

PAOLO SANTANGELO

The Body and its Expressions of Emotions: Stereotypes and their Presentations in Late Imperial China Literary Sources*

1. *'The Minds of Men are Different, Like their Faces'*¹

Ten years ago I began an analysis of Ming and Qing sources in order to collect information on the 'history of mentality' of late imperial China. This project of textual analysis is the outcome of an extensive empirical study carried out over a decade. The purpose of the project is to collect a series of fragments of the self-representation of the emotional life and states of mind in a specific culture and period, along with its terms, stereotypes and symbolic expressions, in order to re-construct, to some degree, the perception of emotions. My focus was thus anthropological history and not linguistics.

However, the method used for collecting the necessary information from the texts cannot ignore disciplines like linguistics, literary criticism, psychology and sociology. Our teams of collaborators analyse a text, selecting all the metaphorical and physiological descriptions and terms concerning states of mind, and for each item we include the whole sentence in which it is contextualized, its English translation, notes on the motivations or antecedents of the emotion, how it is expressed or manifested (when described), meaning extensions (by metaphor or metonymy) or other symbolic expressions or idiomatic forms.

In order to collect the needed information and to be able to use it, a data-

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¹ 人心之不同，如其面焉。

base has been created. For instance, the first cell of the database contains the basic key term – *i.e.* the shortest Chinese term or description written in the text. It may be a morpheme or a more complex expression, an idiom, that directly or indirectly refers to a state of mind. This entry should be a condensation of the narrative structure in which the term is embedded. However, the emotional vocabulary is not always clearly expressed. The emotional lexicon contains both terms that directly denominate the states of mind and expressions that indirectly refer to them. Often the text hints only indirectly at a mental state;² sometimes a text describes certain physiological conditions (like ‘being tense’) which accompany certain emotions; on other occasions we find the description of events and behaviour patterns associated with an emotion, but no linguistic representation of the emotions as such. Exemplary are descriptions of affective manifestations or emotional expressions (*biaoqing* 表情; Zhu Zhixian 1991: 33), like ‘cry’, or of a quality of the subject and of his or her behaviour (like ‘aggressive’); sometimes the text resorts to metaphorical or physiological expressions (like ‘blushed’, ‘burning’). Thus, when gestures, postures, facial expressions, or any other form of non-verbal communication are described instead of the corresponding emotions, such meaningful bodily behaviours should be selected. In these cases one should be very careful to understand the symbolic meaning of this intentional or unintentional behaviour: 1) some of these manifestations are polysemous, like smiling or blushing; 2) even in the same culture the same manifestation can be used in a wide range of situations and relationships, and thus its meaning may be differently interpreted according to circumstances; 3) every culture has its own repertoire of bodily expressions, encouraging and ritualising some of them while discouraging and suppressing others; 4) not all forms of non-verbal communication recur in different cultures with the same meaning (Wierzbicka 1995a; 1995b).

Other cells of the database concern manifestations and expressions of emotion which are closely related to the topic of this issue: these reflect conventional gestural behaviour of the specific culture. The body language appears fossilized in idioms, or is the generalisation in semantic notation of typical gestures, facial expression and eye movements, physical appearance and artefacts (dress, make-up, etc.), vocal cues, movements.³ Although artefacts are part of non-verbal communication or paralinguistic information, rather than purely body language, they are strictly connected with bodily expressions. As body language is often embodied in idiomatic phrases, these have certain historical and cultural features. They may therefore coincide with cur-

² On the complexity of interpreting indirect expressions of mental states because of the opacities and misunderstanding due to distance of space and time, see Lévy (1999).

³ While various eye movements are associated with emotional expressions, scientific research has mainly focused on visual interaction and pupil dilation-constriction. On facial expression, voice and other forms of body language, see Ekman and Friesen (1971); Scherer (1984; 1986); Hess, Kappas and Scherer (1988); Ricci Bitti (1998).

rent physiological reactions, but they can also contain the vestiges of obsolete gestures, or just be stereotyped formulae. A fairly large number of gestures do not appear by themselves, but are presented in pairs in order to strengthen the effect (Yang Xiaoli 1992).⁴ As many scholars have noticed, words referring to bodily expressions like crying and smiling are universal, as is associating certain facial gestures with either good or bad feelings. Such information may enable us to ascertain how the emotion arises in relation to 'causative' events, with reactions followed by a sequence of mental states, and in interaction with other people's emotions. Moreover, taking into account Nussbaum's caveat of not treating the literary evidence as Baconian observation of data (Nussbaum 1988), the reader should notice that the reason for questionnaire-like form adopted for the database is not an experiment in empirical psychology, because the object of the research is to find the mental representation of emotions in a given text. We work on descriptions which are stylised as a result of personal and artistic factors.

2. The Body and some Terms for States of Mind

‘Le corps de l'autre est toujours une image pour moi,
et mon corps toujours une image pour l'autre’

Chinese literature abounds with terms for emotional display, such as something similar to sobbing, weeping, smiling, laughing etc. Pallor and perspiration denote alarm and terror, as do such expressions such as *hanxin* 寒心 (Li Yu 1970: XII, 5198; 5218) that can roughly be rendered as ‘feeling the heart frozen’ or *shoujiao bingleng* 手腳冰冷 (‘hands and legs turning to ice’); *famao senshu* 髮毛森豎 is a phrase that is similar to the English ‘one’s hair standing on its end with fear’ (for instance Pu Songling 1978: 4, 550).⁵ In *Rulin waishi*, Guang Zhaoren’s face becomes earth-coloured from fear (Wu Jingzi 1997: 20, 197), while Wan’s face blushes and his hands are frozen from rage (*ibid.*: 23, 229); Wang Hui cries when he is informed that his friend has died (*ibid.*: 8, 84) and the licentiate Yan blushes with shame and insults subordinates out of anger (*ibid.*: 6, 61; 63-65). The meaning of gesture, attitude and facial expression in

⁴ See the following three examples given by Yang: 1) the idiom ‘show one’s teeth’ (*ziya liezui* 齜牙咧嘴), usually used to describe a face distorted by pain or terror, can now mean ‘behave in a noisy, joyful and boisterous manner’; 2) the idiom ‘pull one’s ears and scratch one’s cheek’ (*zhua'er naosai* 抓耳撓腮), once used to describe people’s appearance whether in delight, anxiety or depression, now narrowed down to the meaning of delight; 3) the idiom ‘straighten one’s clothes and sit properly’ (*zhengjin weizuo* 正襟危坐) was used to convey the message of solemnity and respect, but has now acquired a derogatory meaning, and it is often used in a sarcastic sense for someone pretending to be calm.

⁵ In such case, as well as for other Chinese sources quoted along this article, the first Arabic numeral following the date does indicate the chapter (*juan* 卷 or *hui* 回), and the second one the relevant page/s.

iconography and theatre deserves its own study: from the stereotypes of masks to the omnipresence of the impenetrable smile of *bodhisattvas* where benevolence is mixed with a transcendent detachment from reality.

Exploring perceptions of the body means to explain its language and symbols. In fact, how one perceives one's own or another's body is a way of communicating and interacting with other people. This perception thus reflects an image that goes beyond the physical or biological body: this allows us to discover the myths and signs, desires and fantasies related to the body, all of which are built in our mind. By walking or dressing in a certain way, we may wish to show our social position, or to express superiority or inner self-satisfaction; thus we may be indicating a welcoming or a refusal attitude toward others. The language of the body expresses first and foremost inner emotions, communicating them to other people through gestures, facial expressions or dress. In fact, it appears that the body is constantly communicating with others and that the very perception of one's own body is inseparable from the reality of others' bodies. Before Michel Foucault's contribution to the relationship between the body and society (Foucault 1984), Paul Schilder had studied the body experience within a psychological and sociological framework, stressing that body image is not only a cognitive construct, but also a way of interacting with other members of the society (Schilder 1950; see also Stoller 1995). On the 'intersubjective reality of bodies' (*réalité intersubjective des corps*), Roland Barthes wrote:

I call intersubjective the fact that the other's body is always an image to me, and my body is always an image to the other. The most subtle and the most important thing, however, is that my body is for myself the image that I believe the other has of this body. A kind of game, thus, is established, a sort of tactics among human beings played out through their bodies, often without any conscious participation, tactics of seduction and tactics of intimidation (Barthes in Huisman and Ribes 1992: 311).

The manifestation of emotions through the body's gestures or expression is an important aspect of the body as communication⁶ in late imperial China as well. The sincerity of a certain expression is not our focus. What is important is to single out the various bodily expressions and their 'objective' meanings. The writers sometimes emphasize the discrepancy between inner state and appearance when feelings are merely simulated or concealed. In the following story of Pu Songling's collection, the affectation seems apparent:

姬起謝，強顏歡笑，乃歌艷曲。

Li stood up, apologized, and with a forced smile on her face she sang a very amorous song (Pu Songling 1978: 8,1083).

⁶ Here we do not consider the other functions of emotions, like the relief of laugh and crying, or, according to Zajonc's recent vascular theory, the physiological influence of the facial expression on cerebral blood flux and thus on emotions.

The resentment can be hidden under a smiling face:

那雨村雖十分慚恨，面上全無一點怨色，仍是嘻笑自若。。。

But Yucun, although mortified and enraged, betrayed no indignation or resentment and went about looking as cheerful as before... (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 2, 25).

Here the resentful or hostile expression is specifically expressed as *yuanse* 怨色. And Xiangru accumulates rage but shows himself smiling:

怒形於色，既思勢不敵，斂怒爲笑。

Rage changed the colour of his face, but he thought that he could not react owing to the strength of his adversary, and repressed his anger (Pu Songling 1978: 2, 278).

The control of emotional manifestation is mentioned in idiomatic *chengyu*, which describe the impenetrability of certain facial expressions: *mianbu gaise / rong* 面不改色/容 ('his/her expression did not change'), *mian bu luse* 面不露色 ('his/her face did not betray any feeling').

There are however several proverbs that state an opposite perspective: *mian wei xin zheng* 面爲心證 ('one's expressions of the face are the window of one's spirit'), or *mao ru qi ren* 貌如其人 ('one's appearance reflects one's mind'). Thus, the body, with its gestures, and especially the changes of the face, may be seen as a reflection of one's personality and flow of consciousness. In a passage from *Guoyu*, a pre-imperial work, the concept of 'external appearance' (*mao* 貌) is closely related to the notion of 'internal attitudes' (*qing* 情) and 'oral expression' (*yan* 言).⁷ Recent essays have focused on the relationship between facial features as expressions of states of mind and personality as well as physiognomy. Halvor Eifring (1999) looks at facial features and their physiognomic implications and emphasizes the parallelism of the descriptions, which implies not only similarity but also contrast. The proportions of one's body and the tone of the voice are physical manifestations of the balance or imbalance of one's psychology, reflections of one's inner benevolence or arrogance. Rune Svarverud has demonstrated how the physiognomy of Han times sought to identify a logical and semantic connection between a person's physical appearance and their ethical and mental qualities. Thus, since ancient China, beautiful eyebrows have indicated a person of clear vision and prudence, while a beard and whiskers described a person of authority, courage and power, and the nose and mouth, according to their shape, were signs of kindness, dignity or cruelty. In addition, the cheekbones, chest, neck and height contributed to the depiction of human being's character and dispositions (Svarverud 1999). Similar interpretations can be found in Europe as well. Therefore, beauty of external features is not dissociated from character traits and basic dispositions. It is nonetheless acknowledged that appearances can be misleading, since beauty must be distinguished from goodness, and in Chinese fiction it is

⁷ *Guoyu* 11, *Jinyu* 晉語 5. See *Guoyu* (1976: 394).

often stated, for instance, that ‘you know one’s face, but do not know his/her heart and mind’ (*zhi mian bu zhi xin* 知面不知心). Yet this is in opposition to the statement in the Preface of *Shen xiang quanbian* 神相全編 (‘Compendium of Physiognomy’), according to which

要知心裡事，但看眼神情。眼乃心之門戶。

If you want to know what happens in one’s heart, look only at the expression in his eyes, because eyes are the doors of one’s spirit (*Shen xiang quanbian* in Eifring 1999: 105).

Therefore, the body carries an ambiguous message, which mixes aesthetic and moral elements, appearance and truth.

3. Inner Organs of the Body and States of Mind

面如其心 ‘His face is the mirror of his heart’

Before beginning the examination of the different body messages, it is useful to briefly present the traditional Chinese concepts of the body as regards emotions. From the physiological point of view, Chinese traditional science distinguished five entrails (*wuzang* 五臟): heart (*xin* 心), liver (*gan* 肝), lungs (*fei* 肺), spleen (*pi* 脾), and left kidney (*shen* 腎). These organs are still used frequently as colloquial expressions of states of mind, alone or with other characters, like *kaixin* 開心 (‘opening-heart’, that is happiness; cf. ‘open one’s face’ *yankai* 顏開, and ‘open one’s brows’ *mei kai* 眉開, i.e. smiling).

The ‘heart’ is in fact, from the philosophical point of view, the mind-heart, very distinct from the western mind-heart and mind-body dualisms.⁸ Reason is not perceived as the highest function of the human being, taken as a pure *res cogitans* and as such in direct contrast with passion and instinct. Therefore, in the West only the heart and not the mind can be ‘drunk with voluptuousness’ (Abelard’s letter to Heloise), can have ‘its reasons, which reason does not know’ (Pascal, *Pensées*), or be ‘the innocent mansion of love’ (Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*). The heart is, in the West, a ‘sanctuary in his inmost self’ (Balzac, *Cousin Pons*) and, as the centre of the highest passions, became the object of both religious and mundane cults with the courtly love and the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

In contrast, the Chinese approach makes no strict distinction between the emotional and rational spheres. The western distinction can be seen in a classical representation by Galen, the last great physician of ancient times, who

⁸ For a comparative study on hearts and minds in South-East Asian languages, see Matisoff (1986). On the different attitude in Japanese and Chinese traditions, respectively for head (頭 *tou-atama*), heart (心 *xin-kokoro*) and abdomen-belly (腹 *fu-hara/naka*), see Naka (1997). The author notices also the evolution of the Chinese lexicon in modern times, under the influence of western languages, with the progressive distinctive expression of intellectual and cerebral activities under the term ‘brain’ (腦子 *naozi*).

placed the rational soul in the brain, the irascible soul in the heart, and the concupiscent soul in the liver. Examining Chinese history of thought, we find no less interest in the heart, but this mind-heart in Buddhism and then in Neo-Confucianism is very different from western concepts. Nor is 'reason', in the Chinese view, the prerogative of the 'soul', which, in Christian doctrine, has the capacity to distinguish between good and evil, and to act freely either for good or for evil (Gernet 1985:146-50). In its place Neo-Confucianism created the metaphysical notions of 'human nature' (*xing* 性) and 'principle' (*li* 理) which together fulfil the need for a form of morality, and in order to distinguish the 'moral mind' from the concrete human mind, we have the concepts of *daoxin* 道心 and *renxin* 人心. These 'two' minds were in fact two aspects of the same mind-heart: attitudes stemming from the 'pure cosmic consciousness' (*xuling mingjue* 虛靈明覺) and from the individual's 'intervening will' which could either attain this consciousness or degenerate into 'selfish desires' (*siyu* 私欲; Metzger 1977: 63-154). Liver and heart are the two *yang* entrails, and correspond to wood and fire.⁹

Another fundamental difference from the West is the Chinese non-dualistic perception of spirit-matter relation. There is an apparent distinction between body and spirit in Chinese literature (Yuasa 1987; Wu Kuang-ming 1997) where spirits and souls are temporarily dissociated from their respective bodies just for a certain crystallisation of desires – like in ghost stories or in the well-known opera 'The Peony Pavilion'.¹⁰ However, unlike in the West, that spirit is not contrasted with matter, but rather consists of energy/vital spirit (*qi* 氣), and is the essence of sensual desire. The use of such images, in fact, endows love-passion with a power transcending all boundaries of human existence, space and time, and annihilating the distinction between dream and reality, life and death (Santangelo 1999: 128-50). This element can be found

⁹ For an overall analysis, see Porkert (1974), who describes the interaction among the five entrails defined as five 'orbits' of vital energy. In the late 16th century Chen Shiyuan 陳士元, in his study of oneiromancy, *Mengzhan yizhi* 夢占逸旨, explains dreams of anger and fear in terms of the excessive concentration of energy in the liver and the kidneys, respectively (Zeitlin 1993:155).

¹⁰ In the West this concentration of desire, seen as forbidden libido, is embodied in demoniac characters, often represented in the Romantic and post-Romantic fantasy fiction, such as M.G. Lewis's *The Monk*, some of the *Contes fantastiques* by Th. Gautier, J. Cazotte's *Le diable amoureux*. But in Chinese literature there is little distinction between human and supernatural sensuality, and even the attributes of human and supernatural beauty may overlap. Zeitlin (1997: 246-47) has recently noted that in female ghosts such as those described by Pu Songling, 'we find a powerful convergence between traditional literary representations of the ghost as a weightless, evanescent, mournful being and new ideals of feminine attractiveness that emphasized qualities such as slenderness, sickness, and melancholy, often in conjunction with literary or artistic talent and untimely death'. As Feng Menglong stressed in his *Qingshi* ('Anatomy of Love'), love-passion is common to men, spirits and gods, and the nature of supernatural beings has thus no less libido and passions than men and women. The few cases of de-sexualisation of the female body, even if relevant, cannot but confirm this general rule.

from the *mirabilia* genre (*zhiguai* 志怪) of the Six Dynasties to the Tang tale (*chuanqi* 傳奇) to the *wenyan* stories of the last dynasty.

While the heart is referred to often, so are the 'lungs'. Thus *feifu* 肺腑 means 'the bottom of one's heart':

而睹其愁顏戚容，使人肺腑酸柔。

Her countenance was so sorrowful that everybody, seeing her, was deeply moved with an aching feeling inside (Pu Songling 1978: 3, 365);

聲等哀玉，側人肺腑。

Listening to that song similar to the sorrowful sound of jade stones, everybody was saddened in their very heart (Pu Songling 1978: 4, 461).

And again the same role is played by *feige* 肺膈 ('lungs and diaphragm') and *ganfei* 肝肺 ('liver and lungs'):

纏綿之意，已鏤肺膈。

The lingering desire is already firmly rooted inside me (Pu Songling 1978: 3, 317);

長孺痛恨，如割肝肺。

Changru cherished such a bitter hatred that his inner organs seemed to be cut out (Feng Menglong 1986a: 6, 178);

摧肝觸肺。

Break and strike one's heart [break one's liver and hit one's lungs] (Feng Menglong 1986a: 13, 381).

No less important is the 'stomach' (*duzi* 肚子), which is often used to express the place where visceral and emotional elements are kept inside, or those passions which are accumulated there, like rage:¹¹

寶玉一肚子沒好氣，滿心裏要把開門的踢幾腳。

Baoyu, eaten up with a very bad temper, fully resolved to give whoever opened the gate a few kicks (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 30, 460).

Xiongxu 胸緒 or, more commonly, *xinxu* 心緒 literally indicates the beginning or top of a hypothetical cord of the thorax or heart.¹² It is a kind of dynamic representation of the process of thinking and feeling, and means mood, emotional state, or intention:

有甚麼心緒，和你說話？

With such a mood, how could he be expected to speak with you about that matter? (Jin Ping Mei 1990: 60, 799).

¹¹ For *yi duzi qinghuai* 一肚子情懷 (lit. 'a stomachful or bellyful of passions and sentiments'; Feng Menglong 1991a: 2, 142), see below.

¹² *Xu* is found in the compounds *qingxu* 情緒 ('emotion'), *sixu* 思緒 ('feeling', 'thinking'), *beixu* 悲緒 ('sadness'), *chouxu* 愁緒 ('gloomy mood'). See the analogous metaphor *qingsi* 情絲 ('the silk thread of feeling').

Daiyu, the main female character of the 'Dream of the Red Chamber', at the sight of the lychees that reminded her of the visit by the old woman,

想起日問老婆子的一番混話，甚是刺心，當此黃昏人靜，千愁萬緒，堆上心來。

revived the pain she had suffered at her troubling and ambiguous words, and just at the stillness of dusk, thousands of gloomy thoughts and worries oppressed her mind (Cao Xueqin 1972: 82, 1065).

This state of mind could also be rendered by a mental or emotional state – a positive or negative emotion.

The combination of 'liver' and 'gall bladder', *gandan* 肝膽, the seat of courage and source of anger, stands for (moral) courage, as well as open-heartedness and sincerity. This expression is used also for 'fright' and 'terror' in *gandan julie* 肝膽俱裂 ('one's liver and gall both seem torn from within'), when somebody is extremely frightened or terror-stricken, *xiapodan* 嚇破膽 ('gallbladder broken from fear'), and in *dangie* 膽怯 ('fearfulness').

The above mentioned mind-heart, which produces the blood according to traditional Chinese medicine and which was regarded as the organ harbouring the spirit (*shen* 神), governing the body and regulating all the psychological functions, represented the virtue of correctness, and influenced happiness. The liver, which controlled the distribution of the blood, was held to be the seat of courage, humaneness and anger (*Daxue* 6, 2). The spleen, which was believed to secrete the five humours, was the source of intentions, desires, nostalgia, temperament, courage and loyalty. The lungs were the seat of justice, sadness and anxiety. The kidneys were the seat of determination, wisdom and fear, as well as sexual activity: they were the reservoir of 'essence' (*jing* 精), concentrated vital energy (*Huangdi neijing suwen* 1986: 881-82; *Gujin tushu jicheng* 1985: XLIV, 341/54737; *Baihu tong* 8, 1b-2a). Emotions are direct expressions of such energy in the body and in the universe.

The six receptacles – corresponding to the 'six atmospheric humours' (cold, heat, damp, dryness, wind, fire) – were gall bladder, stomach, small intestine, large intestine, vesica and the so called 'three heated spaces'.¹³ The intestines (*chang* 腸) represented pity and affection. Hence the expression 'warm intestines' (*rechang* 熱腸) is used to indicate ardour, passion or enthusiasm, while 'heartbroken' is directly derived from 'break the intestines' (*duanchang* 斷腸).¹⁴ In the following sentence, the term *duanchang* was borrowed as the title of a collection of lyrical poems:

朱淑寫恨於斷腸。

[The poetess] Zhu Shuzhen 朱淑真 expressed all her regret in her poems 'Heart-

¹³ In English, see for instance 'stomach grief', i.e. 'bitter anger'. For studies on other languages, see Iordanskaja (1986), and McElhanon (1978).

¹⁴ See also *xin ru dao ge* 心如刀割 ('One feels as though his heart were cut in many pieces'), *wu zang ju lie* 五臟俱裂 ('The five entrails all broken').

broken' [lit. 'Breaking the Intestines'] (Feng Menglong 1986a: 13, 381).

Again, we will quote the sentence:

離恨煎人腸。

The sorrow of separation fries men's hearts (Liang Wujun, quoted in *Hanyu dacidian*, 889).

For the Ming philosopher Lü Kun, the term *xinchang* is used for sentiments and states of mind including virtuous attitudes like family affection, humanness and love, stressing the naturalness of the moral attitude:

曰親，曰仁，曰愛，看是何等心腸。

Affection, benevolence, and love, what kind of sentiments are? (Lü Kun 1997: 5, 164).

Also the belly (*fu* 腹) was considered the seat of the deepest feelings, so that the compound 'belly-heart' (*fuixin* 腹心) is actually used to indicate the sincerity of feelings of someone one loves or trusts (cf. the expression *fu xinfu shenchang* 敷心腹腎腸, which could be translated as 'open up one's heart'; *Shujing* 4, 7, 3).

Thus, some parts of the body are seen as seats of emotions, which often have the function of a kind of somatisation (*shentihua* 身體化): *xin* 心 ('mind-heart'), *huai* 懷 ('bosom', 'mind', 'heart', 'state of mind', in abstract meaning), *xiong* 胸 ('chest', 'bosom', 'thorax', 'mind', 'heart'), *nao* 腦 ('brain', 'head'). Certain terms of a general nature are hard to classify. For example 'mood', i.e. the mixture of conflicting feelings experienced at one time, is described by Feng Menglong in an extremely vivid image:

那時一肚子情懷好難描寫。

The maelstrom of feelings and passions [lit. 'a stomachful of sentiments'] that overwhelmed her in that moment is difficult to describe (Feng Menglong 1991a: 2, 142).

More generally speaking, given that in Chinese tradition there is a close connection between the affective world and internal organs, the stream of emotions are 'matters of the heart and the belly' (*xinfushi* 心腹事), as in the saying:

要知心腹事，但聽口中言。

If you want to know the deepest sentiments, listen only to the words from the lips (Feng Menglong 1983: 13, 7).

As we have just mentioned, the sincerity of sentiments is clearly expressed in the following example:

向知府要下察院考童生，向鮑文卿父子两个道：“我要下察院去考童生。这些小子若带去巡视，他们就要作弊。你父子两个是我心腹人，替我去照顾几天”。

Prefect Xiang was going to examine students, and he said to Bao Wenjing and his son, 'I want to test students. If I take such runners with me on the inspection tour, they

may be dishonest; you two are my trusted men, please help me for the exam for a few days' (Wu Jingzi 1997: 26, 162-63).

The fact that the organs were 'psychologised' should not come as a surprise, because it is very common in many cultures to link emotions to internal parts of the body (Heelas 1996: 179-81).

Not properly belonging to the body, and yet very close to it are those idiomatic expressions and sentences associated with its functions, like 'eating' language symbols, where verbs like 'eat' (*chi* 吃), 'drink' (*yin* 飲, *he* 喝), 'chew' (*ju* 咀), 'taste' (*chang* 嘗), 'swallow' (*tun* 吞), 'inhale' (*xi* 吸), 'spit' (*tu* 吐), nouns like 'meal' (*shi* 食), 'food' (*fan* 飯), 'flavour' (*wei* 味), 'meat' (*rou* 肉), and adjectives like 'sour' (*suan* 酸), 'sweet' (*tian* 甜), 'bitter' (*ku* 苦), 'hot/peppery' (*la* 辣) are used in a figurative way (Chi Changhai 1991).¹⁵ Thus, 'hot and sour' (*xinsuan* 辛酸) means 'sad and miserable', 'eating vinegar' (*chicu* 吃醋) is a metaphor for 'being jealous', while 'eating bitterness' (*chi kutou* 吃苦頭) for 'suffering', 'eating the medicine of regret' (*chi houhui-yao* 吃後悔藥) for 'repentance', and 'eating surprise/alarm' (*chijing* 吃驚) for 'being surprised/alarmed'. 'Mental rumination' may be rendered by 'recalling a flavour' (*huiwei* 回味) or 'playing with a flavour' (*wanwei* 玩味), 'harbouring resentment' by 'drinking resentment' (*yinhen* 飲恨), and 'boredom' by 'greasy taste' (*niwei* 膩味) or 'greasy boredom' (*nifan* 膩煩). Greediness and eagerness can be expressed by several idioms like 'greedy eyes' (*yanchan* 眼饞), 'as if thirsting and hungering' (*ruji sike* 如饑似渴), or 'eating what is in the bowl, but looking at what is in the pot' (*chizhe wanli, kanzhe guoli* 吃者碗裡, 看者鍋裡). Furthermore, on the vocabulary of food, as Stephen West has recently written,

people did things willingly (*ganxin* 甘心), they listened to sweet words (*ganyan* 甘言), they lived a life of bitterness (*xinku* 辛苦), of sour and piquant sorrow (*suanxin* 酸心), of sweetness (*tian* 甜) – or they experienced it all (*tiansuan kula* 甜酸苦辣) ... and were seduced or flattered by sweet words and honeyed lines (*tianyan miyu* 甜言密語) (West 1997: 67-68).¹⁶

¹⁵ On the so-called 'oral' character of the Chinese civilisation, see Muensterberger (1951) and Sun Longji (1988: 206). Sun is inclined to deny the existence of any autonomy or individual conscience in Chinese civilisation, linking this to the 'oral' character of the culture (*ibid.*: 203-28). Sun maintains that under all circumstances the individual attributes more importance to the evaluation accorded to him by society than to the manner in which he or she sees him- or herself. He stresses the predominantly physical perception of the 'self', the part played by interpersonal interaction in moral sentiment (*erren* 二人), the education understood as obedience (*tinghua* 聽話).

¹⁶ Other sensations can also give rise to emotions and vice versa, as when the pain of a slap occasions anger or humiliation or cold is felt as consequence of fear, not to mention Marcel Proust's remembrance of 'une odeur amère et douce d'amandes'.

4. Colours and Expressions of the Face

一句話未說完，寶玉，黛玉二人心裏有病，聽了這話，早把臉羞紅了。鳳姐這些上雖不通，但祇見他三人形景，便知其意。

Baoyu and Daiyu, as they were conscience-stricken at those words, immediately blushed. Although Fengjie did not understand Baochai's allusions, she could guess their feelings by looking at their expressions (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 30, 456).

The expression on their faces (形景) was much more telling than any words of explanation. Thus the authors often describe the emotion that can directly be read on the character's face, like 'with an angry or calm or distressed expression' (*nuse* 怒色, *herong* 和容, *lianji* 臉急).

The face is the most expressive part of the body in communicating emotions. The face alone – that is, its physiological description, its organs and hair – deserves its own study. In Chinese literature not only the face (*lian* 臉, *mian* 面), but also facial appearance (*rong* 容, *se* 色), as well as face parts are often mentioned, sometimes isolated, but often paired together: ears (*er* 耳), forehead (*e* 額), cheek (*jiasai* 頰腮), eyes (*yan* 眼, *mu* 目), nose (*bi* 鼻), mouth (*kou* 口), lips (*chun* 唇), tongue (*she* 舌) and teeth (*yachi* 牙齒), brow (*mei* 眉), beard (*xu* 鬚), moustache (*zi* 髭), whiskers (*ran* 髯), temple hair (*bin* 鬢), hair (*fa* 髮). The single or coupled features can transmit feelings (*mianmu chuanqing* 面目傳情) or display agitation by, for example, a red face and dishevelled hair (*mianhong faluan* 面紅髮亂), or they may express a distressed look (*choumei kulian* 愁眉苦臉, lit. 'sad brows and bitter face'), or anger (*limei chenmu* 立眉瞋目, lit. 'raising one's eyes and staring in an angry and threatening way'). Many are the sentences that describe the happy or sad expression on one's face, besides the most common *miandai xise/chouse* 面帶喜色 / 愁色 ('one's face shows joy/sadness'):

姬戚戚有憂容。

There was an expression of sorrow and sadness on Li's face (Pu Songling 1978: 8, 1083);

公得麗偶，頗快心期；而惡緒縈懷，恒戚戚有憂色。

Having a beautiful woman, the young scholar felt quite delighted. But being worried about the 1000 liang silvers, he always wore an air of sadness (Pu Songling 1978: 3, 320);

吳山正欲發怒，見那小娘子。。。道萬福：“告官人息怒。。。望乞恕罪。。。 ”
吳山便放下臉。

When Wu Shan was about to get angry, he saw the young lady ... bowed low to him and said: 'Gentleman, please don't get angry ... I beg you to forgive me ...' Wu Shan's face turned clear ... (Feng Menglong 1991a: 3, 180-81).

Eifring's sociopsychological study on the 'face' in the famous novel *Honglouloumeng* (Eifring 1999) demonstrates the particularly Chinese way of categoris-

ing the various parts of the face through the contrast between parallel terms. He singles out a tripartite division of the face: the face proper, single organs located in the face, hair located on the face. However, in our research we follow different criteria because the emotions here are expressed through complex images of changes of the body, through change of colour, emission of fluids, sounds, or muscular activity. For example, some expressions combine the description of an organ with a gesture or bodily change, such as *yangmei zhi-zhang* 仰眉抵掌 ('raise one's brows and clap one's hands'), or *yangshou shenmei* 仰首伸眉 ('raise the head and stretch the eyebrows'). Furthermore, Chinese psychologists tend to divide physical displays of emotions into *mianbu biaoqing* 面部表情 ('facial expressions'), *shenduan dongzuo biaoqing* 身段動作表情 ('postural expressions'), and *yanyu he shoushi biaoqing* 言語和手勢表情 ('verbal and manual languages'). Thus, in my analysis I will take into consideration all these criteria, and empirically select parts of the body and changes, stressing those which seem most evident.

In Chinese there are many idiomatic expressions concerning the face, all of which illustrate feelings. The most current set of sentences, all with a simple construction centred on *manmian* 滿面 ('full face'), are the following: *manmian hongguang* 滿面紅光 ('radiant with colour, shining with happiness', lit. 'one's face full of red light'; red is symbol of happiness and love), *manmian chourong* 滿面愁容 ('one's face full of melancholy'), *manmian chunfeng* 滿面春風 ('with a face all smiles, shining with happiness', lit. 'one's face full of spring wind'; spring is symbol of joy and life), *manmian huanrong* 滿面歡容 ('beam with delight', lit. 'one's face full of delight'), *manmian nurong* 滿面怒容 ('one's face was ablaze with anger', lit. 'one's face full of anger'), *manmian xiaorong* 滿面笑容 ('smiling all over one's face', lit. 'one's face full of smile'), *manmian yourong* 滿面憂容 ('full of sorrow on one's face', lit. 'one's face full of worry and sorrow'), *manmian xiuhen*, *manmian xiucan* 滿面羞恨, 滿面羞慚 ('one's face is filled with shame and remorse'), *manmian leihen* 滿面淚痕 ('one's face is covered with tear stains', lit. 'one's face full of tear stains').

4.1 Colours and Facial Expressions

The single character *se* 色 or compounds like *yanse* 顏色, *lianse* 臉色, *mianse* 面色, *qise* 氣色, *shense* 神色, *qingse* 情色 are largely used for facial expressions, mainly suggesting colour or change of colour on the face:

柳子一聽，神色大變。

On hearing this, the son of Mr Liu changed his countenance completely (Pu Songling 1978: 5, 689);

母搖首止之，執手喜曰：“適夢之陰司，見王者顏色和藹”。

His mother shook her head, not allowing Zhong to weep. She clasped her hands and said delightedly: 'Just now in my dream, I went to the nether world, and met Yama,

whose appearance was quite amiable' (Pu Songling 1978: 8,1039).

The term *se*, which some academics have regarded as being connected with the term *mei* 美 ('beautiful', 'beauty'; Santangelo 1991: 42) has, since ancient times, often been coupled with another character (such as *meishi* 美食 or *meiwei* 美味) which indicates 'food' or the action of 'eating', and therefore signifies a fundamental function or stimulus for man.¹⁷ *Se* signifies either 'colour', 'facial expression', or 'voluptuousness' and 'carnal pleasure'. It may be correctly understood as libido, or everything in this world which is attractive, or, in the negative meaning attributed to it by Buddhism, as the unreality of phenomena. When *se* is identified with facial expression, it may be directly preceded by the special term for emotion, so that *zhengse* 正色 and *lise* 厲色 mean a severe countenance, *xise* 喜色 is something similar to a delighted look, *yuese* 悅色 to a happy look, *nuse* 怒色 to an angry look, *yuanse* 怨色 to a resentful look, *kuise* 愧色 to an embarrassed look, *qiese* 怯色 to a timid look. Thus, *bianse* 變色 can be translated indifferently as 'changing the colour in one's face' or 'changing one's facial expression' owing to a strong emotion.

Redness in the face and neck area can indicate certain strong emotions as in many other languages. In Chinese too, 'red' (*hong* 紅, *nan* 赧) and 'purple-violet' (*zi* 紫) may stand for a sentiment similar to shame, shyness or embarrassment:

吳山初時已自心疑他們知覺，次後見眾人來取笑，他通紅了臉皮。

At the beginning, Wu Shan had already suspected that they were in the know and then, seeing them laugh en masse, he blushed bright red (Feng Menglong 1991a: 3, 188-89);

文若虛其實不知值多少，討少了怕不在行，討多了怕喫笑，忖了忖，面紅耳熱，顛倒討不出價錢來。

Wen Ruoxu actually did not know how valuable it was: he was afraid that if he asked less he would look like a beginner; if he asked too much he was afraid of appearing ridiculous; turning it over in his mind, he went red in the face and his ears burned, but in great dismay he was unable to give an answer about the price (Ling Mengchu 1989: 1, 15);

流盼既覺其誤赧然而避。

She threw a glance, then realised her mistake; she went red all over and withdrew (Feng Menglong 1986a: 16, 474);

他通了臉皮。

He blushed all over (Feng Menglong 1991a: 3, 188).

This link between red and embarrassment is sometimes made explicit in expressions like *xiuhong* 羞紅 ('red with embarrassment'), or in other expressions adding a complement describing the colour of the face to the stative verb *xiu* 羞, as in the sentence:

¹⁷ On fundamental stimulations, cf. for instance *Mengzi* 6,a,4 and *Zhuangzi jishi* (1970: 496-510).

羞的臉通紅。

She was so embarrassed that her face turned completely red (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 32, 384).

Red may indicate other strong emotions, like anger and fear-anxiety. For instance, *lian hong bozi cu* 臉紅脖子粗 (lit. 'red face expanded neck') describes an 'angry face' (L. Chun in Wierzbicka 1999: 295). With another expression (*zizhang mianpi* 紫漲面皮, 'blushing') the same concept of anger and offence is presented in the second chapter of *Jin Ping Mei*:

那婦人聽了這句話，一點紅從耳邊起，須臾紫漲了面皮。

Hearing those words, her ears started to blush, and in a moment her whole face became completely scarlet (*Jin Ping Mei* 1990: 2, 33);

主人看了文若虛一看，滿面掙得通紅，帶了怒色，埋怨眾人道，我與諸公相處多年，如何恁地作弄我，教我得罪於新客？

The owner [of the shop] took a look at Wen Ruoxu, and immediately blushed with rage, and with a furious expression he complained to the crowd of merchants and said to them: 'I and all of you have worked together for many years, why did you play me in such a way? Why have you made me offend the new guest?' (Ling Mengchu 1989: 1, 14).

As Halvor Eifring notices in examining the changing colours of characters' faces in *Honglouloumeng*, the intensity of colours reflects the depth of the feeling:

from pink (as in the expression 粉面含羞 'face pink with embarrassment', ch. 24) through different shades of red (微紅 'slightly red', 飛紅 'crimson', 通紅 'completely red', in addition to just 紅, 赤 or 紅赤 'red') to purple (紫). ... Often red occurs along with the word for 'swollen', and violet always does: 紅漲 'red and swollen' (ch. 6, 25, or 紅脹 ch. 30), 紫漲 (ch. 32, 71, 74, 94, 110, also written 紫脹 ch. 30, 31, 44), 臉紅頭脹 (ch. 29), 臉脹通紅 'face swollen and completely red' (ch. 120), reflecting the fact that the blood in the veins also makes the skin of the face look swollen (Eifring 1999: 98-99).

Other colours are also mentioned in literary sources, such as grey, ashy, or the change or loss of colour (*bianlian*, *bianse* 變臉, 變色, 'to change [the colour, the expression of] the face', *shise* 失色, 'to lose colour'), that is, commonly, to turn pale. They are all strong and prevalently negative emotions, like anger and fright or astonishment. In *Liaozhai zhiyi*,

母大恚，聲色俱變。

Chen's mother was quite angry, her voice quivered and she turned pale (Pu Songling 1978: 8, 1156).

And in *Rulin waishi*,

知縣變著臉道：既然如此，不必進公館了！即回衙門去罷！

The district magistrate changed his face out of anger, and said, 'if we don't have to go to

the official residence, let us go back to the *yamen* immediately!’ (Wu Jingzi 1997: 1, 5);

學道變了臉：拵當今天子重文章，足下何須講漢唐？

Mr Zhou changed his expression [pulled a long face] and said, ‘At present the Emperor attaches importance to essays, why should you talk about Han and Tang poems?’ (Wu Jingzi 1997: 3, 28).

Dissatisfaction-anger is manifested in

李變色曰：“君謂雙美，對妾云爾。渠必月殿仙人，妾定不及”。因而不懌。

The girl changed colour and said: ‘You say both of us are beautiful, but it is to me that you say so. She is certainly an immortal beauty of the moon palace, and I cannot compete with her’. For this reason she was discontented (Pu Songling 1978: 2, 222).

The following examples express rather dread, fright and astonishment:

僮變色曰：“我爲先生，禍及身矣”。

The servant boys were so scared as to turn pale in the face, and said: ‘We’ve already made trouble because of you, sir’ (Pu Songling 1978: 12, 1620);

林之洋見他二人舉動倉皇，面色如土，不覺詫異道俺看你們這等驚慌。

Lin Zhiyang noticed that the other two were agitated and that their faces were ashen; he could not help being surprised and said: I see that you are very frightened (Li Ruzhe 1979: 18, 81);

父母聞之，大懼失色。

His parents heard this, they were greatly frightened and turned pale (Pu Songling 1978: 11, 1467),

which is almost identical to

女王聞言，大驚失色。

At these words the Queen turned pale with surprise (Wu Cheng’en 1972: 54, 761).

The last example shows that a threatening attitude may be expressed by *zuosuo* 作色:

婢作色曰：“殆矣！”

The slave-girl’s face showed signs of anger, she said: ‘Oh, it’s so bad!’ (Pu Songling 1978: 12, 1678).

Comparable to turning pale is the loss of colour, or ‘turning yellow’ in the face. Eifring (1999: 100) quotes some examples from the *Hongloumeng*: ‘so scared that his face lost colour’ (*hu de mian shang shise* 唬得面上失色) ‘their faces turned yellow from fear’ (*lian dou hu huang le* 臉都唬黃了) ‘his/her face had the colour of the earth’ (*mian ru tuse* 面如土色), ‘got so scared that her face turned yellow’ (*he de huang le lian* 嚇得黃了臉). Turning yellow with pallor is also used for rage:

金榮氣黃了臉，說。。。。

- Jin Rong, turning pale [lit. 'yellow'] from rage, said ... (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 9, 158);
 襲人見他臉都氣黃了，眼眉都變了，從來沒氣的這樣。
 Xiren had never before seen Baoyu so pale [lit. 'yellow'] with rage, his brows and eyes completely changed (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 29, 446).

Becoming livid is also expressed with *qing* 青 ('dark' or 'grey') and *tuse* 土色 ('earthy colour', that is 'livid', 'grey', 'yellow'):

- 見趙姨娘氣的眼紅面青的走來。。。。
 Seeing Aunt Zhao's bloodshot eyes and her face livid with rage ... (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 60, 908);
 更駭得面如土色。
 Aunt Xue turned deadly pale with alarm (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 85, 1298).

Of course, *bai*, the word for white color, is also used for 'pale' or 'livid':

- 丫頭聽了，氣白了臉。
 The maid, at those words, became livid with anger (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 71, 1075).

Other less metaphorical and rather descriptive expressions concern the muscular activity of the face, like *la chang lian* 拉長臉, *la xia lian* 拉下臉 ('pull a long face'), from anger and unhappiness. In the following sentence, the same concept is given by another expression:

- 王氏已是不能言語了，把手指著孩子點了一點頭。兩位舅爺看了，把臉本喪著不則一聲。
 Mrs Wang couldn't speak, she pointed at the child and nodded her head. Her two brothers, at seeing that, pulled a long face without a word (Wu Jingzi 1997: 5, 33).

Furthermore, the face can express a sense of justice or indignation:

- 嚴致和又拿出五十兩銀子來交與，二位義形於色去了。
 Yan Zhihe gave them another fifty taels of silver. Then they left, with indignant looks (Wu Jingzi 1997: 5, 33).

4.2 Eyes and Brows

Kan yan se 看眼色! ('Look at the colour of the eyes!') is an idiomatic phrase that refers to the importance of sight and eyes in understanding one's state of mind and intentions. The eye can be like the heart, as in the expression *xin zhong yan zhong* 心中眼中 ('in one's eyes and heart'), meaning that the object of wholehearted devotion is inside both organs:

- 這襲人有些痴處：伏侍賈母時，心中眼中只有一個賈母；今跟了寶玉，心中眼中又只有一個寶玉。
 Xiren had a kind of obsession: if she looked after Grandmother Jia, she gave herself body and soul to Grandmother Jia [her whole heart and eyes were full with Grand-

mother Jia]; and after being assigned to Baoyu, she gave herself body and soul to Baoyu [her whole heart and eyes were full with Baoyu] (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 3, 54).

Eyes are the organs of mutual understanding, like in

二人以目會意，賺婢懈骨作酣態，兩手遽釋。

The two exchanged glances of understanding, and taking advantage of the slave-girl's deep drunkenness, released their hands (Pu Songling 1978: 8, 1076).

The channels by which the emotional message is transmitted and received are the sense organs – sight, in the first instance, and glances sent back and forth between two people who love and understand each other. In China too the seductive language of glances – as in many literatures – is frequently described:

彼此以目送情，轉加親熱。。。眉來眼去兩情甚濃。

They mutually expressed their feelings through their eyes, and became increasingly passionate ... through their exchange of glances [lit. 'brows came and eyes went'], they reciprocally conveyed their love feelings which became even more intense (Feng Menglong 1983: 16, 8).¹⁸

Ningti 凝睇 ('concentrating sidelong glances') may be used to this effect:

何凝睇送意迫懇之，遂及於亂。

Mr He stared at her with a sidelong glance to transmit his passionate feelings and earnest request, so they made love (Yue Jun 1978: 4189).

'Playing with eyes' (*jimei nongyan* 擠眉弄眼, *nongmei jiyan* 弄眉擠眼, *jiyan nongmei* 擠眼弄眉) is the idiomatic expression used for lovers sending glances at each other.¹⁹ A section will be dedicated to this feature (see below, § 8). We find expressions like 'give hints with the eyes', *shiyanse* 使眼色 (lit. 'send eye color'; *Honglouloumeng*, ch. 4, 6, 21, 22, 24, etc.) or *diyanse* 遞眼色 (lit. 'pass eye colour'; *Honglouloumeng*, ch. 6, 40), referring to the eye language which hints at matters that cannot be expressed in words in certain social situations. In some cases, the verb *gu* 顧 can be rendered with an analogous meaning, 'give hints with the eyes', and can transmit any kind of feeling, not only love messages, like in the following sentence:

甲懼，顧鄰曰：“我質某物，鬻某器，汝豈不知？”

He was frightened, hinting to his neighbour with a glance, and said: 'I sold this, sold that, and some furniture, don't you know?' (Pu Songling 1978: 12, 1693).

The rim around the eyes also changes colour, always to red (*yan quan er hong le* 眼圈兒紅了, 'the rim around the eyes turned red'), and may be accompanied by swollenness (*yan honghongde zhong le* 眼紅紅的腫了, 'he

¹⁸ See also *Honglouloumeng*, ch. 72.

¹⁹ Cf. in Malay-Indonesian the idiom *main mata* ('play with eyes'), that means to flirt.

eyes turned so red that they became swollen'). This often happens when one is weeping or is about to weep (*ku de yan hong* 哭得眼紅, 'to cry so that one's eyes turn red'). In some cases it is a sign of rage, as when Jia Zheng is furious and has his son Baoyu beaten:

賈政一見，眼都紅了。

Jia Zheng's eyes turned red at the sight of him (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 33, 491);

another reaction concerns eyes as well as swallowing:

驚得眼中出火，內勾涎。想道。。。。

With astonishment, her eyes shone with fire, while she gulped. She thought ... (Feng Menglong 1983: 3, 48).

Several idiomatic phrases are focused on these parts of the face. Some of them express joy and high spirits, such as *meifei sewu* 眉飛色舞 ('with a radiant face and eyebrows dancing like butterflies'), *zhanyan shumei* 展眼舒眉 ('with radiant eyes and relaxed eyebrows'), *gupan zixiong* 顧盼自雄 ('look about complacently'). The opening of the face and smiling is summed up in the four characters terms, like *mei kai yan xiao* 眉開眼笑 or *manmian sheng chun* 滿面生春:

封肅喜得眉開眼笑，巴不得去奉承太爺，便在女兒前一力攬掇。。。。

Feng Su could hardly contain himself for joy and was enveloped in smile. Eager to flatter the Prefect, he prevailed on his daughter with all his might to convince her to agree ... (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 2, 24);

一個道是妹子來，雙眸注望；一個道是客官到，滿面生春。

Some thought that it was his sister and were therefore staring at her, others thought that he was a client looking at her radiant with happiness (Ling Mengchu 1989: 2, 40).

Opening the eyes wide (*deng* 瞪) has always some emotional content, be it out of anger, fear or sexual arousal:

封肅聽了，唬得目瞪口呆。

Hearing [confused voices in the night], Feng Su was so frightened that his jaw dropped and he gaped in consternation (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 1, 11).

Anger can make the 'eyelids split', that is wide open:

妻亦悲，握發裂眦。

Then his first wife became also irritated, and with eyes bulging grabbed her by the hair (Pu Songling 1978: 7, 888).

Pupils, that in many languages are important for expressing emotions, do not seem to have the same function in Chinese sources. They are used in peculiar expression to indicate a special character, such as *chongtong* 重瞳 ('double

pupils'), to designate for antonomasia Xiang Yu, as well as Emperors Yao and Shun:

虞兮幽恨對重瞳。

In silent regret, Lady Yu stayed beside Xiang Yu (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 64, 978);

or *tong* 瞳, pupils, is used just in the meaning of the sight, the eyes, as in the following sentence:

笑君雙瞳如豆。。。

I laughed at your two eyes round like beans ... (Pu Songling 1978: 12, 1635).

Disrespect and anger are expressed in idioms that indicate avoiding looking at someone straight in the eyes: *zheng yan ye bu kan* 正眼也不看, *zheng yan ye bu qiao* 正眼也不瞧 (*Honglouloumeng*, ch. 24, 25, 27, 35, 67), or *yan bier ye bu tai* 眼皮兒也不擡 ('not even lift one's eyelids'; *Honglouloumeng*, ch. 91). Fear and hate are expressed by the term *cemu er shi* 側目而視 ('look sideways at someone'). Not daring to look straight at someone, on the contrary, is a sign of great respect if not awe, as in *lian zheng yan ye bu gan kan* 連正眼也不敢看 (*Honglouloumeng*, ch. 26; cf. Eifring 1999: 101-8).

Worry, anger and/or boredom are expressed by the idioms that indicate frowning, knitting or raising one's brows (*zhoumei* 皺眉, *cumei* 蹙眉, *chenshi* 瞋視, *lian'e* 斂額, *limei* 立眉):

鳳姐聽了，連忙立眉瞋目斷喝道：“少胡說！”

'Do not speak nonsense!' snapped Fengjie, raising her eyes and staring in an angry and threatening way (Cao Xueqin 1998b: 7, 135);

悶來時斂額，行去幾回頭。

And so my brows are knit despondently (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 1, 7);

兩彎似蹙非蹙籠煙眉，一雙似喜非喜含情目。

Her dusky arched eyebrows were knitted and yet not frowning, her speaking eyes held feelings of both merriment and sorrow (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 3, 52).

Here the ambiguous meaning of an imperceptible movement like frowning is poetically expressed by the author, but we will come back to this later. Similarly, in the following sentence, the expression is done by the eyes:

雖怒時而似笑，即瞋視而有情。

Even when angry Baoyu seemed to smile, and there was affection in his glance even when his look was sullen (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 3, 51).

4.3 Grinding, Sticking one's Tongue out, and other Facial Signals

The expression of the face can be the result of muscle tension, like dimples (*liang ye* 兩靨):

態生兩靨之愁，嬌襲一身之病。

Her attitude was expressed in her melancholic face, and her delicate charm was stressed by her sickly constitution (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 3, 52).

Sticking out the tongue may signal astonishment, fear and horror: the verb *tu* 吐 or *shen* 伸 are followed by *she* 舌 or *shetou* 舌頭:

謝希大廳得走過來，伸著舌頭道：“這等一個伴當隨著，我一刻也成不的。我不怕他要吃我？”

At these words, Xie Xida stuck out his tongue and said: ‘I would not allow such a servant to stay with me even for a quarter of hour. How can I not fear that the tiger will eat me?’ (*Jin Ping Mei* 1990: 1, 13);

都驚得吐了舌，縮不上去。

They were all so surprised that their tongues hung out uncontrollably (Feng Menglong 1983: 30, 35).

The nose is also involved in emotional expressions: the nose is the organ that is often used to express disgust, which might be physical or moral. Covering one’s nose is a sign of a physical sensation:

家人惡其臭，掩鼻遙立。

The servants were disgusted by his odor, muffled their noses and stood far away (Pu Songling 1978: 12, 1706).

It should not come as a surprise that in many cultures the nose expresses a negative attitude, or is associated with snivelling or sarcastic laughing, like a disdainful nasal laugh (*chi zhi yi bi* 嗤之以鼻). Besides that, the most frequent expressions associate snivelling to weeping:

猶自索鼻涕，彈眼淚，傷心不止。

He still snivelled and shed tears. He looked broken-hearted (Wu Jingzi 1997: 3, 15).

Scorn or disapproval can be expressed also by protruding the lower lip with the corners of the mouth pointing downwards (*pie* 撇):

話說金桂聽了，將脖項一扭，嘴唇一撇，鼻孔裡“哧哧”了兩聲，冷笑道。

At Xiangling’s words, Jingui turned away, protruded her lips and snorted a couple of times, then she laughed coldly (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 80, 1222).

Here we can see a combination of muscle reactions, concerning not only the lips, but also the movement of the head, sneering with a cold laughing through the nostrils. Anger may be expressed by squirming lips (*ba zui luan niu* 把嘴亂扭), like the famous character of *Xiyouji*:

八戒聽說，發起個風來，把嘴亂扭，耳朵亂搖。

At these words, Bajie became furious, writhing his lips and twitching his ears (Wu Cheng’en 1972: 54, 761).

But the nose can also be used as a sign of respect, when holding one's breath:

黛玉思忖道：“這些人個個皆斂聲屏氣如此，這來者是誰，這樣放誕無禮？”

Daiyu thought with surprise, 'The people here are so respectful and solemn, they all seem to be holding their breath. Who can this be, so boisterous and pert?' (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 3, 46).

Another common reaction, often related to anger, resentment and indignation or to strong determination, is grinding and gnashing one's teeth:

“。。。你又來惱我！”一面說，一面咬牙切齒的，又說道。。。。

'You have come again to provoke me', gnashing his teeth Baoyu added ... (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 57, 872);

唐璧听罢，呆了半晌咬牙切齒恨道：“大丈夫浮沉薄宦，至一妻之不能保，何以生爲。。。。”怒氣不息。

At these words Tang Bi was astonished for a while, then, grinding his teeth with resentment and anger, he said: 'A real man floating in the seas of officialdom, who is not even in a position to protect his wife, where is his foothold in life?'... His anger continued unabated (Feng Menglong 1991a: 9, 370-71).

In this sentence the two most common expressions are combined, *yaoya* 咬牙 and *qiechi* 切齒. When offended, one can react by biting his lips:

彩霞咬著(牙)嘴唇。。。。

Caixia bit her lips ... [or 'clenched her teeth', according to other editions] (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 25, 378).

At last, following the muscular activity of the neck, the head may be turned in different directions: turning the head upwards is a polysemous gesture that may mean self-satisfaction. Sometimes it is a reaction of surprise:

王及內侍，仰面咨嗟。

Wang and his servants can't help but sigh looking upward (Pu Songling 1978: 3, 398);

fear is more common:

李跪伏，莫敢仰視。

Mr Li knelt down on the ground not daring to look up (Pu Songling 1978: 5, 658);

穀視之崔嵬千仞，壁立如峭，仰視股栗。疑巨鬼欲來撲人，不覺變色，撫膺長嘆。

Gu looked at the chain of mountains: it rose up like a great wall for more than a thousand meters, like a sheer precipice; as he looked up, his knees trembled: he felt as if a huge ghost was about to spring on him. He changed colour and consoled himself with a long lament (Yue Jun 1978: 4103-4).

While tossing one's head (*niutou* 扭頭) usually indicates anger, rejection and disagreement, nodding the head (*diantou* 點頭) is a sign of approval and agreement:

寶玉聽了，點頭笑道：“你不知道，她心裏自然又有個想頭了”。探春聽說，益發動了氣，將頭一扭。

At these words, Baoyu nodded, and smiling, said: 'You don't know, but for her it is natural to have a different way of thinking'. This made Tanchun become more angry. She tossed her head (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 27, 413; see also below, § 6.3).

Fushou 俯首 ('lowering one's head') may be synonym of *diantou*:

女俯首不言，意若甚愿。

The daughter lowered her head without a word, as if she was sincerely willing to (Pu Songling 1978: 12, 1642).

In other cases it is an expression of embarrassment:

女俯首笑曰：“狂生太囉。。。矣”。

The girl lowered her head, and told him with a laugh, 'Crazy student, you are a terrible troublemaker!' (Pu Songling 1978: 3, 332).

Lowering one's head may be an expression of embarrassment, tearfulness, submission or fear:

武松也知了八九分，自己祇把頭來低了，卻不來兜攬。

Wu Song, who had almost completely understood the matter, lowered his head, unable to handle the affair (*Jin Ping Mei* 1990: 2, 29);

轉復羞慚，雙頰凝紅，低顏無語。

Thinking back over it, she was ashamed, and both cheeks turned bright red, and she lowered her gaze in silence (Yue Jun 1978: 4105);

文若虛滿面羞慚，坐了末位。

Wen Ruoxu, with shame painted on his face, went and sat in the last seat (Ling Mengchu 1989: 1, 14);

宗不聽，垂首隕涕。

Zong Zimei turned a deaf ear to her, and shed tears and snivelled with his head down (Pu Songling 1978: 8, 1073).

In the next example, it is an expression of feeling of inferiority as well as disbelief and determination:

範進道是哄他，祇裝不聽見，低著頭往前走。

Fan Jin only thought that the man was kidding him, so he pretended not to notice it and lowered his head walking ahead (Wu Jingzi 1997: 3, 35).

Two other passages, one from the same novel, show us how the same gesture may express different emotions, the former happiness, and the latter a mixture of fear and sorrow:

一會，千恩萬謝，低著頭笑迷迷的去了。

After some words, he showed his deep gratitude and went away, his head thrust for-

ward and a broad grin on his face (Wu Jingzi 1997: 3, 41);

這裏阿秀祇道見了真丈夫，低頭無語，滿腹恚惶，祇饒得哭下一場。

Then Axiu, who recognized her fiancé, lowered her gaze and fell silent, she felt full of fear and sorrow, and finally burst out sobbing in pity (Feng Menglong 1991a: 2, 129).

At last, lowering the head in fright:

賈環見了他父親，唬得骨軟筋酥，連忙低頭站住。

When Jia Huan saw his father, he felt thoroughly paralysed with fright, immediately stood before him, lowering his head (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 33, 490).

4.4 Hair

Finally, hair can indicate a strong emotion: its shape can mean sorrow, surprise or fright. One of the most common expressions is to have disheveled hair:

衆人且扶著趙氏灌開水，撬開牙齒灌了下去，灌醒了時，披頭撒發滿地打滾，哭的天昏地暗，連嚴監生也無可奈何。

Others helped her up. They opened her teeth to pour boiling water down her throat. When she regained consciousness, she rolled on the floor with hair dishevelled, she cried so sadly, as if the heavens had grown blurred and the earth dark. Not even Mr Yan could calm her (Wu Jingzi 1997: 5, 34);

女披髮零涕，進退無所。

With her hair ruffled, Axi burst into tears and did not know where to go (Pu Songling 1978: 4, 449);

甥亦起，雲鬢鬅鬆，驚來省問。

The niece of the man of letters also got up surprised with her hair ruffled like clouds, and came to ask what had happened (Pu Songling 1978: 4, 482);

新郎告行，鼓樂大作，女猶眼零雨而首飛蓬也。

The bridegroom said it was now time to go, you could hear the music of the drums, but the girl sobbed convulsively with her hair completely in disorder (Pu Songling 1978: 4, 513);

又俄而一人掠美妾出，披髮嬌啼，玉容無主。悲火燒心，含憤不敢言。

Suddenly another man came out of the house dragging the concubine, who was crying, with her hair in disarray and a blank expression on her face. His heart burned with sorrow but he concealed his rage and dared not say anything (Pu Songling 1978: 4, 522).

Another very common expression is having one's hair stand on end from fright – a physiological reaction of skin and hair –, expression common to many languages, like 'hair-raising' which in English is used metaphorically for fear:

生意其鬼魅，毛髮直豎，不敢少息。

Lian thought that they were the spirits of the mountains and forests, his hair immediately stood on end and he dared not breathe (Pu Songling 1978: 2, 257);

二位也覺悚然，毛髮皆豎，丟著乚筆下來又拜了四拜，再上去扶。

These two gentlemen also felt so cowardly that their hair was standing on end, they threw away the brush, and went down to kowtow four times, then they picked up the brush again (Wu Jingzi 1997: 7, 48).

This reaction can be associated with feeling cold:

夜色迷悶，誤入澗穀，狼奔鴟叫，豎毛寒心。

Owing to the dark of the night, he could not see clearly, and mistakenly entered a river valley in which wolves were roaming and owls were hooting: his hair stood on end and his heart froze (Pu Songling 1978: 4, 537).

Some expressions are more colourful, like 'hair standing like the trees of a forest':

或夜聞兩廊拷訊聲。入者，毛皆森豎。

Some nights on the two verandas you could hear the noise of the whips and the questioning. Anyone entering felt his hair stand on end [for terror] (Pu Songling 1978: 2, 139);

忽覺心動，毛髮森悚。

Suddenly he felt his heart pound, and his hair became erect in terror (Pu Songling 1978: 12, 1602).

5. 'My Mother Weeping: my Father Wailing: my Sister Crying'²⁰

哥子聞得兄弟哭聲，慌忙起來。。。程宰支吾道：“無過是思想家鄉”。口裏強說，聲音還是淒咽的。“。。。何反哭得這等悲切起來？從來不曾見你如此，想必有甚傷心之事”。

His brother then heard Cheng Zai's laments and got up in alarm ... 'It's only homesickness', Cheng Zai replied evasively, but his voice was forced and filled with desolate sobs. '...So why do you groan so sadly? I have never seen you like this. There must be some other matter that makes you sorrowful' (Ling Mengchu 1985: 37, 773).

In this passage there are different terms related to this kind of reaction: the sound of crying (*kusheng* 哭聲), desolate sobs (*qiyan* 淒咽), groaning so sadly (*ku de zhe deng beiqie* 哭得這等悲切). In another example a woman, shocked by the end of her love story, reacts with 'sighs' (*tan* 嘆) and 'weeping' (*qi* 泣):

美人聽罷，不覺驚嘆道，“數年之好，止于此乎。。。？”歔歔泣下，悲不自勝。

At these words, the beauty could not avoid being astonished, and she said with a sigh:

²⁰ Shakespeare, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* II.III.7. I agree with Ye Zhengdao that words referring to bodily expressions like crying and smiling are not universal, and that the Chinese *ku* and *xiao* do not have exact equivalents in English, as *xiao* is a much vaguer term than either smile or laugh. However, for practical reasons, we can associate *ku* to 'cry' and *xiao* to 'laugh-smile'. On the literary reference to the use of whistling and cries, see Sima Xiangru's famous 'long whistle and long wail' (長嘯哀鳴; Shanglin fu 上林賦) or Su Shi's 'long slicing whistle' (划然長嘯) and 'long dragging wail' (戛然哀鳴; Hou Chibi fu 後赤壁賦).

‘How can it be possible that so many years of love must finish this way?’. She continued weeping, sorrowful beyond control (Ling Mengchu 1985: 37, 772).

In the famous erotic novel *Jin Ping Mei*, *ku* 哭, as far as women are concerned, is divided in three categories, according to the presence of the two visible and audible elements, tears and screaming:

原来但凡世上妇人哭有三样：有泪有声谓之哭，有泪无声谓之泣，无泪有声谓之号。

The women of this world have three ways of weeping. If there are tears as well as sound, it is called weeping [哭]. If there are tears but no sound, it is called sobbing [泣]. If there are no tears but there is sound, it is called howling [号] (*Jin Ping Mei* 1990: 5, 96).

Under this heading we include several manifestations that mainly refer to eyes (tears), mouth (crying, sobbing, etc.) and nose (snivelling), and the production of sounds and emission of fluids from the eyes and nose. Of course, tears are proverbially ‘bitter tears’, as the author says:

满纸荒唐言，
一把辛酸泪！

Pages full of fantastic talk,
Penned with bitter tears (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 1, 3).

Although at a first glance we would be tempted to identify tears with sorrow, they are in fact a polysemantic manifestation. One can even weep for joy (*xi ji er qi* 喜極而泣), and crying may signal a request for compassion, or acknowledgement of the other’s supremacy, or just sharing the collective emotion in a moving or dramatic situation.

However, in many cases tears are linked to bad experiences and negative feelings, as is confirmed by several Chinese idioms: *cuanmei kulian* 攢眉苦臉 (‘with knitted brows and a worried look [lit. ‘face’]’), *choumei suoyan* 愁眉鎖眼 (‘with sad/frowning brows and a worried look [lit. ‘eyes’]’), *canran bule* 慘然不樂 (‘with a sad [face]’), *yangyang bule* 怏怏不樂 (‘with a sullen [face]’), *zhoumei cuyan* 皺眉蹙眼 (‘with contracted brows and frowning eyes’), *tongku liuti* 痛哭流涕 (‘cry one’s heart out’), *tisi zongheng* 涕泗縱橫 (‘crying bitterly [lit. ‘crisscrossing tears’]’), *haotao daku* 號淘大哭 (‘crying loudly’), *aisheng tanqi* 唉聲嘆氣 (‘moaning and groaning’), *changxu duantan* 長吁短嘆 (‘sighs and groans’), *yangwu qietan* 仰屋竊嘆 (‘looking up at the ceiling and sighing’).

In the sentences we are analysing, we find prevalently a description of muscular activity concerning eyes and face and facial expressions (*mei* 眉, *lian* 臉, *yan* 眼), sighs, wailing and snivelling (*ti* 啼, *ti* 涕, *si* 泗, *ai* 唉, *tan* 嘆, *jie* 嗟, *yi* 噫, *shen* 呻, *yin* 吟).

One of the most common expressions of suffering is the ‘groan’, ‘wail’ or ‘moan’ (*ku* 哭), an event often accompanied by weeping and sometimes by words:

哽哽咽咽哭將起來。

He burst into tears, sobbing and moaning (Feng Menglong 1991a: 3, 211);

一言不發啼哭起來。

He said no word and burst out moaning (Feng Menglong 1991a: 1, 82);

夫妻二人半世隻生此女，一旦失去，何等煩惱，因此晝夜啼哭，幾乎不顧性命。

She was the middle-aged couple's only child, and her loss made them weep day and night without regard for their own lives (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 1, 9);

哭倒在地。

He burst into tears and fell to the ground (Feng Menglong 1991a: 1, 93);

口吐痰涎雙手搥胸慟哭不已。

He spat, beat his breast with both hands, and could do nothing but wail (Feng Menglong 1991b: 1, 51);

真是苦上加苦哭得咽喉無氣。

It was indeed a sorrow that was added to other sorrows; he wailed so much that he became breathless (Feng Menglong 1991a: 40, 790-91).

And in a previously mentioned example expressing fright, crying like beasts is accompanied by a description of hair:

額破血流，披發嗥叫。額頭被打破，血流了出來，王氏披頭散髮，鬼哭狼號地跑出家門。

Wang's forehead was broken and bleeding. She ran out of the gate with hair undone and cried like a beast (Pu Songling 1978: 8, 114).

Other reactions are silent weeping (*qi* 泣), or tear (*lei* 淚), groaning, moaning and sobbing (*ti* 啼, *wu* 鳴, *jie* 嗟 and *tan* 歎 or 嘆). In a recent article, Christoph Harbsmeier focused on the distinction between 'wailing' and 'weeping' in ancient pre-Buddhist China, which is confirmed by the quoted passage from *Jin Ping Mei*. According to him, the difference between the terms *ku* 哭 and *qi* 泣 is based on the different ways in which they manifest themselves: *ku* comes out from the mouth, and thus was associated with voice and sound, *qi* comes out from the eyes, and thus was associated with tears. Furthermore, the difference lies also in the cognitive motivation, where *ku* is primarily a 'ritualised and public action', while *qi* is a 'private reaction': the former was connected with social duties and rites, a public demonstration of grief or mourning, and thus linked to a socio-culturally sanctioned emotion, while the latter was a more private manifestation of a current, possibly ephemeral or temporary feeling, common among children and women. This does not mean that 'all emotion that is publicly displayed for a political or ritual purpose is false: on the contrary, it may be genuine most of the time'. Only later, in Buddhist colloquial literature, the meaning of the term *ku* gradually changes, moving in the direction of its modern meaning 'weep' (Harbsmeier 1999).

The emotion expressed in the 'lament cry' and in works of art is an out-

come of man's natural spiritual sensitivity (*ganqing sheng kuqi* 感情生哭泣), as in the following passage where the sorrow of human life is summed up:

嬰兒墮地，其泣也呱呱；及其老死，家人環繞，其哭也號咷。然則哭泣也者，固人之所以成始成終也。其間人品之高下，以其哭泣之多寡為衡；蓋哭泣者，靈性之現象也，有一分靈性即有一分哭泣，而際遇之順逆不與焉。。。靈性生感情，感情生哭泣。。。離騷為屈大夫之哭泣，莊子為蒙叟之哭泣，史記為太史公之哭泣，草堂詩集為杜工部之哭泣；李後主以詞哭，八大山人以畫哭；王實甫寄哭泣於西廂，曹雪芹寄哭泣於紅樓夢。

When the newborn comes into the world, he cries loudly, and when he has become old enough to die, his relations gather around him, crying loudly too. It is thus amid tears and weeping that human existence unravels, from the beginning to the end. In the meantime, a man's qualities may be measured on the basis of the quantity of his tears: weeping is the manifestation of his spiritual nature. This spiritual nature of his is proportionate to his tears, quite apart from the favourable or adverse events of life. ... Emotions come from one's spiritual nature, and in their turn lead to weeping and lamenting ... The *Li sao* is the lament of Qu Yuan, just as *Zhuangzi* is the lament of Master Zhuang, the 'Historical memoirs' are the lament of Sima Qian, the 'Poems of the hermitage' are the lament of Du Fu; Li Yu wept through his Songs and Bada Shanren through his Paintings, Wang Shifu entrusted his tears to the 'Western Room', while Cao Xueqin to the 'Dream of the Red Chamber' (Liu E 1985: 1).

Though crying (哭) is mainly associated with sadness and sorrow, it may also be a display of emotion and compassion:

黛玉知是外祖母了，正欲下拜，早被外祖母抱住，摟入懷中，“心肝兒肉”叫著大哭起來。

She knew that this must be her grandmother, but before she could bow, the old lady threw both arms around her. 'Dear heart! Flesh of my child!' she cried, and burst into sobbing (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 3, 45);

封氏聞知此信，哭個死去活來。

The word soon reached Shiyin's wife, who gave way to a storm of weeping and was even half dead (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 1, 11);

及到了他門前，看見士隱抱著英蓮，那僧便大哭起來。

When they reached Shiyin's gate and saw the child in his arms, the monk burst into tears (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 1, 6).

Weeping is often associated with tears, as in this quotation:

寶玉滿面淚痕泣道：“家裏姐姐妹妹都沒有，單我有，我說沒趣。。。 ”

His face stained with tears, Baoyu sobbed, 'None of the girls has one, only me. What's the fun of that?...' (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 3, 53).

The most common cause of weeping bitterly in despair is sorrow:

母憐其幼，秀哀涕欲死，遂典質治任。

His mother thought him too young, and would not let him go. He cried bitterly and his mother agreed to sell things for his fare (Pu Songling 1978: 11, 1473).

Tears and snivelling (*liuti* 流涕) may result from feeling moved and from affection:

昆生感其義，爲之流涕。。。

Kunsheng was moved by her affection, and shed tears ... (Pu Songling 1978: 11, 1468),

or from anxiety:

一女惶惑無策，涕泣。

One of the girls was seized by uneasiness and anxiety, and began to weep (Yue Jun 1978: 4018).

There are also tears of anger, tears that accompany anger (*fenqi* 憤泣):

母憤泣不食，秀慚懼，對母自矢。

The mother cried with anger and would not eat. He was both remorseful and frightened, and promised to study hard (Pu Songling 1978: 11, 1474).

Here are two examples of tears (*lei* 淚), due to the emotion caused by separation, and sorrow, respectively:

母子灑淚分手。

The mother and son said goodbye to each other, shedding tears (Wu Jingzi 1997: 1, 5);

淚光點點，嬌喘微微。

Her eyes sparkled with glistening tears, her breath was soft and faint (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 3, 52).

Other people are more easily to be affected by the person who sheds tears:

當下侍立之人，無不下淚，黛玉也哭個不休。

All the attendants covered their faces and wept, and Daiyu herself could not keep back her tears (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 3, 45).

And in the lively images depicted by Feng Menglong, tears express an emotion of feeling pierced by darts, or the sorrow that is likened to rain:

萬箭攢心，不覺淚如雨下。

Ten thousand darts pierced his heart, and suddenly his tears fell like rain! (Feng Menglong 1991a: 8, 335),

or

如萬刀攢心，眼中淚下。

It was as though ten thousand swords penetrated his heart, while tears welled up in his eyes (Feng Menglong 1991a: 24, 145-46).

Tears can also be swallowed in sorrow (*yinqi* 飲泣):

“。。。乃一旦身受此慘，報復之巧，殆天意耶？”飲泣不能聲。

‘... Now I personally am suffering this cruelty; how can the coincidence of this retribution be the fruit of heavenly will?’, he thought, swallowing his tears in silence (Yuan Mei 1983: 11, 268).

Later (§ 7) we will quote an example of covering the face with the hands, weeping and snivelling (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 5, 86). Dabbing one’s eyes (*shilei* 拭淚, *molei* 抹淚) is also recorded:

說著便用帕拭淚，賈母笑道：“我才好了。。。 ”

With that she dabbed her eyes with a handkerchief. But the old lady said with a playful smile: ‘I’ve just dried my tears ...’ (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 3, 47);

鸚哥笑道：“林姑娘在這裏傷心，自己淌眼抹淚的”。

‘Miss Lin has been in tears all this time, she is so upset’, said Yingge with a smile (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 3, 54).

In the texts we find wailing loudly with sorrow (*dasheng haotong* 大聲號慟) or bawling anxiously and angrily (*rang* 嚷):

程宰大聲號慟，自悔失言，恨不得將身投地，將頭撞壁。

Cheng Zai burst into convulsive sobs, bitterly regretting his rash words; he would have wished to be swallowed up, to beat his head against the wall (Ling Mengchu 1985: 37, 772);

卻說封肅聽見公差傳喚，忙出來賠笑啓問，那些人祇嚷：“快請出甄爺來！”

Hearing the hubbub at his gate, Feng Su hurried out to ask with an ingratiating smile what the messengers wanted. ‘Ask Mr Chen to come out’, they bawled, ‘be quick about it’ (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 2, 24).

Jiao 叫 is another character used for screaming and shouting. For fright and alarm:

士隱大叫一聲，定睛看時，祇見烈日炎炎，芭蕉冉冉，夢中之事，便忘了大半。

With a screaming he woke up and stared about him. There was the fiery sun still blazing down on the browning plantain leaves. Already half of his dream had slipped from his mind (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 1, 5);

大叫一聲，驚醒，又是一夢。

He cried out aloud and woke up frightened, it was again a dream (Feng Menglong 1991a: 3, 211).

We have already seen an example of screaming with emotion and compassion among the quotations concerning *ku* (‘crying’; Cao Xueqin 1998a: 3, 45).

The sadness expressed by sighing (*tan* 嘆) can have different nuances, and it might be mixed with regret and admiration, like in the following sentence:

看罷，不覺嘆息道：“這樣文字連我看一兩遍也不能解，直到三遍之後，才曉得是地間之至文，真乃一字一珠！可見世上糊塗官，不知屈煞了多少英才！”

After reading, he couldn’t help sighing, ‘Even if I read this essay once or twice, I cannot understand, and only the third time I know it is the best in the world, each word a

pearl! You can see how many bright talents have suffered injustices by muddle-headed officers' (Wu Jingzi 1997: 3, 28).

More frequent are sadness, worry and regret:

雨村飲幹，忽嘆道。。。。

Yucun tossed it off and then sighed... (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 1, 8);

雨村吟罷，因又思及平生抱負，苦未逢時，乃又搔首對天長嘆。

Having recited this poem, Yucun, sadly runned on his unrealized ambitions, scratched his head and sighed deeply before heaven (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 1, 7).

夫妻愛之如掌上明珠，見他生得聰明俊秀，也欲使他識幾個字，不過假充養子之意，聊解膝下荒涼之嘆。

Both parents loved her dearly, and seeing that she was as intelligent as she was pretty, they intended to give her a good education to make up their lack of a son and forget the sadness for that loss (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 2, 26).

Cursing and screaming are also very frequent reactions that show anger, rage, resentment:

馬命群姬奪其棒，齊毆之。夫人力不勝，逃入房罵且哭。

Mr Ma ordered all the concubines to snatch away her stick and to beat her; failing to win by her own forces, she sought refuge in her room, scolding and crying (Yuan Mei 1983: 11, 266).

Quarrelling loudly (*rangma* 嚷罵), another compound of *ma*, is described in the following example:

主家婆頗知其事，與大戶嚷罵了數日，將金蓮苦般苦打。

When the mistress of the household got wind of what was going on behind her back she quarreled for several days with her husband and gave Jinlian a terrible beating (*Jin Ping Mei* 1990: 1, 20).

Thus, cursing can often be accompanied by other aggressive actions, like beating, but also spitting:

範進因沒有盤費，走去同丈人商議，被胡屠戶一口啐在臉上，罵了一個狗血噴頭。

Since he lacked travelling expenses, Fan Jin went to speak with his father-in-law, but the Butcher Hu spat in his face, and poured out a stream of savage invectives (Wu Jingzi 1997: 3, 30).

Another expression is yelling for help:

驚絕呼號。

Seized with fright and despair, he shouted for help (Yue Jun 1978: 4105).

Silence and immobility are only apparent non-reactions. Although suffer-

ing is intense, it can sometimes be mute, void of any form of weeping, moaning, and crying; it is so intense that the person cannot react:

張氏大慟不能言。

Lady Zhang was so deeply pained that she was unable to speak (Yuan Mei 1983: 11, 268).

At other times the reaction is accompanied by another facial or bodily emission of fluid – sweat:

時痛定思痛神魂俱，又哭了一回，遍身微微的出了一點兒汗。

Then, mindful of the suffering experienced just before, she was completely overwhelmed with frenzy; she began to moan again for a while, and felt beads of perspiration covering her entire body (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 82, 1067).

In fact, perspiration is described as a sign of fear and shame, as in

汗流夾背。

He was bathed in sweat (Yue Jun 1978: 4104).

Fear and anxiety cause blushing and sweating, as in the example where the author describes Tang Qing's state of mind at being caught by the boatman (see also below, § 8):

唐卿面掙得通紅，冷汗直淋。

Tang Qing, red in the face, soaked in cold sweat (Ling Mengchu 1989: 32, 567).

Or, a lady is bathed in cold sweat at the news of her daughter's suicide:

嚇得孟夫人一身冷汗。

Frightened, Madame Meng broke out in a cold sweat all over (Feng Menglong 1991a: 2, 145).

6. *Laughing and Smiling*

眉開眼笑，精神煥發 'Eyebrows open and eyes smile,
while the spirit soars full of vigour'

I am aware that any classification is arbitrary, as is any attempt to rationally systemize this matter; when we speak of smiling, we necessarily refer to facial expressions, to the eyes and mouth, but smiling has special and complex meanings and therefore I have preferred to dedicate an entire section to it. Emotive language plays a fundamental role as an instrument of communication in interpersonal relations: a smile may be a more or less spontaneous technique of seduction or the manifestation of inner joy, amusement or pleasure, gratitude or tenderness, from the spontaneous laugh (*daxiao*) to the *xiao*

that expresses ill feeling toward other people. Laughing may be expression of happiness, but also superior irony, a way of venting excessive inner tension, or it may be an indication of embarrassment, while a whistle and inarticulate cries may express anguish. Thus we can see that it is possible to curse laughing, that is to ridicule somebody (口內笑罵; Cao Xueqin 1998a: 38, 559), or to laugh scornfully through one's nose:

又不敢在他跟前駁回，只在鼻子眼裏笑了一聲。

But not daring to argue with her, [Baoyu] simply snorted [inside his nose] (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 82, 1246).

Not only can laughter re-negotiate interpersonal relations but, as psychologists have noted, it serves other functions as well: it has a pedagogical function, influences others' attitudes, and acts as social comparison.²¹ Laugh may be also a sign of non-conformist behaviour, an apparently foolish but actually wise attitude, like in the case of *Yingning* (Pu Songling 1978: 2, 147-59): she is a young fox-woman who is considered by everyone to be stupid, because she laughs so readily, but in the end she demonstrates that she possesses great wisdom, virtue and goodness. So Pu Songling sees this kind of folly as a non-conformist attitude, of those that are free from hypocrisy, ulterior motives and selfishness.

Sometimes it is difficult to single out a clear sentiment behind laughter, which can be a way of reassuring the interlocutors – as in the interplay between sighs and smiles –, or just an act of politeness. As Eifring notices in *Honglouloumeng* the character *xiao* occurs 3750 times, and offers an hypothesis to explain this exaggerated smiling: it is a device to create a superficial and false world of gaiety and merriment, beneath which the sad reality and the uselessness of looking for happiness are exposed. Furthermore he states:

The novel contains all sorts of laughing and smiling, from the polite smile (*peixiao* 陪笑, 83 instances) to roaring laughter (*daxiao* 大笑, 31 instances). They may express a wide range of emotions, from different degrees and variants of happiness to cold cynicism (the term *lengxiao* 冷笑 'sneer; laugh scornfully' occurs 113 times!). ... Sometimes its occurrence seems quite unmotivated, especially in many of the 2234 instances of constructions like *xiao shuo/dao* 笑說，道，'said with a smile' ... Some of these seemingly unmotivated smiles and laughs may be due to politeness or attempts to avoid unpleasant feelings (Eifring 1999: 102-5).

The problem raised here is very difficult, in a novel where the main character, Baoyu, 'even in anger seems to smile' (雖怒時而似笑; Cao Xueqin

²¹ Among recent psychological studies on laughter and smiling see Duncan, Brunner and Fiske (1979); Ekman and Friesen (1982); Ekman, Davidson and Friesen (1990); Fridlund (1991); Frank, Ekman and Friesen (1993). In Garotti *et al.* (1993) six studies describe different types of smile (amusement, elation, sensory pleasure, formal smiles, etc.). For a recent general analysis of weeping and crying, see Ricci Bitti, Caterina and Garotti (1997).

1998a: 3, 51). Let us try to answer the question of why so many smiles are mentioned in the novel. Owing to the unconventional and sentimental position which inspires the book, any small nuance in personal interactions is noticed: whenever the characters meet somebody or propose something to him or her, they need to show their attitude towards that person. The overuse of the smile does not undermine its value; it is nonetheless important socially and personally. In the following passage, for instance, the two types of smiles are an experience of different nuances, when Grandmother Jia introduces a cousin to Daiyu:

黛玉忙起身接見，賈母笑道：“你不認得他，他是我們這裡有名的一個潑辣貨。。。 ” 黛玉忙陪笑見禮，以“嫂”呼之。

Daiyu rose quickly to greet her. ‘You don’t know her yet’. Grandmother Jia chuckled: ‘She is one of those women that here we call a shrew, a terrible woman!’ ... Daiyu lost no time in greeting her with a polite smile as ‘cousin’ (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 3, 46-47).

The former smile is slightly ironical, while the latter is deferential, respectful of etiquette and expressed in an ingratiating manner, a way to win favour and acceptance. And again, in the following sentences, the former reaction is respectful, while the latter is a rather friendly and assenting smile:

維時賈赦之妻忙起身笑回道：“我帶了外甥女過去，到底便宜些”。賈母笑道：“正 是呢，你也去罷，不必過來了”。

At once Jia Shen’s wife, Lady Xing, hurriedly rose to her feet and suggested with a smile, ‘Won’t it be more convenient if I take my niece?’ ‘Very well’, agreed Grandmother Jia with a smile. ‘And there’s no need for you to come back afterwards’ (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 3, 47).

The Chinese term *xiao* is very vague, and each *xiao* compound should be analysed in its own right: it does not distinguish between the primarily visual phenomenon of the ‘smile’ from the mainly auditive ‘laughter’, but the adjective or the adverb allow a detailed definition. Harbsmeier (1995: 12) notes the following varieties of laughter in ancient Chinese literature: 1) disdainful sneer: *chileng* 齒冷, *lengxiao* 冷笑, *jixiao* 譏笑, *aoxiao* 傲笑; 2) gratified smiles: *xixiao* 喜笑; 3) amicable smiles: *huixinde xiao* 會心地笑; 4) obsequious and ingratiatingly smiles: *chanxiao* 諂笑; 5) despondent/embarrassed smiles: *kuxiao* 苦笑. He lists also about hundred cases of current colloquial expressions, 5 onomatopoeic phrases, 80 literary expressions, and 76 pre-modern and classical expressions (*ibid.*: 6-11). Laughter may be a sardonic sneer (*ningxiao heihei* 捧笑嘿嘿), snigger (*anxiao* 暗笑), chuckle (*gege* 咯咯 *xixiao* 嬉笑), simper (*hanxiao* 含笑), simple smile (*qianxiao* 淺笑; *weixiao* 微笑), false smile (*jiaxiao* 假笑), laugh and giggle (*xixi haha* 嘻嘻哈哈), frozen smile (*jiangxiao* 僵笑), unnatural smile (*wo* 喔), sinister smile (*jianxiao* 奸笑), forced smile (*qiangxiao* 強笑), furtive smile (*qiexiao* 竊笑; *nixiao* 匿笑, literary), simulated smile (*si xiao fei xiao* 似笑非笑), inscrutable smile (*xiao bu ke ce* 笑不可測, literary); it may be expressed loudly (*xi xiao* 嘻笑;

hongxiao 哄笑; puchi 撲哧), noisily (huaxiao 嘩笑), roaring (xuanxiao 喧笑), hoarsely (yaxiao 啞笑), or stupidly (hanxiao 憨笑; chixiao 癡笑; daixiao 呆笑; shaxiao 傻笑, frequently used also by comical characters in theatre), and in an insane way (fengxiao 瘋笑). Various are the expressions that describe its manifestation: 'be all smiles' (manlian duixiao 滿臉堆笑; xiaorong keju 笑容可掬), 'beam with smiles' (xiaozhu yankai 笑逐顏開), 'break into a smile' (meihua[kai] yanxiao 眉花[開]眼笑, literary), 'give a smile' (qichi 啓齒, classical), 'hold one's stomach with laughter' (pengfu daxiao 捧腹大笑), 'roll with laughter' (xiao bu ke yi 笑不可抑), 'laugh until tears roll down one's face' (xiao chu yanlei 笑出眼淚), 'fall over with laughter' (xiao dao 笑倒), 'break into laughter' (pen fan 噴飯, literary), 'overwhelmed with laughter' (xiao sha 笑殺, classical), 'laugh until one's stomach is aching' (xiaode duzi teng 笑得肚子疼), 'laughed so hard they rolled on the floor' (xiaode mandishang da gun'er 笑得滿地上打滾兒), 'laugh one's stomach to pieces' (xiao po dupi 笑破肚皮), 'laughed so hard he wet his trousers' (xiaode suile yikuzi 笑得尿了一褲子), 'laughed so hard they farted and pissed themselves' (xiaode pigun suiliu 笑得屁滾尿流), 'laugh away one's teeth' (xiao diao daya 笑掉大牙), 'choke with laughter' (xiao chale qi 笑岔了氣), 'laugh and sob at the same time' (haiti 咳啼, classical), 'pass from weeping to laughing' (poti wei xiao 破涕爲笑, literary). The laugh and smile are often related to a specific emotional attitude, like in: 'give a smile of embarrassment' (xiuxiao 羞笑), 'smile while apologising' (peixiao 賠笑), 'sad smile' (canxiao 慘笑, literary), 'bitter smile' (kuxiao 苦笑), 'smile joylessly' (ganxiao 乾笑), 'laugh at and look down upon' (guaixiao 怪笑), 'arrogant smile' (jiaoxiao 驕笑), 'jeer and abuse' (chaoma jiaoxiao 嘲罵驕笑), 'deride' (shanxiao 訕笑; chaoshan 嘲訕), 'make fun of' (chaonong 嘲弄; daqu 打趣; wanxiao 玩笑), 'ridicule' (chaoxiao 嘲笑; chaochi 嘲嗤), 'mock' (chixiao 恥笑; da haha 打哈哈), 'make a joke' (dapeng 打棚), 'tease with a smile' (shuaxiao 耍笑; tiaoxiao 調笑; xiaonong 笑弄), '[nasal] laugh disdainfully' (chi zhi yi bi 嗤之以鼻), 'smile in a jealous way' (duxiao 妒笑), 'laugh heartily' (huanxiao 歡笑), 'hiding bitterness or anger behind a smile' (xiao zhong han ku 笑中含苦; xiao zhong zang nu 笑中藏怒, literary), 'hiding a dagger in the smile' (xiaoli zang dao 笑裡藏刀), 'ridicule and swear at' (xiaoma 笑罵), 'a tiger with a smiling face' (xiao mian laohu 笑面老虎), 'nervous subdued laughter' (chichi 吃吃), 'smile with compassion and concern' (minxiao 憫笑, literary), '[female] smile ingratiatingly' (meixiao 媚笑), 'charming smile' (yanxiao 艷笑, literary), 'terrified smile' (jingxiao 驚笑), 'fearful smile' (juxiao 懼笑), 'tearful smile' (kuxiao 哭笑), 'wild laugh' (kuangxiao 狂笑), 'laugh shamelessly' (laixiao 賴笑), 'laugh at oneself' (zixiao 自笑; zichao 自嘲, literary; zichu 自嗤, classical).²²

²² As Ye Zhengdao notices in her mail of 16 february 2001, it seems that the modifying word that describes *xiao* can be divided in two groups. One reflects intention (*xiao* out of ...), and the other the manner (-ly *xiao*).

In addition, there is a way of smiling which is proper to young ladies, with the lips closed (*min zui xiao* 抿嘴笑) as it is impolite to expose the teeth.²³

Furthermore smiling is reflected in a few common idiomatic phrases: *xiaorong manmian* 笑容滿面 ('being all smiles'), *xixiao yankai* 喜笑顏開 ('being wreathed in smiles'), *xiaozhu yankai* 笑逐顏開 ('happy and beam with smiles'), *meikai yanxiao* 眉開眼笑 ('being all smiles'), *xiaorong keju* 笑容可掬 ('being radiant with smiles'). Onomatopoeic expressions like *haha daxiao* 哈哈大笑 ('burst into hearty laughter') are rather frequent:

說罷，哈哈大笑，衆人都笑起來。

After talking, he laughed loudly, the others all laughed (Wu Jingzi 1997: 3, 21).

Summing up, I would follow the categories mentioned by Harbsmeier, but with small changes, and offer some examples of different nuances under the above classification: 1. gratified smiles; 2. disdainful sneers; 3. amicable smiles; 4. obsequious and ingratiatingly smiles; 5. despondent/embarrassed smiles; 6. amused laugh.

1. gratified smiles and laughs, *xixiao* 喜笑: they express joy, satisfaction. We have encountered such a happy reaction (*xiao mimi* 笑迷迷 or 笑眯眯) in one example concerning the movement of the head (see above, § 4.3). A first group of examples express pure joy:

丹唇未啓笑先聞。

And before her crimson lips parted, her laughter rang out (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 1, 3);

寶玉含笑道：“這裏好！這裏好！”秦氏笑道：“我這屋子大約神仙也可以住得的”。

'It's nice here! It's nice!' exclaimed Baoyu simperingly. 'My room is probably fit for gods and immortals', rejoined Keqing with a smile (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 5, 83).

A strong idiomatic expression for 'breaking into laughter' is *penfan* 噴飯, which literally means 'spewing out the rice one is eating':

但觀其事跡原委，亦可消愁破悶；至於幾首歪詩，亦可以噴飯供酒。

Yet reading their stories and motives, melancholy and boredom may be dispelled, while the few inelegant poems I have inserted may cause a laugh when entertaining on convivial occasions (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 1, 3).

With a smile of understanding and satisfaction,

那僧笑道：“你放心。。。”

The monk replied 'Don't worry...' (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 1, 3),

and Zhou Yuanliang

²³ There is a very vivid paragraph in *Honglouloumeng* describing different ways of *xiao* by women.

笑曰：“此最易知”。

said with a smile: ‘This case can be tackled easily’ (Pu Songling 1978: 8, 1137),

while self-satisfaction, pride, and a sense of superiority are behind the smile on the face of the Taoist monk:

道士笑曰：“迂哉！”

The Taoist said with a smile: ‘You are too stupid!’ (Pu Songling 1978: 8, 1049).

Other kinds of joyous smiles are seen in the following:

寶玉見是一個仙姑，喜的忙來作揖，笑問道：“神仙姐姐。。。”

Overjoyed by the apparition of this fairy, Baoyu made haste to greet her with a bow. ‘Sister Fairy’, he asked with a smile ... (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 5, 84);

臺階上坐著幾個穿紅著綠的丫頭，一見他們來了，都笑迎上來，說道：“剛才老太太還唸呢，可巧就來了”。

Several maids dressed in red and green rose from the terrace and hurried to greet them with smiles. ‘The old lady was just talking about you’, they cried. ‘And here you happen to be’ (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 3, 45);

女笑曰：“君洵似強寇，使人恐怖”。

The girl said with a smile: ‘Just now you were fierce like a robber, it was frightening’ (Pu Songling 1978: 11, 1549).

The first smile expresses a mixture of joy and trepidation, the second joy and politeness in welcoming a guest, the third is a smile of relief after a strong emotion.

2. Disdainful sneer, laugh at, scorn (*chileng* 齒冷; *lengxiao* 冷笑; *jixiao* 譏笑; *aoxiao* 傲笑; *chaoxiao* 嘲笑; *chixiao* 恥笑). We can include in this category any kind of ironic, sarcastic, cynical, malicious, despising laugh:

隨即又到上房，看見月娘攤著些紙包在面前，指著笑道：“你看這些分子，止有應二的是一錢二分八成銀子，其餘也有三分的，也有五分的，都是些紅的黃的，倒像金子一般。咱家也曾沒見這銀子來，收他的也？個名。。。”

Then, he went back to the room, and saw Yueniang with all the packets opened in front of her: ‘You can see, – she said sarcastically – Ying sent a small piece of bad silver, and all other pieces are small too: because of their yellow or red colour, they might be gold. In the house I had never seen such things! If you accept these presents, your name will be tarnished ...’ (Jin Ping Mei 1990: 1, 10);

多要步步留心，時時在意，不要多說一句話，不可多行一步路，恐被人恥笑了去。

She must watch her every step carefully in her new home; she decided to be on guard every moment and that she mustn’t say an unnecessary word and work more than she need to, for she was afraid of being laughed at for any foolish blunder (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 3, 44);

子興冷笑道：“萬人皆如此說，因而乃祖母愛如珍寶。。。”

‘That’s what everyone says’. Zixing smiled cynically. ‘And for that reason his grand-

mother dotes on him ...' (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 2, 28).

There are also kinds of laughter expressing disbelief and incredulity:

崔生平不信厭穰，笑而不言。

Usually, Cuimeng never believed in Taoist magic arts, she smiled and did not answer (Pu Songling 1978: 8, 1128);

翁不深信，但微哂之。

Mr Bai heard this, but refused to believe. He only gave a faint smile (Pu Songling 1978: 8, 1052).

3. Among the amicable smiles we can list all facial expressions of sympathy, encouragement, appreciation or sympathy and appreciation (*zanshang* 讚賞, *tongqing* 同情, *guli* 鼓勵, *huixinde xiao* 會心地笑):

那僧托於掌上，笑道。。。。

The monk took it up on the palm of his hand and said to it with a smile ... (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 1, 2);

那瘋跛道人聽了，拍掌大笑道：“解得切！解得切！”

The lame, eccentric Taoist clapped his hands, 'You have hit the nail on the head'. He laughed heartily (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 1, 11);

王夫人一笑，點頭不語。

Lady Wang smiled and nodded her approval (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 3, 47; see also 27, 413, quoted in § 4.3);

道人笑道：“你就請解”。

'By all means give your explanation', said the Taoist with a smile (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 1, 11).

However the characters' smiles may also be expressions which aim to reassure their interlocutors, in situations of actual or assumed danger:

四娘笑而撫穀曰。。。。

The Fourth sister smiled and consoled Gu by saying... (Yue Jun 1978: 4105);

女子笑曰：郎乃畏勞呼？

The woman smiled and said: 'So you are afraid of hardship, my beloved spouse?' (Yue Jun 1978: 4104);

軒轅生笑搖手曰勿怕勿怕。。。。

Xuanyuan wrung his hands and said smiling: 'Do not be afraid, do not be afraid...' (Yuan Mei 1983: 11, 268);

女笑。。。曰何事張。

The woman smiled and said to him: 'Why are you frightened?' (Yuan Mei 1983: 6, 147).

In all these cases the verb 'to smile' is accompanied by speaking and addressing.

Midway between the disdainful and the amicable smile is the next example, in which however the sympathetic spirit seems to prevail (*shanyide chaoxiao* 善意的嘲笑), followed by an example of an ironic but not hostile attitude (*wanxiao* 玩笑) which is not far from the 'amused smile' we will see later:

鸚哥笑道：“林姑娘在這裏傷心，自己淌眼抹淚的”。

'Miss Lin has been in tears all this time, she is so upset', said Yingge with a smile (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 3, 54);

說著便用帕拭淚，賈母笑道：“我才好了。。。 ”

With that she dabbed her eyes with a handkerchief. But the old lady said with a playful smile, 'I've just dried my tears ...' (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 3, 47).

Somewhere between the disdainful and the sympathetic smile are also smiles of compassion or warning:

道士笑曰：“姑勿問可免不可免，請先自問能改不能改”。

The Taoist said, smiling: 'Before asking if you can avoid disasters, please ask yourself if you can amend yourself' (Pu Songling 1978: 8, 1128).

Even an enigmatic and unfathomable smile can fall into this category, if it shows mutual understanding:

二仙笑道：“此乃玄機，不可預洩者”。

'This is a mystery which we cannot divulge'. The two immortals smiled (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 1, 5).

We find also examples of being all smiles in a seductive way or when showing agreement:

那婦人笑容可掬，滿口兒叫：叔叔，怎的肉果兒也不揀一筋兒？滿口兒叫。

The woman gave Wu Song such a smile you could have plucked it off her face, while her mouth was full of nothing but 'Brother-in-law this, brother-in-law that', 'Why don't you help yourself to some meat, or some fruit?' (*Jin Ping Mei* 1990: 1, 23);

婦含笑不甚拒。

The woman giggled, not refusing it (Pu Songling 1978: 11, 1528).

4. The borders between the amicable, on the one hand, and the respectful and ingratiatingly smiles (*chanxiao* 諂笑, *peixiao* 陪笑), on the other, are not always clearcut. This kind of smiles is fundamentally based on the respect for the other, or the desire to be accepted by the other. To add to the examples we have already seen at the beginning of the section, three other are quoted here:

黛玉忙陪笑見禮，以“嫂”呼之。

Daiyu lost no time in greeting her with a polite smile as 'cousin' (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 3, 47);

我不能肋肩諂笑！

I can't ingratiate myself with your legal wife! (Pu Songling 1978: 12, 1696);

維時賈赦之妻忙起身笑回道：“我帶了外甥女過去，到底便宜些”。

At once Jia She's wife, Lady Xing, hurriedly rose to her feet and suggested with a smile, 'Won't it be more convenient if I take my niece?' (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 3, 47).

5. Less frequent are the despondent and embarrassed smiles:

連城笑曰：“君憎妾耶？”生驚問其故。赧然曰：“恐事不諧，重復君矣。請先以鬼報也”。

Suddenly Liancheng said with a smile, 'Are you disgusted with me?'. Mr Qiao was astonished by her question. Liancheng said shyly, 'I'm afraid things will not be fulfilled. I will let you down by then. Let me repay you now as a ghost!' (Pu Songling 1978: 3, 366).

The following sentence shows a case of a forced smile (*qiangxiao* 強笑):

女恐母慚，強笑以亂其詞。

Zhou feared that her mother-in-law might embarrass her, and said something else with a forced smile (Pu Songling 1978: 8, 1556).

6. Amusement is distinguished from the pure joy and from a disdainful sneer, because it does not stem from a state of satisfaction or the sense of superiority toward others, but rather implies a certain sense of the absurd or a certain reversal of common sense. It can be a good or hearty laugh, sometimes expressed with a onomatopoeic term (like: *haha daxiao* 哈哈大笑):

一個人被虎銜了，他兒子要求他，拿刀去殺那虎。這人在虎口裏叫道：“兒子，你省可而的砍，怕砍壞了虎皮”。說著？人哈哈大笑。

Once, a man fell into a tiger's clutches, and his son, in order to save him, pulled out a knife to kill the beast. But as the tiger was about to eat him, the man shouted: 'Son, be careful with your knife, I am afraid you might damage the tiger skin!' Everybody burst out laughing (*Jin Ping Mei* 1990: 1, 13);

西門慶笑道：“傻花子，你敢害饑癆痞哩說著的是吃”。大家笑了一回。

'You rascal, – said Ximen laughing – you act like you are starving, as you always talk about eating!' Everybody laughed (*Jin Ping Mei* 1990: 1, 8).

7. Gestures, Postures, and other Ways of Expression

手舞足蹈 'Dancing for joy, waving one's arms and stamping one's feet'

A glance at Chinese literature reveals a wealth of expressions used to describe physical gestures that express emotions. A few examples are phrases like *fuzhang daxiao* 撫掌大笑 ('a self-pleased laugh while clapping one's hands'), *yuxiao xuantian* 語笑喧闐 ('people jostle each other, talking and laughing'), *paishou chengkuai* 拍手稱快 ('clap and cheer'), *shouwu zudao* 手舞足蹈 ('dance for joy, waving one's arms and stamping one's feet'), *xiyue bianwu* 喜躍抃舞 ('happily dancing with hands and feet'), *yaotou huangnao* 搖頭晃腦 ('shake one's head'), *shenqi huoxian* 神氣活現 ('as proud as a pea-

cock', lit. 'the spirit appears vividly'), *angshou tixiong* 昂首挺胸 ('chin up and chest out proudly'), *jushou kou'e* 舉手扣額 ('raise one's hand to pat on the forehead', in thankfulness), *niutou biexiang* 扭頭別項 ('twist one's head and neck'), *yaoshou dunzu* 搖首頓足 ('shaking the head and stamping one foot'). Most of these phrases refer to positive emotions (joy, pride, self-satisfaction), except for the last two idioms.

A special essay should be devoted to clothing and adornment, which often brings to light aspects of personality or intellectual and physical qualities. The clothing one wears is sometimes a kind of exhibition of one's sentiments and can indicate dominant state of mind. See for instance *chuanhong dailü* 穿紅戴綠 ('gaily dressed [in red and green]').

Some gestures have become highly ritualized, such as gestures of courtesy that often have lost their original meaning of respect or gratitude or repentance, like *bai* 拜 ('to bow with respect', 'to kowtow'), or *xie* 謝, ('to thank' or 'to apologize'):

黛玉知是外祖母了，正欲下拜，早被外祖母抱住，摟入懷中。

Daiyu knew that this must be her grandmother, but just before she could bow to her, the old lady threw both arms around her (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 3, 45).

Another common term is *baixie* 拜謝, a polite and ritualistic act:

王冕拜謝了秦老。

Wang Mian kowtowed to show his gratefulness to Old Qin (Wu Jingzi 1997: 1, 5).

In other cases, *xie* means 'to say sorry to':

十娘已至，登堂謝過，言詞溫婉。

Shiniang also came back, and she said sorry to her mother-in-law in a mild tone (Pu Songling 1978: 11, 1467).

Bowing with respect (*dagong* 打恭) is another of these ritualized gestures:

雨村一面打恭，謝不釋口，一面又問：“不知令親大人現居何職？只怕晚生草率，不敢進謁”。

Yucun deferently bowed with profuse thanks and asked: 'May I know your respected brother-in-law's position? I fear I am uncouth and dare not intrude upon him' (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 3, 43).

Clapping one's hands expresses admiration and assent, mainly excitement and joy, like in the following three examples. When the butcher Hu was selected as the right person to cure his son-in-law's madness,

衆鄰都拍手道：這個主意，好得緊！妙得緊！范老爺怕的，莫過於肉案子上胡老爹，好了！快尋胡老爹來！他想了還不知道，在集上賣肉哩！

The neighbours all clapped and shouted, 'Good idea! Wonderful! Marvellous! Mr Fan is terribly afraid of Butcher. So go quickly to find old Hu! Maybe he hasn't found out yet, and is still selling pork in the market' (Wu Jingzi 1997: 3, 32).

Excitement from unexpected joy can be seen in another passage of the same chapter of *Rulin waishi*:

又拍者手大笑道：噫！好！我中了！

Clapping his hands again, he let out a peal of laughter and shouted, 'Oh, OK, I have passed!' (Wu Jingzi 1997: 3, 19).

The third sentence expresses joy:

雨村拍手笑道。。。

Yucun clapped his hands with a laugh, and said... (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 2, 31).

Pounding one's fists on the table is a sign of surprise, demonstrated by the title of a well known collection of tales by Ling Mengchu: 'Slapping the Table in Amazement' (*Pai'an jing qi* 拍案驚奇). This gesture may also be a display of anger and indignation, like in:

馬周心中不忿，拍案大叫。。。

Ma Zhou's anger and indignation became so unbearable that he began pounding his fists on the table and shouting... (Feng Menglong 1991a: 5, 264-65).

But sometimes it is indicative of joy:

如風飄碎錦，王乃拍案大笑。

On such an occasion, Wang would beat the table and laugh loudly (Pu Songling 1978: 8, 1035).

'To shake one's sleeve' (*fixiu* 拂袖) or 'to shake one's dress' (*fuyi* 拂衣) became a common expression of displeasure or anger (see for instance, Dong Yue 1983: 11, 7 or Pu Songling 1978: 14, 708).

Another gesture, a sign of delight, is pulling at one's ears and rubbing one's cheeks:

賈瑞聽了，喜的抓耳撓腮。。。

Jia Rui at her words pulled at his ears and rubbed his cheeks with delight... (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 12, 186).

Here Jia Rui is convinced that his sister-in-law is interested in his love.

Astonishment, hesitation, indecision and reflection are expressed in similar gestures, like stroking or supporting one's cheeks with his/her hands:

風姐兒故意用手摸著腮，詫異道。。。

Fengjie stroked her cheeks with her hands in astonishment, and said... (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 30, 456);

偏有張蕙一意牽掛那樓上女子，無心歡笑，托腮呆想。

But Zhang Jin's mind had been totally captivated by the girl he had seen on the upper floor: he was in no mood for jokes, supporting his cheeks with his hands, while pursu-

ing his foolish fantasies (Feng Menglong 1983: 16, 7).²⁴

Scratching one's head (*saoshou* 搔首) may reveal hesitation (like in *saoshou chichu* 搔首踟躕), or an act of coquetry and seduction by a woman (*saoshou nongzi* 搔首弄姿). But worry and sadness are expressed in the following sentence:

雨村吟罷，因又思及平生抱負，苦未逢時，乃又搔首對天長嘆。

Having recited this poem, Yucun, sadly runned on his unrealized ambitions, scratched his head and sighed deeply before heaven (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 1, 7).

Covering one's face (*gailian* 蓋臉; *wolian* 握臉; *zhelian* 遮臉; *yanmian* 掩面) and one's mouth (*yankou* 掩口; *wozui* 握嘴), is not just an act of politeness, especially for a girl to cover her smiling lips and teeth (like in Pu Songling 1978: 11, 1552: 女不言，掩口笑之，'Jiangxue smiled with mouth covered, and kept silent'). It is also a way of hiding one's embarrassment, often accompanied by tears of anger or sorrow:

方掩泣間，忽聞嬌聲呼“黃郎”。

Huang was crying with his face covered when he suddenly heard a sweet voice, calling 'dear Huang' (Pu Songling 1978: 8, 1093);

女掩泣曰：“媼好視兒，我往尋其父也”。

Wubing cried with her face covered: 'Please take good care of the child. I will look for his father' (Pu Songling 1978: 8, 1113);

。。。船中有一女子，掩面泣涕之狀。

... in a large boat out at sea sat a girl, weeping and snivelling, covering her face with her hands (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 5, 86).

'Face' is often a metaphor for 'shame'.

Beating one's chest is a gesture of sorrow and despair. This act is often accompanied by other displays of emotion. In the following sentences, beating the breast is accompanied respectively by screaming (拊心號咷) and by wailing and stamping feet (擗踊哀號):

四人相對驚惋，拊心號咷。

All four were astounded by the encounter, and beat their breasts and shouted loudly (Feng Menglong 1986a: 2, 57);

王冕擗踊哀號，哭得那鄰居之人，無不落淚。

Wang Mian beat his breast and stamped his feet in deep sorrow, he cried so bitterly that the neighbours all shed tears (Wu Jingzi 1997: 1, 6).

²⁴ See also the idiomatic expression *motoubuzhao* 摸頭不著 ('being confused, being unable to solve a problem'): 趙氏聽了這話，摸頭不著，只得依言語寫了一封字，遣家人來富連窗赴省接大老爹 ('Hearing that, Mrs Zhao couldn't make head or tail of it, but she had to write a letter following their idea, and sent her servant, Lai Fu, to the provincial capital to take her brother-in-law back'; Wu Jingzi 1997: 6, 39).

Stamping one's feet (*diezu* 跌足; *yong* 踴; *dunzu* 頓足) is a common manifestation of disappointment:

。。。急得土隱惟跌足長嘆而已。

... poor Shiyin could do nothing but stamp his feet and sigh (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 1, 9);

女握手哽咽，頓足不能出聲。

Wubing took his hands and stamped her feet, he could say nothing as she sobbed (Pu Songling 1978: 8, 1113).

Dancing and singing, on the contrary, express elation and delight:

自歌自舞自開懷，且喜無拘無礙。

By myself I sing, dance, am happy and am even overjoyed, without worries and displeasures (Ling Mengchu 1989: 1, 1).

Astonishment, respect or fear are expressed by kneeling down (*gui* 跪; *pu* 仆):

忽林中沖出一虎，穀驚而仆。

Suddenly a tiger sprang out of the wood, and Gu fell to his knees in terror (Yue Jun 1978: 4103);

慌得那西梁國君臣女輩，跪在塵埃，都道：“是白日飛升的羅漢，我主不必驚疑。。。”。

The astonishment was general: the Queen and all the dignitaries of the Kingdom of the Western Liangs threw their knees on the ground, exclaiming: 'They are *arhat* ascending to heaven in broad daylight! Our Queen must not have any fear...' (Wu Cheng'en 1972: 55, 762).

In a quoted example of loud wailing, we find an expression of deep regret – the wish to beat one's head against the wall (cfr. § 5):

程宰大聲號慟，自悔失言，恨不得將身投地，將頭撞壁。

Cheng Zai burst into convulsive sobs, bitterly regretting his rash words; he would have wished to be swallowed up, to beat his head against the wall (Ling Mengchu 1985: 37, 772).

Striking one's knee is another expression of distress and sadness:

又拍膝嘆道：“天下終無此一人。。。”。說著掉下淚來。

Then he sighed striking his knee: 'But there are no such men in the world...' With these words, he shed tears (Wu Jingzi 1997: 30, 188).

McMahon (1988: 22) cites a rather common expression used to signify a state of high agitation: *zhishou huajiao* 指手劃腳 ('gesticulation with hands and feet'; see, for example, Ling Mengchu 1989: 32, 566). In classical literature the traditional gesture which expressed displeasure was indicated with the characters *ewan* 掄腕 ('grasping one's wrists'; Peterson 1979: 102, n. 6).

Shiver and trembling with fear (*guli* 股票) is another very common reaction indicated in several idioms: *lili weiju* 栗栗危懼 ('shiver with fear'), *zhanzhan jingjing* 戰戰兢兢 ('trembling with fear'), or *buhan erli* 不寒而栗 ('shiver all over though not cold').²⁵ Just to quote an example:

又隔一嶺。穀視之崔嵬千仞，壁立如峭，仰視股票。疑巨鬼欲來撲人，不覺變色，撫膺長嘆。

Then they came up against another chain of mountains; Gu looked at it: it rose up like a great wall for more than a thousand meters, like a sheer precipice; as he looked up, his knees trembled: he felt as if a huge ghost was about to spring on him. He changed colour and consoled himself with a long lament (Yue Jun 1978: 4103-4).

Touching, caressing (*fumo* 撫摩) or holding another person's hand (*wowan* 握腕) are signs of affection:

方握手殷殷，適母來撫摩。

While they were holding hands with each other, reluctant to depart, his mother came in and touched Wang Sun with her hands (Pu Songling 1978: 12, 1639);

生握腕曰：“卿秀外而惠中，令人愛而忘死”。

Huang held Xiangyu's hand [wrist] and said: 'You are pretty and clever, I love you so much' (Pu Songling 1978: 11, 1550).

But *wo* may be used also for aggressive acts, like 'tugging somebody's hair and slapping his face for anger':

直前握張氏發批其頰。。。汝敢多一言者死我拳下。

He advanced directly towards Madame Zhang, tugged her hair and slapped her face: – ... If you dare say one word more – he threatened – I shall kill you with my own fists (Yuan Mei 1983: 11, 266; *wofa* 握發 originally means 'respecting talented guests').

Embracing (*bao* 抱; *yong* 擁) is perhaps another form of communication which is more or less ritualised, according to the situation. The first three examples that follow are three cases of affection. The first is a previously quoted example of the tender affection between relatives (抱住), the second a child's expectation of affection (求抱), the third the emotion experienced on being reunited after a separation (相抱哀哭):

。。。正欲下拜，早被外祖母抱住，摟入懷中，“心肝兒肉”叫著大哭起來。

... but just before she could bow to her, the old lady threw both arms around her: 'Dear heart! Flesh of my child!' she cried, and burst out sobbing (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 3, 45);

兒見王入，即撲求抱，王怪之。

Wang Gui'an felt curious when the baby saw him and jumped to ask for a hug (Pu Songling 1978: 11, 1467);

²⁵ The sentence comes from a historical tale recorded both in *Shiji* and *Hanshu*. Yi Zong, a local official of Shanxi during the period of the Han dynasty, killed more than 400 powerful local people in one day, and thus the whole city was trembling with fear even though it was not cold.

相抱哀哭，傷感行旅。

The two wept bitterly embracing each other. All people on the same boat were also sentimental (Pu Songling 1978: 3, 387).

But the next three are examples of sexual love which describe love embraces, using different terms (*xiabao* 狎抱; *yongbao* 擁抱; *yong* 擁), some of them with a morally negative meaning:

高酒後，心搖意動，遽起狎抱。

Having finished drinking, Yucheng felt ecstatic and excited, suddenly he stood up and embraced her (Pu Songling 1978: 12, 1708);

生大悅，不暇細審，遽前擁抱。

Mr Meng was extremely pleased. Without a second thought, he suddenly stepped forward to embrace her (Pu Songling 1978: 5, 614);

公擁女求合。女顏色紫變，窘若囚拘。大呼九兄。

He took the girl into his arms to make love to her. Becoming purple with embarrassment and feeling trapped as if in prison, the young woman cried to Jiulang for help (Pu Songling 1978: 3, 320).

8. *The Language of the Body as a Means of Seduction*

粽自娶嫦娥，家暴富，連閣長廊，彌互街路。嫦娥諧謔，適見美人畫卷，宗曰：‘吾自謂，如卿天下無兩，但不曾見飛燕 楊妃耳’。女笑曰：‘若欲見之，此亦何難’。乃執卷細審一過，便趨入室，對鏡修妝，效飛燕舞風，學楊妃帶醉。長短肥瘦，隨時變更；風情態度，對卷逼真。方作態時，有婢自外至，不能複識，驚問其僚。既而審注，恍然始笑。宗喜曰：‘吾得一美人，而千古之美人，皆在床闥矣！’

Since Zong Zimei had married Chang'e, his family had suddenly become rich. His houses were so many that their verandas lined up on the sides of the streets. Chang'e liked to joke. Once she saw a painting of beautiful girls. Zong said: 'In my opinion, nobody can be compared with you in the world, but I have never seen Zhao Feiyan and Yang Guifei'. Chang'e said to Zong Zimei smiling: 'If you wish to see them, there is no difficulty at all'. She took the painting and carefully observed it, then she hurried into her room. There, in front of the mirror, she dressed up as Zhao Feiyan while dancing, and then imitated Yang Guifei when drunk. In each case she was able to change according to their stature and frame, matching their charm and elegance, just as they were represented in the painting. Her female fascination expressed the same soft amorous feelings represented in the pictures. When Chang'e first started dancing, a female servant entered, and she could hardly recognize Chang'e: astonished, she asked her fellow sisters, and only after looking at her carefully did she suddenly recognize her, and laughed. 'I have got one beauty, – Zong Zimei said – and yet all beauties of past ages are in my bedchamber!' (Pu Songling 1978: 8, 1071).

This passage can be considered a masterpiece in the description of a beautiful woman's ability to present her body in different forms in order to be a constant object of desire. The story represents the contest between the Moon

Godness Chang'e and the fox spirit Diandang to win the love of the protagonist, the young scholar Zong Zimei. In reality, both heroines are none other than the two aspects of the same personality divided into two female characters which balance and control each other. Here Chang'e is very good at imitating the most famous beauties in Chinese history. The term used by Pu Songling is *Chang'e shan xiexu* 嫦娥善諧謔, that is, she was able to play, and like any artist she could impersonate many different personalities. Her method is noteworthy: she takes the painting of girls that her beloved was admiring, studies their images, one by one, then tries to imitate them in front of the mirror, when she feels she has mastered the personality of the other girls, she starts dancing, embodying the different beauties so well that her servant hardly recognises her. As Li Wai-yee (1993: 128) keenly observes, 'impersonation in this instance is the realization of the multifarious aspects of desire'. I would add that she is not only able to gratify Zong Zimei with her skill, but also to satisfy her desire to be attractive in various and complementary personifications. Later on, an analogous play is performed by Chang'e's double, Diandang, and in this case the desire is reflected from one heroine to the other, and each seems to desire through the other:

顛當束髮，遂四面朝殘之，伏地翻轉，逞諸變態，左右側折，襪能磨乎其耳。嫦娥解頤，座而蹴之。顛當仰首，口啣鳳鉤，微觸以齒。嫦娥方嬉笑間，忽覺媚情一縷，自足趾而上，直達心舍，意蕩思淫，若不自主。乃急斂神，呵曰：“狐奴當死！不擇人而惑之耶？”。

Diandang bound her hair like a teenage boy, bowed in all directions, prostrated on the ground rolling and twisting, in the most strange contortions, bending right and left, and letting her socks touch her ears. Chang'e was delighted at that show, and still sitting, lightly kicked her for fun. Diandang raised her head, held Chang'e's small foot in her mouth, and nibbled at it. Just when Chang'e was enjoying herself at the game, she suddenly felt a thread of sensuous longing rising from the toes and heading straight for the heart. Lustful feelings and thoughts of sensual pleasure took hold of her, as if she were losing control. But then, she quickly focused her mind, and cooling down, scolded Diandang: 'Fox slave, you deserve death! Aren't you even able to choose proper people before seducing them?' (Pu Songling 1978: 8, 1075-76; for translation see Li Wai-yee 1993: 129).

Special attention is paid to body language, in particular to the eyes, as in Ling Mengchu's vivid description of the student Tang Qing's courtship of the daughter of a ferryman,²⁶ as well as in the following example:

²⁶ These extraordinarily beautiful pages, in the thirty-second tale of the *Pai'an jingqi* (Ling Mengchu 1989: 32, 566-68), describe the first time the two young people meet, their falling in love and Tang Qing's courtship, his hesitations and advances, the wise use of the rhetoric of love by both sides. After developing a plan to make the girl's father and his brother leave so that they could speak freely, Tang Qing addressed her, and finally threw her a knotted handkerchief as a sign of love. However she pretended not to have noticed, even when the young man repeatedly drew her attention to his sign, first with a glance, then with his hands; and even when her father returned, she remained ap-

兩面對覷，四目相視，那女子不覺微微而笑。

The two faces scrutinised each other, while their gazes crossed; the girl gave a brief, spontaneous smile (Feng Menglong 1983: 16, 6).

In this passage the language of seduction consists of a dialogue of looks and smiles. The pages of extraordinary beauty that follow are from the thirty-second story in the collection *Pai'an jingqi* by Ling Mengchu; they vividly describe the first encounter between the student Tangqing and the boatman's daughter, and how the two young people fall in love:

礙著他的父親，同在梢頭行船，恐怕識破，裝做老成，不敢把眼正覷梢上。却时时偷看他一眼，越看越媚，情不能禁。

He did not dare look directly at the girl for fear her father would notice, but from time to time he shot her a furtive glance. And the more he looked at her, the more wonderful she appeared. Feelings cannot be suppressed (Ling Mengchu 1989: 32, 602).

After devising a pretext to send the boatgirl's father and brother away from the bridge so that he could talk to her freely,

唐卿趁著他說話，就把眼色丟他。他有時含羞斂避，有時正顏拒卻。及至唐卿看了別處，不來兜搭了，卻又說句把冷話，背地裏忍笑，偷眼斜眤著唐卿。

Tang Qing addressed her, throwing her meaningful glances. At times the young woman shyly stared at the ground, at times she proudly sustained his gaze. But when Tang Qing no longer held his eyes on her and looked away, she mischievously began to whisper something, laughing softly, looking at him out of the corner of her eye (Ling Mengchu 1989: 32, 602).

Another more subtle way of expressing one's sentiments is described in a passage of the *Hongloumeng* concerning You Sanjie's bearing and clothing:

只見這三姐索性卸了妝飾，脫了大衣服，松松的挽個髻兒，身上穿著大紅小襖，半掩半開的，故意露出蔥綠抹胸，一痕雪脯，底下綠褲紅鞋，鮮豔奪目。忽起忽坐，忽喜忽嗔，沒半刻斯文，兩個墜子就和打秋千一般。燈光之下，越顯得柳眉籠翠，檀口含丹，本是一雙秋水眼，再吃了幾杯酒，越發橫波入鬢，轉盼流光，真把那賈珍二人弄的欲近不能，欲遠不舍，迷離恍惚，落魄垂涎。。。

parently indifferent, while Tang Qing became more and more restless. Only at the last moment the girl 慢慢低身倒去，拾在袖中，腆著臉對著水外，只是笑。唐卿被他急壞，卻又見他正到利害頭上如此做作，遮掩過了，心裏私下感他，越覺得風情著人。自此兩下多有了意（‘calmly stretched out a foot towards the handkerchief, pulling it in with the tip of her shoe before slowly picking it up and hiding it in her sleeve. Finally, turning towards the water, she burst out laughing. The young man, having been cast by the girl into a state of high agitation, was now full of gratitude and fuller still of passion. From that moment on, they understood each other ...’; Ling Mengchu 1989: 32, 602). The glance as a discreet sign of love and secret understanding frequently occurs in fiction (for instance *Jin Ping Mei* 1990: 69, 259; 98, 1387; Ling Mengchu 1989: 26, 453; *Huanxi yuanjia* 1989: 10, 172; Qu You 1984: 2, 55). But a look may express also warning (as in Cao Xueqin 1972: 22, 252), anger (*Jin Ping Mei* 1990: 75, 1045), desire (*ibid.*: 3, 51-53; 59, 776; 78, 1133). Worth noting is that one of the loftiest ways to express one's love was sending and exchanging poems. This language was also a way of expressing one's emotion at a friend's departure.

這尤三姐天生脾氣，和人異樣詭僻。只因他的模樣兒風流標致，他又偏愛打扮的出色，另式另樣，做出許多萬人不及的風情體態來。

Out of deliberate disregard for appearances she had taken off her hair-ornaments and outer clothes, and from time to time as she spoke, the animated gestures with which her words were accompanied caused the imperfectly-fastened crimson shirt she was wearing to gape open, revealing glimpses of leek-green breast-binder and snow-white flesh beneath; the red shoes that peeped out below her green drawers were all the time tap-tapping or coming together in a manner that was anything but ladylike, and her earrings bobbed to and fro like little swings. To her 'brow's dusky crown and lips incarnadine' the lamplight lent an added softness and brightness; and the wine she had drunk gave her eyes, which were at all times sparkling and vivacious, an even more irresistible allure. The two men were spellbound, and yet at the same time repelled. Her looks and gestures were all that inflamed concupiscence could desire; but her words and the very frankness of a provocation too brazen to be seductive kept them at bay. ... Sanjie was a very peculiar young woman. She took a perverse pleasure in enhancing her natural beauty by affecting a striking style of dress and by adopting every conceivable kind of outrageously seductive attitude (Cao Xueqin 1972: 65, 842-43; for translation see Cao Xueqin 1980: III, 282-84).

Of course, the skill of seduction through body demeanour became an art, especially for women. As a popular song collected by Feng Menglong says,

姐兒梳箇頭來漆碗能介光。

躡人頭裏腳撩郎。

當初只道浪偷姐。

如今新泛頭世界姐偷郎。

She dresses her hair until it shines like a lacquer bowl,

And in the presence of others seduces a man with her small feet.

Usually the man seduces the girl,

But recently in this new age girls are bold enough to entice a man (Feng Menglong 1986b: 1, 299-300; for the translation see Oki 1997: 133).

From this song, we learn as well that the way girls seduced men was first by their hairstyle and their feet. At the beginning of the story *Maiyoulang duzhan huakui* (Feng Menglong 1983: 3, 1) there is a list of the moral requirements for achieving success with high-class courtesans, and in *Wan Xiuniang choubao shanting'er* (Feng Menglong 1991b: 37, 698) the 'art of the ten principles [of seduction]' (*shiyao zhi shu* 十要之術) is presented. The art of seduction was particularly cultivated in the large cities, as shown in the following passage in the story *Zhang Shunmei dengxiao de linü*:

雅容賣俏，鮮服誇豪。遠觀近觀，只在雙眸傳遞；捫肩擦背，全憑健足跟隨。我既有意，自當送情；他肯留心，必然答笑。點頭須會，咳嗽便知。緊處不可放遲，閑中偏宜著鬧。訕語時，口要緊；刮涎處，臉須皮。冷面撇清，還察其中真假；回頭攬事，定知就裏應承。說不盡百計討探，湊成來十分機巧。假饒心似鐵，弄得意如糖。

While she is displaying her lovely features and showing off her elegant clothes, spy on her from a distance and study her from close by, speaking only with your eyes. Po-

sition yourself behind her, and brushing her body with yours, follow her closely with a firm step. Once you feel this attraction, you must let her know your feelings. If she shows interest, she must respond to your smile. When she nods you must understand; if she coughs, you must show you have noticed. If she appears to be in a hurry, you must not loiter; if she moves slowly, you can deliberately linger. When she speaks distractedly, be silent; when she turns you down, be brazen. When she pretends to be indifferent, or demonstrates reluctance, study her carefully for what is true and what is false. Later, when you have the situation in hand, you will know with certainty whether she agrees. Of course this list of stratagems is not complete; one would need great talent to list them all. A heart that is in reality willing may appear to be of steel; but if you have worked on it until it bends to your will, she will be as sweet as sugar towards you (Feng Menglong 1991a: 23, 84-85).

Managing one's personal charm is far from new. It is present in a more subtle way in some female figures beginning with the 'Songs of Chu', where they come onto the scene with the illusion of promise, both sensually and aesthetically, but in the end remain inaccessible. Woman, observes Baudrillard (1986: 109-15), is 'the teasing ecstasy of man's desire', the 'dizziness of a game where the stakes are constantly being raised', the object of seduction who seduces the subject (man) in a subtle game – wherein provocation alternates with retreat or refusal, following the sublime strategy of eternal woman – in which she, as the object of desire, is always the winner. And in the following example taken from a story by Li Yu, the figure of the girl's mother may even appear cynical in her efforts to instruct the daughter in the 'strategic' use of female charm and the art of seduction, in order for her to have the greatest success in life:

叫做許看不須吃，許名不許實，蓄謀不許得。。。但凡男子相與婦人，那種真情實意，不在粘皮靠肉之後，卻在眉來眼曲之時，就像饞人遇酒食，只可使她聞香，不可容他下箸，他的心事酒完了。

Let them look but do not let them touch. Let them have the appearance but not the substance. Let them be tempted but grant them nothing ... The full demonstration of a man's love for a woman comes not from physical contact, but from [the initial phase of falling in love when] each sends glances to the other. Like a gourmet at the sight of wine and food: you can let him sniff, but not taste, because once he is at table his desire will pass (Li Yu 1970: X, 4151-52).²⁷

²⁷ The intention here in postponing the union is purely to increase the 'extra advantages' of pleasure and raise the price of the performance. In other cases where the courtesan is famous, the postponement keeps the 'game' alive and the relationship depends on the woman's acceptance; see the amusing episode in the collection of notes by Du Yiwo (1976: 335): the courtesan Liu Yuan, although no longer particularly young, rejected the offers of a famous man of letters; she had this response to the man's protests: 'What does "famous man of letters" mean? How much money is it worth?'. The possibility of persevering with virtue as a tactic to force someone into marriage is not foreseen, given that the marriage procedure requires the agreement of the bride's and the groom's parents, the assistance of an intermediary and the existence of a series of social conditions, rather than the free will of the two parties.

The advice that Pu Songling has the fox-woman Hengniang give to her friend Zhu Shi on the feminine art of giving pleasure and maintaining fascination is nevertheless very wise. She gives Zhu Shi actual lessons in how to give seductive glances and smile mischievously, showing the whiteness of the teeth. She advises her to know how to move in bed, and teaches her the technique of seeming to be indifferent: in short, this is the 'way to change from wife into lover' (*yi qi wei qie zhi fa* 易妻爲妾之法, literally 'into concubine'):

人情厭故而喜新，重難而輕易？丈夫之愛妾，非必其美也，甘其所乍獲，而幸其所難遭也。。。而又不難與之，則彼故而我新，彼易而我難，此即子易妻爲妾之法。

Don't you know that human feelings abhor the old and are attracted by the new, that they give importance to that which is hard to get and scorn what is easy? Your husband's love for the concubine is not due to her beauty, the attraction lies in the novelty and the difficulty. ... So, moving on from the routine to the new, from the easy to the difficult, that is the way to change from wife into concubine (Pu Songling 1978: 10, 1434).

The same is true for the power of the female gaze to transmit or communicate feelings:

[女]眉語遙傳，眷戀備至。

From a distance the woman sent him messages with her eyebrows, and their passion grew more intense (Lu Changchun 1983: 1, 2).

In chapters 69 and 72 of *Honglouloumeng* a very poetic expression is used to indicate the language of love: *mei lai yan qu* 眉來眼去 ('brows come and eyes go'). And again in the third story of the *Gujin xiaoshuo*,

吳山低著頭喚那小婦人。這小婦人一雙俊俏眼覷著吳山。

Wu Shan lowered his head to throw the girl an intense look, and she in turn watched him intently with her magnificent eyes (Feng Menglong 1991a: 3, 183).

And we find a similar case in Pu Songling:

小女。。。望見王，秋波頻顧，眉目含情，儀度嫵婉，實神仙也。王素方直，至此惘然若失。

A young girl ... was looking at Wang, sending him seductive glances filled with love; so elegant was she, and lovely of bearing that she seemed like a fairy. Wang was a man of honest and upright principles, but he was so struck by the sight of the girl that he felt lost (Pu Songling 1978: 5, 600).

Still on the subject of visual language, let me add that the love message can be conveyed not only by smiles and glances, but also by languishing or sad expressions, such as found in the typical expression 'frowning brows' (*pin* 顰 or *cu* 蹙). Such facial expressions are the canonical aspects of a particular type of beauty, like the attractiveness of the legendary Xi Shi. But we can find

similar descriptions in events which may happen in everyday life:

明日見女，則雙蛾緊鎖，秋波微汪，與生隔舟凝睇，遙相寄恨而已。

The next day he saw the woman, her long eyebrows tightly knitted, almost with tears in her eyes, separated from the young scholar; from the boat she fixed her gaze, and from afar they could not help but communicate to each other the feeling of regret and sorrow (Lu Changchun 1983: 1, 3).

In *Honglouloumeng*, apart from Daiyu, also the actress Lingguan's eyebrows are frowning like 'mountains in spring' and 'autumn waters'. We may point out that Chinese authors appreciate the expressiveness of eyebrows much more than Western counterparts do, in the description of their appearance as well as in reading them as an emotional sign.

9. *The Excess of Passions and the Loss of Control*

魂飛天外，魄散九霄 'His souls had lifted off beyond
heaven and his spirits had scattered into the sky'

In the West, at least since Aeschylus' tragedy *The Seven Against Thebes*, the strongest passions are represented as loss of control. The western scholarly tradition of passion reflects a metaphorical tendency which could be called 'psychophysiological symbolism' (Averill 1996). In the West, according to Averill, this symbolism is manifested in three negative ways: 1) emotion is contrasted with volition and thus with responsibility: hence the experience of passivity comes, which implies a form of dissociation that occurs when one performs an act for which he cannot or will not accept responsibility; 2) emotion is contrasted with reason; 3) emotion is contrasted with the highest faculties.²⁸

Despite the different philosophical backgrounds of the two cultures, Chinese writings reveal negative connotations resembling those of the West. As a result of strong passions, the subject is even unable to think or move, faints and becomes crazy. One should wonder if similar psychological consequences are also implied in China, like the perception of diminished personal responsibility, or not. But we will have to leave this question unanswered in our research, as we must limit our scope to the way passions become visible on the human body.

An example of loss of conscience and passivity is the following case of love-passion:

²⁸ Averill's theory can be summed up in his quotation from St Paul's *Epistle to the Galatians*: 'Now the works of the flesh are plain: fornication, impurity, licentiousness, idolatry, sorcery, enmity, strife, jealousy, anger, dissention, party spirit, envy, drunkenness, carousing, and the like; I warn you, as I warned you before, those who do such things shall not inherit the Kingdom of God' (Averill 1996: 204).

真個魂飛天外，魄散九霄，實出望外，喜之如狂。

He was truly beside himself with happiness; it seems that his souls had lifted off beyond heaven and his spirits had scattered into the sky; he was mad with joy, beyond all his expectations (Ling Mengchu 1985: 37, 765).

Thus the two morphemes *chi* 痴 (癡) and *kuang* 狂 which we may translate as 'insanity', 'madness', 'obsession' or 'folly', 'foolishness' have an important function in the representation of passions. We shall briefly explain their use against the conceptual background of traditional China.

In numerous short stories the term *chi* is used in the sense of 'mad with love'. Either a man behaves in an unusual fashion, until the woman requites his love, moved by the power of his feelings, or else this madness finds expression in the attachment to objects or things such as flowers, stones or books, from which a magic spirit thus emerges. But one may be crazy with joy, like Fan Jin after learning he had passed his examinations (Wu Jingzi 1997: 3, 19), or like Yucun:

雨村此時已有七八分酒意，狂興不禁。

Yucun, eight-tenths drunk, could not suppress his crazy elation (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 1, 8).

Here we can notice, besides *kuang*, the expression *bujin* ('cannot avoid', 'can't refrain from', 'involuntarily', 'spontaneously'), that, together with *bu-jue* 不覺 ('unconsciously', 'in spite of oneself') and *busheng* 不勝 ('cannot control', 'cannot win'), depict the idea of the uncontrolled force of passions:

魯公子心中不勝歡喜。

The young Lu was unable to control his joy (Feng Menglong 1991a: 2, 12).

Another example of losing one's self-control (*bu neng jinzhi* 不能禁止) is described in *Jin Ping Mei* (1990: 78, 1132) in a lively manner, when Ximen Qing is overwhelmed by his infatuation for a young lady: his soul is almost dispersed (*hun fei tianwai* 魂飛天外), his heart is beating fast and his eyes are floating (*xintiao mudang* 心跳目蕩).

A Chinese example of this type of feeling is provided by the hero of Pu Songling's tale *Abao*, who is made fun of by his companions and the woman he loves because of his naiveté, at the limits of catatony. Here the author does not describe the inner reactions, but they are clear from the consequences. For fun she promises to marry him if he cuts off a finger, and he immediately implements the girl's proposal. As in another Pu Songling's story, *Liancheng*, Qiao Danian is ready to cut off a piece of his flesh for the woman he loves, others might drink poison or are prepared to shorten their lives to satisfy the object of their passion. However, those suffering from this 'sickness' are not mere buffoons, ridiculous characters out of a play, but appear on the whole as positive heroes, as innocent ones, with a heart and soul so pure as to appear paradoxical. By means of paradox Pu Songling reverses the relationship between wis-

dom and foolishness: in *Hua guzi* he states:

慙者慧之極 愒者情之至也。

The fool is extremely wise, the indifferent is the most passionate (Pu Songling 1978: 5, 641).

Furthermore, in his commentary to *Abao*, Pu Songling explains that

性癡則其志凝，故書癡者文必工，藝癡者技必良。世之落拓而無成者，皆自謂不癡者也。且如粉花蕩產，盧雉傾家，顧癡人事哉！以是知慧黠而過，乃是真癡，彼孫子何痴乎！

When one has a 'mad' nature, it is as though one's determination has been intensified by passions. Hence the booklover, for instance, will become a skillful writer, the art lover a sophisticated artist. Common people, who waste their life without achieving anything, are considered normal. And are not those who waste fortunes, such as the debauched who tirelessly run after women or those who ruin their families through gambling, truly mad? This explains how the real fools are the men who are too wise. How can Sunzi, the hero of *Abao*, be called a 'fool'? (Pu Songling 1978: 2, 238-39).

Pu Songling thus distinguishes between three categories: normal people, who have nothing odd about them and who are characterized by mediocrity; those that are a prey to inexhaustible passion and thus lead a non-conformist life for better or for worse: some are overwhelmed by the folly of lust or gambling, ambition or greed, which lead to ruin; others are the true wise men as they are spurred on by folly to achieve great things.

Those who are the victims of such folly, as for example the bookworm or Sunzi, usually have no grasp of practical, everyday life or of women and their psychology. In his commentary to *Xiangyu*, Pu Songling (1978: 11, 1555) points out that when passion reaches its peak, it is possible to communicate with spirits, flowers are transformed into fairies and are united with men, and men, after their death, love the flowers with their soul, remaining bound elsewhere because of the depth of the feeling. If one dies, his or her partner does too, and not because of the moral principle of a widow's chastity, but because one dies of love. This 'madness' is thus judged positively, while the term was originally negative, with connotations of sickness, unbalance, excess, disproportionate attachment to things of trifling importance.

He who is affected by such an 'illness', *chiren* 痴人, can go as far as to put his obsessions on display as the sole purpose of his life. One can become 'mad with amorous passion' (*qingchi* 情痴) or one can have a special passion for books (*shuchi* 書痴), or for the collection of rare stones (*shichi* 石痴), or flowers (*huachi* 花痴) or have any other mania. The *chiren* pursues his own infatuation at all costs, even in the face of social rules or against his own interests.

Other ways to describe being stricken by passion due to an abnormal condition is an absent and unexpressive face (*dai* 呆), the metaphor of the souls dispersing (loss of consciousness), the empty gaze (*wang zhe kong zhong* 望著空中):

阿秀聽罷，呆了半晌，那時一肚子情懷好難描寫。

Axiu, after hearing this, was stunned for a while; the maelstrom of feelings and passions that overwhelmed her in that moment is difficult to describe (Feng Menglong 1991a: 2, 142; she is overcome by a bellyful of passion and feeling, because she discovers that has been seduced by the false fiancé);

程宰不勝哀痛，望著空中，禁不住的號哭起來。

Cheng Zai was unable to overcome his sorrow and, staring absently ahead, burst out sobbing (Ling Mengchu 1985: 37, 773).

In *Jin Ping Mei* (1990: 8, 102-3) we find the expression *huangshoujiao* 慌手腳 ('losing the control of hands and legs'). In the West, the *Psalms* (76, 4) were quoted not only in religious context, but in the treaty on love, *Rota Veneris: in admiration deficiebat spiritus meus* ('in admiration my spirit was lost'). Also in Chinese the loss of consciousness is represented also by the split of heavenly and earthly souls: the soul leaves the body because of strong passions, like joy, love-passion, enamourment, fright (*podang hunxiao* 魄蕩魂消; *san hun zoule* 三魂走了; *dang sanle qi po* 蕩散了七魄; *hun bu fu ti* 魂不附體; *shen hun fei yue* 神魂飛越; *shen chi* 神馳). Examples of this desertion of the soul due to fright and terror are:

他。。。大驚，欲尋走路，四面皆無，驚得魂飛天外，魄散九霄，遂嘆曰。。。Seized with panic, [Yao Bian] looked for a way out, but could see nobody from any side. He was so frightened that his spiritual souls flew off beyond heaven and the earthly ones were scattered in the nine heavens; then he said with a sigh... (Hong Pian 1955: 25, 308);

那女王見他那等撇潑弄醜，唬得魂飛魄散。

Coming face to face with his coarseness and brutality, the Queen was so frightened that her spiritual souls flew off and her earthly ones were scattered (Wu Cheng'en 1972: 54, 761);

那小姐見阮三伏在身上，寂然不動。。。牙關緊咬難開，摸著遍身冰冷。驚荒〔慌〕了雲雨嬌娘，頂門上不見了三魂，腳底下蕩散了七魄。

When the girl saw the body of Ruan Third lying on hers, silent and immobile ... his teeth clenched, and his jaws tightly closed, and she felt his whole body cold, she was seized with terror: the beautiful creature of the pleasures of love felt her three heavenly souls fly away from the crown of her head and the seven earthly souls slip away from her heels (Hong Pian 1955: 20, 256).

For joy, on the contrary,

真個魂飛天外，魄散九霄，實出望外，喜之如狂。

He was truly beside himself with happiness; it seems that his souls had lifted off beyond heaven and his spirits had scattered into the sky; he was mad with joy, beyond all his expectations (Ling Mengchu 1985: 37, 765);

張蓋一發魂不附體。

It was as though Zhang Jin's soul had left his body (Feng Menglong 1983: 16, 6).

And before female charm,

風流少年有情有趣的，恐慙色字，怎得不蕩了三魂，走了七魄？

For an elegant and passionate young man in love with a beauty, amorous passion touches the deepest chords of the spirit, penetrating as far as the marrow! [lit. 'how is it possible that his three heavenly souls are not overwhelmed and his seven earthly souls are not ravished?'] (Ling Mengchu 1989: 32, 565);

見二八女郎光艷溢目，停睇神馳。

He saw a sixteen-year-old girl: her beauty was so striking that he was dazzled; his gaze was as though locked, while his spirit flew away (Pu Songling 1978: 7, 884);

秦重定睛觀之，此女容顏嬌麗體態輕盈，目所未睹准准的呆了半晌，身子都酥麻了。

Qin Zhong fixed his eyes on the girl, whose beauty and charm were extraordinary. As he had never seen such a splendor, he was stunned for a while, and felt limp and numb all over (Feng Menglong 1983: 3, 20).

The metaphor of uncontrolled force is borrowed by the language of seduction: the submissiveness towards a loved one, the spirit flying away, the inability to control oneself:

兩日被你牽得我神魂飛越，不能自禁。

For two days my mind has been in your hands, you have made it mad, and I can no longer control myself (Ling Mengchu 1989: 32, 568).

Inactivity and silence may be the extreme reaction of a strong passion:

十一娘忿不食，日惟耽臥。

The Eleventh was so angry that she could neither eat nor lie in bed all day (Pu Songling 1978: 5, 614).

Inability to react or to articulate words is seen in the following examples:

招之來，詐問：“何作？”婢驚懼無所措詞。

He called her, and to test her he asked her why she wanted to commit that crime. The terrorized servant did not know what to reply (Pu Songling 1978: 7, 889);

張氏大慟不能言。

Madame Zhang was deeply pained and was unable to speak (Yuan Mei 1983: 11, 268);

唬得頓口無言。

Intimidated, he dared not utter a single word (Feng Menglong 1991a: 2, 165).

And finally, the following examples express the loss of control caused by the power of love-passion or sexual love:

忽思之，情不可抑。

He suddenly thought of her, and his passions could not be repressed (Feng Menglong 1986a: 10, 270);

女。。。不對，目注者久之。崔辭去送至門，如不勝情而入。

The girl ... did not reply, but stared at him at length; when Cui took his leave, she accompanied him to the door and, as though unable to control her feelings, went back into the house (Feng Menglong 1986a: 10, 270);

風流少年，有情有趣的，牽著個色字，怎得不蕩了三魂走了七魄？

Take the case of an elegant and admirable young man, who is passionate and fascinating, when he is struck by feminine beauty. How is it possible that his souls are not borne off? (Ling Mengchu 1989: 32, 601);

忽一晚，淫心蕩漾，按納不住，又想要與壽兒取樂。

Suddenly one evening he was assailed by lecherous desires and, failing to control himself, he again thought of seeking pleasure with Shou'er (Feng Menglong 1983: 16, 21);

象執非煙手曰接傾城之貌。。。。

Xiang, holding Feiyan's hand, told her: 'I conquered a beauty whose charm can cause the fall of a town...' (Feng Menglong 1991b: 38, 684);

抱持益力，了奴兩頰漸髮紅，若不自持者，何凝睇送意迫懇之，遂及於亂。

He embraced her more tightly and Liaonu's cheeks slowly turned red, as though she could no longer control herself; the young man stared at her to transmit his hot feelings to her, hugging her ardently, until they were both overwhelmed with sexual passion (Yue Jun 1978: 4189).

Or, tempted by a beautiful woman,

脫下裡衣，肌膚瑩潔滑若凝脂，側身相就。程宰蕩著遍體酥麻。

Then at last she took off her clothes, showing her smooth skin, so pure and shining like butter. She leaned over him. Cheng Zai was paralysed, and his whole body was trembling with excitement (Ling Mengchu 1985: 37, 765);

張蕪一見，身子就酥了半邊，便立住腳，不肯轉身，假意咳嗽一聲。

Zhang Jin, at the sight of the girl, felt half his body betray him, and stood rigidly without being able to move, and deliberately gave a cough (Feng Menglong 1983: 16, 6).

Trembling, sexual arousal and excitement are the effects of infatuation:

賈瑞見鳳姐如此打扮，亦發酥倒，因餞了眼問道。。。。

The sight of Fengjie in informal dress threw Jia Rui into raptures, and gazing passionately at her, he asked... (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 12, 186).

And the same happens in homosexual love:

祇見薛蟠騎著一匹大馬，遠遠的趕了來，張著嘴，瞪著眼，頭似撥浪鼓一般，不住左右亂瞧。。。。

Xianglian saw Xue Pan riding a big horse, approaching from far, his mouth open, his eyes wide, his head turning right and left, as he gazed wildly around like a rolling drum ... (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 47, 702).

This excited and ecstatic expression is the consequence of sexual arousal and erotic anticipation when Xue Pan saw his object of desire. And just before, Xue Pan

。。。喜得心癢難撓，乜斜著眼。

... could hardly contain himself for joy, and his eyes were half-closed for pleasure (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 47, 702).

10. Some Remarks on Body Manifestations of Emotions according to Western Categories

10.1 Anger and Similar Hostile Reactions²⁹

Anger and its colourful expressions are among the most frequent emotions presented in literary texts. Not only do writers talk about 'angry faces' but they also present various gestural, expressive and physiological reactions. 'Flaring up' is one of the most common displays of anger and offence, but somebody may 'become livid with anger'. Some people change their expression or their colour, and others 'pull a long face' (*la changlian* 拉長臉; *la xialian* 拉下臉). Anger is also conveyed in the expression 'grind the teeth' (*qiechi* 切齒; see for instance Li Yu 1970: XII, 5198; 5216; 5221; for an analogous expression, see Feng Menglong 1991b: 4:47). Eyes are also telling, because of the dilation of the pupils; thus opening one's eyes wide (*deng* 瞪) may be a sign of rage. Other expressions are squirming lips (*ba zui luan niu* 把嘴亂扭), tossing one's head (*niu tou* 扭頭), shedding tears of anger (*fenqi* 憤泣).

Pu Songling describes some cases of repressed anger owing to the disproportion between his own and his aggressor's strength: Xiangru accumulates rage but smiles (怒形於色，既思勢不敵，斂怒爲笑, 'rage changed the colour of his face, but he thought that he could not react owing to the strength of his adversary, and repressed his anger'; Pu Songling 1978: 2, 278), while Xing cannot but stamp his foot out of indignation and grief (頓足悲憤而已, 'he could only stamp his foot for anger'; Pu Songling 1978: 7, 1575); the terrible shrew Jin opens her eyes wide for anger (*liezi* 裂眦; Pu Songling 1978: 7, 888). Several instances of indignation are presented in *Honglouloumeng* (Cao Xueqin 1972: 23, 269), like 'to shake one's sleeve' (*fixiu* 拂袖) or 'to shake one's dress' (*fiyi* 拂衣). This is a common expression of displeasure or anger (see also Dong Yue 1983: 11, 7 or Pu Songling 1978: 4, 506).

Depending on whether we are speaking of cold or hot anger, the rest of the body can either stay almost immobile, or there can be a substantial increase in its activity. Thus we have:

郡王見說，十分大怒，跌腳大罵。

On hearing these words the prince was overcome with rage, and stamped his feet and began cursing in a loud voice... (Feng Menglong 1991b: 7, 261).

²⁹ For 'hostile reactions' I mean the group of aggressive-opposing emotions (anger-aversion-disgust), that is those unpleasant transitive emotions, characterized by a prevalent high physiological arousal, that express refusal and hostility in different intensity (from fury to irritation) and form various self-images (from envy-jealousy to despise).

Shouting and hurling insults are common, like in the following example:

馬命群姬奪其棒，齊毆之，夫人力不勝，逃入房，罵且哭。

Mr Ma ordered these concubines to snatch the stick from her and to beat her; when the woman was unable to resist with her strength alone, she took refuge in her room, and began cursing and shouting (Yuan Mei 1983: 11, 266).

Also restricted to insults is the reaction of the two youths who believe they have been betrayed by Jin because he is not prepared to keep to his daughter's marriage pledge:

那二人聽得，便怒從心上起，惡向膽邊生，罵道：不知生死的老賊驢。

Hearing these things the rage rose from the heart of the two men and hatred burst from their bile. 'You reckless dirty scoundrel!' they shouted at him! (Ling Mengchu 1989: 10, 169).

Some, like Baoyu, 'even in anger seem to smile' (雖怒時而似笑; Cao Xueqin 1998a: 3, 51), without any simulation, while others are able to hide bitterness or anger behind a smile (*xiaozhong han ku* 笑中含苦; *xiaozhong zangnu* 笑中藏怒).

10.2 Terror and Similar Emotions

Typical symptoms of fear, in its more acute and sudden form like the fear animals experience, are a slackening of the pulse rate, a reduction in muscle tension, and falling blood pressure and body temperature, profuse perspiring, a generalised tremor: these phenomena manifest themselves as a sensation of cold, a change of colour in the face, the trembling of hands and feet. In Chinese, *jing* 驚 and *hai* 駭 cover a wide range of meanings from panic, terror, fear and fright to astonishment, but they are used most frequently to indicate astonishment. *Pa* 怕 and *kong* 恐 can be translated as 'fear' in its various degrees of intensity.

The reactions to fear described in literary texts are numerous and varied. According to psychologists, the most typical facial expression of fear is a half-open mouth with the corners turned downwards, staring eyes, eyebrows drawn close together with the inner corners often turned downwards in a frown; the muscles of the entire face are tense and the expression may remain static for a few moments, as in the following idioms: *mudeng shejiang* 目瞪口呆 ('eyes are fixed and tongue is numb'), *zhangkou jieshe* 張口結舌 ('mouth agape and tongue-tied'), *qiankou jiaoshe* 鉗口撟舌 ('keep mum lifting her tongue in a futile effort to speak'). The habit of sticking one's tongue out in astonishment is peculiar to Chinese traditional culture.

Although we do not have a detailed description of these changes of expression, they may be reconstructed on the basis of a few details that are included so as to give greater emphasis to the narrative:

目睜口呆。

His eyes opened wide with a dull look (Feng Menglong 1991b: 28, 294);

開了口合不得，伸了舌縮不上去。

His mouth fell open and he was unable to close it, his tongue hung out uncontrollably (Feng Menglong 1983: 33,12; cf. also Feng Menglong 1991a: 36, 551);

目睜口呆。

His eyes opened wide and his mouth gaped (Feng Menglong 1991b: 14, 538).

Such gestures may be the beginning of a process that in the most intense cases brings about the loss of self-control.

In *Hongloumeng* one character stands there ‘his eyes staring and his mouth gaping’ (*mu deng kou dai* 目瞪口呆), and another is ‘so frightened that his eyes are wide open’ (*hude liang yan zhideng* 嚇得兩眼直瞪). Once, fear provokes tongue-biting (*yao she* 咬舌). Anxiety especially is represented by idioms for body language. Some of them are metaphorical, like ‘standing on tiptoe with head held up’ (*qizu jiaoshou* 企足矯首), and most of them describe some gestures or facial expressions: *saotou mo'er* 搔頭摸耳 (‘scratching one’s head and ears’), *saoshou chichu* 搔首踟躕 (‘scratching one’s head in perplexity’), *zhua'er naosai* 抓耳撓腮 (‘tweak one’s ears and scratch one’s cheeks’), *zhuatou wa'er* 抓頭挖耳 (‘tweak one’s head and pick one’s ear’), *rangbi erqi* 攘臂而起 (‘raising one’s arms and feet’), *duojiao* 躁腳 (‘stamping one’s feet’), *cuoshou dunjiao* 搓手頓腳 (‘wringing one’s hand and stamping one’s feet’), *dengyan* 瞪眼 (‘staring [with anxiety]’), *chenghu qihou* 瞠乎其後 (‘staring from behind’).

Change of facial colour is another symptom. Several common idioms in Chinese express the change of facial colour and expression in sentences such as *xinxin xianxian* 忪忪睜睜 (‘looking at with fear’), *seruo sihui* 色若死灰 (‘with a fear-stricken and ashen face’), *mudai kouza* 口呆口噤 (‘with eyes and mouth fixed in terror’), *mian wu xuese* 面無血色 (‘look ashen’), *mianru tuse* 面如土色 (‘pale with fright’), or *yanmian shise* 掩面失色 (‘cover one’s pale face in fright’). Comparable to turning pale is the loss of colour, or turning yellow in the face (*mianshang shise* 面上失色; *xiade huangle lian* 嚇得黃了臉). In a short story of *Ershilu*, ‘this woman turned pale’ (女子失色; Yue Jun 1978: 4104), following the mixed fear and rage that had beset the Seventh when her sister and rival burst in. Similarly,

兒懼，啼告母。母聞之，面色灰死。

The boy was afraid and spoke to his mother in tears. On hearing it, she grew pale as death (Pu Songling 1978: 4, 486);

石大駭，面色如土。

Shi was so frightened that he grew deadly pale (Pu Songling 1978: 5, 643).

Frowning or knitting one’s brows (*zhoumei* 皺眉; *cumei* 蹙眉) is a fre-

quent way mentioned in literary works to express worry in its various intensities and shades. In fact, the expressiveness of eyebrows is much more appreciated by the Chinese than by western authors, who describe them and use them as a sign of emotion.

When the feeling of terror is extremely intense, the loss of self-control and of control over the body is so pervasive that the subject is unable to react, even by flight. The paralysis which obstructs movements is expressed in sentences like *zhongzu erli* 重足而立 ('standing with heavy feet'), or *juji bu'an* 踟躕不安 ('restrained and uneasy'). Sometimes the subject only tries to hide his body, as in *baotou suoxiang* 抱頭縮項 ('covering one's head and drawing back the neck'), *xiejian leizu* 脅肩累足 ('lowering the shoulders and legs'), *yinqi tunsheng* 飲泣吞聲 ('swallowing one's tears', lit. 'drinking tears and muffling one's voice'), *liansheng xiqi* 斂聲息氣 ('holding one's breath in fright'), *suoshou suojiao* 縮手縮腳 ('shrinking one's hands and feet'). On other occasions, by contrast, the reaction is prompt and active: flight makes it possible to avoid the danger, and if there is no way to escape, an aggressive response is taken.

Other effects which are sometimes recorded are the psychophysical aspects, such as *shu mao hanxin* 豎毛寒心 ('hair standing up because of terror'). This is the case of a traveller who, having lost his way during the evening, was scared by the sight of wolves and by the hooting of owls (Pu Songling 1978: 4, 537), or the case of the main character of another story who, believing that he saw the spirits of the forests, felt 'his hair standing on end with fear, and did not even dare to breathe' (毛髮直豎，不敢少息; Pu Songling 1978: 2, 257). Stomach cramps can be another effect of tension:

白日裡做場夢，甚是作怪，又驚又憂，肚裡漸覺疼起來。

To dream by day is a strange thing. Frightened and worried, he gradually felt the pain in his stomach growing (Feng Menglong 1991a: 3, 209).

Here the pain can be plausibly explained by the fact that the hero has just had a dream.

Another important expression of fear is shouting. Shouting and screaming, varying in sound from species to species, but universal amongst animals, is the most effective way of transmitting the state of alarm and of calling for help over a distance; fear begets fear, so that shouting amounts to warning other members of the same species of the danger. In this way Wu Shan, having again dreamed of the monk,

大叫一聲，驚醒，又是一夢。

shouted out aloud and woke up in a fright; it was again a dream (Feng Menglong 1991a: 3, 211).

Just as heat and fire are the usual metaphors for intense anger and love, chill and cold are characteristic of fear and fright. We can find the same in

English, where sentences like ‘to feel a chill in one’s bones’ are used to somatise this kind of sentiment, just as in Chinese:

曾聞之，氣魄悚駭，如飲冰水。

On hearing this, Zeng was terrified, as though he had swallowed ice (Pu Songling 1978: 4, 522);

夜色迷悶，誤入澗穀，狼奔鷗叫，豎毛寒心。

As the night was dark, he mistakenly entered a valley of a river in which wolves were roaming and owls were hooting: his hair stood on end and his heart froze (Pu Songling 1978: 4, 537).

Worth noting is that the expression *hanxin* 寒心 denotes not only terror, but also bitter disappointment and frustration. It is interesting to note that here all emotional and intellectual functions are affected, because *xin* is heart-mind:

朝士爲之寒心，朝廷因而孤立。

The imperial functionaries are frightened and frustrated, and therefore, the Court becomes isolated (Pu Songling 1978: 4, 521).

The sensation of cold is often accompanied by perspiration: while Gu was hiding in a niche, ‘the sweat ran down his back’ (汗流浹背; Yue Jun 1978: 4104), and the character of another story was ‘braking out in a cold sweat all over’ (一身冷汗; Feng Menglong 1991a: 2, 145).

The inability to react positively may start with another, very common, bodily expression, the trembling of the body or hands (戰戰兢兢, ‘he was trembling with fear’; Feng Menglong 1991b: 9, 316; 21, 791), which can also be described with the current expression *huang shoujiao* 慌手腳 (‘shaking from hand to foot’). As in other languages, trembling is related with fear and especially fright. And similar to English, Italian, Greek, and many other languages, the physical reactions of trembling or freezing often conceptualise a metonymic idea of fear. Shivering and trembling are found in many idioms.

In another passage we read:

背膝展展兩股不搖而自顫。。。地下又滑，肚裡又怕，心頭一似小鹿兒跳，一雙腳一似鬥敗公雞。

The back and knees were loose, and at the same time trembled convulsively ... Moreover, the ground was slippery, they were filled with fear, their hearts were beating like the heart of a small deer, the legs unsteady like those of a defeated fighting cock (Feng Menglong 1991b: 14, 527).

On other occasions, the subjective result may be a feeling of paralysis and incapacity to take any initiative: ‘for a long time he remained speechless’ (半晌無言; Feng Menglong 1991b: 28, 294), ‘suddenly a tiger sprang out of the wood, and Gu prostrated himself in terror’ (忽林中衝出一虎，穀驚而仆; Yue Jun 1978: 4103).

In extreme cases there is a loss or reduction of functional control, which

manifests itself, for instance, in incontinence: 'wetting himself and farting in terror, he knelt down to welcome them' (唬得尿流屁滾, 跪地迎接; Feng Menglong 1991a: 39, 726). Further consequences can be fainting, paralysis and, in particularly vulnerable subjects, even death due to cardio-circulatory failure. Thus, we often find loss of consciousness described as follows: 'the spirit was separated from his body' (魂不附體; Feng Menglong 1991a: 24, 121), or 'suddenly he fell down' (匹然倒地; Feng Menglong 1991a: 39, 727). In another example of fainting we read:

甫揭簾, 見軒轅生高坐床上。大驚, 以前夫顯魂, 暈絕於地, 哭訴。

As soon as she opened the curtain and saw Xuanyuan Sheng sitting up on the bed, she became very frightened, thinking that it was an apparition of the spirit of her previous husband, and she fainted and fell to the floor, moaning amid her tears (Yuan Mei 1983: 11, 268).

In other cases, fright can lead to opposite reactions, including an increased pulse rate and muscle tension, hair standing on end, a rush of blood to the muscles. In these conditions the reaction may be either flight or attack (especially when there is no escape):

駭極而歸。

He was frightened and ran back (Lu Changchun 1983: 2, 4);

四娘駭而奔。

The Fourth sister was frightened and ran away (Yue Jun 1978: 4105);

驚得半死, 回身便走。

Almost frightened to death, he turned and went away (Feng Menglong 1991b: 28, 321).

Sometimes the compound word expresses pure surprise, so violent that it excludes any other emotion, joy or sorrow, as in the case of the old father who unexpectedly meets all the relatives he had believed dead:

翁輟泣愕然, 不能喜, 亦不能悲, 蚩蚩以立。

The old man was astonished and stopped crying, he was no longer able to be happy or to suffer, and stood there alone (Pu Songling 1978: 2, 253).

10.3 Shame

The typical sign of embarrassment, shyness and shame is blushing caused by dilatation of the peripheral blood vessels (*nan* 赧, which means 'blush profusely with shame', or *xiuhong* 羞紅, 'red with embarrassment'), lowering of the gaze,³⁰ increased perspiration and muscle tension, physical restlessness and altered tone of voice, reactions which can themselves act as a further cause of embarrassment. This reaction is so typical that we already mentioned

³⁰ See the idiom, which may be used to represent the simulated shyness for seductive purposes: *yanshi meixing* 煙視媚行 ('giving a swift glance and practising fawning').

it in the part concerning metaphors and stereotypes in the expressions of emotions. We thus often find the verb meaning shame or embarrassment followed by the complementiser *de* (的, 得) and then by the complement describing the colour of the face:

羞得滿臉通紅。

He went completely red in the face out of shyness (Feng Menglong 1991a: 1, 36; Cao Xueqin 1998a: 32, 384).

Thus often blushing occurs when one's face is filled with shame (*manmian xiucan* 滿面羞慚) or bears an embarrassed look (*qiese* 怯色; see Feng Menglong 1991a: 3, 188-89; Yue Jun 1978: 4105; Ling Mengchu 1989: 1, 14).

Alternatively, a whole set of reactions is given – reddening of the cheeks, difficulty in speaking, lowering of the gaze – like in the following passages:

轉復羞慚雙頰凝紅，低顏無語。

She became shy and ashamed again, and both cheeks turned bright red, and she lowered her head in silence (Yue Jun 1978: 4105);

莫稽滿面羞慚閉口無言。。。面皮紅紫。

Mo Ji was choking with shame, his mouth closed tightly, unable to speak ... his cheeks so scarlet that they became violet (Feng Menglong 1991a: 27, 229-30).

Indeed, it seems that the aim is to hide from others, which explains the bowed head, the shifting gaze, the covering of one's face with one's hands. Thus, after Huangfu had accused his wife of being unfaithful to him while he was away,

小娘子則叫得一聲掩著面哭將入去。

The young woman screamed, covered her face with her hands and went sobbing into the bedroom (Feng Menglong 1991a: 35, 499).

Thus, covering one's face (*gai lian* 蓋臉; *wo lian* 握臉; *zhe lian* 遮臉; *yan mian* 掩面) is a way of hiding one's embarrassment, sometimes accompanied by tears and anger. We have already seen:

船中有一女子，掩面泣涕之狀。

In a large boat out at sea sat a girl, weeping and snivelling, covering her face with her hands (Cao Xueqin 1998a: 5, 86).³¹

Further expressions concern the gaze, sweat and the moving of the head:

不敢相認只得垂眼低頭而去。

He dared not identify him, lowered his gaze, bowed his head and went his way (Feng Menglong 1991b: 22, 849);

汗流夾背。

He was bathed in sweat (Yue Jun 1978: 4104).

³¹ See also the example from Pu Songling (1978: 8, 1093) quoted above, § 7.

Anger is often a close consequence of shame, humiliation, embarrassment, and thus both feelings may be combined (*you xiu you qi* 又羞又氣). Also in grief or remorse, one can ‘beat the breast and stamp the feet’ (*chui-xiong dunzu* 捶胸頓足):

女俯首笑曰：“狂生太囉。。。矣”。

The girl lowered her head, and told him with a laugh, ‘Crazy student, you are a terrible troublemaker!’ (Pu Songling 1978: 3, 332; already quoted in § 4.3).

One kind of smile is a smile of embarrassment (*xiuxiao* 羞笑). The facial expression may be wrought in a somewhat nervous smile, accompanied by a gesture of the hand to cover the mouth, like that used politely to conceal a yawn. Shame and embarrassment thus overlap with female modesty, retirement and shyness. However, the classification of this type of moral sentiment is variable, and sometimes, as in the following case, the smile may be associated with ‘seduction’:

遂逼視之。雲微笑掩門而去。

[The young scholar Liu] came closer to see the girl; Yun smiled sweetly, shut the door and went away (Yue Jun 1978: 4101).

10.4 Sadness and Unpleasant Feelings

Before examining some of the most common expressions of suffering, it is useful to list some Chinese idioms which express such negative feelings. They usually describe facial expressions and the sound of the voice and crying: *cuanmei kulian* 攢眉苦臉 (‘with knitted brows and a worried look [lit. ‘face’]’), *choumei suoyan* 愁僉鎖眼 (‘with sad/frowning brows and a worried look [lit. ‘eyes’]’), *canran bule* 慘然不樂 (‘with a sad [face]’), *yangyang bule* 怏怏不樂 (‘with a sullen [face]’), *zhoumei cuyan* 皺眉蹙眼 (‘with knitted brows and frowning eyes’), *tongku liuti* 痛哭流涕 (‘cry one’s heart out’), *tisi zongheng* 涕泗縱橫 (‘crying bitterly [lit. ‘crisscrossing tears’]’), *haotao daku* 號淘大哭 (‘crying loudly’), *aisheng tanqi* 唉聲嘆氣 (‘moaning and groaning’), *changxu duantan* 長吁短嘆 (‘sighs and groans’), *yangwu qietan* 仰屋竊嘆 (‘looking up at the ceiling and sighing’), *niutou biexiang* 扭頭別項 (‘twist one’s head and neck’), *yaoshou dunzu* 搖首頓足 (‘shaking one’s head and stamping one foot’).

Like other emotions, sadness and sorrow are communicated to other people. This happens not only when public demonstration of grief and mourning in more or less ritualistic performances is encouraged by social rules, but also in subtler and more personal gestural and facial expressions. Sour and bitter tastes (*suanxin* 酸心, *xinku* 辛苦) are the metaphors of sorrow, highlighted on the face (*mian dai chouse* 面帶愁色, ‘one’s face shows sadness’):

姬戚戚有憂容。

There was an expression of sorrow and sadness on Li’s face (Pu Songling 1978: 8, 1083).

Sadness may be conveyed by disheveled hair. Weeping, sobbing, beating one's chest, stamping one's feet, and crying bitterly are the most common manifestations of sorrow and sadness.

We have seen that one of the most common expressions of suffering is the 'groan', 'wail' or 'moan' (*ku* 哭), an event often accompanied by weeping and sometimes by words:

。。。哽哽咽咽哭將起來。

... he burst into tears, sobbing and moaning (Feng Menglong 1991a: 3, 211);

。。。一言不發啼哭起來。

... he said no word and burst out moaning (Feng Menglong 1991a: 1, 82);

哭倒在地。

He burst into tears and fell to the ground (Feng Menglong 1991a: 1, 93);

。。。口吐痰涎雙手搥胸慟哭不已。

... he spat, beat his breast with both hands, and could do nothing but wail (Feng Menglong 1991b: 1, 51);

。。。真是苦上加苦哭得咽喉無氣。

... it was indeed a sorrow that was added to other sorrows; he wailed so much that he became breathless (Feng Menglong 1991a: 40, 790-91).

Other reactions are silent weeping (*qi* 泣), or tears (*lei* 淚), groaning, moaning and sobbing (*ti* 啼, *wu* 鳴, *jie* 嗟 and *tan* 歎 or 嘆).

We have seen also that silence and inaction are sometimes the answer to sadness:

寶釵想念寶玉，暗中垂淚，自嘆命苦。

Baochai, thinking of Baoyu, secretly wept and sighed to herself over her bitter fate (Cao Xueqin 1972: 120, 1510).

Suffering too, though of much stronger intensity than sadness, can sometimes be mute; it is so intense that the person cannot react:

張氏大慟不能言。

Lady Zhang was so deeply pained that she was unable to speak (Yuan Mei 1983: 11, 268).

Loss of spirit and will are sometimes described:

程宰此時神志俱喪，說不出一句話，只好唯唯應承，蘇蘇落淚而已。正是：世上萬般哀苦事，無非死別與生離。天長地久有時盡，此恨綿綿無絕期。

Cheng Zai in that moment was unable to utter a word, dejected and depressed as he was [he had lost all spirit and determination]. He was capable only of stammering out his agreement amid sobs. Of all the sorrows and pain in this world to separate in death and in life is the cruelest. Heaven and earth, long-lasting as they are, will some day pass away. But this endless regret will never end (Ling Mengchu 1985: 37, 773).

Tong 痛 usually means severe suffering:

時痛定思痛神魂俱，又哭了一回，遍身微微的出了一點兒汗。

Then, mindful of the suffering experienced just before, she was completely overwhelmed with frenzy; she began to moan again for a while, and felt beads of perspiration covering her entire body (Cao Xueqin 1972: 82, 1067).

And in the lively images depicted by Feng Menglong:

。。。萬箭攢心不覺淚如雨下。

... ten thousand darts pierced his heart, and suddenly his tears fell like rain! (Feng Menglong 1991a: 8, 335);

如萬刀攢心眼中淚下。

It was as though ten thousand swords penetrated his heart, while tears welled up in his eyes (Feng Menglong 1991a: 24, 145-46).

10.5 Joy and Gratified Love

Happiness is a complex feeling that is usually exhibited generously. It may be expressed by opening one's eyes and mouth wide and by laughing (for instance Li Yu 1970: XIII, 5605). For the expression of joy which is also indicative of virtue, see Mencius 4,a,27:

樂則生矣。生則惡可已也。惡可已，則不知足之蹈之手之舞之。

When joy arises how can one stop it? And when one cannot stop it, then one begins to dance with one's feet and wave one's arms without knowing it (Mencius in Lau 1970: 127).

In *Sunü miaolun* 素女妙論 ('The wondrous discourse of the immaculate girl') of the Ming period, gestures are mentioned as means of arousing a woman's interest and spurring feelings in her (van Gulik 1951: 137).

Joy is often accompanied by a certain amount of surprise and activation:

訝然色喜。

Astonishment and joy flashed across her face (Yue Jun 1978: 4188).

Several idioms describe gestures and expressions of happiness. The most common is smiling and a radiant face, as in the following sentences: *xiaorong manmian* 笑容滿面 or *meikai yanxiao* 眉開眼笑 ('being all smiles'), *xixiao yankai* 喜笑顏開 ('being wreathed in smiles'), *xiaozhu yankai* 笑逐顏開 ('happy and beaming with smiles'), *xiaorong keju* 笑容可掬 ('being radiant with smiles'), *yuxiao xuanhu* 語笑喧呼 ('being filled with laughter and excitement'), *meifei sewu* 眉飛色舞 ('with flying eyebrows and a radiant [lit. 'dancing'] face'), *zhanyan shumei* 展眼舒眉 ('with radiant eyes and relaxed eyebrows'), *xixing yuse* 喜形於色 ('light up with pleasure'), *yangmei zhi-zhang* 揚眉抵掌 ('raise one's brows and clap one's hands'). Other gestures too can be expressions of joy, such as dancing, clapping hands and raising or

shaking the head: *paishou chengkuai* 拍手稱快 ('clap and cheer'), *shouwu zu-dao* 手舞足蹈 ('hands dancing and feet stamping [with joy]'), *xiyue bianwu* 喜躍抃舞 ('happily dancing with hands and feet'), *yangshou shenmei* 仰首伸眉 ('raise the head and stretch the eyebrows'), *yaotou huangnao* 搖頭晃腦 ('shaking one's head').

Other important expressions of the state of mind are the make-up and the dress, as in the sentence: *chuanhong dailü* 穿紅戴綠 ('[gaily] dressed in red and green'). In case of rejoicing, worthy of note is the idiom: *jushou kou'e* 舉手扣額 ('raise one's hand to pat on the forehead'). Another way of expressing great joy is dancing with happiness: *xi wu* 喜舞.

Laughing and smiling are in fact the most common ways to show happiness:

忽聞群女笑而返。

Suddenly it was heard that the girls of the group turned back with laughter because they were glad [to have won the battle] (Yue Jun 1978: 4104);

喜從天降笑逐顏。

His happiness was handed down from heaven, as it were, and his face was illuminated by a smile (Feng Menglong 1991a: 7, 103; 1991b: 14, 521);

。。。滿面堆下笑來。

...they all had faces wreathed in smiles (Feng Menglong 1983: 30, 4; cf. also Feng Menglong 1991a: 10, 389).

But happiness may manifest itself as other physiological reactions – such as weeping, a faster pulse rate, muscle tonus and irregular breathing –, which remarkably resemble other emotions, even negative ones like anger:

抱頭而哭。。。闔門歡喜無限。

They embraced and burst into tears ... all of them in the house were boundlessly happy (Feng Menglong 1991a: 18, 710; 39, 750);

各各相認吃了一驚。。。抱頭而哭。

To their great surprise they recognized one another, ... embraced each other and wept with emotion (Feng Menglong 1983: 3, 50).

Lastly, when the feeling of joy reaches its peak, it is displayed in a convulsive way by the restless movement of hands and feet, and loss of consciousness:

秦重如做了一個遊仙好夢喜得魄蕩魂消手舞足蹈。

Qin Zhong felt as though he was dreaming of meeting someone immortal, and out of happiness, his bodily energy seemed to vanish, while his hands and feet moved restlessly (Feng Menglong 1983: 3, 43).

Thus, joy, as any other passion, may get out of control:

真個魂飛天外，魄散九霄，實出望外，喜之如狂。

He was truly beside himself with happiness; it seems that his souls had lifted off be-

yond heaven and his spirits had scattered into the sky; he was mad with joy, beyond all his expectations (Ling Mengchu 1985: 37, 765).

Here we come back to the image of loss of control of heavenly and earthly souls (*hun fei tian wai, po san jiu xiao* 魂飛天外，魄散九霄), but this arousal can also be displayed in the agitation of arms and legs (*shou wu zu dao* 手舞足蹈):

把一個高贊，就喜得手舞足蹈。

Gao Zan was so pleased that he was almost beside himself (Feng Menglong 1983: 7, 14).

In other cases the great excitement may be expressed by singing and dancing. In a passage from a Ling Mengchu's story, the character enjoys his quiet life, without limits and obstacles:

自歌自舞自開懷，且喜無拘無礙。

By myself I sing, dance, am happy and even overjoyed, without worries and displeasures (Ling Mengchu 1989: 1, 1).

But jumping is a gesture for excessive joy, and the consequence of immoderate passion might be very dangerous:

歡跳遂死。

He jumped with exultance, and then he died (Feng Menglong 1986a: 10, 271).

The intensity of joy and happiness is often expressed using stereotypes which show how difficult it is to contain: *bu sheng huanxi* 不勝歡喜 ('he could not contain his joy') or *huanxi wu xian* 歡喜無限 ('his happiness knew no bounds'; Feng Menglong 1983: 3, 50; 3, 16). More clearly, the loss of control and the pleasures of love are stated in:

君靈台不戒牽掛巫雲。

Failing to control your mind-heart, you are ensnared by the pleasures of love (Yue Jun 1978: 4106).

Here allusion is made to a divine woman in a famous myth, who, among other things, has the role of justifying pure sexual relations. In the *Gaotang fu* 高唐賦 ('Rhapsody of Gaotang'; third century B.C.) it is told how king Xiang of the State of Chu visited the Terrace of Gaotang, where he is said to have dreamt of mating with the goddess of Mount Wu.³² Other aspects of the joys of love, have been dealt with in the sections on the excesses of passions and on the language of seduction (see above § 9).

³² For a recent analysis of the work in the framework of the theme of seduction by a female divinity, see Li Wai-ye (1993: 23-30).

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