Russian Emotional Expression

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ABSTRACT *This article examines Russian "emotional ideology" as reflected in the Russian language, and especially in the Russian collocational system. Colloquial collocations involving the human body, seen as an organ of emotional expression, are the focus for comparing folk models of the body and emotion in Russian and Anglo cultures. A theory of "cultural scripts" forms the basis of generalizations from the linguistic evidence.*

LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE FOR CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY

In a famous passage, Edward Sapir affirmed that "the worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached" (Sapir 1949:162). Three quarters of a century later, in the light of evidence that has accumulated in the interim, Sapir's insight can be extended: as members of different societies, we live not just in different worlds but also among different people, and, moreover, we ourselves are different people.

As the growing field of "cultural psychology" demonstrates more and more clearly, we are different people because as members of different cultural groups we not only speak differently but also think differently, feel differently, and relate differently to other people (see, e.g., Bond 1997; Kitayama and Markus 1994; Lutz 1988; Shweder and LeVine 1984; Stigler et al. 1990; White and Kirkpatrick 1985; Wikan 1990). But it is not only our "psyches" (and their external manifestations) that are culturally constituted; our bodies, and the behavior in which they are involved, are different too: we laugh differently, we move our hands differently, we manage our faces differently, and so on (cf., e.g., Hasada 1996; Russell and Yik 1996). In fact, as pointed out by Jenkins (1994:319) (with reference to Csordas 1990, 1993), for many scholars the traditional view of culture as "located from the neck up" and the "traditional dualist idea that the closer

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Ethos 26(4):456–483.

we come to the body, the farther away we must be from culture" has now given place to "conceptualization of the body as a generative source of culture" (Jenkins 1994:319).

Admittedly, differences in the cultural perceptions and uses of the body may be difficult to measure, to quantify, or to verify experimentally. But, as Shweder (1990:20) has pointed out, the time of unquestioning acceptance of principles like "Do not think about anything that cannot be controlled and measured in a lab" has passed and we no longer need to be intimidated by them.

As I have argued for many years (see, e.g., Wierzbicka 1992, 1994a, 1997), the best evidence for the differences, as well as similarities, among people as bearers and products of cultures, and among cultures as "intentional worlds" inhabited and evolved by people, comes from languages. Cultural key words, like *duša* (roughly, "soul/heart/mind") or *drug* (roughly, "friend/soul-brother") in Russian, or *amae* (roughly, "sweet dependence") and *omoiyari* (roughly, "empathy-cum-kindness") in Japanese provide excellent evidence for insightful and at the same time methodologically informed cultural psychology.[1]

But lexical semantics is only one area of evidence. Collocations, conversational routines, forms of address, and semantically revealing grammatical constructions (e.g., in the area of emotions) all provide rich data for cultural psychology, data that are amenable to systematic analysis within the interpretive framework of cross-linguistic and cross-cultural semantics. In this article, I will examine the data from one source, *The Russian-English Collocational Dictionary of the Human Body* (Iordanskaja and Paperno 1995) (henceforth *RECDHB*) and focus on one theme, "the body and emotional expression."

RECDHB—a collocational dictionary of the human body

The *RECDHB* is a most unusual publication. It is a relatively small thematic dictionary (one volume, 418 pages) devoted to a single domain, but one of fundamental importance and particular interest: the human body. Furthermore, although the number of entries is small (70-odd), all the words are portrayed fully, with meticulous attention to detail, and in a systematic fashion (in accordance with the principles of "lexical portraits" and "systematic lexicography" developed by the Moscow linguistic school).

As the authors state at the outset, their "aim" is to present "*all the information* necessary for the correct use of the corresponding Russian words and expressions" (emphasis added). Given usual lexicographical practice, this aim is extraordinarily ambitious, and it is admirably met. The fact that the entries are organized according to the same schema and the same principles makes the information easily accessible and readily generates generalizations.

The format of the dictionary represents a simplified and "user-friendly" version of the one in the *Explanatory Combinatorial Dictionary of Modern Russian* (Mel'č uk and Zholkovsky 1984). In contrast to that model, however, and to the whole line of "explanatory combinatorial" dictionaries based on it (see, e.g., Mel'č uk et al. 1984, 1988, 1992), *RECDHB* is bilingual and contains English translations of the Russian words and collocations. In this respect, *RECDHB* follows in the footsteps of Apresjan and Rozenman's (1979) remarkable Anglo-Russian dictionary of synonyms.

The choice of thematic domain (the human body), the decision to use English to explain the meaning of the Russian words and expressions, the use of the methodology developed and tested in the whole series of "explanatory combinatorial dictionaries," and (last but not least) the adoption of a user-friendly format have jointly led to an extraordinarily interesting and illuminating publication—a real gold mine of facts and insights of many different kinds, and a model to emulate in future lexicography. In this article, however, I will confine myself to one aspect of this highly original lexicographic work: the insights it offers into Russian cultural norms concerning emotional expression, and into the differences between Russian and Anglo norms in this area.

The Centrality of Emotions in Russian Culture

In my study (1992) of the Russian language in its relation to culture, I identified one of the fundamental semantic themes of the Russian language as "emotionality," that is, "the tremendous stress on emotions and on their free expression, the high emotional temperature of Russian discourse, the wealth of linguistic devices for signalling emotions and shades of emotions" (Wierzbicka 1992:395). This conclusion, based on detailed semantic analysis, was consistent with the key generalizations of earlier students of Russian culture. For example, the Harvard study (Bauer et al. 1956) of the "Russian national character" characterized Russians as "expressive and emotionally alive," marked by "general expressiveness," "easily expressed feelings," and "giving in to impulse" (1956:141). In a similar vein, Gorer wrote:

> Great Russians, with the exception of the Soviet elite, do take much pleasure in expressing aloud the emotions which are momentarily possessing them. There is a considerable Russian vocabulary for the expressing of the emotions, "pouring out one's soul" being one of the most common. For many Russians this is the most valued aspect of living. Indeed, feeling and expressing the emotions you feel is the sign that you are alive; if you don't feel, you are to all intents and purposes dead. [1949:160]

While in recent decades studies like those quoted above have often been regarded as impressionistic or based on uncertain methodology, rigorous linguistic analysis leads to similar conclusions. For example, Friedrich notes "an enormous number of simple and complex affixes" with

various "affective" meanings in Russian, and he notes that "this affective suffixal system is more richly evolved in Russian than in any other Slavic language or, apparently, any language in the world" (1997:86). Friedrich calls the "highly dynamic" Russian system of expressive suffixation "imagination-boggling," and he refers in this context to my own (Wierzbicka 1992) analysis of the Russian expressive suffixes that, he says, "smashes the reductionist-structuralist components of traditional grammar, in order to construct propositional, pragmatic definitions of over a dozen major affective suffixes, many of them with many subtypes" (See also Zaliznjak and Levontina 1996).

The *RECDHB* brings new evidence pointing in the same direction.

EMOTION AND THE BODY

Laughter (smex and xoxot)

As *RECDHB* notes, Russian has not one but two nouns corresponding to the English word *laughter (smex* and *xoxot),* and not one but two verbs corresponding to the English verb *laugh: smejat'sja* and *xoxotat'.* Of course, English, too, has other words for what might be regarded as kinds of laughter: *chuckle, giggle,* and *cackle,* but the relation of these words to the most basic words *laugh* and *laughter* is quite different from that between the Russian words *xoxot, xoxotat'* on the one hand, and *smex, smejat'sja* on the other. In fact, all three English words—*giggle, chuckle,* and *cackle*—imply something less than hearty laughter. Of these three, the involuntary, uncontrolled giggle has its lexical counterpart in the Russian verb *xixikat'* (no corresponding noun), and the voluntary and controlled chuckle and cackle have no counterparts in Russian at all.

In contrast to *giggle, chuckle* and *cackle, xoxot,* glossed in *RECDHB* as "laughter, loud laughter" is definitely laughter, full-blown laughter. *Xoxotat'* is to laugh with abandon, without inhibitions, to one's heart's content.

The suggestion that the Russian *xoxot* is something quite different from "sub-laughing" behavior designated by the English words *giggle, chuckle,* and *cackle* is supported by the collocations cited in the *RECDHB*, such as the following ones:

umirat ot xoxota
*lit. to be dying from xoxot; to be dying from chuckling/cackling

pomirat' ot xoxota
(as above)

čut' ne umeret' ot xoxota—
lit. 'to nearly die from xoxot'

Clearly, one cannot say in English that somebody was dying or nearly died "chuckling, cackling, or giggling." (It is also interesting to note that the

English nouns *giggle, chuckle,* and *cackle* all refer to actions of relatively brief duration, whereas the Russian word *xoxot* stands for a prolonged activity.)

The other verbal expressions involving xoxot, listed in the *RECDHB*, are equally eloquent:

katat'sja ot xoxota
"to be rolling around with xoxot"

s nog valit'sja ot xoxota
"to be falling over from xoxot"

xvatat'sja za boka ot xoxota
"to (repeatedly) slap (lit. grab) one's sides from xoxot"

trjastis' ot xoxota
"to be shaking from xoxot"

život kolyšetsja ot xoxota
"someone's belly is rocking from xoxot"

na glazax slezy vystupili ot xoxota
"tears sprang to someone's eyes from xoxot"

Adjectives with which *xoxot* commonly combines are also different from those likely to co-occur with *giggle, chuckle,* or *cackle:*

gromkij xoxot	?loud giggle/chuckle/cackle
veselyj xoxot	?merry (cheerful) giggle/chuckle; cheerful cackle
zdorovyj xoxot	?robust/healthy giggle/chuckle/cackle
druž nyj xoxot	?general (lit. harmonious, in concord) giggle/chuckle/cackle
raskatistyj xoxot (also: raskaty xoxota)	*peals of giggle/chuckle/cackle

What these adjectives, typically co-occurring with *xoxot,* suggest is that in Russian culture the loud and unrestrained behavior in question is not viewed (by the speaker and, presumably, by the speech community at large) with any disapproval, but, on the contrary, it is seen as "healthy." The nomina personae *xoxotun* (male) and *xoxotunja* (female) are particularly revealing in this respect, since they both imply a positive attitude to the person. This positive attitude is probably linked with the fact that *xoxot* must express genuinely "good feelings." Thus, while *smex,* like *laugh,* can sometimes be described as *gor'kij* (bitter) or *saskastičeskij* (sarcastic), *xoxot* cannot (gor'kij xoxot, sarcastic xoxot).

Since the words *xoxot* and *xoxotat'* are very common and highly colloquial in Russian, their special focus on loud and unrestrained laughter suggests a greater salience of this kind of behavior in Russian culture: the message of the lexicon seems to be that from the point of view of mainstream Russian culture, people are expected to sometimes—perhaps even often—laugh loudly and without restraint, out of sheer merriment, and to do so without attempting to control the bodily expression of their good feelings (such as shaking, falling over, rocking, and so on); and also that behavior of

this kind is not only seen as normal and socially acceptable but is in fact approved of. The absence of a word like *xoxot* (let alone *xoxotun, xoxotunja*) in the English lexicon, as well as the presence in it of the words *chuckle* and *cackle*, suggests that Anglo norms and expectations with respect to laughing are different from Russian ones.

This is further confirmed by the negative connotations of the English verb *guffaw*, which Russian-English dictionaries offer sometimes as an equivalent of *xoxot*. In contrast to *xoxot and xoxotat', guffaw* is not a common word; its very semantics reflect a condemnation of unrestrained loud laughter (whilst its low frequency suggests that such behavior is not seen as very common).

An examination of the collocations of the Russian words *smex* and *smejat'sja* and their English counterparts *laughter* and *laugh*, to which we will turn next, points in the same direction.

Like *xoxot*, *smex*, too, has a number of collocations presenting it as intense and uncontrolled, with highly visible bodily manifestations. These include:

razrazit'sja smexom
"to burst out laughing, lit. to break out with laughter (like a thunderstorm)"

nadorvat' sebe životiki
"to split one's sides (lit. belly, plural diminutive) with laughing"

čut' ne lopnut' ot smexa
lit. "nearly break (fly apart, suddenly and violently) from laughter"

pokatit'sja so smexu
lit. "to start rolling (as if sliding) with laughter"

čut' ne umeret' so smexu
"nearly die laughing"

zakatit'sja smexom
lit. "to start spinning with laughter"

prysnut' ot smexa
"to burst laughing," lit. "to spurt out laughing"

While some of these expressions can be linked with English equivalents, the Russian expressions are both more numerous and more dramatic. The difference is particularly striking in the description of prolonged, ongoing laughter, that is, laughter that a person freely indulges in for some time, without trying to control it or stop it. In English there are a few expressions like "nearly died laughing," but not like "was dying with (or from) laughter." In Russian, however, there are many expressions involving imperfective verbs and referring to extreme forms of laughter, for example:

zalivat'sja smexom
lit. "to be flooding oneself with laughter"

nadryvat'sja ot smexa
lit. "to be tearing/splitting from (with) laughter"

umirat' so smexu
"to be dying from (with) laughter"

pomirat' so smexu
"to be dying from laughter"

davit'sja so smexu
"to be choking from (with) laughter"

Many such expressions involve visible involuntary movements of the laughing person's body:

zakatyvat's ja smexom
"to be rolling (as if spinning about) with laughter"

katat'sja ot smexa
"to be rolling (as if sliding along) with laughter"

trjastis' ot smexa
"to be shaking from laughter"

sotrjasat's ja: telo sotrjasaetsja ot smexa
"to shake: the body is shaking from laughter"

kolyxat'sja: život kolyšetsja ot smexa
"to sway: the belly is swaying from laughter"

trjastis': život trjasetsja ot smexa
"to shake: the belly is shaking from laughter"

korč it'sja ot smexa
lit. "to be contorted from laughter"

It is also interesting to note that the English expression "to roar with laughter," which also depicts loud and unrestrained laughter, has somewhat coarse and animal-like connotations; by contrast, the Russian expression "zalivat's ja smexom" has positive and rather poetic connotations, as the same verb is often used about the "unrestrained" enchanting singing of nightingales.

Thus, not only the use of *xoxot* but also that of *smex* suggests that unrestrained, uncontrolled laughter is more salient in Russian culture than it is in mainstream Anglo culture. *Xoxot* is a lexical reflection of this cultural salience of unrestrained laughter, whereas both *xoxot* and *smex* reflect it in their phraseological behavior.[2]

Tears

The Russian word *slezy* (tears) is used much more widely than its English counterpart with reference to external expression of emotions, and has a much wider range of collocations. To translate these collocations into English, one often has to change the meaning of the original expression, and the direction of this change is always predictable: it invariably consists

of "toning down" the original meaning. One characteristic literary example is provided by a quote in *RECDHB* from Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin* and its English translation by Charles Johnston:

Knjaginja pered nim, odna,
Sidit, ne ubrana, bledna,
Pis'mo kakoe-to čitaet
I tixo slezy l'et rekoj
Operšis' na ruku šč ekoj.

"The princess, sitting peaked and wan
Alone, with no adornment on,
She holds a letter up, and leaning
Cheek upon hand, she softly cries
In a still stream that never dries."

In the English translation, the princess cries "in a still stream," but in the Russian original, she "pours tears in a river," and this diminution of the flood of tears from a "river" to a "stream" is highly characteristic. For example, Russian expressions referring to crying include the following:

lit' slezy
"to pour tears"

prolivat' slezy
"to pour out (spill) tears"

zalivat'sja slezami
"to flood oneself with tears"

oblivat'sja slezami
"to pour tears all over oneself"

The only English expression that could be compared with these is "to dissolve in tears," but first, even this one has a slightly ironic or distancing tone, and second, it cannot be applied to an ongoing activity: one can only "dissolve in tears" once, whereas in Russian, all the expressions listed above have imperfective versions, and thus allow the speaker to describe the activity of "flooding oneself with tears" as ongoing, without any time limits.

The expression *ves' (vsja) v slezax* (lit. "all in tears") has to be toned down in English to just "in tears." For example:

Ona prišla vsja v slezax.
"She arrived in tears" (lit. "all in tears")

Prišel domoj, a mat' vsja v slezax.
"When I came home, I found my mother in tears" (lit. "all in tears")

Russian has a large set of expressions for describing the process of tears pouring out from a person's eyes. These include the following:

teč/poteč (run/flow)
U N slezy tekut ruč em (or: v tri ruč ja) (iz glaz)
lit. "to him tears are running/flowing in a stream (or: in three streams) from the eyes"

lit'sja/polit'sja (pour)
u N slezy l'jutsja ruč'em (or: v tri ruč'ja, or: rekoj) (iz glaz).
lit. "to him tears are pouring in a stream (or: in three streams, or: like a river) from the eyes."

katit'sja/pokatit'sja (to roll)
u N slezy katjatsja (gradom) (iz glaz)
lit. "to N tears are rolling (like hail) (from the eyes)"

bryznut (spurt/splash/spatter)
u N slezy bryznuli (iz glaz)
"to N tears gushed (from the eyes)"
"tears spurted from N's eyes"

xlynut' (gush)
u N slezy xlynuli (iz glaz)
"to N tears gushed (from the tears)"
"tears gushed from N's eyes"

struitsja (to stream)
u N po ščekam strujatsja slezy
"to N tears stream down cheeks"
"tears stream down N's cheeks"

Furthermore, in Russian, the face, the eyes, and indeed the person as a whole can be described as visibly changed for having cried. In an English translation, the meaning of such descriptions has to be altered, for there are no idiomatic ways of rendering it. For example, the expression *zaplakannye glaza* is rendered in *RECDHB* as "tear-reddened eyes," but it really means more than that: "eyes visibly changed, showing that the person has cried" (not just "reddened"). Similarly, the expression *zaplakannoe lico* is glossed in *RECDHB* as "tear-stained face," but it really means more than that: not just "stained" but visibly changed from having cried. The word *stained* suggests some isolated superficial traces on an otherwise intact surface, whereas a zaplakannoe lico is likely to be red, swollen, and generally markedly altered. Likewise, the expressions *lico v slezax* and *lico zalito slezami*, glossed in *RECDHB* as "face stained with tears," literally mean something like "face in tears" and "face flooded with tears," that is, again, much more than merely "stained."

The Russian expression *do slez*, glossed in *RECDHB* as "V until one cries," is commonly used to describe a wide range of emotions, including those designated by the following verbs and verbal phrases: *smejat'sja* (to laugh), *xoxotat'* (to laugh loudly), *pokrasnet'* (to blush), *smuščat'sja* (to become embarrassed), *obidno* (to feel insulted), *zavidno* (to feel envy), and *dosadno* (to feel annoyed). Needless to say, the phrase "until one cries" is not similarly used in English. What this appears to suggest is that tears are regarded in Russian culture, in contrast to Anglo culture, as a normal and common symptom of a wide range of emotions, including, for example, embarrassment, envy, annoyance, compassion, and so on. In

English, one could encounter sometimes "tears of happiness," "tears of rage," or "tears of grief," but the range is clearly more limited.

A similar conclusion is suggested by the following Russian collocations and their English glosses:

slezy vostorga
"ecstatic tears"

slezy obidy
"tears of humiliation"

slezy raskajanija
"tears of repentance"

slezy dosady
"tears of disappointment"

slezy sočuvstvija
"tears of sympathy"

Not surprisingly, many collocations involving tears involve also the eyes, or the face as a whole, as we will see in the next two sections.

Face (lico)

The collocations of the Russian word *lico* in *RECDHB* suggest different cultural attitudes to facial expressiveness than those suggested by the common collocations of the English word *face*.

To begin with, in Russian, faces are often described as "lighting up", "lit up," or "shining" (with joy, delight, delighted enthusiasm, and so on), whereas in English there is only one such expression: someone's face lit up, which can only refer to a momentary event. For example:

u N lico sijaet of radosti (radost'iju)
"N's face is shining with joy"

ves' sijat'/prosijat'/zasijat' ot radosti (or: vostorga)
"to shine all over with joy/delight"

u N lico osvetilos' (radost'ju)
"N's face lit up (with joy)"

lico u N prosvetelo
lit. "light started to shine in N's face"

prosvetlennoe lico
"a face suffused with a clear light" (implies: exalted, uplighted, joyful)

Conversely, a face can also be described in Russian in terms of absence of light:

u N lico omrač ilos'
"N's face darkened, N's face became gloomy"

u N lico pomrač nelo
(as above)

u N ten' probežala po licu
"a shadow ran across over N's face"

u N lico pogaslo
"the light went out of N's face"

temnet'/potemnet' licom
"to become darker in the face"

A smile, too, can be described in Russian in terms of light (less common, but not impossible, in English):

ulybka osveščaet lico
"a smile lights up someone's face"

But the following collocations, combining the ideas of smiling and swimming, or smiling and crawling, have no counterpart in English:

lico u N rasplylos' v širokoj (or: radostnoj) ulybke
lit. "N's face swam in all directions in a broad (or: joyful) smile"

u N lico raspolzlos' v ulybke
lit. "N's face crawled in all directions in a smile"

The latter two expressions, which are described in *RECDHB* as referring to a "joyous smile," imply a kind of "overflowing" of emotions, linked with a lack of control over one's features and a lack of a perceived need to exercise such a control.

Crying, too, is commonly described in Russian as affecting the face more than it usually is in English. For example, while the expression *lico zalito slezami* does have its counterpart in a face flooded with tears, the common expression *zaplakannoe lico* (lit. "a face visibly changed from crying") obviously implies a greater change in a person's face than the closest English expression tear-stained face would suggest (as discussed in the section on tears).

One is also struck by *RECDHB*'s long list of expressions describing faces without an emotional expression (often, with some negative implications). For example:

nevyrazitel'noe lico	unexpressive face
nepodvižnoe lico	immobile face
derevjannoe lico	wooden face
kamennoe lico	stone face
zastyvšee lico	set/frozen face (lit. hardened, like a liquid turned solid from lost heat)
u N lico zastylo	N's face hardened/froze

What these expressions (and their opposites) suggest is that a "normal" face is expected to be expressive *(vyrazitel'noe)*, mobile *(podvižnoe)*, lively *(živoe)*, and that if a face is not expressive, this in itself is a bad sign (a sign of tragic experiences, a sign of heartlessness, and so on).

It is particularly interesting to ponder the implications of the expressions *zastyvšee lico* and *lico zastylo* on the one hand and (someone's) face froze on the other. The Russian expressions evoke an image of a fluid that congeals, and implies an expectation that, normally, a person's face should be warm and fluid. By contrast, the English expression implies an expectation that normally human faces should be, so to speak, at room temperature; it is not good when it "freezes," but there is no expectation that it should normally be either "hot" or "liquid." [3]

The common, colloquial Russian phrase *vyraženie lica* (facial expression), combined with an adjective of emotion, points in the same direction: in English, the phrase "facial expression" is rather technical, and common Russian phrases such as *radostnoe vyraženie lica* or *veseloe vyraženie lica,* "joyful [merry] expression of the face" are difficult to render in English accurately. One does speak in English, of course, about a person's "expression" (referring to facial expression), but this does not refer necessarily to emotional expression. Adjectives and participles describing emotion appear also to co-occur less readily with the English word *face* than they do with the Russian word *lico.* For example:

radostnoe lico	?joyful face
veseloe lico	?merry face
ispugannoe lico	?frightened face
udivlennoe lico	?surprised face
zloe lico	?angry/mad face
nedovol'noe lico	?displeased face

Some such expressions—for example, "sad face"—do sound natural in English, too, but the range appears to be more limited. Again, the conclusion suggests itself that Russian cultural norms allow and indeed encourage a greater facial expressiveness (in the service of emotions) than do Anglo norms.

Eyes and Eyebrows

In Russian, the word *glaza* (eyes) enters into a wide network of collocations describing the expression of emotions—far wider, it seems, than the English collocations, including the word *eyes.* To begin with, like face (lico), eyes can also be described in Russian in terms of light. *RECDHB* cites the following examples:

glaza sijajut (ot radosti)
"someone's eyes are shining (with joy)"

glaza svetjatsja (ot radosti)
"someone's eyes are lit (with joy)"

v glazax vspyxnula radost'
"in someone's eyes joy flared up"

In contrast to the face *(lico)*, eyes can also be described in terms of fire and burning:

ogon' v glazax; ognennye glaza
"fire in someone's eyes; fiery eyes"

glaza gorjat; glaza zagorjajutsja
lit. "someone's eyes are beginning to burn"

As *RECDHB* notes, both the above expressions "are used only to describe an emotional state, such as anger, joy, etc." (Iordanskaja and Paperno 1995:55). In this respect, these expressions differ from the expression *glaza blestjat* (the eyes are shining), which may but does not have to refer to an emotion.

Several expressions referring to eyes imply anger. These include:

glaza sverkajut (ot gneva)
"someone's eyes flash/crackle/blaze (with anger)"

molnii sverkajut v glazax
lit. "lightning (repeatedly) flashes in someone's eyes"

glaza metajut gromy i molnii
lit. "someone's eyes are throwing thunders and lightnings"

glaza temnejut (ot gneva)
"someone's eyes darken (with anger)"

glaza nalivajutsja krov'ju
"someone's eyes become suffused with blood"

sužívat'/suzit' glaza
"to narrow one's eyes"'

Above all, the word *glaza* is included in a number of collocations indicating surprise, amazement, and shock. These include:

udivlennye glaza
"surprised eyes"

izumlennye glaza
"astonished eyes"

sdelat' kruglye (or: bol'šie) glaza
"to make round (or: big) eyes"

sdelat' kvadratnye glaza
"to make square eyes"

tarašč it'/vytarašč it' glaza
lit. "to 'goggle out' one's eyes"

vypuč ivat' glaza
lit. "to blow out one's eyes" (the verb *pučit'* is used with reference to a stomach bloated from gases, *vy-* means "out")

vykatit' glaza
lit. "to roll out/wheel out one's eyes"

vylupit' glaza
lit. "to let one's eyes break out of their shells"

vypuč ennye glaza
"goggle eyes"

glaza okrugljajutsja
"someone's eyes get round"

glaza na lob lezut
"someone's eyes crawl onto their forehead"

glaza vylezajut iz orbit
"someone's eyes pop out of their orbits"

In addition to these and many other collocations involving a person's eyes, *RECDHB* lists also numerous expressions involving eyebrows. These include:

naxmuriva'/naxmurit' brovi
"to knit one's eyebrows, to frown" (from xmurit'sja 'to be overcast, cloudy')

(surovo) nasupit' brovi
"to (sternly) knit one's eyebrows"

naxmurennye brovi; nasuplennye brovi
"knitted eyebrows," lit. "clouded eyebrows"

All these expressions are described as indicating "dissatisfaction, anger, or a bad mood" (Iordanskaja and Paperno 1995:18).

An overlapping range of emotions (dissatisfaction, anger, or concentration) is linked with the following collocations:

sdvigat'/sdvinut' brovi
lit. "to draw together one's eyebrows tightly, to scowl"

sdvinutye brovi
"knitted eyebrows, scowling eyebrows"

Several Russian (1995:340) correspond to the English expression "to raise one's eyebrows," implying surprise:

podnjat'/podnimat' brov'
"to raise one's eyebrows"

vskidyvat'/vskinut' brov' (sg) (or: brovi, pl.)
lit. "to throw up one's eyebrows"

brovi podnjalis'
lit. "someone's eyes were raised"

brovi popolzli vverx
lit. "someone's eyebrows crawled upwards"

In contrast to the above, the following expressions can indicate not only surprise ("faint surprise"), but also "lack of understanding, or mistrust" (1995:19):

izgibat'/izognut' brov' (or: brovi)
"to raise one's eyebrow(s) slightly"

povodit'/povesti brov'ju (or: brov'jami)
"to move one's eyebrow(s)"

Again, we must conclude that both eyes and eyebrows appear to be treated as more expressive in Russian than they are in English.

The Expressiveness of Hands and Legs

In Russian, not only the face is expected to be emotionally expressive but also the hands and even feet or legs. To begin with the latter, English has one common set phrase referring to feet as a tool of emotional expression, namely, "to stamp one's foot" (although one could of course invent various descriptive expressions ad hoc). Russian, however, has several such common set phrases. To wit,

v gneve stuknut' nogoj
"to stamp one's foot (once) in anger"

neterpelivo stuknut' nogoj
"to stamp one's foot (once) from impatience"

topat' nogami (v jarosti)
"to stamp one's feet (repeatedly) (in rage)"

kolotit' (po polu) nogami
"to thump (on the floor) with one's feet" (usually about a child throwing a tantrum)

RECDHB cites also the following three expressions, all glossed as "to shift from one foot to another":

pereminat'sja s nogi na nogu
perestupat' s nogi na nogu
toptat'sja na meste

All these expressions are said to describe behavior seen as indicating "confusion, perplexity, indecisiveness, or embarrassment" (1995:227). *RECDHB* also cites expressions describing emotional gestures that involve a person's legs:

žat'sja/prižat'sja k nogam
"to press oneself against someone's legs"

buxat'sja/buxnuts'ja v nogi
"to fall to one's knees in front of someone" (lit. "to throw oneself into someone's legs")

The first of these expressions is said to refer "to the action of a child or a pet seeking affection or protection," and the second, "to a gesture of supplication" (1995:227).

Turning now to hands, we discover a remarkably wide range of Russian collocations describing "manual expression of emotions":

potirat' ruki (ot udovol'stvija)
"to rub one's hands (from satisfaction)"

lomat' ruki (v otčajanii)
"to wring (lit. break) one's hands (in despair)"

zalamyvat' ruki (v otčajanii)
(as above)

prižymat'/prižat' ruki k grudi
"to press one's hands to one's chest" (as a gesture of supplication or as a sign of sincerity)

obxvatit' golovu rukami
lit. "to clasp one's head with one's hands (and to hold it like that)" ("a gesture of deep despair," 1995:318)

xvatat'sja/sxvatit'sja za golovu
"to clutch one's head" ("a gesture of deep despair or a sign of a sudden realization of one's blunder," 1995:318)

sidet' (tjaželo) podperev golovu rukoj
"to sit with one's head propped on one's hand" (to describe someone who is "feeling depressed and deep in thought, usually painful and oppressive thought," 1995:318)

razvodit'/razvesti rukami
"to spread one's arms" ("a gesture of bewilderment or helplessness," 1995:318)

ronjat'/uronit' ruki
"to let one's arms fall to one's sides" ("a gesture of sorrow and helplessness," often used with the adverb *bessil'no* [helplessly]; 1995:319

skladyvat'/slozit' ruki na kolenjax
"to fold one's arms, resting one's hands in one's lap" (a phrase used to describe "a calm gesture," often used with the adverb *smirenno* [meekly], 1995:319)

vspleskivat'/vsplesnut' rukami'
"to fling one's hands upward, allow them to drop, then clasp them together at chest level" ("a gesture of surprise," 1995:319)

ne znat' kuda devat' ruki
"not to know what to do with one's hands" (a phrase used to describe "shyness or embarrassment," 1995:319)

stisnut' (komu-to) ruku
"to squeeze someone's arm/hand" (a phrase describing a presumed symptom "of fear or excitement," 1995:319)

The English reader will no doubt recognize among the gestures described by the Russian phrases cited above some that can also be seen as expressing emotions in Anglo culture. In most cases, however, there do not seem to be any corresponding English phrases. Probably some of the gestures themselves are specifically Russian. This applies, in particular, to those designated by the Russian expressions *razvodit'(razvesti) rukami*, *vsplesnut' rukami*, and *maxnut' rukoj*, and to which we will return later.

Head (golova)

Judging by the behavior of the Russian word *golova* (head), the Russian head is also expected to be more expressive than the Anglo head.

Movements of the head (golova) which are seen as expressive of emotional states include the following:

opuskat'/opustit' golovu$_{Acc}$
"to hang (lit. lower) one's head" (an expression that usually indicates sadness, shame, or embarrassment)

The following four expressions that all describe involuntary gestures imply sadness:

uronit' golovu$_{Acc}$ na grud'
"to let one's head drop to one's chest"

povesit' golovu$_{Acc}$
"to hang one's head"

ponurit' golovu$_{Acc}$
"to hang one's head"

poniknut' golovoj$_{Instr.}$
"to drop one's head" (lit. "to droop with one's head")

If the verb *ronjat'(uronit')* (drop) is accompanied by a locative phrase (describing the resulting location of the head), the phrase as a whole implies (according to *RECDHB*) not sadness but grief:

ronjat'/uronit' golovu na stol (or: na ruki)
to drop one's head "to let one's head fall onto the table" (or: onto one's hands/arms) (lit. "to drop one's head")

RECDHB also lists three other related expressions:

sidet' (tjaželo) podperev goluvu rukoj
"to sit with one's head (heavily) supported by one's hand" (an expression indicating "mental anguish or deep thought")

vtjagivat'/vtjanut' goluvu v pleči
lit. "to draw one's head into one's shoulders"

vbirat'/vobrat' golovu v pleči
lit. "to take in one's head into one's shoulders" (both the above expressions "indicate fear, embarrassment, shame, resignation, or that one feels chilly")

RECDHB lists also a number of expressions describing voluntary gestures expressive of despair and of self-destructive impulses:[4]

bit'sja golovoj$_{Instr}$ o stenu
"to beat one's head against a wall"; lit. "to knock oneself with one's head against a wall" (an expression indicating despair)

bit' sebja kulakom po golove
"to beat oneself on the head with one's fist" (an expression that indicates "a strong anger at oneself")

xvatatsja/sxvatit'sja za golovu
"to clutch at one's head" lit. "to grab oneself by the head" (an expression indicating "strong emotion, such as surprise, horror, or shock. It is also used figuratively, in the sense of "to suddenly see one's error").

From an Anglo point of view these expressions sound quite dramatic, and suggest cultural norms favoring more "exhibitionist" behavior.

Heart (serdce)

Since the heart is an internal and invisible part of the body, it is only usually seen as a seat of emotional experience rather than as an organ of emotional expression (although *RECDHB* does list three such expressions: *prižimat' k serdcu* (to clasp someone to one's heart), *prižimat' ruku/ruki k serdcu* (to clasp one's hand(s) to one's heart), and *xvatat'sja za serdce* (lit. "to clutch at one's heart"). Nonetheless, the Russian collocations involving the heart are also illustrative of the same characteristic attitude to emotions: giving them full sway without any attempt to control them.

The collocations of the word *serdce* (heart) listed in *RECDHB* point in this same direction of strong feelings being given full sway and allowed to be experienced to the full (more so than do English expressions involving the word *heart*). For example, the English expression "N's heart skips a beat" is given in *RECDHB* in addition to the semantically close Russian expression *u N ekaet serdce*, several other Russian counterparts, some of them distinctly more dramatic and hyperbolic.[5]

u N serdce zamiraet
"N's heart is (seems to be) dying"

u N serdce zžalos'
"N's heart squeezed"

u N serdce upalo
"N's heart fell" (cf. N's heart sank)

u N serdce oborvalos'
"N's heart snapped (and fell)"

u N serdce ušlo v pjatki
"N's heart escaped into N's heels"

The English expression "N's heart is pounding" has three counterparts in Russian, at least one of them clearly more hyperbolic:

u N serdce kolotitsja
"N's heart is pounding (connotations of battering, smashing, thrashing)"

u N serdce b'etsja
lit. "N's heart is pounding (connotations of loud, desperate, and violent movements)"

u N serdce gotovo vyskoč it' iz grudi
"N's heart is ready to jump out of N's breast"

As *RECDHB* notes, these expressions "describe symptoms of fear, excitement, or joy," and they can be followed by the phrases *ot straxa* (from fear), *ot volnenija* (from excitement), and *ot radosti* (from joy) (1995:329).

Finally, *RECDHB* lists several Russian expressions describing anxiety, despair, and sorrow, again more numerous and more dramatic than the two English expressions listed in this section, namely, "N's heart aches" and "N's heart bleeds" (the latter being often an ironic reference to compassion, not necessarily genuine):

u N serdce noet
"N's heart aches/moans"

u N serdce šč emit
"N's heart aches/nags"

u N serdce rvetsja (or: razryvaetsja) na č asti (or: na kusoč ki, or: po polam)
"N's heart is tearing into parts" (or: into small pieces, or: into halves)

u N serdce oblivaetsja krov'ju
"N's heart is pouring over itself with blood"

CONCLUSION

It is often said and indeed taken for granted that emotional expression differs significantly from culture to culture. The "inscrutable" Japanese face, the "exuberant gesticulation" of Greeks or Italians, the Russian "bear hugs" and "hearty kisses," the Anglo "peck on the cheek." Stereotypes of this kind reflect accumulated intercultural experience, and it would be foolish to simply dismiss them as not based on any scientific methodology. But it would of course be equally foolish to simply accept such stereotypes without any attempt to study the purported cultural differences on the basis of some more objective evidence and with reference to some rigorous analytical framework.

The task is complex and fraught with difficulties, but as *RECDHB* demonstrates, sophisticated collocational dictionaries can provide invaluable evidence in this area.

Consider, for example, Vladimir Nabokov's (1957) comments on some characteristic "Russian gestures" as displayed by his hero Timofej Pnin, "a veritable encyclopedia of Russian shrugs and shakes" (for the benefit of the American scholar Laurence Clements):

> Laurence even made a film of what Timofey considered to be the essentials of Russian "carpalistics," with Pnin in a polo shirt, a Gioconda smile on his lips, demonstrating the movements underlying such Russian verbs—used in reference to hands—as *mahnut'*, *vsplesnut'*, *razvesti:* the one-hand downward loose shake of weary relinquishment; the two-hand dramatic splash of amazed distress; and the "disjunctive" motion—hands travelling apart to signify helpless passivity.

The fact that Russian has indeed set phrases such as *maxnut' rukoj*, *vsplesnut' rukami*, and *razvesti rukami* (used with reference to a display of emotion), and that there are no equivalent phrases in English and many other languages, does indeed provide supporting evidence for Pnin's (and

Nabokov's) perception that these are characteristically Russian modes of emotional expression.

But these are only three examples. *RECDHB* provides dozens, if not hundreds, of similarly revealing collocations, all presented in orderly fashion, thus paving a road to generalizations.

It is beyond the scope of this article to try to spell out and justify all the generalizations concerning emotional expression that *RECDHB* can be seen as a basis for. By way of example, however, let me point out that the Russian collocational material presented by *RECDHB* suggests a cultural model of a person that is different from the model reflected in the English language.

In his *Acts of Meaning*, Jerome Bruner (1990) stated that "all cultures have as one of their most powerful constitutive instruments a folk psychology" and that "we learn our culture's folk psychology early, learn it as we learn to use the very language we acquire and to conduct the interpersonal transactions required in communal life" (1990:35; cf. also Shore 1996).

I believe linguistic data of the kind discussed in this article provide evidence for different folk models of a person; at the same time, they also suggest some of the ways in which such culture-specific models may be learnt (through language and through linguistic interpretation of nonverbal behavior).

I believe the Russian model of person suggested by the material discussed in this article includes the following two assumptions (A and B):

A. (a) Often when a person feels something,
(b) this person is doing something with some parts of the body;
because of this,
(c) this person can do it for some time.
(d) Other people can see this;
(e) because of this, other people can know what this person feels.

B. (a) Often when a person feels something,
(b) something is happening to this person;
because of this,
(b') because something is happening to some parts of this person's body,
(c) it can be happening for some time.
(d) Other people can see this;
(e) because of this, other people can know what this person feels.

In accordance with my general program of cross-cultural semantic analysis, these two assumptions (A and B) have been stated not in ordinary English but in a special semitechnical metalanguage; the so-called natural semantic metalanguage based on empirically established lexicogrammatical universals (see, e.g., Goddard and Wierzbicka 1994; Wierzbicka 1992, 1996c).[6] Since concepts such as "someone" (person) and "something," "do" and "happen," or "feel" and "know" can be identified in all languages,

the set of such concepts (with its inherent "conceptual grammar") provides a common measure by means of which different cultural models can be compared across languages and cultures.

Since such universal concepts also belong, *ex definitione,* to any given culture whose folk-model we might try to identify, they allow us also to aim at presenting these models "from the native's point of view" (Geertz 1984), that is, at articulating the native's tacit knowledge rather than an outsider's objectivist and experience-distant representations of human experience and competence.

As the material presented in *RECDHB* suggests, the assumptions A and B proposed as part of the Russian model of a person are not necessarily parts of the cultural model of a person reflected in the English language. This is not to say that the Anglo model includes no similar assumptions, but rather that the exact form of the corresponding assumptions embodied in that model may be somewhat different (A' and B'):

A'. (a) Sometimes when a person feels something,
(b) this person does something with some parts of the body;
because of this
(c) _____
(d) other people can see this;
(e) because of this, other people can know that this person feels something.

B'. (a) Sometimes when a person feels something,
(b) something happens to some parts of this person's body;
because of this
(b') _____
(c) _____
(d) other people can see this;
(e) because of this, other people can know that this person feels something.

For reasons of space, no detailed justification and discussion of the proposed formulae is possible here (see, however, Wierzbicka 1992, 1994a, 1996b), but the reader will note the distinction between "often" and "sometimes" in component (a), the presence vs. absence of component (c), and the difference in the phrasing of component (e) ("other people can know what this person feels" vs. "other people can know that this person feels something").

One point that does require some explanation in the present context concerns the presence of component (b') in the Russian formula, and the absence of a corresponding component in the Anglo formula. What component (b') is meant to capture is the fact that in Russian bodily processes are typically presented as involving the whole person, whereas in English they are presented as involving some parts of a person's body, without any reference to the person as such. For example, when one wants to say in Russian that someone's face was "shining with joy," one normally has to include a

locative phrase referring to the person as a whole (lit. "at her"). The phenomenon of treating parts of a person's body as an aspect of that person (rather than as an independent "object") is of course well known and has been much discussed in the literature (cf., e.g., Bally 1926; Chappell and McGregor 1996; Mel'č uk 1995; Wierzbicka 1979 and 1988), but it is interesting to note that Russian language takes this attitude to the human body further than most other European languages, whereas English language allows it only to a very limited extent. These differences need to be reflected in the semantic formulae portraying the two models of a person: the one associated with Russian and the one associated with English.

It can also be argued that Russian culture (in contrast to Anglo culture) includes a general "script" related to the expression of emotions which can be phrased as follows:

it is good if other people know what a person feels

In support of such a general "script," we could cite not only collocations such as *zdorovyj xoxot* (healthy loud laughter), but also phrases such as *duša naraspašku* (soul wide open—like a shirt thrown wide open), which has positive connotations: the implication is that it is good, indeed wonderful, if a person's "soul" (heart), which is the seat of emotions, is flung open in a spontaneous, generous, expansive, impetuous gesture, expressing full trust in other people and an innocent readiness for communion with them.

The implications of English words and expressions such as *emotional*, *effusive*, *demonstrative*, and *excitable* (negative connotations) are quite different.

This is not to say, of course, that Russian culture does not value emotional self-control under any circumstances, or that Anglo culture does not value emotional expressivity at all. After all, one could also point out, for example, to the positive connotations of the Russian word *xladnokrov'e* (lit. "cold blood"), and to the negative connotations of the English expression "stiff upper lip."

But the range of situations in which emotional expression appears to be valued in the two cultures is quite different. *Xladnokrov'e*—like the French *sang-froid*—suggests self-control in the face of danger, that is, when something bad can happen to us. (It is quite different, therefore, from the English expression "in cold blood," which implies that one wants to do something bad to someone else and that one feels no qualms about that.) The positive concept of xladnokrov'e is not inconsistent with the cultural script "it is good if other people know what a person feels," for it implies an (admirable) absence of bad feelings in the face of danger rather than an (admirable) ability to hide one's feelings.

The English expression "stiff upper lip" does refer to a tendency to hide one's feelings, and does it disapprovingly, but it does not suggest that

"it is good if other people know what a person feels" or that "it is bad if other people don't know what a person feels." It implies only that "it is bad if someone always thinks: I don't want other people to know what I feel" (and if one acts accordingly).

It is also interesting to note that while the English word *open* (used with reference to a person) has positive connotations, its implications are quite different from those of Russian expressions like *duša naraspašku* (wide open soul). In fact, *open* does not necessarily refer to our personal feelings at all: one can be "open" in saying what one thinks rather than in saying—or showing—what one feels; by contrast, the Russian *duša* is above all an organ of feelings, and the expression *duša naraspašku* refers necessarily to emotions—emotions that are seen as generously and unreservedly shared.

I entirely agree with a reviewer of this article who observed that "there is a lot more going on here than the simple: English = control, Russian = expression," and I am certainly not proposing anything as simple as that. Rather, I would argue that simplistic labels like "control," "self-control," "expressivity," "display," and so on are inadequate for cross-cultural comparisons, and would propose instead a flexible framework of complex culture-specific cultural scripts—complex, but constructed out of very simple building blocks, and culture-specific, but based on universal semantic elements.[7]

As the same reviewer notes, it can be said that in Anglo culture "it's good to be cool, bad to be cold; it's good to be warm, bad to be hot and bothered." It is interesting to note, however, that in Russian it is good to be not just "warm" *(teplyj)* but "hot" *(gorjačij)*; for example, in English, one can thank someone "warmly" but not "hotly," whereas in Russian the opposite is the case. In Russian one can also defend someone "hotly" *(gorjačo zaščiščat')*, with positive connotations, whereas in English one can at best defend someone "warmly." Furthermore, English expressions like hot and bothered, or hot under the collar (with negative connotations) have simply no counterparts in Russian: in Russian, when the word *gorjačij* (hot) is used in reference to feelings, it always has positive connotations.

In proposing, in such a formulaic format, a "Russian model of person" and an "Anglo model of person," I do not mean to deny either the heterogeneity or the changeability of cultures. To quote Shore,

> Cultural models are born, transferred through use, and eventually die out. Their continued existence is contingent, negotiated through endless social exchanges. Such shared models are a community's conventional resources for meaning making. To gain motivational force in a society, these models must be reinscribed [in] each generation in the minds of its members. In this way, conventional models become a personal cognitive resource for individuals. [1996:47]

The fact that cultural models are subject to change and variation does not mean that they have no stability or demonstrable reality. Linguistic

data of the kind discussed in this article provide indispensable evidence for testing the validity of such models. They must, however, be collected and interpreted in a systematic and methodologically informed way. In particular, if we had sophisticated collocational dictionaries of the human body such as *RECDHB* for other languages—for example, for Italian, Greek, Malay, Chinese, Japanese, and of course English—we could learn a great deal about cross-cultural differences in the norms of emotional expression. We could document many differences that in the past have usually been suggested on a purely subjective basis, we could describe such differences in much more specific and illuminating ways, and we could reach for both richer and firmer generalizations.

Finally, data of the kind discussed in this article support the view that there is no need and no justification for opposing "the anthropology of the body" to the "anthropology of the mind," or the "cognitivist" to "practice-based" theories of culture and language (cf., e.g., Bourdieu 1977; Hanks 1996; Rumsey n.d.). The body is largely in the mind (cf. Johnson 1997), and cultural practices are largely governed by "cultural scripts" that are both public artifacts (cf. Geertz 1973) and cognitive representations (cf., e.g., D'Andrade 1987), and which can be seen as an important aspect of what Shore (1996) calls "culture in the mind."

NOTES

1. For a detailed semantic analysis of *duša* see Wierzbicka 1992, and of *drug*, *amae* and *omoiyari*, see Wierzbicka 1997; for a fuller analysis of *omoiyari* see also Travis 1997.

2. I cannot discuss in this article the extensive psychological literature on laughter, or any other kinds of expressive bodily or facial behavior, some of which I have discussed in my articles: "Reading Human Faces" (1993), "Kisses, Handshakes, Bows: The Semantics of Nonverbal Communications" (1995a), and "Emotions and Facial Expression" (1995b). To mention here just a few particularly important works, let me refer the reader to Fridlund 1994, Kendon 1981, Plessner 1970, Russell and Fernandez-Dols 1997, and Van Hooff 1972.

3. I owe this observation to Mary Besemeres (personal communication, December 1, 1966).

4. English has of course the expression "to tear one's hair out," but Russian has a similar expression, too.

5. One English expression that does not have a Russian counterpart is "one's heart in one's mouth." The more literary expression "his heart was in his boots" has its counterpart in the much more colloquial ego *duša ušla v pjatki* (lit. "his heart went into his heels").

6. The full list of empirically established lexico-grammatical universals can be stated in the form of the following table (cf. Goddard 1998; Wierzbicka 1996c):

Table of Conceptual Primitives and Lexical Universals

Substantives	*I, you, someone, something (thing), people, body*
Determiners	*this, the same, other*
Quantifiers	*one, two, some, many/much, all*
Attributes	*good, bad, big, small*
Mental predicates	*think, know, want, feel, see, hear*
Speech	*say, word, true*

Actions, events, movements	*do, happen, move*
Existence and possession	*there is, have*
Life and death	*live, die*
Logical concepts	*not, maybe, can, because, if*
Time	*when (time), now, after, before, a long time, a short time, for some time*
Space	*where(place), here, above, under, far, near; side, inside; touch (contact)*
Intensifier, Augmentor	*very, more*
Taxonomy, partonomy	*kind of, part of*
Similarity	*like*

7. For a theory of "cultural scripts," stating cultural norms in a "natural semantic metalanguage" based on universal human concepts see, e.g., Goddard 1997, 1998; Goddard and Wierzbicka 1997; Wierzbicka 1994a, 1994b, 1994c, 1996a, 1996b.

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