Emotions and the body in Russian and English[*]

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The goal of the present paper is to examine Wierzbicka's (1992, 1998a, 1999) claims that the connection between emotions and the body is encoded and emphasized in Russian to a higher degree than it is in English, and that English favors the adjectival pattern in emotion discourse, while Russian prefers the verbal one. The study analyzes oral narratives elicited through the same visual stimuli from 40 monolingual Russians and 40 monolingual Americans. The results of the quantitative and qualitative analyses of the narrative corpus support Wierzbicka's claims, suggesting that 'the reading of the body' is not a culture- and language-free experience, but is shaped by cultural, social, and linguistic forces, as well as by individual differences. At the same time, neither quantitative nor qualitative differences have been identified with regard to gendered use of emotion discourse.

Introduction

Recently, Wierzbicka (1998a, 1999) suggested that discourses of emotion in different speech communities differ with regard to how much attention is paid to the body. Based on a detailed semantic analysis, she argues that the connection between the body and emotions is encoded and emphasized in Russian to a higher degree than it is in English. The goal of the present paper is to examine these claims in the study of actual discourse. In what follows, I will first introduce the theoretical framework of the present study which views emotions as discursively constructed phenomena. Then, I will review previous claims about the links between emotions and the body in Russian and English. Subsequently, I will present my own empirical investigation which analyzes emotion narratives elicited with the same visual stimuli from 40 monolingual speakers of English and 40 monolingual speakers of Russian.

1. Theoretical perspectives on the relationship between language and emotion

It has been widely believed since Darwin (1871) that there is a basic set of biologically prewired universal human emotions. Recent support for the Darwinian view has come from the work of Izard (1977, 1992) and Ekman (1980, 1992, 1993) who posit a set of basic universal emotions and from the work of Le Doux (1996) and Damasio (1999) who suggest that "emotions are parts of the bioregulatory devices with which we come equipped to survive" (Damasio 1999:53). While agreeing that the precise composition and dynamics of the emotional responses of a particular individual may be developmentally and culturally shaped, Damasio (1999) suggests that most, if not all, emotional responses are the result of the long history of evolutionary fine-tuning. Le Doux (1996:302) puts forth an even stronger claim, stating that emotions evolved not as conscious feelings, linguistically or otherwise differentiated, but as brain states and bodily responses, with connections from the emotional states to the cognitive systems stronger than vice versa. Building on this perspective, Izard (1977, 1992) and Ekman (1980, 1992, 1993) posit that there is a finite set of universal basic human emotions that can be identified by English words such as *sadness, fear, anger, disgust, shame,* and *enjoyment* and that facial expressions are similarly identified across cultures. Consequently, in this *separatist* paradigm, language and emotions are viewed as two concurrent, parallel systems, whereby one system (emotions) may impact the performance of another (language) (Bamberg 1997:309). Here it is important to note that while the separatist view of language and emotions is not explicitly predicated on the assumption of universal emotions, it is connected to this assumption both logically and ontologically.

In the last two decades, universalist assumptions were seriously questioned by linguistic anthropologists (Heelas 1986; Levy 1984; Lutz 1988; Lutz and Abu-Lughod 1990; Lutz and White 1986; Rosaldo 1980, 1984; White 1990), cognitive linguists (Lakoff 1987; Ortony and Turner 1990; Wierzbicka 1992, 1994, 1995, 1999), cultural psychologists (Kitayama and Markus 1994a,b; Markus and Kitayama 1991, 1994) and social constructionists in a variety of fields (Bamberg 1997; Edwards 1997; Gergen 1994; Harré 1983, 1986).While the universalist research examined innate human predispositions and neurobiological underpinnings of emotions, cognitive linguists, cultural psychologists and anthropologists linked emotion, language, and cognition, focusing on ways in which cognitive appraisals of situations are carried out and sociocultural meanings are assigned to particular sensations. The aspects of the view of emotions shared in these diverse paradigms are best captured by Rosaldo (1984:304) who suggests that emotions are "self-concerning, partly physical responses that are at the same time aspects of a moral or ideological attitude; emotions are both feelings and cognitive constructions, linking person, action, and sociological milieu". Language, in this paradigm, no longer 'mirrors' the world of emotions but instead actively constructs and reconstructs it. It is thus without dismissing the neurobiological basis of human emotion states that several criticisms were put forward of what was deemed to be a narrow and ethnocentric theory of emotions.

From a linguistic perspective, etymological evidence suggests that in some languages, such as Ifaluk, there is no superordinate term that translates as emotion (Lutz 1988), and that even the English word *emotion* per se has only recently acquired its status as a superordinate category, under which other words, such as *anger, anxiety,* or *sadness* can be grouped together (Edwards 1997). Harré (1983) and Gergen (1994) note that some emotions and moods — such as *accidie* or *melancholy* — which once had a great importance in particular cultures have now become extinct or obsolete, while others — such as *depression, anxiety, stress,* and *burnout* — are effortlessly discussed now but would have hardly been registered significantly even a century ago. This, in turn, suggests that emotions are themselves socially and historically defined, shifting together with the patterns of moral order. Edwards (1997:196) points out that as a historically modern concept (at least in English), *emotion* constitutes a rather dubious category to organize all the ways in which different cultures at different times talk about feelings, reactions, and attitudes.

The ethnocentric tendency of using English emotion words for cross-cultural comparisons has been strongly criticized by Wierzbicka (1992, 1994, 1995, 1999) who questions the neat correspondence between 'universal' emotion categories and English words, pointing out that many of them do not have counterparts in other languages and that "English terms of emotion constitute a folk taxonomy, not an objective, culture-free analytical framework" (Wierzbicka 1992:119). Both Wierzbicka (1995) and Russell (1994) provide a forceful critique of the assumption that there is a widespread cross-cultural agreement about the meaning of linguistic and facial emotional expressions. Wierzbicka also supplies a semantic analysis of a number of emotion terms unique to particular languages and cultures, such as the Japanese *amae* or the Ilongot *liget*. In a similar vein, Ortony and Turner (1990) ponder upon the reasons why — if emotions are indeed basic — there is so much disagreement

among scholars as to which ones are the basic ones, how many there are, and why it is that some considered basic by certain theorists are not even considered emotions by others.

Crucial evidence for cultural variability in emotion words, scripts, and ethnopsychological theories comes from studies in linguistic anthropology (Briggs 1970; Harré 1986; Heelas 1986; Levy 1973, 1984; Lutz and Abu-Lughod 1990; Rosaldo 1980; Shweder and Levine 1984; White 1990). Lutz's (1988) ground-breaking book *Unnatural Emotions* presented the Western world with a new perspective on mind, body, thought, and emotions, asserting that these concepts are culturally constructed in the West and showing that they may be inapplicable in the culture of the Ifaluk people of Micronesia, where emotions/thoughts are viewed as public, social and relational, and also as more dyadic and connected than in the Western view. In the Ifaluk world, one individual's anger (*song*) entails another's fear (*metagu*); one person's grief and frustration (*tang*) lead to the feeling of compassion/love/sadness (*fago*) in others.

"If emotions are social phenomena, discourse is crucial to understanding how they are so constituted", point out Abu-Lughod and Lutz (1990: 11). Thus, in recent years, several scholars have turned to emotion discourse, looking into how emotion categories are deployed to tell stories, provide accounts, and to assign motives, causes, and blame (Bamberg 1997; Edwards 1997; Menon and Shweder 1994). Both cognitive linguists and social constructionists share the view of emotions as linked to conceptual metaphors, cognitive scripts, and scenarios, which allow people to present certain activities as normatively intelligible emotional behaviors or, alternatively, as deviant and unreasonable actions (Edwards 1997; Lakoff 1987; Menon and Shweder 1994; Wierzbicka 1994). White's (1990) analysis of three verbal expressions used in a Solomon Island community on Santa Isabel emphasizes the availability of alternative descriptions which can be plausibly applied to the same circumstances or events. He proposes a view of discursive interaction as the process of choosing and negotiating, or 'disentangling', whereby a conflict episode may be closed by choosing to talk about events in terms of 'sadness', a positively valued emotion which involves repair, rather than 'anger', a negatively valued emotion which entails retribution and threatens community solidarity.

This discursive perspective, which presumes the existence of culture-specific emotion scripts, providing alternative, at times competing, interpretations of events (for a detailed discussion, see Wierzbicka 1994), will be assumed in the present study. The emphasis on language and culture in this paradigm does not, however, discount the role of biological or physiological processes in the conceptualization of emotions, for they are clearly crucial. At the same time, biological processes per se are not viewed here as emotions; instead it is assumed that "the development and organization of emotional processes and experience, with all their biological underpinnings, is significantly influenced, sustained, or modified by the systems of meanings in which the self, others, and other social events or objects are made significant" (Kitayama and Markus 1994b:2). Following the sociocultural theories of Mead (1934) and Vygotsky (1978), Kitayama and Markus (1994b) propose that while prepared and afforded by many biological processes, human emotions are primarily social and cultural, with different sociocultural environments giving rise to different emotional experiences. These experiences are embodied in a number of socially shared scripts, composed of physiological, psychological, and behavioral processes, as well as of their individual and social appraisals. In the process of language socialization, children are socialized into categorizing, experiencing, and narrating emotions appropriate to their culture (Bamberg 1997). At the same time, cultural scripts and corresponding verbal and non-verbal behaviors are not static: they are developed, revised, and transformed as individuals adapt and adjust to their immediate semiotic environment; they are also renegotiated in the process of social and linguistic change. Thus, the study of emotion as discourse allows us to examine how languages provide the means "by which local views of emotion have their effects and take their significance" (Abu-Lughod and Lutz 1990: 11). The present study will focus on one aspect of this socialization, often neglected in universalist research (see Lutz and White 1986), namely, how patterns of facial expression and body language are incorporated into larger cultural and linguistic systems of meaning. In what follows, I will juxtapose two such systems of meaning, contemporary Russian and American English, and examine how speakers of these two languages 'read' facial expressions and body language in context and how they talk about emotions experienced by others.

2. Emotions and the body in Russian and English

While anthropological studies provided evidence that emotional experiences and expressions of these experiences often differ across cultures, cultural psychologists and medical anthropologists found links between these divergent ethnopsychological theories of emotion and ethnophysiological accounts of bodily experiences, suggesting that emotional disorders may also be manifested

in culturally distinctive ways (Jenkins 1994; Kleinman 1988). They point to the fact that the universalist, and mostly biological, view of emotions does not explain dramatic differences in psychological and psychosomatic symptoms experienced by Chinese and Americans when faced with significant life difficulties (Kleinman 1988) or cultural variation in mental disorders, such as depression or schizophrenia (Good 1992; Jenkins 1994). Thus, they suggest that not only our minds but also our bodies are culturally constituted (Jenkins 1994).

In her recent work, Wierzbicka (1998a, 1999) has examined the possibility that different languages may link emotions and the body in different ways, analyzing emotion expressions in Russian and their translations into English (or the absence of such). She found that while some Russian expressions can be matched with the English equivalents, Russian expressions linking emotions and the body are both more numerous and more dramatic. She shows that a large number of expressions, involving all body parts, from eyes and eyebrows to hands and legs, does not have appropriate translation equivalents in English. In some cases, even when such equivalents are available, their range of use may be rather restricted. For instance, a comparison of the adjectives that can co-occur with the Russian phrase *vyrazhenie litsa* and with its English translation equivalent 'facial expression' suggests that in English the expression is rather technical and limited in its use, while Russian allows for a much wider range of collocations, perhaps even encouraging greater facial expressiveness in the service of emotions (Wierzbicka 1999:227).[1] These findings provide additional support to Wierzbicka's earlier conclusions about "the tremendous stress on emotions and on their free expression, the high emotional temperature of Russian discourse, the wealth of linguistic devices for signalling emotions and shades of emotions" (1992:395).

Wierzbicka (1992, 1998b) also notes that experiences comparable to 'joy', 'sadness' or 'anger' are often conceptualized in Russian as inner activities in which one engages more or less voluntarily; as a result, they involve duration and are often designated by verbs, rather than adjectives (e.g., *radovat'sia* 'to rejoice', 'to be actively happy', joyful'; *serdit'sia* 'to be angry', 'to rage'; *stydit'sia* 'to be ashamed', 'to be experiencing shame'). In contrast, in English emotions are conceptualized as passive states caused by external and/or past causes; as a result, they are more commonly expressed by means of adjectives and pseudo-participles, such as 'worried', 'sad', or 'disgusted'. Moreover, as Wierzbicka (1992:401) points out, English has only a very limited number of intransitive verbs of emotion, such as 'rejoice', 'grieve', 'worry' or 'pine' — and the whole category may be losing ground in modern English. An important difference

between the verbal and the adjectival patterns is an external manifestation of feelings: emotions designated by verbs — but not those designated by adjectives — tend to be expressed in action, often externally observable action (e.g., worrying may be expressed in pacing, sighing, or crying). Wierzbicka (1992) suggests that it is not accidental that emotion verbs are disappearing from modern English, as the Anglo-American culture encourages people 'to be glad' rather than 'to rejoice', or 'to be angry' rather than 'to fume' or 'to rage'. Russian, on the other hand, has a wide range of active emotion verbs which share a number of characteristics emphasizing their active, processual, and quasi-voluntary character, such as their frequent use in reported speech and co-occurrence with verbs of doing. Most importantly, most of these verbs, such as, for instance, *rasserdit'sia* 'to get angry', are reflexive, which strengthens the impression of emotions being self-induced, rather than due to external causes.

Wierzbicka (1992, 1994) also suggests that in Russian culture emotions constitute most people's normal state, and an absence of emotions indicates a deadening of a person's *dusha* 'soul'. *Dusha*, for her, is one of the key notions in Russian discourse, which opposes body and soul (for a detailed discussion, see also Apresian et al. 1999). In contrast, in Anglo-American discourse the opposition is between the body and the mind; thus, it is not accidental that many Russian expressions involving *dushevnoe sostoianie* 'soul state' are translated into English as 'inner' or 'mental' states. Based on her semantic analysis, Wierzbicka (1992) argues that in Russian emotional activities are conceptualized as a key part of human inner life, or life of the soul, and that the cultural ideal of emotionless composure is alien to mainstream Russian culture. This idea is evident not only in verbal patterns of emotion discourse but also in a number of metaphoric expressions that present people as 'giving in' voluntarily to their feelings (*predavat'sia svoim chuvstvam*). This ideology of emotion appears to be alien to the Anglo-American culture, where a number of emotion words and expressions, such as 'upset', imply a temporary departure from a 'normal' state and a loss of control (Wierzbicka 1999:19).

While Wierzbicka's analysis is well-substantiated and persuasive, it is based on lexicographic and textual data. One can reasonably ask: yes, we see the evidence that these linguistic means of expressing emotions are available to people, but how do we know what expressions people favor in their everyday interactions, in particular, since Russian also allows its speakers to conceptualize emotions as states and English does have a number of emotion verbs? To date, however, there have been very few explorations of day-to-day emotion talk in languages other than English, including Russian. The most comprehensive

account of contemporary Russian discourse is presented in Ries (1997), an ethnography of conversation in Russia conducted in the times of the perestroika. In her book, Ries (1997) argues that Russian communicative practices emphasize versatility in emotion discourses, with particular preference for the discursive art of suffering, represented in such ritualized genres as litanies and laments. These narratives, performed in Russian kitchens and living rooms, range from social horror stories to crime stories to stories about 'shopping violence'. Far from being simple complaints, however, they have a complex role in establishing a particular social and discursive order: the high value put on suffering in Russian culture ensured that "suffering engendered distinction, sacrifice created status, and loss produced gain" (Ries 1997: 83). Unfortunately, while Ries's (1997) valuable study provides insightful information on emotion genres and discourses, it does not tell us much about the particular semantic and morphosyntactic means employed in these genres.

In addition to identifying particular types of emotion discourses in Russian, Ries (1997) also noted differences in gendered performances of laments and litanies, in particular in the stances taken by the narrators. For instance, while men appeared to be more ironic in their narratives and produced litanies about politics, economics, or the military, women focused on shortages of consumer goods, the unmet needs of the children, or on unruly husbands. Yokoyama (1999: 408) suggests that, in general, "Russian men do not verbalize emotions that are 'unworthy of men' such as fear, pity, or worry". She also argues that Russian women use more intensifiers, exaggerations, diminutives and positive adjectives, while Russian men use negatively evaluative and crude vocabulary to express positive feelings, in particular, affection and admiration. In contrast, Shimanoff's (1983) analysis of tape-recorded conversations of 40 American college students (20 males, 20 females) shows that American men and women do not significantly differ in the number of affect words they use or in ways they refer to emotions. If anything, men in the study used slightly more affect words than women when talking about their own emotions. Similar results were obtained by Lutz (1990) who examined a corpus of interviews with middle-class American males and females about emotional experiences and found that men and women do not differ in the ways they 'personalize' emotional experiences or distance them from the self. For instance, while common stereotypes would lead us to expect more denials of experiencing emotions from men, and more denials of particular male-linked emotions, such as anger, from women, the men and women in Lutz's (1990) study did not differ in the number of denials they produced, nor did they differ with regard to which emotions were denied.

The discussion above identifies a number of areas where emotion talk may be culture- or gender-specific. I will now proceed to examine the claims above in narratives elicited from monolingual speakers of Russian and American English.

3.   Methodology

Objective. The purpose of the present study is to investigate the discursive construction of emotions in the narratives elicited from monolingual speakers of Russian and English, examining similarities and differences between descriptions of emotion states in each language, in particular as they involve references to the body.

Subjects. Eighty subjects participated in the study: 40 Russian monolinguals (20 males, 20 females), ages between 18 and 26, students at the University of St. Petersburg, Russia; 40 American monolinguals (20 males, 20 females), ages between 18 and 26, students at Cornell University, U.S.A..

Method. Two 3-minute long films, with a sound track but no dialog, were specifically made for this study and used for narrative elicitation purposes. These films, *The Letter* and *Pis'mo* (The Letter), portrayed a woman reading a letter that provoked a strong emotional reaction. The first film of each pair was made in the US, and the second in Kiev, Ukraine, to control for context effects. Ukraine, rather than Russia, was chosen for production cost reasons. As anticipated, although the sequence was actually filmed in an apartment in Kiev, the participants in the Russian study inferred that the action was taking place in an apartment in St. Petersburg.

Each film was shown to 20 subjects from each group (10 males, 10 females). Each study participant was shown one film, then given a portable tape recorder and the following instructions, either in English or in Russian: "Please, tell what you just saw in the film"/ "*Pozhaluista, rasskazhite chto vy videli v fil'me*". All spoke directly into the taperecorder so that no social interaction with the interviewer would influence their recall. All tapes were subsequently transcribed and the narratives were analyzed in the language in which they were told.

4.   Results and discussion

4.1   The Letter and *Pis'mo* narratives

Twenty monolingual speakers of each language recalled each film, *The Letter* and *Pis'mo*. An American narrative (1) is a recall of *The Letter* produced by an 18 yr old American female (all instances of emotion talk are underlined):

(1)   The movie I just saw was about this girl…she is probably…college age…she was walking home, I guess, from class or whatever…she had her backpack on…over a bridge, down the street, to her…her house, I guess, because she got the mail and there was a letter in there for her…and…uhm…she sat down, and she opened her mail, and <u>she got really upset</u> when she read this letter…uhm… it wasn't clear what it was about, and <u>she started to cry</u>, and…uhm…then… <u>she wasn't really angry, she was more like sad</u>, I guess… and when her friend came in…or…I guess…I guess, it was her friend, or it was a housemate, or whatever, walked in and…uhm…and <u>her housemate or whatever wanted to see what's wrong with her</u>, so she picked up the letter and started to read…and then the what…<u>the original woman got pissed</u> that she was, that the other girl was reading her letter and she said something, like, why are you reading my mail or something like that, and she took away the letter and then she left, and then the other girl shrugged and sat down, and… <u>she didn't seem to know what was wrong with her.</u>

A Russian narrative (2), also elicited by *The Letter*, is told by a 22 yr old Russian female (all instances of emotion talk are underlined):

(2)   *Znachit, devushka vozvrashchaetsia domoi ili v obshchezhitie kuda-to, i poluchaia/po doroge, vidimo, vziala vsiu svoiu pochtu, poluchila bol'shoe kolichestvo pisem, nu i za/ kogda ona vernulas', ee interes/prishla domoi, ona… v obshchem-to, zainteresovalas' iavno tol'ko odnim pis'mom, eshche ne znaia dazhe o ego soderzhanii… ona srazu zhe, ne obrashchaia vnimaniia na okruzhaiushchuiu… tozhe na/na to, chto idet po televizoru tam, i ne interesuias' drugimi pis'mami, beret chitaet imenno eto pis'mo, i, vidimo, <u>v pis'me bylo chto-to takoe, chto ee ochen' potriaslo i rasstroilo</u>, i k… <u>eto srazu otrazilos' na ee vneshnem vide, povedenii, ona rasstroilas'</u>, i, vidimo, ona ne ozhidala togo, chto tam napisano bylo dazhe, ne mozh/ne mozhet… <u>nastol'ko ee eto porazilo</u>, navernoe, chto ona ne mozhet poverit' v eto, pytaetsia eshche raz prochitat' pis'mo, no tam nichego ne izmenilos', i, v obshchem/<u>potriasennaia</u>, <u>ona sidit rasstroennaia</u>, v etot moment vhodit v*

komnatu drugaia devushka, vidimo, kak priiatel'nitsa kakaia-to, znakomaia, no ne… vriad li, blizkaia podruga, kotoraia srazu zhe poniala/s… <u>sostoianie, v kakom nakhoditsia devushka rasstroennaia</u>, i pytaetsia, vidimo, razobrat'sia v etom… ona, uhm, ne poluchiv otveta ot devushki, ona beret pis'mo bez razreshenia chuzhoe, py/pytaetsia tam chto-to naiti, no pis'mo u nee otobrali i, vidimo, kogda <u>rasstroennaia devushka ushla, to vtoraia devushka dal'she perezhivat' po etomu povodu ne stala, eto ee ne ochen' zadelo, prosto sela</u>, prodolzhila smotret' televizor.

'So, a girl is coming back home or to a dorm somewhere, and receiving/on [her] way in, it seems, [she] took out all her mail, [she] received a lot of letters, so then/when she returned, her interest/[she] got home, she… well, got clearly interested in one letter only, even without knowing its contents… she immediately, without paying any attention to the surrounding… also to/to what's playing on TV, and not exhibiting any interest in other letters, takes [and] reads this specific letter and, it seems, <u>there was something in that letter that really shocked and upset her</u>, and… <u>this was immediately reflected in her external appearances, behavior, she got upset</u>, and, it seems, she didn't expect what was written in there, can't/can't… <u>it shocked her so much</u>, probably, that she can't even believe it, tries to read the letter one more time, but nothing changed there, and, so/<u>shocked, she is sitting upset</u>, at this point another girl enters the room, it seems, some friend or acquaintance, but not… not likely a close friend, who immediately understood/the s… <u>the state in which the upset girl is</u>, and tries, it seems, to understand what is going on… she, uhm, not getting any answer from the girl, she takes the letter, without permission, somebody else's [letter], tr/tries to find something there, but the letter is taken away from her, and, it seems, <u>when the upset girl left, the second girl didn't continue suffering about it, it didn't affect her that much</u>, so [she] simply sat down, continued watching TV'.

An American narrative (3) is elicited by *Pis'mo*, a film with the same script made in the Ukraine, and told by a 19 yr old American male (all instances of emotion talk are underlined):

(3)   Uhm, she came in, I guess, gets her mail, uhm, sits down at her desk, I guess, to read it, and, uhm, <u>seems pretty bothered by it</u>, I guess, <u>pretty upset by it</u>, uhm… keeps on kind of looking at it, and putting it back, and not wanting to look at it… and then another woman comes in who <u>looks like she is concerned about her</u>, tries to, I guess, <u>kind of console her</u>, whatever, help her, and then stops, I don't know… uhm, that's, I guess, about it.

The last example (4) is a Russian narrative, elicited by *Pis'mo* and told by a 22 yr old Russian male (all instances of emotion talk are underlined):

(4)   *V etom fil'me ia uvidel, chto noch'iu devushka vozvratilas', nu, vidimo, ona vozvratilas'... domoi, eto/eto byl chuzhoi, kazhetsia, dlia nee gorod, ili ona prosto zhivet ne s roditeliami, snimaet gde-to kvartiru, kak mne pokazalos'... komnatu ona tam snimaet, i ona v pochtovom iashchike vziala gazetu, pis'mo, snachala pis'mo otlozhila, potom ee pis'mo zainteresovalo, vidimo, ona... znachimyi kakoi-to chelovek byl... napisal ei pis'mo... ona prishla domoi, v komnatu v svoiu zashla... i, ne razdevshis', srazu stala chitat' eto... a... net, ona.... (long pause)... ne pomniu chto... tak, ona sela za stol i chitat' stala pis'mo... <u>ee ono sil'no vzvolnovalo</u>... (long pause)... vot, soderzhanie/po soderzhaniiu i, ia by ne skazal, <u>chto tam chto-to sil'no plohoe bylo</u>, skoree vsego, kakaia-to neozhidannost'... ili to, chto ei mesha/pomeshat' moglo by... mozhet chelovek o priezde kakom-to... kotorogo ona ne zhdala v etot moment... <u>nepriiatnoe ona oshchushchenie, ona ispytyvala</u>... potom zashla... i tozhe... devushka... (long pause)...uhm... mozhet postarshe nemnozhko... ta obratilas' k nei, no vidno... a pervaia nasha devushka one ee ne zamechala, staralas' ne zamechat', ei bylo vse ravno, <u>ona v svoikh mysliakh byla</u>... ona, devushka, kotoraia zashla v komnatu, khotela uvidet' to, chto napisano v pis'me, prochitat', chto ona v printsipe i uspela sdelat', kak mne pokazalos', potomu chto pis'mo bylo korotkoe... nu, nasha pervaia devushka... ona demonstrativno tak pis'mo zabrala i ushla... vidimo, na ulitsu, i zakurila tam, chtoby rasslabitsia kak-to...otdokhnut'... vot, v printsipe, i vse.*

'In this movie I saw that at night a girl came back, it seems, she came back... home, this/ this was a strange city for her, it seems, or she simply doesn't live with her parents, rents an apartment somewhere, it seemed to me... she is renting a room there, and from the mailbox she got a newspaper, a letter, at first [she] put the letter away, then the letter appeared interesting to her, it seems, she... it was an important person... [who] wrote the letter to her... she came home, entered her room... and, without taking her coat off, immediately started reading that... oh... no, she... (long pause)... I don't remember what... so, she sat down at the table and started reading the letter... <u>it really upset her</u>... (long pause)... so, the contents/by the contents I wouldn't say <u>there was something really bad in there</u>, more likely, some surprise... or something that could bo/bother her... maybe, a person's arrival... that she wasn't expecting at that time... <u>she was experiencing an unpleasant</u>

<u>sensation</u>, then entered... also... a girl... (long pause)... uhm... maybe, a little bit older... that one started talking to her, but it seems... our first girl wasn't noticing her, tried not to notice, she didn't care, <u>she was in her thoughts</u>... she, the girl who entered the room, wanted to see what was written in that letter, to read, which she actually managed to do, it seemed to me, as the letter was short... so, our first girl... she demonstratively took away the letter and left... possibly, [went] out-side, and started smoking there, to relax somehow... get some rest... this is, actually, it'.

4.2 Data analysis

Instances of emotion talk in all of the narratives were analyzed both quantita-tively and qualitatively. In both types of analysis, a distinction was made between *lemmas* (units of meaning or words) and *lexemes* (lexical items or tokens). An initial quantitave analysis examined the proportion of emotion lemmas and lexemes in the narratives to the overall number of lemmas and lexemes. Then, the influence of language, type of material, and gender on the proportion of emotion vocabulary in the narratives was examined through a three-way ANOVA test. The results demonstrated that Russians and Americans, as well as males and females, did not differ overall in the proportion of emotion vocabulary in their narratives (for a detailed discussion, see Dewaele and Pavlenko 2002). Both groups also produced a similar number of emotion lexemes (Americans n = 270, Russians n = 253). The type of material did play a role, however: for both groups, the retelling of *The Letter* was much richer in emotion lexemes (M (mean percentage) = 4.8% of the narrative corpus) than the retelling of *Pis'mo* (M = 3.0%).

A subsequent analysis focused on identifying similarities and differences between the two groups in the following areas: (1) identification of emotions experienced by the main protagonist in each film (emotion lexicon); (2) framing of emotion states (semantic and morphosyntactic constructions used in emotion discourse); (3) connections drawn between emotions and the body; (4) rationale provided for the behavior of the main protagonist at the end of the film (emotion scripts the participants draw on).

4.2.1 *Identification of emotion states*
The first stage of analysis focused on identifying the dominant interpretation of the main protagonist's emotional states in the four sets of narratives. The

analysis of *The Letter* narratives showed that all 20 Americans identified the girl as being 'upset' by the letter (58 tokens of 'upset', M (mean number) = 2.9 per narrative). This unanimity suggests that the film portrayed an emotion script that was clearly recognizable for young white middle-class American participants. Similarly, 14 out of 20 Russian monolinguals suggested that the girl was *rasstroena* 'upset' (29 tokens, M = 2.07 per narrative), indicating only slightly less agreement on identification of personal emotions in an unfamiliar environment.

Next, all other references to the woman's emotional states were examined in order to identify alternative inferences about her emotions. In *The Letter* narratives produced by American monolinguals, 20 other emotion lemmas, in addition to 'upset', were used to describe the main protagonist. The predominant category, adjectives, included: 'angry' (12 participants), 'mad' (6), 'sad' (4), 'frustrated' (3), 'disturbed' (3), 'depressed' (2), 'disappointed' (2), 'confused' (1), 'distraught' (1), 'embarrassed' (1), 'perplexed' (1), 'pissed' (1), and 'shocked' (1). The second category included verbs: 'to cry' or 'crying' (7), 'to deal' [with emotions] (3), 'to feel' (2), and 'to sigh' (1). Some participants also used prepositional phrases: 'in anger' (2), 'in disbelief' (2), and 'in disgust' (1). Additional emotion lexemes used by the participants included collocations and idiomatic expressions such as 'an emotionally traumatic event' (1) and being 'at the point of tears' (1). These words and expressions can be divided into six different emotion categories: *anger* (angry, in anger, mad, pissed [off]), *sadness* (depressed, disturbed, distraught, frustrated, sad, upset, to cry, to sigh, an emotionally traumatic event, at the point of tears), *surprise* (confused, in disbelief, perplexed, shocked), *disgust* (in disgust), *disappointment* (disappointed), and *embarrassment* (embarrassed). Thus, we can see that these diverse linguistic means serve to attribute six very different emotions to the same protagonist: anger, sadness, surprise, embarrassment, disappointment, and disgust.

Russian monolinguals used 12 emotion lemmas to describe the state of the protagonist in *The Letter*, in addition to *rasstroena* 'upset': *perezhivat'* 'to suffer things through' (6 participants), *ogorchena* 'saddened', 'upset' (3), *porazit'* 'to shock, astound, strike', *potriasti* 'to shock, astound, shake', *potriasena* 'shocked' (5), *metat'sia* 'to rush about in despair' (1), *vozmushchena* 'incensed' (1), *opechalena* 'saddened' (1), *nedovol'na* 'dissatisfied' (1), *razdrazhena* 'irritated' (1), and *razocharovana* 'disappointed' (1). One participant also mentioned that the letter *udivilo* 'surprised' [her]. In sum, we can discern four types of emotions being attributed to the main protagonist: *gnev* 'anger' (*vozmushchena* 'incensed', *nedovol'na* 'dissatisfied', *razdrazhena* 'irritated'), *grust'* 'sadness'

(*rasstroena* 'upset', *perezhivat'* 'to suffer things through', *ogorchena* 'saddened', 'upset', *opechalena* 'saddened'), *udivlenie* 'surprise' (*porazit'* 'to shock, astound, strike', *potriasti* 'to shock, astound, shake', *potriasena* 'shocked', *udivilo* 'surprised'), and *razocharovanie* 'disappointment' (*razocharovana* 'disappointed'). We can see that these emotion states — anger, sadness, surprise, and disappointment — are the same as mentioned by the American participants; however, no Russian participants mentioned either *smushchenie* 'embarrassment' or *otvrashchenie* 'disgust'. The overlap between the two groups suggests that in different speech communities identification of emotions may proceed along similar lines in contexts where there is an overlap between the meanings of emotion concepts and cultural scripts attached to them. Two caveats, however, need to be brought up here. To begin with, as we can see in the case of *The Letter*, identification may be more homogeneous if the action takes place in a familiar context. In addition, even when the primary identification is homogeneous, more than one emotion may be attributed to an individual, as is the case with retellings by both groups of subjects.

Moreover, the analysis demonstrates that 8 out of 20 American monolinguals failed to identify whether the girl was angry or sad (alternatively: upset, depressed, frustrated) and used both words to describe the state she was in (also, see example (1)):

(5)   …she seems upset or angry…
         …and it made her very… angry or sad or both…
         …that made her… angry or sad, or a com/combination…
         …she put the letter down either in anger, or maybe depression…
         …she seemed more angry than… than depressed…

Two Russian subjects also mentioned that the letter both upset and angered the girl:

(6)   …*ta razdrazhena i chem-to rasstroena*…
         'the other one is irritated and upset by something'

         …*pis'mo ee rasstraivaet… ee, kak-to to li zlit pis'mo*…
         'the letter upsets her… she is, somehow, angered by the letter
         (literally: the letter angers her)'

This confusion is a rather curious phenomenon as not only does it indicate that more than one emotion state may be attributed to an individual but also that the boundaries between particular emotions, such as anger and sadness, may be rather blurry and hard to distinguish (see also Wierzbicka 1998b, for a compar-

ative analysis of 'sadness' and 'anger' in Russian and English, and Bamberg 1997, for a review of languages which don't differentiate between 'sadness' and 'anger' and a discussion of the confusion between the two in children's narratives). Thus, in situations where facial expressions and body language are contextualized, as they are in real life, and not presented as snapshots of facial expressions, it may be much more difficult to identify specific emotions and to decide between them. In sum, the discursive evidence above suggests that the processes of perception, recognition, and identification of particular emotions are infinitely more complex than Ekman's (1980, 1992, 1993) picture-based studies would lead us to believe.

The analysis of *Pis'mo* narratives demonstrated that less unanimity was achieved among the two groups of participants in the identification of emotion states of the main protagonist, perhaps due to the acting style of the actress in the film: 9 American monolinguals identified the young woman as being 'upset' (16 tokens), while 6 Russian monolinguals described her as *rasstroena* 'upset' (7 tokens). At the same time, no participants appeared confused with regard to whether the woman was angry or sad.

As mentioned earlier, *Pis'mo* narratives elicited not only less agreement but also less emotion talk from both groups of participants. Both sets of narratives also exhibited less lexical variation. In American monolinguals' narratives, in addition to 'upset', 16 other emotion lemmas were used to describe the main protagonist's emotional state: 'sad' or 'saddened' (4 participants), 'disturbed' (3), 'angry' (2), 'annoyed' (2), 'distressed' (2), 'distraught' (2), 'bothered' (1), 'crazy' (1), 'surprised' (1), 'disappointed' (1). In addition, the letter was described as 'depressing' (1) and 'surprising' (1). The verbs used included 'to cry' (3), 'to sob' (1) and 'to feel' (2). These words can be divided into four emotion categories, similar to the ones discussed above: *sadness* (distressed, distraught, disturbed, sad, saddened, upset, to cry, to sob), *surprise* (surprised), *anger* (angry, annoyed, bothered), and *disappointment* (disappointed). Russian participants exhibited even less lexical variation in discussing the main protagonist in their *Pis'mo* narratives. In addition to the word *rasstroena* 'upset', they used 3 other emotion lemmas: the verb *perezhivat'* 'to suffer things through' (3 participants) and two adjectives, *ogorchena* 'saddened' (3) and *vzvolnovana* 'upset', 'nervous' (2), identifying the girl's emotion state as that of sadness.

In sum, the analysis of the identification of emotion states of the main protagonist uncovered some interesting trends in the performance of the study participants. To begin with, the two groups identified the same four emotion categories in the two films; in addition, American monolinguals also discussed

disgust and embarrassment in *The Letter* narratives. We also saw that it may be easier to achieve unanimity when discussing actions taking place in a familiar cultural context. At the same time, social aspects of a particular situation may override culture dependence: both Russians and Americans achieved more agreement in interpreting *The Letter* than *Pis'mo* (possibly, because — even though the films were based on the same script — the actresses in the two films differed in how they displayed emotions). Some participants in both groups were confused with regard to whether the woman in *The Letter* was sad or angry or both, and the majority of them attributed an array of other emotional states to her (oftentimes simultaneously). This wide range of attributions represents competing discursive constructions of emotions and suggests that identification of emotions is a complex process, whereby, influenced by cultural, social, and individual factors, different individuals may attribute different emotional states to the same people. No gendered patterns emerged in the analysis of performance of the two groups.

4.2.2 Framing of emotion states

In this section, I will take a close look at the linguistic means used by the members of the two monolingual groups to refer to emotions. As mentioned earlier, American participants used slightly more emotion lexemes or tokens (n = 270) than Russian participants (n = 253) (see appendices 1 and 2). At the same time, Russian participants used 1.5 times as many emotion lemmas (n = 96) as the American participants (n = 66) to discuss emotions in the two films. They also exhibited more lexical diversity in their choices of emotion-related nouns (Russian n = 24, English n = 16), verbs (Russian n = 34, English = 14), and adverbs (Russian n = 9, English n = 3), while Americans used a slightly higher number of emotion adjectives (English n = 33, Russian n = 29).

An analysis of the frequency of use of different word categories suggests that adjectives, in particular, adjectives — or pseudo-participles — derived from emotive verbs, such as 'upset', 'frustrated' or 'disturbed', dominate the American corpus (184 tokens, 68%). Accordingly, an analysis of all instances of emotion talk in the narratives shows that the majority of monolingual Americans (32 out of 40, 80%) exhibit a preference for an adjectival pattern in their narratives. They also consistently frame emotions as states, not only through the use of adjectives, but also with the aid of the copula verb 'to be', perception copulas 'to feel', 'to seem', 'to look', 'to appear', or prepositional phrases, as in the examples below:

(7)   ...she was very frustrated, upset...

...she put the letter down in anger or maybe depression...

...she seemed both like disappointed and, and mad... uhm, and
kind of embarrassed...

...maybe she felt angry, she didn't feel like she needed to be
comforted or anything...

...she seemed, you know, to get upset, or just, uhm... like, uhm... I
don't know, just, maybe in a state of disbelief or something about what
she read in the letter...

Seventeen American participants (43%) marked the change of state through the
use of change-of-state copulas 'to get' and 'to become', while seven (18%)
suggested that something 'upset her' or 'made her angry', thus, emphasing the
passive or imposed aspect of emotion states:

(8)   ...she got really upset when she read this letter...

...she became very upset that her friend was looking through her mail...

...there were some bad news in the letter, something frustrating, some-
thing that upset her...

In Russian it is also possible to express emotions as states, and several Russian
participants made references to the woman's *sostoianie* 'state' (9 participants,
22%) and *nastroenie* 'mood' (6, 15%):

(9)   ...*[ona] idet kurit' chtoby khot' kak-to svoe sostoianie uluchshit'*...

'[she] goes [outside] to smoke in order to improve her internal state
somehow'

...*vidno, chto u nee nastroenie polnost'iu isporcheno*...

'one can see that her mood is completely spoiled'

At the same time, this discursive construction is clearly secondary in the
Russian corpus. In their narratives, monolingual Russian participants exhibit a
preference for verbs (34 lemmas, 35%; 99 lexemes, 39%), followed by almost
equal numbers of nouns (24 lemmas, 25%; 77 lexemes, 30%), and adjectives (29
lemmas, 30%; 63 lexemes, 25%) (see Appendix 2). Russian participants
consistently frame emotions as an active process through the use of imper-
fective verbs such as *rasstraivat'sia* 'to get upset' (22 participants, 55%; 24
tokens, 9%) and, especially, *perezhivat'* 'to suffer things through' (15 partici-
pants, 38%; 17 tokens, 7%), the verb that doesn't have an English translation
equivalent. The meaning of the verb's perfective counterpart *perezhit'* is 'to live
through' (e.g., difficult times), while the meaning of the imperfective lemma is

more immediate and refers to the process of experiencing, processing, and
dealing with particular emotions, most often 'suffering them through'. It is
difficult, however, to render the verb precisely in English as its closest counter-
parts 'experiencing' and 'processing' lack the emotional overtone of being
nervous, anxious, or suffering, crucial for understanding of *perezhivat'* (see Ries
1997, for a discussion of the importance of suffering in Russian culture).
Together with the noun *perezhivania* 'feelings', 'emotions', 'sufferings',
perezhivat' accounts for 9% of all emotion lexemes in the Russian corpus (23
tokens). As can be seen in the examples below, the verb is used to refer to an
active process, which can be interrupted by other people. As such, it is often
modified by adverbs and surrounded by other action verbs:

(10)   ...*ona sela v kreslo, ukhvatilas' za golovu, i perezhivala ochen' sil'no to, chto
uznala iz pis'ma*...

'she sat down in an armchair, clasped her head, and was suffer-
ing through (experiencing) very strongly what she found out
from the letter'

...*[ona] vzdykhaet, perezhivaet chto-to, vspominaet, predstavliaet*...

'[she] is sighing, suffering through (experiencing, processing) some-
thing, remembering, imagining'

...*[ona] rezko vstaet, ubiraet pis'mo i, opiat'-taki perezhivaia, nervnichaia,
idet kurit'*...

'[she] gets up abruptly, removes the letter, and, once again, suffering
through (experiencing, processing) and being nervous, goes [outside] to
smoke'

...*one perezhivala svoi kakie-to emotsii, a vtoraia devushka ei pomeshala*...

'she was suffering through (experiencing) her own emotions, and the
other girl interrupted her (prevented her from doing so, bothered her)'

*Ia dumaiu, potomu chto perezhivat' etu informatsiiu, kotoruiu ona polu-
chila iz etogo pis'ma, ei khotelos' odnoi, bez postoronnikh glaz*...

'I think that [in order to] to process (suffer through) the information she
got from that letter she wanted to be alone, away from other people'

ei nado bylo uiti, chtoby odnoi kak-to perezhit'...

'she had to leave, to suffer things through alone'

...*devushka ochen' ostro perezhivaiet sobytiia, kotorye, znachit,
otrazheny v etom pis'me, vot*...

'the girl is very deeply (literally: sharply) experiencing (suffering
through) the events which are, well, reflected in this letter'

In Russian narratives the verb *perezhivat'* is often combined with other similar verbs such as *prochuvstvovat'* 'to feel through', *ispytyvat'* 'to experience', *metat'sia* 'to rush around in despair', *nervnichat'* 'to be nervous' (and to demonstrate it actively through appropriate behaviors), *gorevat'* 'to grieve' and *ubivat'sia* 'to grieve', 'to torment oneself' (literally: to be killing oneself over something or someone):

(11)   *...v tot moment, kogda pervaia devushka, znachit, ubivalas' po pis'mu...*
'at the point when the first girl was, well, tormenting herself over the letter'

...pis'mo, vidimo, ot, nu, takoe, ot kotorogo ona ochen' rasstroilas', potomu chto... nu, ona sebia vela tak kak, ochen' nervnichala, vot...
'this letter, it seems, is such that she got very upset by it, because... well, she behaved so that, [she was being] very nervous'

...ei zakhotelos' perezhit' te izvestiia v kakom-to drugom meste... gde ona smogla by po-novomu eto vse prochuvstvovat'...
'she wanted to suffer through (to process) the news in another place... where she could feel it all through in a new way...'

Another interesting aspect of emotion construction in Russian is the social character of emotions whereby people can be engaged in the processes of co-feeling, as expressed in the verbs *sochuvstvovat'* 'to sympathize' (literally: to co-feel) and *soperezhivat'* 'to empathize' (literally: to co-suffer things through), neither of which has exact counterparts in American English (for an informative discussion of these notions, see Apresian et al. 1999). This social aspect of emotions is also emphasized in the narratives in the Russian corpus where not only the protagonists but also the audience may be involved in the feeling process:

(12)   *...chuvstvuetsia, chto ona opechalena, ogorchena...*
'one can feel that she is chagrined, saddened'

my chuvstvuem, chto ona ispytyvaet gore...
'we feel that she is experiencing grief'

Most importantly, emotions are portrayed in the Russian corpus as phenomena which may be positioned outside of individuals, or which may overflow and control people. Thus, in order to achieve some measure of control, the individuals have to experience, suffer, or feel things through (*perezhivat', prochuvstvovat'*), 'to give in' to their feelings and, at times, share them with others:

(13)   *...[ona ushla] chtoby ei ne meshali predavat'sia svoim chuvstvam...*
'[she left] so that others wouldn't interfere while she is giving in to her feelings'

...trudno dazhe skazat' kakie imenno chuvstva ei/ee perepolniaiut..
'it is hard even to say what kind of feelings she is experiencing (literally: are overflowing her)'

...ona dolzhna byla kak-to udalit'sia, chtoby sobrat'sia s mysliami, s chuvstvami...
'she had to leave, in order to get her thoughts and feelings together (literally: to get together with her thoughts and feelings)'

In contrast, collocations and metaphoric expressions encountered in the American corpus portray emotions as situated inside individuals and controllable, as something that can be 'vented', 'shared' and, most importantly, 'dealt with':

(14)   ...she wanted to be left alone to deal with whatever she was feeling about what she just learned...
...[she left] to vent her feelings, to go outside and smoke...

The view of emotions as something potentially negative that needs to be controlled and dealt with can also be inferred from a collocation, 'something is wrong', used frequently in the American narratives (20 tokens, 7%). Sixteen participants out of 40 (40%) inferred that the second woman asked the first about 'what was wrong', thus framing the emotional state of the main protagonist as abnormal:

(15)   ...and her roommate or her friend came in, and asked her what was wrong...
...looked like she asked her if anything was wrong...

Finally, it also appears that, in both sets of narratives, the Russian narrators used more emotionally charged lemmas to describe the woman's emotional state. To begin with, Russian has no exact counterpart of anger (cf. Wierzbicka 1998b). Instead, where nouns are concerned, it distinguishes between *zlost'* 'malice', 'spite', 'anger', and *gnev* 'wrath', 'ire', 'anger'. It also distinguishes between three verbs, each stronger than the preceding one: *serdit'sia* 'to be cross', 'to be angry', *zlit'sia* 'to be irritated', 'to be angry', and *gnevat'sia* 'to rage', 'to be irate'. All three lemmas were used in the narratives, with two participants qualifying the girl's actions as *gnevno* 'in wrath, ire'. Similarly, where American participants talked of sadness and distress, Russian participants also invoked *gore* 'grief',

gorevat' 'to grieve' and even *ubivat'sia* 'to grieve', 'to torment oneself' (literally: to be killing oneself over something or someone). In instances where in English narratives the main protagonist was portrayed as surprised and shocked, Russian narratives talked not only about *udivliat'* 'to surprise', but also appealed to emotion verbs *potriasti* 'to shock, astound, shake' and *porazit'* 'to shock, astound, strike'. As a result, the same situation is depicted as more charged and tragic in the Russian narratives:

(16)   *…devushka nevmeniaema… bez vsiakoi reaktsii…*
'the girl is beside herself… with no reaction'

…pervaia devushka ubivalas', znachit, po pis'mu…
'so, the first girl was tormenting herself over the letter'

…soderzhanie etoi zapiski gluboko potriaslo ee…
'the contents of this note deeply shocked her'

…nastol'ko eto ee porazilo, chto ona ne mozhet poverit' v eto…
'this astounded her so much that she couldn't believe it'

…pozhalui, eto sobytie, kotoroe/kotoroe ona… ne mozhet prosto poverit', chto eto deistvitel'no tak, eto nastol'ko muchitel'no i neveroiatno dlia nee…
'perhaps, this event which/which she… can't believe that this is really so, this is so painful (agonizing) and hard to believe (incredible) for her'

…my chuvstvuem, chto ona ispytyvaet gore…
'we feel that she is experiencing grief'

…one ne khotela, chtoby skazhem tak, ee gore podvergalos' kakomu-to osmeianiiu, mozhet byt', dazhe… eto, po-moemu, koshchunstvenno otnosit'sia k chuzhomu goriu tak, dazhe esli ty schitaesh' ego nadumannym…
'she didn't want, let's say, for her grief to be somehow ridiculed, maybe even… it is, in my opinion, blasphemous (sacrilegious) to treat another person's grief this way, even if you consider it an overreaction (literally: imaginary, made up)'

Thus, we can see that the same situation and even the same general emotions can be constructed in different ways depending on ways in which emotions are framed in particular speech communities. The analysis of ways of framing emotions in the American and Russian narrative corpora fully supports Wierzbicka's (1992) claims that Russian favors a verbal pattern in construction of emotions, while English opts for an adjectival one. The study demonstrates that while both speech communities may frame emotions as states, American monolinguals emphasized the passive — and even induced — state aspect of

emotions, while Russian participants consistently constructed emotions as an active process. The Russian narrators also presented emotions as forces to which individuals may 'give in', while American narrators constructed emotions as abnormal states that need to be dealt with'. Finally, Russian narrators also used a wider lexical range of emotion lemmas, as well as more intense terms, to construct their emotion narratives. The key notion in Russian discourse, that of *perezhivat'* 'to suffer things through', had no counterpart in American narratives.

No gender preferences for particular ways of framing emotions emerged in the qualitative analysis of the narratives in the corpus (for similar results, see Lutz 1990 and Shimanoff 1983). While in previous discussions of Russian emotion discourse the verb *perezhivat'* was presented as an exclusive part of female genderlect (Yokoyama 1999:409), in the present corpus the lemmas *perezhivat'* and *perezhivaniia* were used by 11 female and 6 male participants. The lack of pronounced gender differences in the present study may not, however, be generalizable. The narratives elicited from the participants are third-person narratives which involve a particular discursive stance; it is quite possible that in some first person narratives emotions may be constructed differently by male and female narrators depending on their particular subject positions.

4.2.3 Emotions and the body

As seen in the previous discussion, Russian participants discursively construct emotions as active processes expressed in a number of external behaviors, while American participants present emotions as internal states, not necessarily externalized. Thus, it is not surprising that an analysis of all the links made in the narratives between emotions and the body indicates that Russian narrators pay significantly more attention to the embodied aspect of emotions than do the American narrators. As discussed earlier, monolingual Americans constructed the links between emotions and the body by inferring the emotional state from the appearances and using perception copulas as 'to appear', 'to seem' and 'to look [like]' (17 participants, 42%):

(17)   …she looked like she was really upset at what she read…

Only one participant explicitly mentioned the woman's facial expression:

(18)   …she has a very, like, sad expression on her face…

Ten participants (25%) also linked sadness and the action of crying, as in the example below:

(19) …she starts sighing and playing with her hair and getting frustrated and upset and everything, and she looks like she is gonna cry sometimes…

In the Russian narratives, twenty seven participants (68%) discussed connections between emotions, the body, and external behaviors. To begin with, just like American monolinguals, seven Russian participants (18%) mentioned that the girl was crying or getting ready to cry. At the same time, unlike the American participants, fifteen Russian narrators (38%) explicitly linked the woman's emotions, external appearances, and behavior:

(20) …vidimo, v pis'me bylo chto-to takoe, chto ee ochen' potriaslo i rasstroilo… eto srazu otrazilos' na ee vneshnem vide, povedenii…
      'it seems, there was something in the letter that really shocked and upset her… this was immediately reflected in her external appearances, behavior'

      …soderzhanie etogo pis'ma iavno rasstraivaet ee, i ona vsiacheski pokazyvaet svoi gorestnye emotsii… po etomu povodu…
      'the contents of the letter upset her and she demonstrates in all sorts of ways her painful emotions… caused by this'

All body parts are involved in the process of feeling and grieving in these narratives:

– head:

(21) …one sela v kreslo, ukhvatilas' za golovu rukami, i perezhivala ochen' sil'no to, chto ona uznala iz pis'ma…
      'she sat down in an armchair, clasped her head with her hands (or literally: clutched at her head) and very strongly suffered through what she learned from the letter'

      …stala sil'no gorevat', obkhvativ golovu rukami…
      'she started grieving strongly, clutching at her head'

– face:

(22) …po ee litsu uzhe srazu nachinaet byt' poniatno, chto pis'mo liubovnoe, s odnoi storony, tochnee, ot liubimogo cheloveka, po tomu kak ee vyrazhenie litsa meniaetsia, ten' na litse…
      '[judging] by her face (facial expression), it is clear that the letter is a love one, it seems, or rather, from a beloved person, [judging] by how her facial expression is changing, the shadow on her face'

      …po ee litsu stanovitsia vidno, chto v pis'me kak/nu, napisano to, chto vidno, ei nepriiatno…

'on her face one can see that there is something (literally: something is written) in the letter that is unpleasant for her'

– eyebrows:

(23) …s pervykh strochek pis'ma ona stala khmuritsia, i, nakonets, zaplakala…
      'from the first lines of the letter she started frowning, and, finally, started crying'

– nose:

(24) …u nee nachinaet ukhudshat'sia nastroenie… kogda ona dochityvaet pis'mo, nu… u nee nastroenie uzhe sovsem plokhoe, ona nachinaet kak by vytirat' nos, perezhivaet…
      'her mood is starting to get worse… when she finished reading the letter, so… her mood is already very bad, she kind of begins wiping her nose, suffering through'

– gestures:

(25) …ee zhesty, vyrazhenie ee litsa, oni govorili o tom, chto ona kak budto by ne mozhet poverit' v to, chto eto deistvitel'no tak…
      'her gestures, her facial expressions, they were telling us that it was as if she couldn't believe that this is so'

      …nu, ona nachala razlichnye zhesty takie neudovol'stviia delat'…
      'so, she began making different gestures expressing displeasure'

      …ona, v dosade dazhe, eh… otshvyrnula pis'mo na stol…
      'in annoyance she even, uhm… tossed the letter to the table'

This array of means through which Russian narrators link the body and motions fully supports Wierzbicka's (1998a, 1999) claims that Russian descriptions of emotions typically call for discussions of actions and bodily processes which are presented as involving the whole person, and that Russian takes this attitude to the human body further than most European languages, in the present case English.

4.2.4 Emotion scripts

The final step of the analysis established that the two monolingual groups also differed with regard to emotion scripts they drew on, as seen in the interpretations offered for the behavior of the main protagonist, in particular her leaving the room after the second woman started reading the letter. In *The Letter* narratives, fifteen American participants (75%) suggested that the woman left

because, by reading her letter, the other woman 'invaded her privacy' since her letter was her 'personal business':

(26)   ...she intruded on her privacy by reading the letter...
        ...she felt like she was invading her privacy...
        ...it was her personal business and she doesn't/didn't want her friend to know about it...

In addition, one participant inferred that she may have been embarrassed about the contents of the letter, and four stated that she had left because she was upset by the letter and wanted to be alone 'to deal' with her feelings which she 'didn't want to share':

(27)   ...she didn't wanna share her feelings with her roommate...
        ...she wanted to be left alone to deal with whatever she was feeling about what she just learned...

In contrast, eleven Russian narrators (55%) suggested that the woman left because she wanted to be alone to *perezhivat'* 'to suffer things through'. This disparity is consistent with the fact that Russian does not have a concept of privacy, and, thus, situations which for monolingual Americans involve an invasion of privacy are interpreted through other means by monolingual Russian speakers (Pavlenko 1999). At the same time, in Russian culture reading of others' letters is not lauded either, and six participants did mention that the girl wasn't pleased with the other woman reading her letter. Three more suggested that she left because she had encountered a complete lack of understanding (*neponimanie*) of her situation. Nevertheless, the dominant interpretation of the departure in the Russian narratives was the girl's need to be alone with her feelings, in order to engage in the active process of *perezhivat'*:

(28)   ...[ona ushla] chtoby ei ne meshali predavat'sia svoim chuvstvam...
        '[she left] so that others wouldn't interfere (bother her) while she is giving in to her feelings'

        ...ona dolzhna byla kak-to udalit'sia, chtoby sobrat'sia s mysliami, s chuvstvami...
        'she had to leave, in order to get her thoughts and feelings together (literally: to get together with her thoughts and feelings)'

        ...ona khotela ostat'sia naedine s... soboi i, chtoby ei nikto ne meshal, to est', ostat'sia naedine so svoimi perezhivaniami...
        'she wanted to remain alone... with herself, so that nobody would bother her, in other words, to remain alone with her feelings'

In their *Pis'mo* narratives, 14 monolingual Americans (70%) suggested that the woman left because she was upset by the letter and wanted to be alone ('to deal' with her feelings or 'to vent' them, or simply 'to relax'), while 6 (30%) suggested that she resented the fact that her letter was read and that her privacy was intruded. Similarly, four Russian participants (20%) stated that she was displeased with the other woman reading her letter, suggesting that the woman was interfering with the girl's personal business (*lezt' v chuzhie dela*). Sixteen Russian participants (80%) suggested that the woman left because she was *rasstroena* 'upset', and wanted to be alone with her feelings and *perezhivat'*. Interestingly, one participant used a metaphor, *vtorzhenie v dushevnoe sostoianie* 'intrusion into the state of one's soul', which could be perceived as a Russian counterpart of privacy (not informational privacy, however, but the privacy of one's emotions):

(29)   ...ia dumaiu, chto-to, chto ona prochitala, eto ee bylo lichnym perezhivaniem, i kakoe-to takoe dostatochno bestseremonnoe vtorzhenie v dushevnoe sostoianie dlia nee bylo nepriemlemo na dannom etape...
        'I think, something that she read, it was her personal suffering (experience, feeling), and that really rather impudent intrusion into [her] soul state was unacceptable for her at this point'

In sum, we can see, once again, that the two groups differ somewhat with regard to emotion scripts available to them. The 'invasion of privacy' script appears to be unique to contemporary American culture, where it may refer to a wide range of behaviors, from an invasion of spatial territory to that of informational secrecy. In Russian culture, similar protection is granted primarily to the state of one's emotions and personal and business relationships, as seen in the metaphor above and in the common expressions *lezt' v dushu* 'to inquire crudely' (literally: to attempt to get into one's soul) and *lezt' v chuzhie dela* 'to interfere with someone's affairs, personal business'. Similarly, the script of *perezhivat'* appears to be unique to Russian culture which emphasizes 'giving in' to one's emotions; we can see that this script dominated both sets of Russian narratives, *The Letter* and *Pis'mo*. Moreover, even when the American participants talk about the woman wanting to be alone, as is the case with *Pis'mo*, they infer that she will be 'dealing' with her emotions and maybe even 'venting' them. None suggested that she will be engaged in an active process of suffering, for which the closest English counterpart may be 'wallowing in her feelings'. We can also see that both cultural and social contexts modify script effects: the study participants are more homogeneous in their

interpretations of films made in familiar contexts, although both are based on literally the same script. No gendered patterns were identified in interpretations offered for the woman's departure.

5.   Conclusion

The results of the study fully support Wierzbicka's (1992, 1998a, 1999) claims about the higher degree of emotionality and richer links made between emotions and the body in Russian discourse as compared to English. The study also provides quantitative evidence for the prevalence of the adjectival pattern in American English emotion discourse and the verbal pattern in Russian. At the same time, neither quantitative nor qualitative differences have been identified with regard to gendered use of emotion discourse in either language.

The study singles out four factors that impact discursive construction of emotions in third person narratives: cultural, social, individual, and linguistic. To begin with the cultural aspect, the study demonstrates that narrators provide more similar and homogeneous descriptions of actions taking place in familiar contexts. Thus, when it came to interpreting the woman's behavior, more unanimity was exhibited in *The Letter* narratives by Americans and in *Pis'mo* narratives by Russians. In other words, while all narrators rely on particular cultural scripts, it may be easier to apply these scripts in more familiar contexts. Most importantly, the study identified two culture-specific scripts — informational privacy for the American group and the need to *perezhivat'* 'to suffer things through' for the Russian — which guided the processes of perception and inferencing. The absence of the notion of privacy in Russian culture, combined with the presence of the script for being alone in order to 'give in to one's feelings', led to the fact that this script dominated both sets of Russian narratives. In contrast, Americans in their interpretations of *The Letter* focused on the woman being upset about the invasion of privacy. In addition, Russian narrators whose discourse constructs emotions as activities consistently paid more attention to external appearances and behaviors, linking them to emotion states.

In addition to cultural factors, discursive construction of emotions and, in particular, identification of emotion states, also appear to be modified by social and context-specific factors. This can be inferred from the fact that the two films were interpreted slightly differently by both groups of participants, even though they were based on the same script. The analysis of the narratives in the

corpus demonstrates that for both groups the retelling of *The Letter* was much richer in emotion lexemes than the retelling of *Pis'mo*. In the identification of the emotions experienced by the main protagonists, both groups reached more agreement when narrating *The Letter*, while in the interpretation of the woman's departure the two groups reached more agreement when narrating *Pis'mo*. Thus, it is quite possible that some situations may be easy to interpret across cultural boundaries while others may appear ambiguous even in one's own culture.

At the same time, agreement, or even partial agreement or overlap, does not indicate that one and only one emotion is attributed to the main protagonist. As we could see from the narratives, at the same point in time different participants, guided by their individual understandings of the situation, attributed an array of emotion states to the main protagonist, which, in the case of *The Letter*, included anger, sadness, surprise, disappointment, embarrassment, and disgust. Moreover, the analysis also demonstrated that 8 out of 20 American participants and 2 out of 20 Russians failed to distinguish whether the girl in *The Letter* was angry or sad, two emotions which were previously claimed to be basic and easily identifiable across cultures. Thus, we can see that at least when it comes to identifying emotions in context, the same facial expressions could be interpreted differently by different individuals, may be seen as conveying more than one message or may simply appear utterly confusing.

Finally, the analysis of the corpus also suggested that discursive construction of emotions is influenced by linguistic ways of framing emotions prevalent in particular speech communities. While Americans consistently discussed emotions as states, potentially subject to change (most often, induced by external circumstances), Russians constructed the emotional experience as an active — and embodied — process, potentially self-induced. As mentioned previously, this view of emotions as activities also led the Russian narrators to pay more attention to facial expressions, body language, and external behaviors. Russian narrators also consistently constructed the events on the screen as more painful and tragic than did their American counterparts.

In sum, we can see that while the two groups of participants watched the same films, they constructed somewhat different interpretations of what they had seen on the screen. The results of the study suggest that identification of emotions through the use of visual stimuli or, in other words, 'the reading of the body' is not an utterly unproblematic and culture-free experience, rather it is shaped by cultural, social, and linguistic forces, as well as by individual differences.

Notes

1. The transliteration of Russian Cyrillic used in this paper is based on the Library of Congress system.

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Appendix 1. English emotion lemmas in the narratives by 40 American monolinguals (66 lemmas, 270 lexemes)

Nouns (n=16, 24%; 28 tokens, 10%)	Adjectives (n=33, 50%; 184 tokens, 68%)	Verbs (n=14, 21%; 48 tokens, 18%)	Adverbs (n=3, 5%; 10 tokens, 4%)
anger 2	angry 12	annoy 1	alone 7
death 1	annoyed 2	care 1	angrily 2
depression 1	bad 10	comfort 9	emotionally 1
disbelief 3	bothered 1	console 7	
disgust 1	concerned 2	cry (-ing) 10	
distress1	confused 1	deal 4	
emotion 1	crazy 1	distress 1	
feeling (-s) 5	depressed (-ing) 2	feel 4	
intrusion 1	disappointed 3	intrude 1	
love 1	distraught 3	invade 2	
mood 1	distressed 2	resent 2	
pity 2	disturbed (-ing) 6	sigh 1	
privacy 4	dramatic 1	sob 1	
problem2	embarrassed 1	upset 4	
romance 1	emotional 1		
tears 1	frustrated (-ing) 5		
	mad 6		
	melancholic 1		
	passionate 1		
	perplexed 1		
	personal 5		

Nouns (n=16, 24%; 28 tokens, 10%)	Adjectives (n=33, 50%; 184 tokens, 68%)	Verbs (n=14, 21%; 48 tokens, 18%)	Adverbs (n=3, 5%; 10 tokens, 4%)
	pissed [off] 1		
	private 7		
	romantic 1		
	sad (-dened) 12		
	shocked 1		
	surprising 1		
	terrible 1		
	tragic 1		
	traumatic 1		
	upset 70		
	worried 1		
	wrong 20		

*Next to each lemma is the number of its tokens in the corpus.

Appendix 2. Russian emotion lemmas in the narratives by 40 Russian monolinguals (96 lemmas, 253 lexemes)

Nouns (n=24, 25%; 77 tokens, 30%)	Adjectives (n=29, 30%; 63 tokens, 25%)
vpechatlenie/impression 4	vzvolnovannaia/agitated/FEM 1
vtorzhenie/invasion 1	veseloe/cheerful,upbeat/NEUT 1
gore/grief, sorrow 3	vozmushchena/indignant/FEM 2
dosada/annoyance 1	gorestnyi/sad, pitiful/MASC 1
emotsii/emotions 3	grustnaia/sad/FEM 1
liubov'/love 1	dorogoi/dear, darling/MASC 2
napriazhenie/tension 1	dushevnoe/mental, soulful/NEUT 1
nastroenie/mood 8	zadumchivaia/pensive/FEM 1
neliubov'/non-love, absence of it 1	isporchennoe/spoiled/NEUT 1
neudovol'stvie/displeasure 1	lichnoe/personal,private/NEUT 3
otchaianie/despair 1	liubimyi/beloved/MASC 4
oshchushchenie/sensation 4	liubovnyi/love (as in love letter)/MASC 1
perezhivania/feelings, emotions 6	napriazhena/tense/FEM 1
pechal'/sadness, sorrow, grief 1	nevmeniaemaia/beside oneself/FEM 1
razocharovanie/disappointment 1	negativnaia/negative/FEM 1
rasstroistvo/frustration, disorder 3	nedovol'naia/dissatisfied/FEM 1
reaktsiia/reaction 10	nepriiatnoe/unpleasant/NEUT 11
simpatiia/liking 1	neradostnaia/unhappy/FEM 3
slezy/tears 2	ogorchena/saddened/FEM 2
soperezhivanie/empathy 1	opechalena/chagrined/FEM 2
sostoianie/state 15	pechal'naia/sad, chagrined/FEM 2

Nouns (n=24, 25%; 77 tokens, 30%)	Adjectives (n=29, 30%; 63 tokens, 25%)
sochuvstvie/compassion 1	*plokhoe*/bad/NEUT 1
trevozhnost'/anxiety 1	*podavlennoe*/depressed/NEUT 1
chuvstva/feelings 6	*potriasennaia*/stunned/FEM 2
	razdrazhena/irritated/FEM 2
	rasstroennaia/upset/FEM 11
	siiaiushchaia/brightened/FEM 1
	spokoinoe/peaceful/NEUT 1
	khoroshii/good/MASC 1

Adverbs (n=9, 9%; 14 tokens, 6%)	Verbs (n=34, 35%; 99 tokens, 39%)
veselo/joyfully, cheerfully 1	*vzdykhat'*/to sigh 1
gnevno, razgnevanno/in anger, in wrath 2	*vmeshivat'sia*/to interfere 1
muchitel'no/agonizingly, in torment 1	*volnovat', vzvolnovat'*/to upset 1
neveroiatno/incredibly, surprisingly 1	*gorevat'*/to grieve 1
nedovol'no/with displeasure 2	*delit'sia*/to share 4
neokhotno/unwillingly 1	*zadet'*/to touch 1
nervno/nervously 2	*zlit'*/to anger, to irritate 1
nekhorosho/badly 2	*ispytyvat'*/to experience 1
trevozhno/anxiously 2	*lezt' [v dela]*/to interfere 2
	liubit'/to love 3
	metat'sia/to rush around in despair 1
	nervnichat'/to be nervous 2
	ne nravit'sia/to dislike, be disliked 4
	ogorchat'/to upset someone 6
	perezhivat'/to suffer through 17
	(za-)plakat'/to cry 5
	porazit'/to shock, to strike 1
	potriasti/to shock, to astound 2
	prochuvstvovat'/to feel through 1
	radrazhat'/to irritate 1
	razocharovyvat'/to disappoint 1
	raskryvat'sia/to open up 1
	rasserdit'sia/to get angry 1
	rasstroit' (-sia)/to (get) upset 24
	reagirovat'/to react 1
	soperezhivat'/to empathize 1
	sochuvstvovat'/to sympathize 2
	tronut'/to touch, to affect 1
	ubivat'sia/to grieve, to torment oneself, (literally: to be killing oneself over smth) 1

Adverbs (n=9, 9%; 14 tokens, 6%)	Verbs (n=34, 35%; 99 tokens, 39%)
	udivliat'/to surprise 1
	uspokaivat'/to calm smn down 3
	ukhudshit'sia/to worsen 1
	khmurit'sia/to frown 2
	chuvstvovat'/to feel 3

*Next to each lemma is a number of its tokens in the corpus

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