

The varieties of vitality: A cross-cultural lexical analysis

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Abstract: Vitality has been underappreciated and underexplored by academia at large. This oversight is potentially explained by the Western-centric nature of most fields, with vitality having been comparatively neglected in the West relative to elsewhere. One explanation for this lacuna is that vitality is not easily pigeonholed within the ontological categories dominant in the West, such as mind and body. This paper therefore aims to learn from cultures that have cultivated a greater understanding of vitality, doing so by engaging with relevant 'untranslatable' words (i.e., those without exact equivalent in English), thus enriching our conceptual map of this topic. Over 200 relevant terms were located and analyzed using an adapted form of grounded theory. Three themes were identified, each with four subthemes: spirit (life force, channels, soul, and transcendence); energy (fortitude, channeling, willpower, and recharging); and heart (desire, passion, affection, and satisfaction). The paper thus refines our understanding of this important topic and provides a foundation for future research.

Keywords: vitality, physical, health, flourishing, wellbeing

1. Introduction

Across human cultures the phenomenon of 'vitality'-and comparable notions in other languages-has been of perennial importance. Although a contested and multifaceted concept, with numerous meanings historically and currently, one way into the topic is through the distinction between ontological objectivity (e.g., physiological processes) and subjectivity (i.e., subjective qualia). Beginning with the former, many cultures have developed notions of an animating 'life force.' Western languages often express this in terms derived from the Latin vita ('life') and its modifications, including vitalis ('of or belonging to life') and vitalitatem ('vital force' or 'life force') (see www.etymonline.com/). Thus, vitalis entered English in the 14th century (as 'vital'), followed by vitalitatem ('vitality') in the 1590s. These took on new dimensions from the 17th century onwards following the development of the natural sciences ushered in by the Enlightenment. Debates stirred within biology about the origins and nature of life itself, with many arguing it cannot be reductively attributed to principles in physics and chemistry, and required an immaterial 'life force' (Greco, 2005). Similarly, in his influential Creative Evolution, Bergson (1907) proposed a theory of orthogenesis, in which evolution is driven towards greater complexity by a creative force of *élan vital*. However, this concept, and the broader notion of a 'life force,' came under sustained critique from scholars who maintained that life could indeed be reductively explained through conventional biochemical processes, while evolution was accounted for by natural selection. By the 1930s, Darwin's theory had become "victorious" – as Mayr (1996, p.1) recounts it-and ideas such as *élan vital* faded from prominence (with speculative exceptions like Sheldrake, 1981). That said, vitality has also since been understood more conventionally (i.e., in line with commonly accepted natural science principles), including

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in terms of an organism's energy (Deng et al., 2015), its basic drive towards self-organization and self-maintenance (Lynch & Ennis, 1983), or simply the quality of "being alive" (Stern, 2010, p.3).

Given the general reluctance within academia to broach notions such as élan vital, recent approaches to vitality have more commonly focused on its ontologically subjective manifestations. Stern (2010, p.3) for instance positions vitality "as a product of the mind's integration of many internal and external events, as a subjective experience, and as a phenomenal reality." He also distances it from the ostensible "mysticism" of notions like *élan vital*, emphasizing it as grounded in "physical actions and traceable operations" and "not independent from them as the doctrine of vitalism [i.e., *élan vital*] would have it" (p.4). In that respect, he argues that the experience of vitality is generated by five different events/processes: movement; time; force; space; and intention/directionality. Relatedly, Ryan and Frederick (1997) emphasize it as "a positive feeling of aliveness and energy" (p.529). They further highlight associations between vitality and various indices of mental wellbeing—such as its correlation with life satisfaction and positive affect—as well as somatic factors like physical symptoms and perceived body functioning, and adaptive personality traits and affective dispositions. Specifically, their Subjective Vitality Scale features seven items: (1) I feel alive and vital; (2) I don't feel very energetic; (3) sometimes I am so alive I just want to burst; (4) I have energy and spirit; (5) I look forward to each new day; (6) I nearly always feel awake and alert; and (7) I feel energized. Similarly, Ryan and Deci (2008) depict vitality—which they define as "the energy available to the self"—as the polar opposite of ego depletion, and connect it to self-determination (in that vitality is enhanced by activities that satisfy the three basic psychological needs for relatedness, competence, and autonomy).

However, such scholarship notwithstanding, vitality has been relatively overlooked by academia. One explanation may lie in, (a) the Western-centric nature of psychology and related fields, and (b) the idea that vitality is challenging to Western views of the person. Let's deal with these issues in turn. First, the Western-centric nature of psychology has been increasingly acknowledged (Pickren, 2009), and moreover recognized as a problem. This issue was influentially highlighted in particular by Henrich et al. (2010), who pointed out that the vast majority of research-up to 90%-is conducted by and on people in contexts that are 'WEIRD' (Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic). Fortunately, the field is becoming attuned to this problem, and is making efforts to redress it. For example, Hendricks et al. (2019) conducted a bibliometric analysis of RCTs of positive psychology interventions: of 188 studies, although 78.2% were in Western countries, they noted "a strong and steady increase in publications from non-Western countries since 2012," indicating an encouraging "trend towards globalization" (p.489). However, although such developments are promising, the research base has nevertheless been built up through decades of work on populations that are relatively WEIRD. Crucially, most of the world is not comparably WEIRD, which raises questions of the validity and universality of such work. Consider for example that English has become the default language for the field. This bias is an issue, as recognized by decades of research on the linguistic relativity hypothesis (LRH), popularly known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, following the work of Sapir (1929) and Whorf (1940). The LRH generally holds that language shapes how people experience and understand the world. In that respect, if the field's ideas are structured in English, its knowledge is therefore to an extent also provincial and culturally-specific (Lomas, 2018a).

These dynamics have implications for topics like vitality. Numerous theorists—from Taylor (1992) to Damasio (2006)—have suggested that, over the past few centuries, Western cultures have developed a view of the self that is founded on a framework of fairly rigid ontological distinctions. These are often attributed to Descartes in particular, but their roots go far deeper and wider, with antecedents dating back to Classical Greece. The first is the distinction,



mentioned above, between subjectivity and objectivity. The second is a related differentiation between mental and physical functioning. Confusingly, both binaries are sometimes referred to as the 'mind-body' problem; however, they are conceptually distinct and indeed orthogonal to one another, given that both mental and physical functioning can be seen as having subjective aspects (i.e., various qualia) and objective aspects (i.e., associated physiological processes). A third fundamental distinction is between self and other (Bakan, 1966). A fourth, developed influentially by Durkheim (1912), is that between sacred (i.e., phenomena deemed spiritual or 'numinous' in some way) versus profane (i.e., everyday non-spiritual phenomena). These binaries have given rise to various taxonomies positing different dimensions of existence. The WHO's (1948) definition of health for instance—"a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease and infirmity"-identifies three main dimensions: physical, mental, social. In addition, some scholars argue for recognizing a spiritual dimension to health and wellbeing (Larson, 1996; VanderWeele, 2020). However, while such conceptualizations and taxonomies can be useful, it does mean that phenomena tend to be categorized as *belonging* to one category or another. So, for example, asthma is a physical issue, psychosis a mental issue, the 'dark night of the soul' a spiritual issue, and mob violence a social issue. Moreover, distinct fields have arisen to focus on these respective phenomena-from respiratory medicine to psychiatry to theology to sociology-doing so furthermore in ways that are usually siloed and disconnected from one another.

One consequence of these dynamics is that academia struggles to deal with phenomena that are not easily pigeonholed, that would appear to cut across these binaries and categories. Crucially, vitality is one such phenomenon. It certainly can be viewed as having physical elements, reflected in its characterization as involving physical energy and vigor. However, it is not *only* physical in nature, as evinced by some of the conceptualizations aired above. So, for example, it also includes aspects one might more conventionally appraise as mental, such as positive attitudes of enthusiasm or willpower (Van Cappellen et al., 2017). It then further incorporates dynamics that might best be characterized as spiritual, not least in the way it can sometimes be talked about in terms of one's 'spirit,' and in related notions like 'spiritedness' (Lee et al., 2013). Finally, vitality also sometimes has social dimensions or manifestations as a shared or collective emergent phenomenon arising from the dynamics of social interaction (Mellor, 1998). As such, it is unclear which field vitality 'belongs' to and who should study it; as a result, it has somewhat fallen through the cracks of academic attention, overlooked by the respective disciplines in favour of phenomena that are more readily identified as relevant to them. However, by contrast, some other cultures have developed less rigid distinctions between the various domains of existence (Arnold, 2008). Consequently, some have formed much richer and more detailed understandings of vitality. Consider the emerging superpowers of China and India. The former has developed complex philosophies and practices relating to $q i_{t}$, which can roughly be understood as a supra-personal energy that flows within and around people, and which people can learn to harness (Kim, 2015). Somewhat similarly, the latter has generated traditions that pay close attention to positive embodied experiences, with yoga the most well-known (Raina & Singh, 2018). To that end, academic fields like psychology can develop a more comprehensive understanding of vitality by engaging with non-Western cultures, as our article seeks to.

One particularly effective method for expanding the range of cultures that contribute to the knowledge base in a content area involves studying 'untranslatable' words (i.e., those without exact equivalents in a given other language). One such endeavour is Lomas's (2016) evolving lexicography of untranslatable words relating to wellbeing, on which the present paper is based. Such words signify phenomena that one's own lingua-culture may have overlooked, but which



another lingua-culture has identified and conceptualized. They are therefore not only informative vis-à-vis the culture that created them, but can enrich *other* lexica too. Indeed, 'borrowing' words is central to language development: of the more than 600,000 lexemes in the OED, for instance, the percentage of borrowed words (also known as loanwords) may be as high as 41% (Tadmor, 2009). Often these are borrowed as they fill 'semantic gaps,' i.e., "the lack of a convenient word to express what [one] wants to speak about" (Lehrer, 1974, p.105). Thus, a central premise of Lomas's lexicography is that such words can enrich the nomological network in psychology (and English generally). Such augmentation is desirable for many reasons, including redressing the field's Western-centricity and its consequent liability to overlook ideas, insights and perspectives from other cultures. The project's goal therefore intersects with the present paper, namely developing an enriched conceptual understanding of vitality. To that point, vitality is one of the main categories of the lexicography, as elucidated next.

2. Methods

In the paper establishing the lexicography, Lomas (2016) identified 216 untranslatable words relating to wellbeing through a 'quasi-systematic' review of academic and grey literature. Once words had been identified, robust definitions were sought through on-line dictionaries, peerreviewed academic sources, and bilingual colleagues. The words and their definitions were then analysed using grounded theory (GT), which allows theory to emerge inductively from data via three main coding stages (open, axial, and selective). In a process of open coding, Lomas (first author in the present paper) examined the data for emergent themes. Via axial coding, which involved grouping themes into categories based on conceptual similarity, six categories were produced, paired into three meta-categories: feelings (positive and ambivalent); relationships (love and pro-sociality); and development (character and spirituality). Finally, selective coding saw Lomas identify a 'core' category of wellbeing. Following this initial paper, the lexicography has since expanded to over 1,800 words, partly through crowd-sourced contributions to a website created to host the project (www.drtimlomas.com/lexicography), and partly through ongoing searches by Lomas. In adding a word, the same checking procedures were followed as in the initial paper. Moreover, once words and their definitions had been added, they were accessible on the website for public inspection and feedback, providing a further credibility check. Indeed, some definitions were refined as a result of feedback; although most existing definitions were generally accurate, there was still often scope for making them yet *more* accurate (e.g., adding additional nuances, clauses, or uses which were not present in the original definition). This subsequent phase of data collection was not systematic (not even in the 'quasi' sense of the original paper). Indeed, some 7,000 languages exist worldwide, and it is unlikely that one research project could study them all and retrieve their relevant words. However, despite the lexicography being a work-in-progress, one may still usefully analyze its existing words and emergent themes, even if such analyses are incomplete and subject to revision.

Indeed, with the new words, the thematic structure in the original paper has been updated. The six categories initially identified are still present, and moreover have been enriched by the additional words, with analyses published on each: positive feelings (Lomas, 2017a), ambivalent feelings (Lomas, 2017b), love (Lomas, 2018b), prosociality (Lomas, 2021a), character (Lomas, 2019c), and spirituality (Lomas, 2019a), plus a theoretical paper on the project itself (Lomas, 2018a). However, six new categories have also been identified, as summarized in a more recent overview (Lomas, 2021b). The meta-category of feelings (renamed with the more expansive label of 'qualia') now also includes vitality and cognition, development now also includes understanding and skills, and relationships now also includes aesthetics (Lomas, 2022b) and eco-



connection (Lomas, 2019b). Vitality is of course the focus of the present paper, and comprises 223 words at present. That is, across all words in the lexicography, there are currently 223 which Lomas grouped into themes that can be understood through the overarching concept of vitality (i.e., all these themes pertain to this topic in some way). Thus, this paper is the result of an expanded analysis using the GT variation developed in Lomas' (2016) original paper. Taking the expanded lexicography as a whole (i.e., over 1,800 words), these were collectively explored by Lomas using open then axial coding, with words and their definitions grouped into emergent themes and eventually categories. One such category is vitality, the structure of which is articulated next. Having identified the category and elucidated its thematic structure, the other present authors helped refine its analysis and interpretation; this did not involve altering the thematic structure per se, but rather drawing out nuances and details in the analysis and presentation.

3. Results and discussion

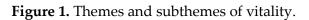
Overall, three main themes emerged: spirit; energy; and heart. These were the aggregated product of grouping together 12 subthemes found in the data, as shown in Figure 1 (below) and listed in the Appendix (at the end of the article). (Alternatively, one could view/label this arrangement as 12 themes aggregated into three meta-themes.) In the Appendix we have just listed words under the most relevant theme, rather than a specific subtheme, as the latter would imply that a given word can be neatly encapsulated by a specific subtheme. Indeed, many concepts are complex and hard-to-categorize, and so cannot be encompassed even within one broader theme. As such, even though we introduce the various concepts within the context of specific themes and subthemes, they should not be regarded as only belonging or pertaining to that particular subtheme or even theme.

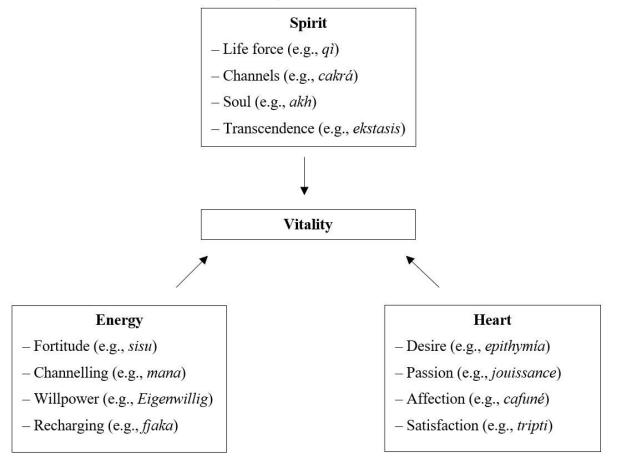
3.1 Spirit

Our first theme covers arguably the oldest and most enduring conception of vitality: a 'spirit' animating living beings. Right away this theme emphasizes the point that vitality cannot be neatly pigeonholed within conventional ontological categories, since in this theme notions of physicality and spirituality are thoroughly intertwined. Indeed, describing a phenomenon like vitality as 'physical' begs the question of what terms like physical—and related concepts like matter and substance-actually mean ontologically, which is not at all clear. Some religious traditions have perspectives where matter itself is inherently spiritual (Albanese, 1999). Somewhat similarly, certain idealistically oriented schools of thought in contemporary scholarship-including fields such as physics-suggest that matter is somehow bound up with consciousness, as reflected in notions such as panpsychism (Chalmers, 2015; Lomas, 2022a). Thus, this first theme brings us into complex territory historically explored by religious and philosophical traditions. Many of the very earliest traditions embraced forms of animism, a term derived from the Latin anima (soul, breath, or life) to reflect the belief that all natural phenomena possess a unique spirit or soul (Peoples et al., 2016). Gradually such belief systems gave way in many cultures to polytheism and then monotheism-though they continue in places, and this narrative of a general movement away from animism may possibly be an account that is particularly prominent in WEIRD cultures (Haber, 2009). From the viewpoint of a world that is increasingly 'disenchanted' (Weber, 1958)—denuded of supernatural agency and significance notions of spirit or soul are sometimes given less prominence. Nevertheless, despite these changes, most cultures have retained the notion that humans at least have some kind of



animating spirit. Indeed, even modern scientific notions of consciousness can be viewed in this light (Gare, 2019). A wealth of terms flesh out these ideas, falling into four linked subthemes: life force; channels; soul; and transcendence.





The first subtheme, life force, could equally be labelled 'breath,' since these notions are intertwined in many cultures, with numerous words having this double meaning. 'Spirit' itself derives from the Latin spiritus ('breath'), while similarly psykhe—the Greek root of psychology connotes breath, life, and spirit. Indeed, even with modern Western scientific understanding of the mechanics of respiration – which focuses on the mechanical flow of air, the atmosphere, and then its chemical processing into other processes—the idea of a 'life force' seems more than mere metaphor (since of all physiological processes, breathing is arguably most associated with life itself). This link is evoked poetically in the Bible, for instance, in Genesis 2:7: "The Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life." These ideas echo across languages in terms sometimes rendered in English as a 'life force' (Allamani et al., 2013). Two of the most influential are qì (Chinese) and prāṇā (Sanskrit), which are central to complex and moreover enduring systems of thought and practice. In Chinese medicine and philosophy, $q\hat{i}$ is a suprapersonal animating force or energy that flows through people (Kong et al., 2007). It is not *limited* to people though (unlike the breath), as reflected in compound terms like qì chang, which describes a field operating between or around people. Moreover, techniques have been devised to harness qì. For instance, qì gong ('qì work') focuses on the body's dan tián ('energy centres'), believed to be significant routing points in currents of qi (Liu et al., 1990). Similarly, martial arts like *aikido*—the 'way of qi,' with *ki* the Japanese cognate of qi—are based



on mastery of qi (Ohnishi & Ohnishi, 2009). In a more therapeutic vein, methods like acupuncture and *reiki* aim to 'direct' the flow of qi in ways beneficial to health (VanderVaart et al., 2009). Similar (though not identical) dynamics and practices have been developed in relation to $pr\bar{a}n\bar{a}$, as elucidated next.

The second subtheme then offers granular consideration of the 'channels' through which such forces flow. Hinduism and Buddhism, for instance, have extensive teachings around the idea of multiple cakrá (borrowed as 'chakra'). Literally meaning wheel or circle, these are energy points or centres in the body that channel *prāna*. Their number and locations vary among traditions, but typically there are envisaged between four and seven, arranged along the spinal column from the seat to the crown of the head (Johari, 2000). The notion is situated within a wider framework of belief about existence. This includes, for example, the idea that human life exists simultaneously in at least three dimensions, with people having three bodies that interact in complex ways: a physical body (sthūlaśārira) made of matter; a non-physical 'subtle' body (sūksmasarīra) made of energy, connected via the chakras; and ultimately a 'causal' body (kāraņaśārira), the highest or innermost body, envisioned as if a 'seed' of energy that gives rise to the other two. (The latter has potential echoes with other notions such as Meister Eckhart's "power in the soul" which "is not any particular state of self-consciousness, such as analytical thought, or emotional feeling, or sense awareness. It is rather what enables us to have such forms of self-consciousness" (Tastard, 1989, p.41).) Indeed, some Eastern traditions describe up to 10 dimensions of human existence. Intriguingly, a 10-dimensional description is also found in the Bible, characterized on a first reading as the hierarchies of the Holy Spirit (seraphim, cherubim, thrones, kyriotetes, dynamis, exusiai, archai, archangeloi, angeloi). On this view, humans can be envisioned as the 10th dimensional expression of the 'IAM love' (Leitch, 2007), with IAM ("I Am") being the English rendering of the Koine Greek Ego eimi (which is a copulative verb used by Jesus on several occasions in the Gospels, often interpreted as a self-declaration of his divinity) (El-Desouky, 2007). In any case, however many dimensions are identified, techniques have been developed, particularly in esoteric traditions such as *Tantra*, whereby people engage with the chakras via exercises like advanced meditation (Frawley, 2009). Comparable ideas are found in other Eastern cultures, like the nexus of practices-from martial arts to acupuncture-centred around q. This is thought to flow through precisely mapped *jingmai* ('meridian channels') which are not isomorphic with the chakra system-to influence health in complex ways, with activities like acupuncture then purporting to influence the flow of qi to improve such health (Kong et al., 2007).

Closely related to notions of life force are ideas around what in English is called soul. Although soul and spirit are sometimes used interchangeably, there are subtle differences that may actually be substantial. Consider Genesis 2:7, where once 'man' received the spirit (or "breath of life") from God, he "became a living soul." This phrasing might be interpreted by some to suggest that spirit and soul are distinct phenomena, perhaps also allowing for the possibility for instance that the latter can exist outside the living body. Such resonances are reflected in the term's roots, deriving from the Proto-Germanic *saiwala*, meaning 'of the sea,' reflecting a belief in some European mythologies that an essence of personhood dwelt in the sea prior to birth and after death (Ottosson, 2013). Of course, we are moving into metaphysical terrain here that is beyond the boundaries of conventional science, even if such topics can yet be the focus of genuine empirical enquiry (Radin, 2009). In any case, most cultures have developed beliefs around the soul which are meaningful in analyzing experiences and understanding of vitality (whatever their ultimate ontological standing), with some developing particularly rich lexica. The ancient Egyptians had a complex theory of the soul, for instance, comprising three main elements: *ka*, *ba*,



and *akh* (Finnestad, 1986). *Ka* was akin to the spirit, the animating principle vivifying a living body (which, echoing Genesis, was thought to be breathed into beings by the goddess *Meskhenet*), while *ba* represented that being's unique personality or character, and *akh* was the enduring soul (to be reanimated in the afterlife when *ka* and *ba* reunited). This tripartite soul was further augmented by various aspects of personhood, including *ib* (the 'emotional centre'), *ren* (the unique name, believed to have magical properties needed for life, and which could continue after death if invoked by living people), and *sheut* (their 'shadow,' a companion of the soul).

The final subtheme is self-transcendence, a complex construct given the many disparate theories of what the 'self' is, and hence what it means to transcend it (Levenson et al., 2005). Nevertheless, terms here generally allude to going beyond narrow, conventional experiences of the self, and attaining a more expansive state of selfhood, one often interpreted through a spiritual lens. A notable example is two Greek words which became loanwords in English-and since underwent significant shifts in meaning—namely ecstasy and euphoria, borrowed around the 14th and 18th centuries respectively. In its original context, ecstasy connoted a person standing outside herself in some way, from being astonished or entranced to being insane or spiritually possessed (Michaelsen, 1989). It entered English mainly in reference to an exalted rapture or mystical union that could arise from contemplation of the divine (McGinn, 1987). Later it came to denote intense pleasure uncoupled from spiritual concerns, with pejorative connotations in some contexts as potentially too intense, artificial, and/or inappropriate (Wilmot, 1985). Euphoria has shifted meanings too; combining $e\hat{u}$ ('good') and *phérein* ('to bear or carry'), it initially usually referred to physical health, though could also be deployed in a moral or developmental sense (e.g., Aristotle sometimes presented it as the outcome of a virtuous life) (Raftari, 2015). Entering English it was mainly used in a medical context, denoting a condition of feeling well and comfortable (Bühler, 2005). Now however it occupies similar experiential territory to ecstasy, with both depicting forms of self-transcendence that are highly positively charged (in terms of affect) and usually valorised.

3.2 Energy

The second theme is energy, with this a primary constituent of vitality, as discussed above. Importantly though, energy is not monolithic, despite sometimes being presented as such in the literature; the words here reveal meaningful granularity, illustrating the value of this cross-cultural lexical approach. There are four interlinked subthemes: fortitude; channeling; willpower; and recharging. In many ways, these can be understood through the concept of power, with energy respectively: (a) powering up a person (like a charged battery); (b) endowing a person with power (being able to wield it); (c) being something a person can manage (or fail) to have power over; and (d) needing re-charging.

The first theme, fortitude, pertains to people tapping into an energy source. Here we find terms encompassing qualities like enthusiasm, spiritedness, courage, strength, and resilience. Nordic languages are especially rich in these, particularly in what Flint (1980) calls sufficiency verbs—having enough of a given quality—which are rarer in other languages. Flint lists 45 for Finnish, for instance, including most relevantly here *jaksaa*, meaning 'to have enough strength/energy.' The Swedish equivalent, *orka*, not only reflects sufficiency of energy, but also of will (so therefore intersects with the second theme below), and moreover also embeds a sense of ability, in that skill is also involved (Johansson and Nordrum, 2018). There are also important nouns like *sisu*, which Lahti (2019, p.61) analyses as a quality of "embodied fortitude … enigmatic power … latent energy … [and] a visceral and somatic dimension of human endurance" evoked in particular by extreme adversity and challenge. In that respect, over the 19th and 20th centuries



it has become central to Finnish culture and identity, valorised as a vital quality that has enabled the country to survive and prosper through historical adversity. That said, Lahti also presents it as a universal potential, and encourages psychology to enrich its conceptual schemas by incorporating the concept (which indeed is the aim of Lomas' lexicography).

The second subtheme, channeling, is more about people 'wielding' energy/power. The label reflects the way many concepts depict the power as existing or originating outside the person; and in that respect, they often have a spiritual dimension. These have been interpreted in numerous ways—as has spirituality itself—so we can only briefly note their complexities here. A good example is *mana*, described by Blust (2007) as "the single most salient and often-discussed feature of the traditional religious systems of Pacific peoples" (p.404). It was brought to anthropological attention by Codrington (1891), who suggested "The Melanesian mind is entirely possessed by the belief in a supernatural power or influence . . . [which] though itself impersonal, is always connected with some person who directs it" (p.118). Over subsequent years, its interpretation has been much debated. Blust for example notes it is etymologically cognate with 'wind' and 'thunder,' so may not refer to a "detachable spiritual or supernatural power" that humans could possess, but rather to forces of nature that were interpreted as "expressions of an unseen supernatural agency." However, over time the notion became "detached" from these natural forces and "assumed a life of its own" as a power that people could indeed wield. For example, "discourse about mana has flourished" in fields like politics, such as explaining or justifying political power (Tomlinson & Kāwika Tengan, 2016). Similar dynamics and complexities-though also specific cultural differences-are found across cultures, such as the Sanskrit concept of *śakti* in Hinduism and other traditions (Larson, 1974), the Chinese principle of t'ài jí (Tai chi) (Galante, 1981), the Mongolian idea of hiimor (Charlier, 2012), baraka in Islam (Pinto, 2008), and the Creole notion of mojo (Roberts, 2015).

The third subtheme encompasses interrelated qualities pertaining to willpower, including: (a) agency/freedom; (b) individuality/self-assertion; and (c) persistence/durability. These qualities were not necessarily absent from terms above, but were more implicit. First, some terms emphasize agentic freedom, such as Eigenwillig (German), meaning 'own willed.' This has parallels with the English 'willful,' implying not only acting upon one's own will, but being particularly determined to do so, to the point of obstinance (Cross & Markus, 1990). Conversely, some terms imply absence of willfulness, though their valence and merit vary. Held in more disparaging terms are notions like akrásia (Greek), describing weakness of will or lack of selfcontrol, which thinkers like Aristotle held responsible for deficits in character and virtue (Destrée, 2007). By contrast, notions like the Greek ataraxia (McRae, 2018), or the German Nichtwollen and Gelassenheit (Dalle Pezze, 2006), are valorized as forms of 'non-willing' or 'self-surrender' associated with valued outcomes like tranquility. Then, overlapping with willful agency are terms emphasizing individuality, 'going one's own way,' even to the point of disregarding social conventions and niceties. A well-known example is the Yiddish loanword *chutzpah*, conveying nerve, effrontery, and guts, but also insolence, cheek, and audacity (Wex, 2007). Similarly, the German keck-cognate to 'quick' in English-implies being spirited, bold, sassy, and cocky. Finally, this theme has elements of persistence and endurance. Three distinct Greek terms are used in the Old Testament, for instance, to convey nuances in the forbearance of Job: hypomonē (constancy and endurance); kartería (stubbornness and toughness); and makrothumeó (gentle patience) (Zodhiates, 1992).

The fourth subtheme is a functional counterweight to the first three, describing processes of recharging energy. Words here are not simply about lacking energy (e.g., exhaustion or apathy), which falls outside the realm of vitality. Rather, they focus on it being replenished. There are two



main dynamics here, which can be viewed through a vertical metaphor: (a) on the 'way down' are feelings of relaxation or pleasant tiredness from energy having been expended; then (b) on the 'way up' are sensations of it having been replenished. With (a), terms do not merely imply tiredness—which is generally negative, or at best neutral—but include positive connotations. Consider, for instance, the feeling of well-earned rest after a productive day, settling into a comfortable chair with all energy expended and no thoughts of tasks undone (a state which has been described as illustrating the ideal of mindfulness). An example is *fjaka* (Croatian), which refers to sleepiness or drowsiness (and sometimes, more pejoratively, laziness), but also a positively valenced relaxation of body and mind (Oroz, 2020). Many terms then allude to this peaceful, restful state itself (i.e., without also implying tiredness), like the Greek *eiréné* (Highum & Sorensen, 2016). Then, on the 'way up,' terms speak to energy having *been* successfully recharged, such as Swedish *daggfrisk* ('dew fresh') and Danish *morgenfrisk* ('morning fresh'), denoting the kind of pure, clean, rejuvenated feeling one experiences after a good night's sleep.

3.3 Heart

Finally, the third theme, heart, introduces an emotional tone to the picture, bringing to the fore vitality's affective dynamics. The label is somewhat misleading though, since in English it is often juxtaposed with 'mind,' as if distinct from—even in opposition to—cognitive processes. However, scholars increasingly acknowledge that heart (e.g., emotion) and mind (e.g., intellect) are intimately intertwined, working together to regulate human functioning (Damasio, 2006). In that respect, other languages make less rigid distinctions between heart and mind, with terms that encompass both, such as *citta* (Sanskrit) and $x\bar{n}n$ (Chinese). Along such lines, words here not only pertain to emotion per se, but other embodied psychological processes and qualities that intertwine with affect, from interest to passion. There are four interrelated subthemes: desire; passion; affection; and satisfaction. All involve people seeking or being *united* in some way with someone or something other than themselves. However, these dynamics take different forms, both vis-à-vis the 'other' (e.g., people, objects, experiences, etc.), and the nature of the union (e.g., romantic/sexual, caring, aesthetic, satiation, etc.).

The first subtheme, desire, reflects the state of *not* being united, and thus the drive or motivation to be so. Many words in this arena speak to romantic/sexual desire in particular. Classical Greece, for instance, features the term *epithymía*. This differs from *érōs*, which in being borrowed in English tends to assume romantic/sexual connotations. However, some philosophers, like *Plato, evoked éros in the context* of aesthetic appreciation or spiritual connection rather than romantic or sensual love, thus theologians like Tillich (1963) interpret it as a 'higher' form of love, imbued with truth, beauty and goodness. By contrast, epithymía signifies more primal urgings: it derives from *thymós*—often rendered as 'spiritedness'—which in turn came from the Indo-European root *dhu*, a term that evokes "the swirling of air in a vortex," and so implies the tumult of "uncontrollable desire" (Ravasi, 2016, p.165). Other words further trace the contours of such desire. In Yagán, for instance, the lexically 'dense' mamihlapinatapai means "looking at each other hoping that either will offer to do something which both parties desire but are unwilling to do" (Taylor, 2012, p.1629). Not all desire is sexual of course. A wealth of terms pertain to longing, an inherently ambivalent feeling-"a blend of the primary emotions of happiness and sadness" (Holm et al., 2002, p.608), and "an emotional state suffused with a melancholic sweetness" (Feldman, 2001, p.51)-which applies to anything. With respect to places, say, we find terms which not only express generic yearning for one's homeland, but are connected to specific locales, including *hiraeth* in Welsh (Williams, 2013), and *saudade* in Portuguese (Feldman, 2001). There are also words for more generalized longing, such as *Sehnsucht* (German), which Scheibe et al. (2007)



roughly translate as "life-longings" and describe as "a constructive sense of the highs and lows, the gains and losses of life" (p.779). Further nuance is provided by Spanish, which has two subtly different words pertaining to yearning: *añorar* (from the Greek *gnosis*, i.e., 'to know,' and means 'to not know') and *anhelar* (from the Latin for 'not breathing').

The second subtheme, passion, takes us into the complex experiential territory where desire is potentially becoming satisfied, but is not yet fully or finally so. Consider sexual passion. Its ambiguous dynamics have been explored by the likes of Lacan (2006), who analysed jouissancewhich can refer to generic pleasure or delight, but specifically also orgasm or sexual ecstasy – from a psychodynamic perspective. In the act of *coitus*—a Latin term which literally means meeting or uniting together, but also attraction, magnetic force, and sexual union-sexual desire is both satisfied (in that one is engaged with the focus of one's desire), yet also unsatisfied (until the point of sexual climax). Thus, passion appears inherently ambivalent, with this nuanced complexity also reflected in terms like *frisson*, for a sudden feeling of thrill, combining fear and excitement, featuring embodied phenomena associated with awe, such as goosebumps and shivers down the spine (Huron & Margulis, 2010). Indeed, consider the etymology of passion itself, which derives from the Latin pati, meaning to suffer or endure. In that respect, we find terms encapsulating the intertwining of joy and suffering, light and dark, that passion can involve. Duende for instance broadly denotes a heightened state of passion, particularly in response to art, epitomised by flamenco (Miller, 2012). It derives from a mythical, elf-like creature in Spanish folklore, alluding to the capricious, other-worldly experiential state it symbolises. Used in an artistic context, duende can reflect openness to the highs and lows of life. Nick Cave (1999), for instance, argues that all genuine love songs "must contain duende": "The writer who refuses to explore the darker regions of the heart will never be able to write convincingly about the wonder, the magic and the joy of love." Such passion may further be communicated to others. *Hwyl* (Welsh), for example, connotes a stirring heartfelt state which may be moreover conveyed interpersonally, such as in a passionate rhetorical performance by a preacher (Williams, 2013).

The third subtheme, affection, is in somewhat similar experiential territory to passion, but is milder and gentler. It shares conceptual kinship in also constituting an experience of desire in the process of being satisfied. But the desire in question is more about showing care and kindness, rather than sexual or sensual yearnings. It also differs in tending to be further along the dissatisfaction-satisfaction continuum than passion. The latter is more ambivalent, as outlined above, in being more about seeking and building towards a climax (e.g., orgasm), so has an inherent lack or incompleteness. By contrast, in giving or receiving affection, the act itself is more the goal; that said, there may still be elements of non-satiation in people failing to express this as fully or as extensively as they wish. Affection can be expressed in many ways: physically, verbally, even symbolically. Most relevant to vitality though – given its physical emphasis – are its embodied manifestations, i.e., behaviours that allow people's bodies to become united in various ways. In that respect, granularity is offered by words analysed here. Cafuné (Portuguese), for instance, describes the gesture of tenderly running fingers through a loved one's hair. Subtly different is viskat, which pertains more to playing with their hair. Or consider the vivid sense of embodied affection, and nuanced distinctions, provided by uňuhňat (Czech) and gemas (Indonesian), which respectively describe wanting to affectionately smother/crush someone by cuddling, and pinching/squeezing them because they are so cute and/or loved. On a more spiritual note, Spanish borrows apapacho from the Náhuatl for caressing or hugging 'with the soul.'

The final subtheme, satisfaction, pertains to desires being successfully met or satiated, and is the culmination or realization of the other subthemes. Satisfaction is of course complex and



multifaceted in itself, and permits various kinds of granular differentiation. One could focus, for instance, on temporal moments in its psychodynamic arc, and also relatedly on degrees of arousal. In that respect, although there are exceptions, as a general pattern the initial attainment of a goal constitutes a rush or peak of positive affect. From there, the peak may subside, leaving a pleasant 'afterglow' residue that fades gradually. Mapping out this arc, at the peak are constructs like *jouissance*, or *onda* (Spanish), which literally means wave and denotes experiences of being swept up by joy or excitement. These peaks may be euphoric, but perhaps for that very reason are unsustainable for long. As such, they give way to states that are less highly charged but more durable, with a sense of 'resting' in a state of satisfied contentment, as captured by *guò yin* (Chinese) or *tripti* (Sanskrit). In turn, these states too may dissipate, leaving in their wake yet more subdued, relaxed, calm forms of satiation. A vivid embodied example is provided by *uitbuiken* (Dutch), which literally means 'outbellying,' and describes the state of resting satiated after a full meal. Or more poetically, *tarruru* (Ngarluma) means 'evening glow' and depicts a tranquil peace of mind.

4. Conclusion

This paper has sought to enhance our granular understanding of vitality. Since it is not easily pigeonholed within the main ontological categories dominant in Western cultures (such as mind versus body), given the Western-centric nature of fields such as psychology, vitality has not received the academic attention it merits. Vitality has also not generally been understood as having multiple dimensions – including spirit, energy, and heart in our analysis here – with most scholarship tending to focus on or emphasize its physical aspects, such as energy. A broader conceptualization of this construct would thus permit more nuanced and theoretically rich investigations in this area. We therefore explored the concept by learning from cultures that have cultivated more robust understandings of it, specifically by engaging with their untranslatable words, allowing us to develop a more nuanced and comprehensive reading of this concept, including an incorporation of perceived supra-personal experiences. As part of an ongoing lexicographic project to identify untranslatable words relating to wellbeing, 223 relevant terms were located and grouped into three main themes, each with four subthemes: spirit (life force, channels, soul, and transcendence); energy (fortitude, channeling, willpower, and recharging); and heart (desire, passion, affection, and satisfaction). This emergent framework will hopefully be a useful contribution to better understanding vitality. Vitality, as we understand it, is partly reflected in existing social science definitions ("a positive feeling of aliveness and energy"). But we offer a broader definition of vitality, integrating the three themes identified through our crosscultural research, and incorporating the way they promote the specific subthemes (which have sometimes been reconfigured/renamed as more appropriate nouns). Thus, vitality is: *perceptions* and experiences of spirit, energy, and/or heart that infuse and uplift a person's being in ways that promote desired qualities or states such as spiritedness, embodied connectedness, soulfulness, transcendence, fortitude, powerfulness, willpower, recuperation, desire, passion, affection, and satisfaction. Note though that such perceptions need not always be positively valenced in terms of conventional emotions; as we have discussed, some experiences of desire involve sadness, others an integration of lifelongings that include gains and losses.

That said, our exploratory work has not produced a fully-fledged theory, which is beyond the remit of the analysis here. For a start, the lexical search undertaken remains partial and a work-in progress, given the lexicography currently only features around 150 languages, out of some 7,000 worldwide. There are thus many relevant terms likely missing from the analysis and the lexicography as it stands. As such, the analysis is just an imperfect snapshot of the current



lexicography with respect to vitality, one that is partial and subject to revision. Further research is needed, both to develop the lexicography generally, and to refine this analysis of vitality specifically. The presentation has other limitations too besides some cultures and languages not yet being included in the analysis. The elucidation of terms for instance has been restricted by attempting an overarching comparative analysis within the constraints of a brief article. Translation is always a problematic exercise, so one cannot arrive at definitions that would satisfy all speakers of the donor language, given that there are generally numerous ways of interpreting a given word. However, even with its limitations, the analysis is still useful in providing a vocabulary to better understand and articulate this important dimension of human experience.

Conflict of interest statement

The authors report no conflicts of interest.

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Appendices

Appendix A. Words relating to vitality in lexicography.

Spirit (*n* = 66)

Ah-un (阿吽). Japanese / n. / a:. ən / ah-un. a transliteration of Aum (必), the sacred Sanskrit syllable; the beginning and ending of something; unspoken communication between close friends.

Aloha. Hawaiian / int. / æ'ləu.hæ / ah-*loh*-ha. Lit. the 'breath of presence'; hello and goodbye, with love and compassion; cognate with the Māori term Aroha.

Anātman/ anattā (अनात्मन्). Sanskrit/Pāli / n. / 'an'a:tmən / an-at-mn. Insubstantiality, lack of permanent self/soul.

Anima. Latin / n. / 'a.ni.ma / *ah*-nih-mah. Soul; spirit; breath; mind.

Āsana (आरान). Sanskrit/Pāli / n. / ʌːsə.nə / uh-suh-nuh. Lit. seat / sitting position; postures adopted/undertaken in Yoga.

Ataraxia (ἀταραξία). Greek / n. / ætəˈıæk.siə / atta-*rak*-sia. Robust and lucid tranquillity; peace of mind; calmness.

Ātman/attā (आत्मन्). Sanskrit/Pāli / n. / 'ɑ:tmcn / at-mn. Soul, breath, spirit.

Ayawaska. Quechua / n. / ˌaɪ(j)əˈwæ.skə / ay-uh-wask-uh. 'Soul vine'; an entheogenic brew made out of Banisteriopsis caapi vine and other ingredients ; used as a traditional spiritual medicine in ceremonies among the indigenous peoples of the Amazon basin (known by a number of different names, and Hispanicized as Ayahuasca).

Baraka (بركة). Arabic / n. / 'bʌ.rʌ.kʌ / buh-ruh-kuh. Spiritual energy; 'sanctifying power'.

Cakrá/cakka (चक्र). Sanskrit/Pāli / n. / ʧʌk.rʌ / chuk-ruh / aka chakra (English). Lit. wheel, circle, disc; energy points in the body, identified and harnessed by various spiritual traditions.

Daímōn (δαίμονας). Greek / n. / 'ðɛ.mɔ.nas / *dthe*-moh-nas. A divine power that drives/guides human actions; a manifestation or channelling of divine power.

Daggfrisk. Swedish / n., adj. / dæ:g.frisk / daag-frisk. Lit. 'dew fresh'; the kind of pure, clean feeling one might have from waking refreshed in the early morning at sunrise.

Damīr (ضمير). Arabic / n. / dæ.mɪə / dah-meer. Conscience; inner self; heart; soul.

Dān tián (丹田). Chinese / n. / dæn.tiːɛn / dan tee-en. Lit. energy centre; places in the body that are believed to be significant in the flow of qi; focal points for meditative exercises.

Duša (душа). Russian / n. / duˈs̪a / doo-shah. Soul, spirit, heart.

Ego eimi ($\dot{\epsilon}\gamma\dot{\omega}\epsilon\dot{\iota}\mu\iota$). Greek / v./ egš: e:mí: / eh-go-ee-mih. I am; I exist; used with particular significance in the Gospels, often interpreted as a self-declaration by Jesus of his divinity

Élan. French / *n*. / eiˈlɒ̃ / ay-loh. Lit. spring, bound, dart; spirit, enthusiasm; style, grace; flash, panache.

Fā qì (发氣). Chinese / v. / fæ tɕʰiː / fah chee. Projecting qi to the exterior/outside of the body; can also mean expressing anger.

Fēng shuǐ (風水). Chinese / n. / fýŋ şwèi / fung shoo-ay. Lit. 'wind-water'; a philosophy of space and spatial arrangements (e.g., in relation to the flow of qì).

Genki (元気). Japanese / adj., n. / 'gɛŋ.ki: / *geng*-kee. Lit. the origin (gen) of ki (energy or 'life force'); being healthy, energetic, and full of life.

Hiimor (Хийморь). Mongolian / n. / hi:mo: / hee-moor. Wind-horse (or air-horse); a magical creature that carries prayers from earth to heaven (with the speed of the wind and the strength of the horse); a person's spiritual or psychological energy or power.



Ib. Egyptian / n. / ıb / ib. Heart (physical and metaphysical); the seat of emotion, thought, will and intention; one of five parts of the soul in Egyptian thought.

Iwi. Raramuri ra'icha / n. / 1.wiː / ih-we. The soul or essence of all life.

Iwigara. Raramuri ra'icha / n. / I.wi:gɑ:rə / ih-we-har-ruh. 'Shared breath'; total interconnectedness and integration of all life, physical and spiritual.

Ka (k^{3}). Egyptian / n. / kæ / kah. Vital essence; that which separates a living being from a dead one; one of five parts of the soul in Egyptian thought.

Kapālabhāti (कपालभाति). Sanskrit / n. / kæ.pa:læ.ba:t: / ka-par-la-bar-tee. 'Skull illuminating'; a yogic purification practice (e.g., for clearing the sinuses), involving short and strong forceful exhalations.

Kāraṇaśārira (कारणशारिर). Sanskrit / n. / ka:ran.ja.sa.ri:rə / kar-an-ya-sah-ree-ru. The 'causal' body, representing one of the three types of the body (śārira) in Hinduism, alongside sthūlaśārira (the physical body) and sūkṣmaśarīra (the subtle body). The causal body can be interpreted as the highest or innermost body that veils the atman ('true Self') and contains the root or seed potential for sensory experience.

Kuṇḍalinī (कुण्डलिनी). Sanskrit / n. / kən.dʌ.liːniː / kun-duh-lee-nee. Lit. the 'coiled one'; a source of form of subtle or primal energy, thought to be located at the base of the spine, that can be 'awakened' through meditative practices.

Manna (מָן). Hebrew / n. / mæ.næ / mah-nah. Edible food that sustained Israelites in the wilderness; spiritual food.

Megalopsychia (μεγαλοψυχία). Greek / n. / mεg.ə.ləʊˈsʌi.kiə / meh-gah-lo-*sye*-kia. Greatness of soul; magnanimity.

Misogi (禊). Japanese / n. / mɪ.səʊ.ji: / mih-soh-yee. A practice of ritual purification found in Shinto, involving washing the whole body, often in cold natural water.

Nāḍī (नाडी). Sanskrit / n. / næ.di: / na-dee. 'Tube', 'pipe'; the channels through which energy currents flow (in traditional Indian medicine and spiritual teachings).

Numen. Latin / n. / 'nu:men / noo-men. Divine power, force, presence, will.

Pneúma (πνεῦμα). Greek / n. / pnéu.ma / pnyoo-mah. Wind; breath; spirit.

Pneumatikós (πνευματικῶς). Greek / adj. / pnε β .ma.ti'kos / pnev-mah-tee-*kose*. Spiritual; pertaining to the spirit; being with/of the spirit of God.

Prāṇa (प्राण). Sanskrit/Pāli / n. / prɑːnɑː / prah-nah. Air, breath; spirit; 'life force/energy'.

Prāṇayāma (प्राणायाम). Sanskrit / n. / prɑːnɑːjːnʌ / prah-nah-yah-muh. Control, regulation of the breath (or energy or 'life force').

Psykhe ($\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$). *Greek / n. / psi*:k^hč / psee-keh. Mind; breath; life; spirit; soul.

Qarīn (نوين). Arabic / n. / kaːrın / kar-in. 'Constant companion'; a spiritual double of human, either part of the human himself or a complementary creature in a parallel dimension.

Qì (氣). Chinese / n. / tcʰiː / chee. Lit. air, breath; 'life force/energy'.

Qì chang (氣場). Chinese / n. / tɕʰiː ʧæŋ / chee chang. Energy field (e.g., between or surrounding multiple people).

Qì gōng (氣功). Chinese / n. / tc^hi: goŋ / chee-gong. Lit. 'qì/breath work'; a practice of developing mastery over body and mind; cultivating qi as a way to improve health, and as a way of self-defence.

Reiki (霊気). Japanese / n. / le;ki: / ray-kee. Lit. soul, spirit, miraculous, divine (rei) life-force (ki, *aka* qì); a system of alternative medicine usually credited to Mikao Usui (circa 1922) involving the 'laying' of hands on the body (to direct the flow of ki).

Ren (rn). Egyptian / n. / rən / rn. Name (given at birth); person believed to live as long as that name was spoken; one of five parts of the soul in Egyptian thought.



Rlung (\mathfrak{F}). Tibetan / n. / rə.lʌŋ / r-lung. Wind, breath; has a variety of meanings in the Vajrayana traditions of Tibetan Buddhism, including as a subtle flow of energy (out of the five elements, most closely connected with air).

Śakti/satti (शक्ति). Sanskrit/Pali / n. / fək.ti: / shuk-tee / aka shakti, sakthi. Lit. power or empowerment (to be able to, have the power to); primordial cosmic energy, identified and harnessed by various spiritual traditions.

Sattva (सत्व). Sanskrit / n. / 'sʌt.vʌ / sut-vuh. Goodness, purity, balance, wholeness; one of three qualities of nature in Vedanta; can also refer (e.g., in Buddhism) to a sentient being.

Sawol. English (old) / n. / 'sa:wol / *sah*-wol. Soul; immortal principle; possibly from the Proto-Germanic *saiwala* (potentially meaning 'of the sea').

Seelisch. German / adj. / zi:loʃ / zee-loosh. Pertaining to the soul; spiritual; mental, psychological.

Shaucha (शौच. Sanskrit / n. / sʰaʊ.fʃʌ / shao-chuh. Purity, cleanliness and clearness; purity of mind, speech and body; one of the five niyamas in Hinduism.

Sheut (δ wt). Egyptian / n. / \int w ϵ t / shwet. Shadow, silhouette; the ever-present shadow of death; one of five parts of the soul in Egyptian thought.

Shuâng (爽). Chinese / adj. / ʃuːʌŋ / shoo-ung. To feel well; bright; pleasurable; crisp; frank; invigorating; straight-forward.

Skandha(s)/ khanda(s) (रकन्ध). Sanskrit/Pāli / n. / 'skʌn.dʌs / *skun*-duss. Aggregate(s) / heap(s) / grouping(s); used to describe the groupings of five 'elements' that constitute the human being.

Smeddum. Scottish / n. / sm ϵ .d Λ m / smeh-dum. A fine powder; the strength or essence of a substance; spirit; energy.

Sthūlaśārira (स्थूल शरीर). Sanskrit / n. / sθu:la.sa.ri:rə / sthoo-la-sah-ree-ru. The 'physical' body, representing one of the three types of the body (śārira) in Hinduism, alongside sūkṣmaśarīra (the subtle body) and kāraṇaśārira (the causal body).

Sūkṣmaśarīra (सूक्ष्मशारीर). Sanskrit / n. / suːkʃ,ma:sa.ri:rə / sook-shma-sah-ree-ru. The 'subtle' body, representing one of the three types of the body (śārira) in Hinduism, alongside sthūlaśārira (the physical body) and kāraṇaśārira (the causal body). The subtle body can be interpreted as pertaining to the mind and mental existence.

Ta'ala (تعالى). Arabic / v. / tə'ɑːlə / tuh-ahlla. To transcend; to have divine superiority; to rise above; to tower above; to disdain; to be far above; also, to ask someone to come over.

Tài jí [Tai chi] (太極). Chinese / n. / tai tɕʰiː / ty-chee. Lit. supreme/ultimate force/energy; a form of martial art involving slow, deliberative movements.

Tao (道). Chinese / n. / tʰaʊ / t/d-ao. All-powerful and pervasive power, path or way; the unfolding dynamic process of reality itself.

Thumos/thymos ($\theta \upsilon \mu \dot{o} \varsigma$). Greek / n. / $\theta y' mos$ / thoo-*moss*. Spiritedness; carries connotations of flesh and blood; also refers to the human desire for recognition.

Trul khor ((*) a Vajrayana / n. / tru:l ko: / trool kor. 'Magic instrument', 'magic circle'; a Vajrayana discipline which includes breath control and body postures.

Üfürük. Turkish / n. / ə.fɜːrɜːk / uh-fur-ruk. Exhaled breath.

Vozdukh (Bo3dyx). Russian / n. / 'voz.dux / voorz-dukh. Lit. 'the stack of spirits'; air, breath; to take the spirit inside (when breathing in), to take the spirit outside (when breathing out).

Xíng qì (行氣). Chinese / v. / ciŋ tchi: / sing chee. Volitionally (e.g., mentally) circulating or directing qi.

Yoga (योग). *Sanskrit / v., n. / jəʊ.gʌ / yoh-guh. Lit.* to yoke / add / join / unite / attach (from root yuj); a psychophysical system of spiritual training and development.



Energy (*n* = 88)

Adumu. Maasai / n. / a.du:mu: / ah-doo-moo. 'Jumping dance'; a Maasai dance in which people form a circle, and two at a time enter the centre and jump competitively (with respect to height), without letting heels touch the ground.

Arabesque. French / n. / a.ʁa.bɛsk / ah-rah-besk. 'In Arabic fashion'; in dance (particularly ballet), a body position in which a dancer stands on one leg, with the other extended, straight, behind the body.

Að nenna. Icelandic / v. / aːð ˈnɛnːa / arth *nen*-nah. The capacity or state of being bothered to do something; the ability or willingness to persevere through tasks (especially that are hard or boring).

Aylyak (*aŭλ*яκ). Bulgarian / n. / aɪ.ljæk / ey-lyak. A carefree, relaxed lifestyle; the art of not rushing or worrying; living without hurry and concern.

Azart (aзарт). Russian / n. / æ'zɑ:rt / a-*zarr*t. Heat, excitement, ardour, fervour; to do something with gusto; may also be associated with recklessness and risk-taking.

Balikwas. Tagalog / n. / bæ.lık.wæs / bah-lik-wass. Suddenly rising or jumping to one's feet (e.g., due to surprise or fright); to turn suddenly to the other side.

Bodryi (бодрый). Russian / adj. / 'bo.drij / boor-dree. Cheerful; brisk; hale and hearty; awake; in good spirits, energetic.

Brabbag. Gaelic (Manx) / n. / bræ.væg / brah-vag. The act (and enjoyment) of warming the back of one's legs in front of the fire.

Buchaechum (부채춤). Korean / n. / bʊ.ʧeɪ.ʧʌm / buh-chay-chum. A traditional form of Korean dance involving the use of fans.

Budō (武道). Japanese / n. / buːdəʊ / boo-doh. Lit. the art or way of war; martial arts.

Chutzpah. Yiddish / n. / 'xots.pə / *khutz*-puh. From the Hebrew *hutspâ* (הַצְּפָה), meaning insolence, cheek, audacity. Nerve, effrontery, guts; sometimes used pejoratively.

Curglaff. Scottish / n. / k3:glæf / kur-glaff. The bracing, shocking and/or invigorating feeling of suddenly entering (e.g., diving into) cold water.

Dogeza (土下座). Japanese / n. / dəʊ.gi:zə / doh-gee-zuh. A kneeling bow; the deepest, most respectful and formal form of bowing in Japanese culture (among a range of forms).

Dōjō (道場). Japanese / n. / dəʊ.ʤəʊ / doh.joh. Lit. place of the way/path; a room/hall in which martial arts are practised.

Dou zhì (斗志). Chinese / n. / dəʊ t͡ʃəə / doh jrr. Fighting spirit; the will and motivation to fight; a battle of wits.

Eigenwijs. Dutch / adj. adv. / εἰɣə(n) ˈʋɛi̯s / ey-gn-viyz. 'Own-wise'; self-willed; stubborn, headstrong; refusing to conform to expectation or protocol; can imply a foolish but possibly admirable risk.

Eigenwillig. German / adj. / 'aign.vılıç / i-gn-vill-isch. To have a will of one's own; behaving and doing things in a manner that reflects one's own personality and idiosyncrasies.

Eiréné (εἰϱήνη). Greek / n. / ɪ'reɪ.neɪ / ih-ray-nay. Peace; wholeness, oneness; quiet, rest.

En pointe. French / n. / \tilde{a} pw $\tilde{\epsilon}t$ / ah pwah. Supporting one's body weight on the tips of the toes.

Enérgeia (ἐνέǫγεια). Greek / n. / eˈner.ɣi.a / eh-ner-ghee-yah. Activity, operation; workmanship; cosmic force, action; actuality (in Aristotelian philosophy).

Eshaku (会釈). Japanese / n. / ε f.æk.u: / esh-ah-koo. One form of bowing in Japanese culture (among a range of forms), involving bending of the upper body at around 15 degrees; fairly formal, used with people ones knows but are not familiar with.

Fjaka. Croatian / n. / fjâ.ka / fyah-kah. Relaxation of body and mind; sleepiness, drowsiness; the 'sweetness of doing nothing'.

Furitama (降り魂). Japanese / n. / fu.rɪ.tɑːmɑː / foo-ree-tah-mah. A Shinto practice of 'spirit shaking' in which people place their hands in front of their stomach and shake them vigorously up and down.



Gelassenheit. German / n. / gə'lasnhaıt / geh-*lah*-sen-hiyt. Self-surrender/abandonment; yielding to God's will; serenity, calmness.

Gōng hé (工合). Chinese / v. / gɒŋ. χ_3 : / gong-hur. Lit. work together; the basis for the anglicised term gung-ho.

Haka. Māori / n. / 'huːkə / ha-kuh. A ceremonial dance or challenge in Māori culture.

Hanyauku. Rukwangali / v. / hæ.æn.jp.kə / ha-ahn-yoh-kuu. To walk on toes across hot sand.

Hatha (ਓδ). Sanskrit / n., adj. / hʌ.θə / huh-thuh. Lit. force, effort, exertion; a branch of *yoga* focusing on the practice of *asanas* (postures) and *vinyasa* (dynamic transitions).

Hypomonē (ὑπομονή). Greek / n. / i.po.mo'ni / ee-poe-moe-nee. Constancy, endurance, 'standing firm'.

Hyppytyynytyydytys. Finnish / n. / hu:p.ə.t3:ni:t3:də.tıs / hoop-uh-tuer-nee-tuerd-uh-tiss. Bouncy cushion satisfaction; the relaxing feeling of sitting down in a comfortable chair.

Indlamu. Zulu / n. / indfa:mu / in-jla-mu. A traditional dance, characterised by the dancer lifting one foot over his/her head and bringing it down sharply, landing squarely on the downbeat.

Jaksaa. Finnish / v. / 'jak.sa: / yak-sah. To have energy, enthusiasm, and spirit (e.g., for a task).

 $J\bar{u}d\bar{o}$ (柔道). Japanese / n. / 战u:dəʊ / joo-doh. Lit. gentle way; a form of martial art, centred around grappling with one's opponent with the aim of pinning them to the floor.

Kæk. Danish / adj. / kɛk / kek. Spirited, bold, cheeky, cocky.

Kartería (Καρτεφία). Greek / n. / ka.tε 'r:: / ka-teh-ree-uh. Stubbornness; toughness.

Kia kaha. Māori / inj. / ki:ə 'ka:ha / kee-uh kar-ha. Be strong; stay strong; forever strong.

Keirei (敬礼). Japanese / n. / kei.rei / kay-ray. A very formal form of bowing in Japanese culture (among a range of forms), involving bending of the upper body at around 30 degrees.

Kizomba. Kimbundu / n. / kı.zɒm.bə / kih-zom-buh. 'Party'; a dance and musical style originating in Angola, characterised by a slow, romantic, sensuous rhythms.

Kwassa kwassa. English (new) / n. / kwæs.sæ kwæs.sæ / kwass-ah kwass-ah. A dance style from the DRC (where the hips move back and forth while the hands move to follow the hips); possibly derived from the French quoi ça? ("what is it?").

Kur. German / n. / kuːɐ̯ / coo-ur. 'Cure'; a prolonged period of recuperation at a health resort or spa.

Kwadi. Hunsrik / n. / kwa.di / kwah-dee. The laziness one feels after warming oneself in the sun on cold days.

Makrothumeó (μακορθυμέω). Greek / n. / mæk.rəυ.θu: 'mei.əυ / mak-roth-oo-*mey*-oh. Patience, forebearance; being long-suffering; slow to anger and avenge.

Mana. Polynesian languages / n. / 'manə / ma-nuh. Spiritual energy / power, a sacred, impersonal force.

Mbuki-mvuki. Swahili / v. / mbuːkiː mvuːkiː / mm-*boo*-kee mm-*voo*-kee. Lit. to take of in flight (mbuki), to dance wildly (mvuki); to shed clothes in order to dance; possible origins of the phrase 'boogie woogie'.

Meriggiare. Italian / v. / mɛ.rɪ'dʒeɑ:.rɪ / me-rri-*jah*-rri. To rest at noon (in the shade).

Mohobelo. Sotho / n. / məʊ.həʊ.bɛ.ləʊ / mo-ho-bel-o. 'Striding dance'; a dance associated with the Sotho cultures, featuring striding, leaping, and sliding along the ground.

Mojo. Creole (Gullah) / n. / məʊ.ʤəʊ / mow-joe. Lit. witchcraft; a magic charm or spell; sex drive/appeal; personal magnetism or charm.

Mysa. Swedish / v. / 'my: sa / mee-sah. To be engaged in a pleasant or comfortable activity; to be content or comfortable; to get cosy; to snuggle up.

Nichtwollen. German / n. / nıçt'vələ / neekht-voh-ley. Non-willing, non-wishing, non-wanting.

Niksen. Dutch / v. / 'nık.sən / nik-sn. 'Nothinging' (verbification of 'nothing'); to do nothing; being or doing without purpose; idling, loafing.

Orka. Swedish / v. / 'or ka / orr-kah. To have the energy for something; being resilient, spirited, and/or enthused.



Overskud. Danish / n. / 'pwpsgud / oh-wuhs-good. Extra/excess energy; do have sufficient resources to do something; profit (in an economic context).

Pantofolaio. Italian / n. / pän.tō.fō'la:jō / pan-toh-foh-lah-yo. 'Slippers'; someone who prefers a quiet or lazy life, avoiding activity that disrupts their peace and relaxation.

Pigg. Swedish / adj. / pig / pig. Alert, awake; refreshed, rested; spirited, energised.Pimashu. Innu / v. / pə.ma:hu: / p-mah-oo. To move with the wind.

Pirouette. French / n. / pi.ʁ.wɛt / pih-ru-wet. 'Whirl'; a non-traveling turn on one leg, of one or more rotations.

Plié. French / n. / pli.je / plee-ay. 'Bent'; a smooth and continuous bending of the knees outward with the upper body held upright.

Querencia. Spanish / n. / kɛˈ.ɹɛnsɪə / keh-*ren*-sia. A place where one feels secure, from which one draws strength.

Rasmia. Spanish / n. / ræz.mi:ə / razz-mee-uh. Eagerness, strength, activeness, courage, tenacity and gracefulness.

Rè nào (熱鬧). Chinese / adj. / ˌuəu.nau / rerr-now. Lively; boisterous; bustling with noise and excitement.

Revoltade. French / n. / ʁə.vəl.tad / ru-vol-taad. A bravura jump in which one lands on the leg from which one pushes off after that leg travels around the other leg lifted to 90 degrees.

Riposo. Italian / n. / ri'poso/ rre-poor-soh. Rest, repose; a nap; cf. siesta.

Sabsung. Thai / n. / sa:b.su:ŋ / saab-soong. A feeling of revitalisation through something that livens up or gives meaning to one's life; something that brightens one's day.

Saikeirei (最敬礼). Japanese / n. / sai.kei.rei / sy.kay-ray. A particularly deep, respectful, formal form of bowing in Japanese culture (among a range of forms), involving bending of the upper body at around 45 degrees.

Se déhancher. French / v. / sə deaJe / suh de-hon-shay. To sway or wiggle one's hips (e.g., while dancing). Semba. Kimbundu / n. / sɛm.bə / sem-buh. A dance and musical style originating in Angola; the name derives from the notion of touching bellies.

Shabbat (שַבָּת). Hebrew / n. / fə ˈbaːt / shuh-bart / aka šabbāṯ, Sabbath. From the verb shavat, meaning to rest or cease; a day each week kept aside for rest, abstinence, and/or worship in various religious traditions.

Shaka. Hawaiian / n. / Jæ.kæ / sha-ka. A Hawaiian hand gesture, also more broadly associated with surfing; 'hang loose,' 'chill out'; 'be well', 'take care'; 'well done.'

Shemomechama (შემომეჭამა). Georgian / v. / ʃɛ.mɒ.mɛʤɑːmə / sheh-moh-meh-djah-muh. To eat past the point of satiety (e.g., due to enjoyment of the food).

Shì (勢). Chinese / n. / fi: / shee. Power, force; tendency; situation; developing a favourable situation with respect to one's agenda; taking and maintaining the initiative; creating an overwhelming force.

Siesta. Spanish / n. / sı'ɛstə / see-est-a. A short nap, usually taken in the early afternoon.

Siga siga (σιγά σιγά). Greek / adv. / si'ɣa si'ɣa / see-*yah* see-*yah*. Slowly, slowly (i.e., being unhurried).

Sissonne. French / n. / si.son / sih-son. A jump done from two feet to one foot (named after the originator of the step).

Sisu. Finnish / n. / 'si.su / si-su. Extraordinary determination/courage, especially in the face of adversity.

Startijenn. Breton / n. / sta:t.1'3ɛn / start-ih-*zjen*. A kickstart/boost of energy; also denotes perseverance.

Sterkte. Dutch, Afrikaans / n., injuction / sterk.tə / steyrk-tuh. Strength (i.e., 'have strength); good luck; an expression wishing someone well in an endeavour.

Taki onqoy. Quechua / n. / tæ.ki vn.koi / tah-kee on-koy. Dancing sickness; delirium caused by dancing or singing.

Tapas (तपर्स्). Sanskrit / n. / 'tʌ.pʌs / tuh-puhs. Lit. heat, blaze, pain, suffering (from root 'tap'); intensive meditation, perseverance, austerity/asceticism; one of five niyamas in Hinduism.



Uitbuiken. Dutch / v. / 'əʊt.bɜ:.ɣən / *oat*-ber-ghen. Lit. 'outbellying'; to relax satiated between courses or after a meal.

Uitwaaien. Dutch / v. / 'əʊt.vai.ɛn / *oat*-vye-en. Lit out-windy; to walk in the wind; to go out into nature (perhaps to clear one's head).

Uitzieken. Dutch / v. / əut.zi:yən / oat-zee-ghen. 'Sick it out'; to wait out an illness and fully recover.

Umay. Tagalog / n. / $\mathfrak{d}.\mathfrak{mei}$ / uh-may. To become weary or tired with something through overuse or satiety.

Umteyo. Xhosa / Am.ti:jəʊ / um-tee-yo. 'Shaking dance; a dance associated with Xhose culture, involving the rapid undulation or shaking of the thorax so that the spine appears to be rippling.

Upekṣā/upekkhā (उपेक्षा). Sanskrit/Pāli / n. / u.pɛkʰˈsɑː / oo-pek*-sah*. Equanimity, detachment; calmness, balance.

Utsura-ustura (うつらうつら). Japanese (Gitaigo) / v. / u:t.sjʊə.<u>r</u>ə u:t.sjʊə.<u>r</u>ə / oot-soor-ah oot-soor-ah. To drift between sleep and wakefulness.

Veget. Czech / n. / ˈvɛ.gɛt / *veh*-get. A state of idleness; plain living; undisturbed rest; free time. Vīrya/viriya (वीर्य). Sanskrit/Pāli / n. / wiːr.jʌ / vweer-yuh. Energy, diligence, enthusiasm, effort.

Vivax. Latin / adj. / 'vi:va:ks / vee-vax. Tenacious; durable; long-lived; vivacious; lively.

Wài jiā (外家). Chinese / n. / wai.ʤi.a / wy-jee-ah. 'External family'; externally-directed forms of martial arts, characterized by fast and explosive movements and a focus on physical strength and agility. Woggabaliri. Ngunnawal / n. / wp.gə.bæ.lıə.ri: / woh-gah-bah-leer-ee. A traditional Indigenous Australian co-operative kicking volley game (similar to 'keepie uppie').

Womba. Bakweri / n. / wpm.bə / wom-buh. The smile of a sleeping child.

Heart (*n* = 69)

Abhayamudrâ (अभय मुद्रा). Sanskrit / n. / ʌb.haɪ.ə.mʊ.dɹɑː / uhb-hy-uh-moo-drah. The gesture (e.g., in Hindu and Buddhist iconography) of fearlessness, protection, and/or peace; involves the palms facing outwards, and the fingers extending upwards.

Alharaca. Spanish / n. / alaˈɾa.kə / al-ah-rahk-ah. An extreme or excessive behavioural demonstration of an emotion; making a fuss; becoming agitated; clamour, vociferation.

Aradupopini. Tulu (India) / v. / æ.ræ.duːpɒ.piːniː / ah-rah-du-pop-ee-nee. To walk arm-in-arm or hand-in-hand.

Bazodee. Creole (Trinidad and Tobago) / n. / bæ.zəu.di: / bah-zoe-dee. Euphoric confusion; dizzy/dazed happiness.

Benedicaria. Italian / n. / bɛ.nɪ.dɪk.tə.kɑːrɪə / beh-ne-dik-ta-kar-ee-uh. 'Way of Blessing'; a term for various family-based folk healing and spiritual traditions found throughout Italy (referred to by some as 'folk magic').

Berlenggang. Indonesian / v. / b3:lɛŋ.gæŋ / ber-leng-gang. To walk gracefully by swinging your hands or hips.

Brahma-charya (ब्रह्मचर्य). Sanskrit/Pāli / v. + n. / 'bra: mə fɑ:.jʌ / *brah*-muh char-yuh. Lit. 'going after Brahman' or beahviours that lead to Brahman; the 'right' use of energy; chastity when unmarried, and fidelity when married; one of the five yama in Hinduism.

Brio. Italian / n. / ˈbriːəʊ / bree-oh. Mettle, fire; life; vivacity, energy, vitality; confidence.Blüttle. German (Swiss) / v. / blu:tl / blootl. To walk around naked; to enjoy being naked.

Cafuné. Portuguese / n. / $ka.fu.'n\epsilon$ / cah-foo-*neh*. The act/gesture of tenderly running one's fingers through a loved one's hair.



Cathexis ($\kappa \dot{\alpha} \theta \epsilon \xi \iota \varsigma$). Greek / v., n. / kəˈ $\theta \epsilon k.sis$ / kuh-thek-sis. Holding, retention; chosen by by James Strachey to render the German term Besetzung (interest, occupation) in his translation of Freud, referring to the process of investment of mental or emotional energy in a person, object, or idea.

Coitus. Latin / n. / 'kɔi.təs / *koy*-tss. Lit. coming, meeting, uniting together; attraction; magnetic force; sexual union.

Colo. Portuguese / n. / 'kɔ.lu / *koh*-loo. Area of body formed by chest and arms (used to refer to embracing or cradling).

Coup de cœur. French / n. / ku də ˈ kœʁ / coo de *coo*-er. Lit. a bolt of the heart; a crush, infatuation; to fall in love; to fall for something; to make a deep connection (not necessarily romantic).

Coup de foudre. French / n. / ku də ˈfudrə / coo-de-*foo*-druh. Lit, a 'lightning bolt,' sudden and powerful love at first sight.

Desbundar. Portuguese / v. / dʒizbūʿdar / dez-bun-*dar*. Exceeding one's limits; shedding one's inhibitions (e.g., in having fun).

Dor. Romanian / n. / do: / dor. 'I want you'; intense, bittersweet longing for a person, place or time.

Duende. Spanish / n. / 'dwen.de./ de-*wen*-deh. A heightened state of emotion, spirit and passion (often associated with art/dance).

Ekstasis (ἔκστασις). Greek / n. / ékˈstaːsis / ek*-stah-s*is. The state of being or standing outside oneself; trance, displacement; ecstasy, rapture.

Empalagar. Spanish / v. / ɛm.pæ.læ.go: / em-pah-lah-gar. To be too sweet or rich (in taste).

Epithymía (Ἐπιθυμίαֽ). Greek / n. / e.pi.θy mi.a / epi-thy-mia. Desire; sexual passion.

Érōs (ἔρως). Greek / n. / 'e.rɔːs / *eh*-ross. Desire; passionate love; in Greek mythology, the God of desire (or love); known as Cupid in Roman mythology.

Estrenar. Spanish / v. / ɛs.trɛn.ɑːreɪ / ess-tren-ah-reh. To use or wear something for the first time (and perhaps imbuing the wearer with a sense of confidence).

Euphoría (εὐφοϱία). Greek / n. / eu.p^ho.rí.a / yoo-for-ria. Lit. being of 'good bearing'; more recently used to imply intense excitement or joy.

Famn. Swedish / n. / fæm / fam. The area or space within two arms, e.g., 'in my arms.' As a verb, att famna—'to embrace'.

Freudentaumel. German / n. / 'froydn,tauml / froyd-un-tau-mel. Lit. joy swash; being giddy or delirious with happiness.

Frisson. French / n. / frisɔ̃/ frree-soh. A sudden feeling of thrill, combining fear and excitement.

Gaudere. Latin / v. / gau'dıə.ri: / gau-deer-ee. To rejoice; to take joy in.

Gemas. Indonesian / n. / gəˈmæs / guh-mass. A feeling of love or affection; the urge to squeeze someone because they are so cute.

Gozar. Spanish / v. / gəʊˈsɑː / go-*sar*. To greatly enjoy, take pleasure in; to take (e.g., in a romantic sense); to delight in; to come (sexually).

Guò yǐn (過癮). Chinese / n./ kuo.jɪəɪŋ / kwor-yi-in. Satisfaction of a craving; a highly pleasurable and enjoyable experience.

Gula. Spanish / n. / 'gu:læ / goo-lah. Gluttony, greed; indulgence; eating simply for the taste (i.e., not from hunger).

Harikoa. Māori / n. / hæriˈkəa / hah-ree-*ko*a. Joyful, euphoric, delighted, exuberant, elated, thrilled, ecstatic, jubilant.

Herzklopfen. German / n. / hɛrts.klɔp.fən / hairts-klop-uhn. Lit. 'heart-knock'; the thumping of the heart in anticipation of something good (or bad) happening.

Hrepenenje. Slovenian / n. / h3.rɛ.pə.nɛn.dʒeɪ / heh-rep-uh-nen-jay. Nostalgia for something that hasn't happened yet.



Hwyl. Welsh / n. / hu:il / hoo-iil. A stirring feeling of emotional motivation and energy; a melodic, fervour; ecstatic inspiration; a chanting style of preaching; mood; fun.

Hygge. Danish/Norwegian / n. / 'ho:.gə / *hhoo*-guh. A deep sense of place, warmth, friendship, and contentment. As an adjective (hyggelig): enjoyable, warm, friendly, pleasant.

Jī qíng (激情). Chinese / n. / ʤi: 蚧ŋ / jee ching. Passion, heat, ardour (often in a specifically romantic or sexual sense).

Joie de vivre. French / n. / , *3wa: də 'vi:vrə / jwa-*de*-vee-*vruh. Joy of living / for life; exuberance, ebullience; zest for life, the knack of knowing how to live.

Jouissance. French / n. / 3 'wi.sɑ̃s / szh-*wee*-sonse. Physical or intellectual pleasure, delight, or ecstasy; an orgasm.

Kaif (кай ϕ). Russian / n. / kaif / kayf. Euphoric pleasure, and heightened satisfaction, but also often with a sense of calmness.

Kama muta (काममूत). Sanskrit / v. / kæ.mæ mu:tæ / kah-mah moo-tah. Moved by love; warm transitory affection for a given person, object, or experience.

Kanyininpa. Pintupi / v. / 'kæn.jın'ın.pə / *can*-yin-*in*-puh. Lit. 'to hold,' connoting an intimate and active relationship between carer and caree.

Kapsoura ($K\alpha\psi o \psi \rho \alpha$). Greek / n. / kæp.sɔ:ə ' kap-soor-uh. Crush, infatuation; intense passion; the heady romantic feelings at the start of a relationship.

Kefi (κέφι). Greek / n. / 'keə.fi / keh-fee. Joy, passion, enthusiasm, high spirits, frenzy.

Kilig. Tagalog / n. / kıˈliːg / kih-*leeg*. Lit. shaking/trembling; feeling of butterflies arising from interacting with someone one loves or finds attractive; exhilaration/elation (not necessarily related to romance).

Lus. Afrikaans / n. / lus / looss. Desire, craving; greed; fancy, cupidity; inclination, tendency.

Mamihlapinatapai. Yagán / n. / 'mæ.mi.læ.pɪ.næ.tæ'pai / *mah*-me-lah-pee-nah-tah-*pie*. A look between people that expresses unspoken but mutual desire.

 $Mampemurruwurlmurruwurl.\ Murrinhpatha\ /\ v.\ /\ mempe\ muruwulmuruwul\ /\ mahm-peh-muhru-wilmuruwul\ muhru-wohl.\ To\ make\ someones\ 's\ hair\ beautiful.$

Meraki ($\mu\epsilon \varrho \dot{\alpha}\kappa\iota$). Greek / n. / m ϵ 'ræk.i: / meh-*rrack*-ee. Ardour (in relation to one's own actions and creations).

Morriña. Galician / n. / moˈrina / moh-rreen-yah. Longing; homesickness; nostalgia.

Nadryv (надрыв). Russian / n. / ne'drif / nuh-dreef. Lit. a tear, rend, or break; an outburst of emotion or passion, often uncontrollable and possibly also irrational, when deeply hidden feelings are released.

Nam jai (น้ำใจ). Thai / n. / næm.dʒaɪ / nam-jiy. Lit. water from the heart; selfless generosity and kindness.

Onda. Spanish / n. / vn.dæ / on-dah. Lit. wave; the flow or current of something; an exclamation of joy or excitement.

Orgasmós (οǫγασμός). Greek / n. / ɔɾ.ɣa. ˈzməs / or-yaz-mos. Orgasm; climax; swelling, burgeoning; excitement.

Pretoogjes. Dutch / n. / prɛt'oːx.jiːs / pret-*oh*-yeess. Lit. 'fun eyes;' the twinkling eyes of someone engaging in benign mischief or fun.

Putuwa. Gadigal / n. / pə.tu:ə / puh-too-uh. Warming one's hands by the fire while gently squeezing someone else's hands.

Raaskia. Finnish / v. / 'ra:skia / rah-skee-ah. To have the heart, courage to do something.

Retrouvailles. French / n. / Rə.tRu.vaj / ruh-trroo-vy. Lit. 'rediscovery;' a reunion (e.g., with loved ones after a long time apart).

Salām (سلام). Arabic / n. / saˈlaːm / sah*-lahm*. Peace, harmony, wholeness, prosperity, welfare and tranquillity; used also as a greeting/parting salutation.

Saudade. Portuguese / n. / sew'ðaði / sow-dhadh. Melancholic longing, nostalgia, dreaming wistfulness.



Schwärmerei. German / n. / ʃvɛr.məˈrai / shver-mer-ay. Excessive or extreme enthusiasm or sentimentality.

Sehnsucht: German / n. / 'zein_zu:xt / zeen-zukht. Life longings, intense desire for alternative paths and states; lit. an 'addiction' (Sucht) to longing/pining (Sehn).

Sèvdāh. Serbo-Croatian / n. / sěv.da:x / sev-dakh. The emotional intensity of passionate love; the joys and pains of intense love (especially love that may be difficult or unrealisable in some way).

Tesão. Portuguese / n. / te'zãw / ter-zarw. Heightened sexual or sensual desire; turn-on; intense arousal.

Tikotara. Takuu / v. / ti.ko.ta.ıa / tee-koh-tah-rah. To carry a lover to several locations inside a house (to demonstrate physical strength) before having sex.

Tizita (ትዝታ). Amharic / n. / tı.zi:tə / tih-zee-tuh. A bittersweet remembrance and longing for a time, person, thing gone by.

Tripti (तृप्ति). Sanskrit / n. / trɪp.tɪ / trip-tih. Complete satisfaction (e.g., of sensual pleasures).

Tonalli. Nahuatl / n. / təʊ.næ.li: / toh-na-lee. A day sign; a symbol of the sun's warmth; a source of energy for growth and development; believed to be located in the hair and the fontanel area of the head.

Toska (тоска). Russian / n. / tʌˈskaː / tuh*-skah*. Longing (often, though not limited to, one's homeland; can also include other times, people, and places), with nostalgia and wistfulness.

Uňuhňat. Czech / phrase / unu.fnat / uniyuh-hniyat. To (want to) smother or crush by cuddling or fondling; to shower somebody with boundless love.

Vískat. Czech / v. / vi:s.kat/ vees-kat. To play with somebody's hair; originally, to look for lice.

Xīn (心). Chinese / sin / shin. Heart and mind (and even spirit) combined.