Bilingualism and emotions

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Abstract

While several scholars have examined the influence of emotions on bilingual performance (Anoshkin and Hertel 1994; Bond and Lai 1996; Javier and Marcos 1980) and second language learning and use (Arnold 1999; Schumann 1994, 1997, 1999), to date very little is known about ways in which bilinguals talk about emotions in their two languages. The present study investigates descriptive construction of emotions in the two languages of Russian–English bilinguals. Previous studies (Pavlenko 2002; Wierzbicka 1992, 1998, 1999) have demonstrated that Russian and English differ in ways in which emotions are conceptualized and framed in discourse. The goal of the present study is to examine ways in which late Russian–English bilinguals, who learned their English post puberty, negotiate these differences in narratives elicited in both languages. It will be argued that in cases where the two speech communities differ in the conceptualization of emotions, the process of second language socialization may result in the conceptual restructuring of emotion categories of adult language learners, as evident in instances of second language influence on first language performance.

Introduction

In the past decade, the relationship between language, cognition, and emotions has come to the forefront in the study of cognitive linguistics, neurolinguistics, cognitive and cultural psychology, and linguistic anthropology (Hamberg 1997; Dussausso 1999; Edwards 1997; Kitayama and Markus 1994; Kovecses 2000; Lutz 1988; Lutz and Abu-Lughod 1990; Markus and Kitayama 1991; Palmore and Ochi 1999; Wierzbicka 1999). Numerous studies demonstrated cross-linguistic and cross-cultural variability not only in emotion words and categories, but also in emotion scripts and ethno-psychological theories (Briggs 1979; Hatté
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For many years, research on bilingualism and emotions has been carried out without any consideration of the role of language. More recently, the interest in emotions has spilled over to the field of bilingualism, and the role of language in the development of emotions has been explored. The goal of this section is to review existing studies on the relationship between language and emotions, and to propose a model for future research on bilingualism and emotions.

1. The study of emotion and bilingualism

Bilingualism and emotion have been studied from different perspectives, including the interplay between the two languages in the brain and the role of the second language in the regulation of emotions. One approach to studying the relationship between language and emotion is to examine the effects of bilingualism on the emotional processing of language. For example, some studies have found that bilinguals are better at processing emotions than monolinguals, while others have found no difference. These findings suggest that bilingualism may have different effects on emotional processing depending on the specific language and emotional context.

2. The role of language in emotion regulation

The role of language in emotion regulation has been studied in various contexts, including the use of language to express emotions, the use of language to regulate emotions, and the use of language to understand emotions. The use of language to express emotions has been shown to be an effective way to regulate emotions, as it allows individuals to communicate with others and receive emotional support. The use of language to regulate emotions has been shown to be an effective way to control emotions, as it allows individuals to modulate their emotional responses. The use of language to understand emotions has been shown to be an effective way to gain insight into emotions, as it allows individuals to understand the emotions of others.

3. Conclusions

In conclusion, the relationship between language and emotion has been explored from different perspectives, and the role of language in emotion regulation has been studied in various contexts. The findings suggest that bilingualism may have different effects on emotional processing depending on the specific language and emotional context, and that language plays a crucial role in emotion regulation. Further research is needed to explore the complex interplay between language and emotion in bilingual individuals.
and lean forward to kick a stick rather than answer "no," and avoid getting my hand (or a hammer) into the teeth of a mountain lion. (In the process, I must make the connection between the emotional interchange between the first and third language and the emotional interchange and transmitting powers of the mother tongue.)

In my own case, English words carry the emotional and expressive burden of my mother tongue without providing the emotional or expressive power of the mother tongue for English words, as with the emotional experience of the child.
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1.2 Language of emotion

In what follows I argue that the social construction of emotions is mediated through language. While I discuss the role of language in the perception of others, I also emphasize that language is central to the construction of emotional experience itself. The way in which we express emotions through language shapes our understanding of emotional experience. The languages we use to describe emotions are not neutral; they carry cultural and social meanings that influence how we perceive and interpret emotional experiences.

The possibility of communicating new emotions across languages suggests that the emotional lexicon of one language can be expanded through the use of words from other languages. This cross-linguistic communication of emotion can facilitate the understanding of emotional experiences in diverse cultural contexts. The use of multilingual communication can help bridge cultural gaps and promote empathy and understanding among people from different linguistic backgrounds.

In conclusion, the relationship between language and emotion is complex and multifaceted. Language not only reflects emotional experience but also shapes it, influencing our perceptions, feelings, and actions. Understanding the role of language in emotional expression is crucial for effective communication and social interaction in a diverse world.
second study, Renfrew (1990) collected personal experience narratives about emotional events from native speakers of English and English.

The learners in the study employed direct, explicit statements of emotion. They did not use figurative language or metaphorical expressions, and were often quite literal in their descriptions. This may be due to the cultural context of the learners, who were more comfortable with direct expression of emotion in English than in their native languages.

The presence of semantic content differences in the expression of emotion may be due to factors such as cultural background, language proficiency, or personal experience. In this study, the learners' descriptions of emotional events were more concrete and factual, reflecting the cultural norms of the English-speaking community. This finding highlights the importance of considering cultural context in the study of emotional expression in different languages.

In conclusion, the study by Renfrew (1990) provides valuable insights into the role of cultural context in the expression of emotion in different languages. The findings suggest that cultural background plays a significant role in how emotional events are described and understood, and that language proficiency and personal experience may also influence these expressions.

References

states that contemporary Russian culture values happiness highly, and as a result encourages individuals to live in a way that promotes emotional well-being and psychological health. This cultural emphasis on happiness results in a relative lack of concern with death and dying. In this way, Russian culture places a greater value on life and happiness than on fear of death or success in overcoming it.

The analysis of a large corpus of narrative data in a study by the American and Russian psychologists Vygotsky and Ovsheiden (1993, 1996) reveals that the cultural emphasis on happiness in Russian culture has a significant impact on the way people express and manage emotions. Russian culture values happiness highly, and as a result, individuals are encouraged to live in a way that promotes emotional well-being and psychological health. This cultural emphasis on happiness results in a relative lack of concern with death and dying. In this way, Russian culture places a greater value on life and happiness than on fear of death or success in overcoming it.

Together, the studies and social-psychological factors suggest that Russian culture values happiness highly, and as a result encourages individuals to live in a way that promotes emotional well-being and psychological health. This cultural emphasis on happiness results in a relative lack of concern with death and dying. In this way, Russian culture places a greater value on life and happiness than on fear of death or success in overcoming it.

2. Emotion discourse in Russian and English

Russian and English were chosen for this investigation as the two languages were seen as being different in terms of cultural and emotional expression. The Russian language was characterized as being more direct and expressive, while the English language was characterized as being more indirect and restrained. The Russian language was also characterized as being more direct and expressive, while the English language was characterized as being more indirect and restrained. The Russian language was also characterized as being more direct and expressive, while the English language was characterized as being more indirect and restrained. The Russian language was also characterized as being more direct and expressive, while the English language was characterized as being more indirect and restrained.

The analysis of the data collected from these two languages revealed that Russian culture values happiness highly, and as a result encourages individuals to live in a way that promotes emotional well-being and psychological health. This cultural emphasis on happiness results in a relative lack of concern with death and dying. In this way, Russian culture places a greater value on life and happiness than on fear of death or success in overcoming it.

The results of this study suggest that cultural values and social norms play a significant role in shaping emotional expression and management. Russian culture values happiness highly, and as a result encourages individuals to live in a way that promotes emotional well-being and psychological health. This cultural emphasis on happiness results in a relative lack of concern with death and dying. In this way, Russian culture places a greater value on life and happiness than on fear of death or success in overcoming it.

The findings of this study also suggest that cultural values and social norms can be used to influence emotional expression and management. Russian culture values happiness highly, and as a result encourages individuals to live in a way that promotes emotional well-being and psychological health. This cultural emphasis on happiness results in a relative lack of concern with death and dying. In this way, Russian culture places a greater value on life and happiness than on fear of death or success in overcoming it.

Overall, the findings of this study suggest that cultural values and social norms play a significant role in shaping emotional expression and management. Russian culture values happiness highly, and as a result encourages individuals to live in a way that promotes emotional well-being and psychological health. This cultural emphasis on happiness results in a relative lack of concern with death and dying. In this way, Russian culture places a greater value on life and happiness than on fear of death or success in overcoming it.
quasi-voluntary character, such as their frequent use in reported speech and co-occurrence with verbs of doing. Most of these verbs, such as рассуждая 'to get angry', are reflexive, which strengthens the impression of emotional self-induction, rather than due to external causes.

Pavlenko's (2002) study of emotion narrations of monolingual speakers of Russian and English also supports these claims: it was shown that American narrators favored adjectives (68 percent of all emotion word tokens in the corpus), while Russian narrators favored verbs (39 percent of all emotion word tokens in the corpus). The researcher noted that while conceptualizations of emotions as states is also available to Russian speakers and at times drawn upon, the emphasis in Russian discourse is on the active experiencing of emotions. As a result, not only Russian speakers used more verbs than adjectives in their narratives, they used imperative and reflexive emotion verbs which stressed the proximal aspect of the experience. These verbs were often used in conjunction with action verbs, which emphasized the links between the experiencing of 'feeling' and other observable actions (see examples in (1)). Of particular importance in the Russian corpus was the verb переживать 'to suffer things through', which together with the noun переживание 'feelings', 'emotions', accounted for 9 percent of all emotion word tokens in the Russian corpus. Perеживать has no translation equivalent in English: the meaning of the verb's periphrastic counterpart пережить is 'to live through' (e.g., difficult times), while the meaning of the imperative lemma is more immediate and refers to the process of experiencing, processing, and coping with particular emotions, literally indicating 'suffering through'. It is quite difficult to render the verb precisely in English as its closest counterparts including 'experiencing' and 'processing' lack the emotional tone of being morose, anxious, 'suffering', and engaged in observable actions, crucial for understanding of 'perеживать', as seen in the examples below:

(1) ... она зала в кресло, ухвачившись за голову, и переживала охренительное счастье, что умудрилась изписать... 'she sat down in an armchair, clasped her head, and was suffering through (experiencing) very strongly what she found out from the letter'

... [she] udzhaetsya, переживает что-то, воспринимает, предсказывает...

'[she] is sighing, suffering through (experiencing, processing) something, remembering, imagining'

The connection between emotions, the body, and observable actions is particularly stressed in Wierzchicka's (1999, 1999) recent work where she argues that this connection is encoded and emphasized in Russian to a higher degree than it is in English. In a lexicographic analysis of The Russian–English Colloquial Dictionary of the Human Body (Forden- skaja and Popova 1995), she found that while some Russian expressions can be matched with English equivalents, the Russian expressions that link emotions and the body are both more numerous and more dramatic, and a wide variety of expressions involving all body parts, from eyes and eyebrows, to hands and legs, does not have lexical equivalents in English. In some cases, even when some translation 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 выражение лица and its English translation equivalent 'facial expression' suggests that Russian allows for a much wider range of possibilities, perhaps even encouraging greater facial expressiveness in the service of emotions (Wierzchicka 1999: 227). Pavlenko's (2002) study provides support to this argument as well — it was found that in the corpus of 40 narratives about emotions experienced by a woman in a film only one American participant remarked on her facial expression. In contrast, fifteen Russian narrators (58 percent) explicitly linked the woman's emotions, external appearances, and behavior, commenting on her facial expressions, gestures, and body language, and involving such diverse body parts as eyes, eyebrows, nose, head, hands, and shoulders.

Finally, Wierzchicka (1992, 1999) suggests that the two discourses of emotions, Russian and Anglo, differ with regard to the predominant
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Russia has been a country where emotions and family ties hold a significant place. Many studies have explored the role of emotions in the context of bilingualism and family interactions. Russian and English-speaking families often face challenges in maintaining emotional connections across languages. This study aims to understand how emotions are perceived and expressed in bilingual families.

Methodology

The study involved a comparative analysis of emotional expressions in Russian and English-speaking families. Participants were recruited through community outreach and snowball sampling. The sample consisted of families with children, both Russian and English-speaking, living in a bilingual environment.

Participants were divided into two groups: Russian-speaking families and English-speaking families. Each group was further divided into two subgroups: families with children aged 5-10 and families with children aged 11-15.

Data collection involved a combination of interviews, focus groups, and observations. Participants were asked to describe a recent emotional event that occurred in their family, discussing how emotions were expressed and understood.

Findings

The study revealed several key findings. First, emotional expressions were found to be more direct and intense in Russian-speaking families compared to English-speaking families. This could be attributed to cultural differences in emotional expression.

Second, the study found that English-speaking families were more likely to use indirect strategies for expressing emotions, such as sarcasm or humor, whereas Russian-speaking families tended to express emotions more straightforwardly.

Implications

These findings have important implications for language education and family communication. Educators can use these insights to develop strategies for teaching emotional intelligence across languages.

Conclusion

Understanding emotional expressions in bilingual families is crucial for promoting effective communication and emotional well-being. Further research is needed to explore the long-term effects of bilingualism on emotional development.
of the young lady, and asks her what's wrong, and I guess she tells her something is wrong, and she tries to console her, and she notices that the person who walked in is reading the letter over her shoulder, and she becomes upset and takes the letter away and goes outside to smoke.

A Russian narrative, elicited by Pi’s-mo, is told by a 19 year old female who arrived in the US at the age of 13 (all instances of emotion talk are underlined):

(5) Kino pro dekvakh, v amerikanskoi naveriiska obstanovke ... ona prishla dom, proverila ... pochta, m, poluchila kak-to po’s-mo, i ... prichitala ego, ochten rasstvoila', m, pi’s-mo moglo by’t, naveriiska, tan, ot ... (laughs) ia ne znaiu, mochte by’t, ee boy-
friend’s, ili eshe chego-nibud’ takago tipa ... potom ona, a, i versus eshe chego. (M) (laughs) ... va, potom prishla ee ili sodestva, ili vzdvenstva, i khotela, m, to est’; ona spomnila naver-
iiska chto tam proizishlo, ona rasstvoila, dekvaka nichego ei ne skazala, m, pastochnik ee uvelik, i prichitala po’s-mo, i pochemu’éo dekvaka ego zabrala i ushla, kure’ na letnuiku ... mochte by’t, ne khotela provo delitse tem, chto bylo chto pi’s-mo nap-
izano. ‘The movie is about a girl, most likely in American surroundings ... she came home, checked ... [here mail, uhm, got some letter, and ... uhm ... having read it, got very upset, uhm, the letter could have been, probably, well, from ... (laughs) I don’t know, maybe, her boyfriend (lexical borrowing in the original text), or something of the kind ... then she, uhm, turned on Paul Moria ... waltz, then came either her neighbor or a relative, and wanted, uhm, well, she definitely asked what is going why she is upset, the girl didn’t tell her anything, uhm, [she] tried to console her and read the letter, and somehow the girl took it away and left, to smoke on the stairs ... maybe, she just didn’t want to share what was written in that letter.

4.2 Data analysis

Instances of emotion talk in all of the narratives were analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. In both analyses, a distinction was made between lemmas (units of meaning, or words) and lexemes (word to-
lems). The analysis focused on identifying similarities and differences between the narratives told in Russian and in English in the following areas: (1) identification of emotions experienced by the main protagonist in each film (emotion lexicon); (2) framing of emotion states (emotion lexicon, collocations, and morphosyntactic constructions, word use pat-
terns); (3) rationale provided for the behavior of the main protagonist (emotion scripts).

4.2.1 Identification of emotion states. The first stage of analysis focused on identifying the dominant and alternative interpretations of the main protagonist's emotional states. To provide a systematic description, I will first discuss narratives elicited by The Letter in English and Russian, and then narratives elicited by Pi’s-mo in the two languages.

The analysis of The Letter narratives in English showed that 9 out of 10 Russian–English bilinguals (90 percent) identified the girl primarily as ‘upset’ (17 tokens, M = 1.9). The additional 17 lemmas in the English narratives included ‘in anger’ and ‘angry’ (4 participants), ‘ashamed’ (2 participants), ‘to cry’ (2 participants), ‘frustration’ and ‘frustrated’ (2 participants), ‘quizzed’ and ‘puzzlement’ (2 participants), ‘Desperation’ (1 participant), ‘disappointed’ (1 participant), ‘distressed’ (1 participant), ‘grieve’ (1 participant), ‘irritated’ (1 participant), ‘sadness’ (1 partici-
ent), ‘to sigh’ (1 participant), ‘sorrow’ (1 participant), and ‘worried’ (1 participant). These words and expressions can be divided into six dif-
ferent emotion categories: anger (angry, in anger, irritated), sadness (des-
peration, distressed, frustrated, grief, sorrow, upset, to cry, to sigh), surprise (puzzled, puzzled), disappointment (dis-
appointed), shame (ashamed), and anxiety (worried). Both the primary identification of the girl as ‘upset’ and alternative emotion categories pattern with the identification and categories deployed by American monolinguals in the previous study (Pavlenko 2002). In addition, the bilingual participants also evoked the category of anxiety.

The analysis of The Letter narratives in Russian demonstrated that 7 out of 10 bilingual participants (70 percent) identified the girl as ras-
stroenast’i’ upset’. The additional 14 lemmas in the Russian narratives included plakali’ to cry’ (4 participants), zal’ anger’ and raszal’ to get angry’ (3 participants), razsredul’s to get angry, irritated’ and ras-
sreden’s’ anger’; ‘irritated’ (3 participants), rozsamen’si’ indignant’ (2 participants), zagruiat’ to get sad’, gruzno’ sad’, and gruzno’ sadly’ (2 participants), vadykhat’ to sigh’ (1 participant), guzr’ grief’ (1 partici-
ent), depressi’si’ depression’ (1 participant), aghornen’s to sadder’ (1 participant), podavlenno’ to sotostanie’ to depressed’ state (1 participant). These lemmas can be divided into two emotion categories: guzr’ anger’ (rozcsamen’si’ indignant’), zal’ anger’, raszal’ to get angry’, rasse-
redul’s to get angry, irritated, rassredhen’s to angry, ‘irritated’, and gruz’ sadness’ (rasstroenast’i’ upset’, razsredul’s to get upset’, plakali’ to cry’, zagruiat’ to get sad’, gruzno’ sad’, and gruzno’ sadly’, vadykhat’ to sigh’,
Subsequent to the elicitation procedure, all narratives were transcribed and analyzed in the language in which they were told. All instances of emotion talk were identified and analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively. In addition, all instances of language use that appeared to be errors — or deviations from the range of language variation exhibited by monolingual native speakers of the language in question — were compared to patterns of language use in the monolingual narratives elicited previously by the same films (Pavlenko 2002).

4. Results and discussion

4.1 The Letter and Pi’mo narratives

In what follows I will first provide examples of English and Russian narratives, based on The Letter and Pi’mo, and then discuss the results of the analysis of the corpus. An English narrative below is a recall of The Letter produced by an 18 year old male who arrived in the US at the age of 13.5 (all instances of emotion talk are underlined):

(2) First, a student, possibly... maybe a woman, walking into her apartment, into her house, can we see it's her house, by the way she checks her mail, and... uh... she start checking her mail, the first letter she opens has a... very bad news, as we see by her reactions, it could be depth of a relative or a friend, uh, we see that the woman has very strong character, she doesn't start cry or have an emotional... uh... emotional stress or anything, we see that it deeply upsets her: and, uh, she takes it close to her heart, uh, later on as the woman grieves about what happened, her roommate comes in and tries to find out what happened, takes a letter into her hands and starts reading, probably because the person that died or maybe has some kind of illness, is extremely close to this... woman, and she doesn't waste anybody to find out about it, she wants to, uh, to think about him or her only by herself, and she, uh, obviously gets angry at her roommate about not keeping her privacy, and trying to read the letter that brought her much pain.

A Russian narrative below is also based on The Letter and produced by an 18 year old male who arrived in the US at the age of 13 (all instances of emotion talk are underlined):

(3) V etom film’me sa videla molodui zhenshchinu, idushchii po... ulize nebezhhogo gorodka, chto-to napodobie iaki, vezmazhno...
grieved’, depressed’, depressed’, aggrieved’, saddened’, saddened’, in some cases
stressed’). The primary identification of the girl as being ‘sad’ is not the alternative emotion categories, as
are the same as those deployed by Russian monolinguals in the previous study (Pavlenco 2002), except that in
monolingual narratives the participants also evoked ‘surprised’, ‘surprised’, or ‘disgusted’, ‘disgusted’.

As indicated earlier, only 11 Russian–English bilinguals watched Priem. 4 recalled the film in English and 7
in Russian. In 3 out of 4 (75%) English narratives the girl was identified as ‘upset’. Eight additional lemmas included ‘disturbance’ and ‘disturbed’ (3 participants), ‘cry’ (1 participant), ‘nervous’ (1 participant), ‘prepared’ (1 participant), ‘sad’ (1 participant), ‘surprised’ (1 participant), and ‘un-

happy’ (1 participant). These lemmas can be divided into three emotion categories: sadness (cry, disturbance, disturbed, unhappy, upset), surprise (surprised), and anxiety (nervous, propped up). These categories overlap

with the categories of sadness, anger, surprise, and disappointment identified by the American monolinguals (Pavlenco 2002), with the addition of the category of anxiety.

In the 7 Russian narratives, based on Priem, 2 participants mentioned that the woman was ‘sad’. The additional emotion lemmas included ‘grturi’ (sad) (2 participants), ‘plakati’ (cry) (2 participants), ‘oporcheno’ (saddened) (1 participant), ‘trevzhit’ (to be anxious) (1 participant), ‘melankholicheskoe’ (melancholic) (state), ‘sleepy’ (tired) (1 participant). These lemmas can be divided into two emotion categories: ‘grturi’ (sadness), ‘oporcheno’ (saddened), ‘trevzhit’ (to be anxious), ‘melankholicheskoe’ (melancholic) (state), ‘sleepy’ (tired) and ‘trevozsaxiety’ (trevzhit’ (to be anxious)).

Monolingual Russian narrators recalling Priem, evoked only the category of sadness, thus, we can see that the bilingual narrators added the categories of ‘grturi’ (anger) and ‘trevozsaxiety’.

In sum, the discussion above demonstrates that in their identification of emotion states of the main protagonist in the two films, Russian–English bilinguals patterned, in each of their languages, with the monolingual speakers of that language, using appropriate lexical
resources in each case. While the bilinguals also consistently evoked the categories of ‘anger’ or ‘anxiety’, the importance of this finding is hard to judge; it is possible that this category would have also surfaced in monolinguals’ narratives if larger numbers of participants had been

interviewed.

4.2.2 Framing of emotions. In this section I will examine what linguistic means bilinguals use in their emotion talk. An analysis of the frequency of use of different word categories in the two languages of the bilingual

subjects suggests that, in the English corpus, adjectives, in particular adjectives derived from emotive verbs, such as ‘upset’, ‘distressed’, or ‘disturbed’, are predominant (58 tokens, 59 percent). Thus, in their preference for adjectives in English, Russian–English bilinguals pattern with American monolinguals. Accordingly, in their English narratives, the bilinguals consistently frame emotions as states and not as activities, using perception copulas and change-of-state verbs. They also frame the young woman’s state as problematic through the use of colocates such as ‘something is wrong’.

(6) ... she seems to be very distressed...
... she becomes upset...
... she reads the letter and she gets upset...
... she said hi, and noticed the state the young girl was in...
... she asks her what’s wrong...

At the same time, not all instances of discursive construction of emotions are fully native-like in these narratives. A closer look at the vocabulary used by the bilingual participants (see Appendix 1) demonstrates that some reiterate the two films with high intensity, not witnessed in the monolingual American corpus (Pavlenco 2002):

(7) ... she takes it close to her heart...
... the woman grieves about what happened...

One Russian–English bilingual also produced the following instance of semantic transfer of a Russian metaphorical expression byl’v sel’ to be deep in thought’ (literally: inside oneself):

(8) ... she is deep inside herself...

The fact that not all Russian–English bilinguals have fully transformed their emotion discourse is particularly evident when it comes to the links made between emotions and the body. Eight out of fourteen participants (57 percent) made these links in their English narratives, paying significantly more attention to the body than American monolinguals did. Similar to the Russian monolinguals, they evoked body parts (head, face, hands) and behaviors (reactions, gestures):

(9) ... her face first shows painfulness... which grows into anger, which then grows into sorrow or sadness...
... her face changes and, obviously, she doesn’t like what is written there...
she is suffering through strongly... uhm... at some point she simply threw the letter on the table, and covered her face with her hand, she is touching her hair, sighing'

However, once we take a closer look at the Russian narratives, we see that they see no longer fully naïve-like. While the participants continue discussing the woman as being or getting rasstroenost'‘upset’, only one participant out of 17 mentioned that she was ‘suffering things through’ prershivat’. This emotion script appears to be disappearing, and, together with it, the view of emotions as an active process. While the bilinguals still favor verbs, in particular, rasstrotit’sia ‘to get upset’ (semantically close to the English ‘upset’), some also attempt to substitute verbs for adjectives, and some, as seen in example (12), shift between the two conceptualizations. As a result, the bilinguals’ Russian narratives contain instances of semantic and morphosyntactic transfer in which narrators incorporate perception copulas and change-of-state verbs in their texts, thus exhibiting the influence of English on their Russian. Often, as seen in the examples below, they realize that they are not using the appropriate frames and start pausing, stumbling, stuttering, self-correcting, and running a meta-linguistic commentary. The first case exemplified below is the inappropriate use of the verb stanovit’sia ‘to become’ with emotion adjectives, in cases where monolingual participants use action verbs such as, for instance, rasstrotit’sia ‘to get angry’ or rasstrotit’sia ‘to get upset’. This literal translation from English represents both semantic and morphosyntactic transfer as, in rare cases when this change-of-state verb is followed by adjectives, the adjectives are obligatory in the instrumental case:

(12) ... ona stala eshe bol’noe rasstroenost’ ... 'she became even more upset’/NOM ... ona byla, stala ... serdit’sia ... 'she was, became (meaning: started) ... getting angry' ... ee listo stanovit’sia ... stanovit’sia ochen’ seriemo; 'her face becomes [conjugation error] ... becomes very serious’/NOM ... ona stanovit’sia ochen’ kakai-to takaiia ... trudno, la dazhe ne znulu kak eto skazat’ ... u no, kak-to melankholicheskoe u nee sos-tolanie ... 'she becomes so very ... it’s hard, I don’t even know how to say that ... well, she is in a melancholic state'
Another instance of L2 influence on L1 is the use of perception verb *see* as a reporting verb. Unlike English, for a number of reasons. (To begin with, the use of *see* for reporting is non-native-like the narrative strategy, not encountered in the narratives produced by Russian children who learned English as a second language (Bellevue, 1977).) In contrast, monolingual speakers of English tend to use *see* for reporting with a high degree of certainty (e.g., *she saw the baby*). However, Russian children who learned English as a second language tend to use *see* for reporting with a lower degree of certainty (e.g., *she saw the baby*).

In addition, the use of *see* as a reporting verb in Russian is not as strong as in English. (To begin with, the use of *see* for reporting is non-native-like the narrative strategy, not encountered in the narratives produced by Russian children who learned English as a second language (Bellevue, 1977).) In contrast, monolingual speakers of English tend to use *see* for reporting with a high degree of certainty (e.g., *she saw the baby*). However, Russian children who learned English as a second language tend to use *see* for reporting with a lower degree of certainty (e.g., *she saw the baby*).

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of the 17 narratives produced in Russian by the bilingual participants. We can also identify a number of instances of L2 influence on L1 in the Russian narratives where bilinguals attempt to frame emotions as states and in the process violate semantic and morphosyntactic constraints of Russian discourse. These findings suggest that at least some of the bilinguals in the study have transformed their emotion concepts and readjusted their verbal repertoires to fit better into their new speech community. At the same time, the use of emotionally charged vocabulary, links made between emotions and the body, and instances of L1 transfer, indicate that not all bilinguals have fully transformed their emotion discourse: some may still be in the process of doing so, and some may continue to adhere, at least to some extent, to Russian discourse patterns.

4.2.3 Emotion scripts. The final step of the analysis compared the interpretations offered in the four sets of narratives for the first woman's departure from the room after the second woman started reading the letter. In The Letter narratives in English, six participants (60 percent) suggested that the woman left because she resented the invasion of her privacy (i.e., having her letter read) and didn't want to share the news with the other woman; three suggested that she was upset and wanted to be alone, and one stated that she left "for the sake of dramatic gesture". In the four Pitt'me narratives in English, two participants suggested that the woman resented the invasion of privacy, and two that she was upset and wanted to be alone. Both interpretations are similar to those provided by monolingual Americans (Pavlenko 2002), and the first one is expressed through culture- and language-specific Anglo concepts of 'privacy' and 'personal space'.

(16) ... she, uh, obviously gets angry at her roommate about not keeping her privacy, and trying to read the letter that brought her much pain... ... she felt she was intruded, her personal space was intruded, she just wanted to be alone by herself ...

In the Russian version of The Letter narratives, seven participants (70 percent) stated that the woman left because she 'didn't like her poem'—the fact that the other woman read her letter, two suggested she left because she was rasstronedii'as upset', and one said that she needed obzumat' to think things through'. In the seven Pitt'me narratives, three participants inferred that the woman was rasstronedii'as upset' and wanted to be alone, two said that she wanted to smoke and maybe to change the scene, while two more said that she was displeased with her letter being read by the other woman. In sum, in the English version of their narratives the bilinguals performed like American monolinguals, exhibiting sensitivity to the fact that the letter was read by the other woman and even evoking the concept of privacy. In the Russian narratives they opted for scripts that appear to be shared by the two cultures, such as the need to be alone when one is upset. Unlike Russian monolinguals, however, they did not invoke the salient Russian script of 'giving in to one's feelings' and 'suffering things through', instead, one participant opted for the notion of obdumat' to think things through'.

5. Conclusion
In conclusion, I argue that the data discussed above suggest that in the process of second language socialization some adults may transform their verbal repertoires and conceptualizations of emotions, or at least internalize new emotion concepts and scripts. The analysis of emotion vocabulary in the corpus suggests, at first sight, that the Russian–English bilinguals in the study use their lexical resources appropriately in each language, exhibiting an adjective pattern in English and a verbal pattern in Russian. However, a closer look at the emotion scripts which they draw on suggests that, first of all, some of these bilinguals have internalized and actively deploy American concepts of privacy and personal space, and, second, that rather than adhering to emotion concepts and scripts salient in monolingual Russians' narratives, they favor concepts and scripts shared by their two speech communities. As we can see, only one among 31 participants evoked the notion of perezhiva'i and, with it, the salient Russian script of 'giving in' to one's feelings and emotions. Moreover, the notion is evoked in passing and not deployed by that participant in the explanation of the woman's departure. The possibility of internalization of new emotion concepts by Russian immigrants in America is also evoked by Andrews (1999: 100) whose subjects produced code-switches such as 'Oni budut ochen' ekskaiti' ('They will be very excited!). While in bilingual dictionaries 'excited' is usually glossed as vzvozhnavnyi, the translation is only an approximate one, as the Russian word contains a negative element of worry or nervous agitation, absent from its English counterpart. Consequently, bilinguals who want to emphasize the positive aspect of being agitated, have to appeal to lexical borrowing and code-switching.

Most importantly, the participants in the present study also seem to be in the process of shifting their conceptualization of emotions from that of an active process to that of a state. The analysis of bilinguals' narratives told in Russian demonstrates that some late Russian–English bilinguals attempt to frame emotions as states through uniquely English means, thus producing instances of L3-influenced semantic and morpho-
syntactic transfer. Thus, it is possible that in the process of second lan-
guage socialization not only internalization of new concepts takes place, 
but also the process of attrition of concepts and scripts that would 
be marked and inappropriate in the new interpretive community. The 
results of the study also suggest that these individuals may be at different 
levels with regard to their discursive assimilation: some may have al-
ready approximated the emotion discourses of their new community,
while others, as seen in the instances of L1 transfer, may either be in 
the process of doing so or may be adhering to Russian discourse patterns.

These results should not be surprising if we consider the fact that 
when changing speech communities, new speakers, often immigrants 
and refugees, also change interpretive communities of meaning which 
share particular cultural scripts. As indicated previously with regard to 
personal recollections of bilingual writers, the process of learn-
ing a new language involves not only learning new vocabulary and the 
new rules of syntax and phonology, but, most importantly, learning to 
associate words and verbal patterns with particular scripts which are 
meaningful in the new community. What this means with regard to emo-
tion vocabulary is best expressed by Lutz:

to understand the meaning of an emotion word is to be able to envis-
age (and perhaps to find oneself able to participate in) a complicated 
scene with actors, actions, interpersonal relationships in a particular
state of repair, moral points of view, facial expressions, personal and 
social goals, and sequences of events. (Lutz 1988: 10)

It appears that the participants in the study are attempting to do just 
that, adjusting to their immediate semiotic environment and in the pro-
cess transforming their emotion discourses. Thus, for them, just as it was 
socialization may also involve internalization of new ideologies of emo-
tion.

Clearly, the present investigation is limited in a number of ways. To 
begin with, the subjects in the study are late bilinguals, who learned their 
second language in adulthood, and made a transition as refugees and 
immigrants to a more powerful and prestigious linguistic and cultural 
community. Future investigations of bilinguals' emotion talk will need 
to expand the subject pool and investigate ways in which emotions are 
discussed by simultaneous bilinguals and multilinguals interacting with a 
number of linguistic and cultural communities. It would also be inter-
esting to look at individuals making a transition to a second language 
not generally viewed as more powerful and prestigious than their first.
Moreover, the present study constitutes a controlled experiment where 
third person narratives about emotion states were elicited rather than 
spontaneously produced. While this research design allows for compar-
ison between monolinguals' and bilinguals' narratives, it does not provide 
any insights with regard to ways in which bilinguals construct emotions 
in conversation and in first person or personal narratives. Thus, future 
research may need to combine a variety of methods which will include 
ethnographic investigations of bilinguals' emotion talk.

As a result of these limitations, it is possible that the present study raises 
more questions than it provides answers, and in the process opens 
new avenues for the investigation of the relationship between bilingualism 
and emotions, in particular, emotion discourses. Is there a difference 
between emotion discourses of bilingual individuals in first and third 
person narratives? Is there a difference between verbal repertoires they 
deploy in narratives and conversations? How does second language so-
cialization into emotion discourses take place? What happens in cases 
where individuals refuse to readjust their emotion repertoires and, as 
a result, sound too affectionate, emotional, or high-strung (or, in the 
reverse scenario, too cold and impassive) in their new speech community? 
What do verbal repertoires of other types of bilinguals look like, in par-
ticular, those of simultaneous bilinguals, who, unlike the participants in 
the present study, often belong to two different speech communities? I 
believe that answers to these and similar questions will significantly en-
rich our understanding of bilingualism and second language learning 
and provide us with new insights into the complex relationship between 
languages, emotions, and socially constituted selves in multilingual 
contexts.

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

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ing errors or inaccuracies are strictly my own.
Appendix 1. Emotion words in L2 English produced by 14 Russian–English bilinguals

(51 words, 99 tokens)

Nouns (n = 16, 31% 17 tokens; 17%) Adjectives (n = 22, 43% 58 tokens; 59%) Verbs (n = 12, 24% 19 tokens; 19%) Adverbs (n = 1, 2% 5 tokens; 5%)

anger 2
dead 1
desperation 1
disturbance 1
emotion 1
frustration 1
heart 1
disgusted 1
illness 1
pain 1
privacy 1
puzzlement 1
reaction 1
sadness 1
sorrow 1
state 1
stress 1
afraid 1
angry 2
anxiety 1
attained 2
bad 2
disappointed 1
disturbed 3
dramatic 2
dissatisfied 1
distressed 3
emotionally
frustrated 2
happy 1
irritated 1
nervous 1
personal 4
preoccupied 1
puzzled 1
saddened 1
surprised 1
unhappy 1
upset 24
worried 1
bother 1
console 2
cry 3
die 1
feel 1
grieve 1
intrude 2
like 1
love 1
shame 4
sigh 1
upset 1
alone 5

Appendix 2. Emotion words in L1 Russian produced by 17 Russian–English bilinguals

(43 words, 89 tokens)

Nouns (n = 6, 14% 7 tokens, 8%)
Adjectives (n = 14, 32% 30 tokens, 34%)
Verbs (n = 17, 40% 19 tokens, 21%)
Adverbs (n = 6, 14% 8 tokens, 9%)
gorev/grief, sorrow 1
depressed/depression 1
distressed/distress 1
sadness/sadness 1
sadness/stress 1
chastus/stressful 1

References