other in bars capitalize on this fear of being turned into a woman.

The same mechanism of dishonouring underlies gestures implying cuckoldry.26 A man whose wife has been seduced by another man is deprived of his virility and converted symbolically into a woman. In Andalusia there are two basic versions of the cornudo gesture. The right or left hand is raised, the two middle fingers are doubled down by the thumb, leaving the index and little fingers standing out in a vertical position like a pair of horns. In the second version the hand is pointed forward with the index and little fingers extended horizontally. Both variants are common throughout Spain. In the bar context the vertical horn gesture is more often used in jest than meant seriously. In cachondeo it is performed behind the victim's head. This prank can be played over and over again and still provoke hilarious laughter. A mock fight may ensue between the victim and aggressor. It has been observed that in some parts of the Mediterranean area the horizontal horn gesture may be used as a device to ward off danger, especially the evil eye.** While
there are some indications that this usage was known in Spain in former times, I have never observed or heard of this use in Andalusia.\textsuperscript{28}

One of the most current obscene gestures to be observed in Andalusian bars is the so-called \textit{purieta} which means masturbation (\textit{hacer la purieta}, to masturbate). This gesture is a graphic representation of the masturbating hand. The right or left hand is held out in a diagonal position in front of the chest or somewhat lower, fingers slightly bent towards the palm as to leave an opening, the hand being pumped vigorously a number of times. This gesture carries at least three different meanings depending on the context. It may be used as a gross rejection \textit{vis-a-vis} outsiders. It also conveys a sexual insult or threat by forcing the person to whom the \textit{purieta} is made into an inferior sexual position. When used among drinking companions in the bar setting it may carry an opposite meaning, i.e. a laudatory comment on sexual vigour, or, more generally, praise with regard to something powerful and pleasurable like the act of sexual penetration and intercourse as seen from the Andalusian male point of view.

There are many ways to insult a man. The most serious and powerful ones all involve gestured phallic obscenities. Two of the familiar offensive gestures are the stiff middle or index finger extended from the right fist with the back of the hand turned toward the person offended, and what has been called the forearm jerk.\textsuperscript{29} They may also be combined. In Spain the forearm jerk is known as \textit{el corte de mangas}, the cut of the sleeves. It is a very hostile gesture challenging the virility of another man. In the café context it is performed as a gesture of rage, scorn, or contempt towards a person or event discussed in a conversation. In Andalusia I have never seen the forearm jerk being performed in the sense of a praise of sexual vigour and strength.

Sexual differentiation in terms of dominance and submission is thus a pervasive theme in male social drinking behaviour. Some bodily performances in \textit{cachondeo} graphically reproduce the physical act of intercourse, such as placing the elbows on both hips and moving the abdomen back and forth in rapid motions. At one of the revels I attended a landowner forced one of his labourers into playing the female part in a burlesque of the coitus, being taken from behind. This is an instance in which social and sexual
submission coincide. The worker was feminized by his employer and had to suffer this humiliation, probably for fear of being sacked. To be sure, this is one of the crudest obscene performances I witnessed in Andalusia. Much of the horseplay in bars consists of less offensive bodily performances. Yet, as I noted above, approaching a man from behind is frequently part of it.

Conclusion

Gesticulation is a highly articulated and meaningful form of communication. Contrary to the received wisdom on Spanish gesturing, I have argued that iconic gesture is not emotion expressed freely but, rather, an ordered representation of basic cultural notions. Most of the gestures discussed in this chapter hinge upon the theme of power. We have seen that Andalusians use icons of male physical form, in particular icons of sexual penetration, to sustain their notion of masculine domination. Sexual inequality is revealed in the nature and extent of gestic behaviour in public. Women, especially those who are sexually active and married, are not only restricted in the use of public space, they are also less visible than men when they do appear in public. They refrain from performing gestures that direct too much attention to their bodies. Constrained behaviour is inherent in the female modesty code. Men, on the other hand, are expected to move and gesticulate in highly visible ways.

Male body movements and gestures in the bar setting are to a large extent controlled and even formalized. Iconic gestures are repeated over and over again so that the messages they convey become fixed and predictable. They are an integral part of what one might call the choreography of male sociability. This is particularly evident in the cultural genre of cachondeo in which gestures and postures figure prominently. This ritualized form of male competition captivates the men who are involved in it to the extent that they believe in what they perform. In a paradoxical way, contentious gesticulation enhances male companionship and helps to sustain the notion of masculine superiority.
NOTES

I should like to express my gratitude to Anton Blok for his comments on a first draft of this paper.

1 Fieldwork in Andalusia was conducted in the summer of 1974, one year during 1977/8, followed by brief visits in 1979, 1984, and 1986.

2 It should scarcely need to be stressed that the boundary between gestures, postures, and manners is uncertain. Strictly speaking, verbal and non-verbal behaviour are not separable. In this chapter I use the word gesture rather loosely. The concept of emblematic gesture was coined by D. Efron, *Gesture, Race and Culture*, 1st edn 1941 (The Hague, 1972). It denotes standard gestures that are learned like a vocabulary with more or less fixed meanings.

3 See F. Poyatos, 'The morphological and functional approach to kinesics in the context of interaction and culture', *Semiotica*, 20 (1977), p. 209, for a superficial speculation about the historical development of the male deep squat: 'The male deep squat observed among the working class in southern Spain closer to Morocco (a home culture of such a posture), is obviously a vestigial trait from the eight-century occupation of the area by the Moslems.' It is impossible to document or prove what is assumed to be 'obvious'. Moreover, there are significant differences between the Andalusian and Moroccan deep squat. In the latter both feet are firmly on the ground, the haunches lowered so that they barely touch the heels. The knees are pointed up at a slight angle and are held closely in front of the chest. Arms rest on the knees. With trousers on, this posture is difficult to make. Consequently, the Andalusian squat is less deep. The position of haunches, feet, and heels differ. Also see D. Morris et al., *Gestures: Their Origins and Distribution* (New York and London, 1979), for many wild guesses concerning the origin of gestures.


5 R. Ford, A *Hand-book for Travellers in Spain, and Readers at Home* (3 vols, London, 1966). This superb travel book was first published in 1845. The seven standard gestures are described in vol. 1, pp. 127–8. Five of these gestures are also included in Morris, *Gestures*: the
forearm jerk, beckoning, the finger-tips kiss, the fig, and the vertical horn-sign.

7 W. Beinhauer, Spanische Umgangssprache (Berlin, 1930), p. 191. He attributes these faculties to the 'subjective and passionate character of the Spanish people, a disposition common to all southerners' (p. 112).
8 L. Flachskampf, 'Spanische Gebärdensprache', Romanische Forschungen, 52 (1939), pp. 205–58. In spite of obvious regional differences, this author postulates 'a strong unity of the Spanish nation, a common psychic structure' (p. 209). The four cardinal sins of national character studies are essentialism, reification of traits, projection and stereotyping. See H. C. J. Duijker and N. H. Frijda, National Character and National Stereotypes (Amsterdam, 1960).
10 Green, A Gesture Inventory, p. 34.
11 See D. D. Gilmore, Aggression and Community: Paradoxes of Andalusian Culture (New Haven, 1987): 'Andalusians do not hesitate to express their feelings, and they do so volubly and eloquently in spontaneous song, art, and sunny poetry as well as in the mundane rituals of their daily lives', p. 3.
16 For a discussion of friendship see D. D. Gilmore, The People of the
Plain: Class and Community in Lower Andalusia (New York, 1980).

17 I have elaborated this point in Driessen, 'Male sociability and rituals of masculinity'. Also see S. H. Brandes, Metaphors of Masculinity: Sex and Status in Andalusian Folklore (Philadelphia, 1980).


20 Brandes, Metaphors of Masculinity, p. 126.


22 Driessen, 'Male sociability and rituals of masculinity', p. 128.


24 Interestingly enough, Morris (Gestures, p. 62) lists what he calls the cheek screw as a typical Italian gesture of praise. His team also discovered the entirely different meaning attached to this gesture in southern Spain (p. 67). He attributes this meaning to an Arab influence. In Arab countries this gesture is a way of commenting on a beautiful woman. Says Morris: 'Such an Arab gesture, deliberately applied to a male in southern Spain (where there has been an Arab influence for centuries) would obviously become an immediate challenge to his masculinity and could quickly grow into a local insult.' This is, of course, pure speculation.

25 Also see Brandes, Metaphors of Masculinity, pp. 95–6.


27 Morris, Gestures, pp. 138–43.

28 The same observation is true for the well-known fig gesture (hacer la higa).


30 See for a general study C. Mayo and N. M. Henly (eds), Gender and Nonverbal Behavior (New York, 1981), and for a case study W. Jansen, Women Without Men: Gender and Marginality in an Algerian Town (Leiden, 1987).