

The Impact of Emotion Language on International Negotiation (ELIN)

Working paper

1. Introduction

Communication between people of different linguistic, social and cultural backgrounds is burgeoning nowadays in virtually all spheres of human interaction. Meanwhile, communication within domains such as diplomacy, international cooperation and military or political conflict - typically fraught with the hazards of misconception and misinterpretation - needs to be maximally effective and constructive. In this context, it becomes imperative to carefully elaborate language- and culture-sensitive strategies to minimize these risks, especially with regard to the appropriate assessment and response to affect, which permeates all levels of human interaction.

In response to this exigency, the ELIN research project, financed by the Swiss Network for International Studies (SNIS) and co-financed by the NCCR in Affective Sciences and the Centre Interfacultaire en Sciences Affectives (CISA), aims to foster a strategic interdisciplinary collaboration between scholars from various local and foreign institutions and professionals from international organizations in an attempt to provide the international community with cross-cultural insight into the emotions most relevant in conflict scenarios. Four central emotion concepts were chosen for their relevance in conflict and negotiation: ANGER, GUILT, SHAME and PRIDE.¹ The project, both theoretical and applied, aims to produce a contrastive account of their meaning construction and verbal communication in eight relevant and widespread languages of the world: the 6 official languages of the UN (English, French, Spanish, Arabic, Chinese and Russian) together with German and Hebrew. In this way, the project seeks to enhance public awareness on cultural differences in the realm of emotional display and to contribute to the professional training and practices of professional dealing with international communication.

Our multidisciplinary approach incorporates research methods from the affective sciences, psycholinguistics, lexical semantics, translation/interpretation studies, cognitive linguistics, corpus linguistics, and critical discourse analysis applied to three subprojects:

- **Subproject 1:** A contrastive semantic study of the most salient emotion terms in conflict scenarios and negotiation, so as to uncover the subtle differences in their semantic space, including the dimensions that maximally polarize them, and an assessment of their impact on translation/interpretation practices in international communication;
- **Subproject 2:** An extensive corpus-based cognitive linguistic study of the network of metaphors that provide the conceptual basis for the verbalization and representation of emotions in the languages under study, their connection with the semantic space of the literal emotion terms and their role in translation/interpretation strategies for international communication;

¹ Following a convention in Cognitive Linguistics, concepts are written in small capitals (e.g., the concept ANGER), while specific lexical terms are marked by italics (e.g., the English word *anger*).

- **Subproject 3:** An analysis of the culture- and language-specific discursive tactics used to verbalize emotional experiences in conflict scenarios and an analysis of their translatability across languages.

The official beginning and end dates of the ELIN Project were 1 September 2008 and 31 May 2010, respectively. This working paper is one of the documents accompanying the final report. Its goal is to present, in more detail than is possible in the executive summary of the project, an account of the major achievements accomplished in these 21 months in the three research lines of ELIN. Contributions to conferences and workshops, as well as finished and planned publications, are indicated with numbers and referenced at the end. Additional details on the evaluation of the project, involved parties, and future lines of research can be found in the executive summary downloadable from the SNIS webpage.

2. A lexical investigation of conflict emotions: Semantic profiles and structural variation within and across languages and cultures (Subproject 1)

Subproject 1 aimed to investigate potential differences in the semantic profiles of the words that culturally different populations use to communicate their affective states in conflict situations. The semantic profiles were to be investigated by means of a web-based questionnaire (the ELIN questionnaire) in which native speakers would rate a number of relevant terms on a set of features concerning the words' meaning. From these profiles, the structural layout of the emotion semantic domains in the various languages could also be investigated. Therefore, the selection of (1) a representative set of terms, and (2) a representative set of features that would fit the task were of paramount importance. Both goals required specific measures. In order to select the most representative set of words to represent ANGER, SHAME, GUILT and PRIDE in the languages under investigation, a psycholinguistic pre-study was designed. In what follows we will first explain the nature and results of this pre-study (section 2.1). Next we will explain how the ELIN questionnaire was built (selection of features, section 2.2) and administered (section 2.3). Next, we will present the main results of the cross-cultural and cross-linguistic study carried out with the ELIN questionnaire (2.4). Finally, we will present some work carried out in the framework of the GRID project, whose results also belong to the ELIN research agenda (section 2.5).

2.1. The ELIN pre-study: Selecting a representative set of ANGER, SHAME, GUILT and PRIDE emotion terms

In order to establish the structural organization of the lexical fields and the relative centrality of the terms in the 8 languages under study, a psycholinguistic pre-study was designed with a new questionnaire. The pre-study questionnaire comprised 20 emotion-eliciting situations designed to describe one of the 4 emotion categories investigated in ELIN (ANGER, SHAME, GUILT and PRIDE).

2.1.1. Pre-study design

The methodological approach used in the construction of the questionnaire was the Facet Approach, a method elaborated within the framework of Facet Theory (Guttman 1959), which relies on the idea that most socio-behavioral concepts, including emotion concepts, involve multiple variables, and therefore, their study requires a systematic design to define observations. These observations can be captured by what is defined within the theory as a *mapping sentence*. A mapping sentence, a basic device of Facet Theory, contains a set of variables (i.e. *facets*) that capture important components of an emotional situation, like the various Actors involved, the possible existence of Disadvantaged Persons, the Actions carried out, as well as other important parameters such as the existence of Intention, and the Control one may have over the situation. To identify the potentially relevant facets for ANGER, SHAME, GUILT and PRIDE scenarios, and in view of the fact that it is important to sample situations as broadly as possible by including scenarios that originated from very different cultural regions, we did a facet analysis of the ISEAR² database, which contains free-format accounts of emotional situations provided by over 3000 student respondents in 37 countries when cued with emotion words. The construction of the SHAME and GUILT situations was complemented by psychology studies on self-conscious emotions (shame, guilt, humiliation, among others) conducted by ELIN collaborators from the University of Ghent (Let Dillen and Johnny Fontaine). Several additional facets were derived from the relevant literature surveys on ANGER and PRIDE (Tangley 1995, Tangley & Dearing 2002, Tafarodi & Walters 1999, Wranik & Scherer 2010).

These three steps produced the facets and their varieties summarized in Table 1. Since most of the predicted variation between the lingual groups under study concerns differences in the type of self-construal, we elaborated a more nuanced format for the Actor/Disadvantaged Person facets by including the presence of ‘others’ (kin, friends, communities, or countries), who could be construed as an intrinsic part of the self in more collectivistic communities (Table 1, Facet C). Furthermore, attempts were made to account for a social aspect of meaning by introducing the power and social status relationship of the actors in ANGER situations (Table 1, Facets A and C2). Given the widely accepted distinction made in the literature between emotions that are likely to be experienced about the entire ‘self’ and emotions that are not linked to specific types of acts or behavior, the Action facet was expanded to include an ‘episodic’ (action-related) and a ‘dispositional’ (quality, feature, or state-related) variety.

Table 1
Facets used in the construction of ANGER scenarios³

FACET	FACET ELEMENTS	FACET ELEMENTS VARIETIES
A. Actor	1. I	

² International Survey on Emotion Antecedents and Reactions (Wallbott & Scherer 1986, 1988, Scherer & Wallbott 1994)

³ All the facets mentioned in this table were also used for the construction of SHAME, GUILT, and PRIDE scenarios (except for evident cases when a facet did not apply, e.g., THREAT/VIOLATION in PRIDE situations). Due to space constraints, only additional facets for those groups of scenarios will be illustrated in the following tables below.

	2. someone else	2a. superior	
		2b. equal/ inferior	
B. Action	1. action/ not due action	1a. one-time (non)action, 'episodic'	
		1b. repeated (non)action , 'dispositional'	
C. Disadvantaged person/ party	1. I	1a. self proper	'body'
			'abstract'
			'property'
		1b. self-image	
		1c 'extended' self	kin, friends
			community, country
	2. someone else	2a 'not capable of self-defense'	
		2b 'capable of self-defense'	
D. Type of threat/violation	3. no one		
	1. moral		
	2. social		
E. Intention	3. competence		
	1. with intention		
F. Control	2. without intention		
	1. in control		
G. Audience	2. out of control		
	1. Large	G1 Audience reaction	a. Positive (congratulations)
			b. Negative (disapproval)
2. Small	c. No reaction		
	3. No audience		

From Ogarkova, Soriano & Lehr (in press) (7)

In the construction of SHAME and GUILT scenarios, we additionally relied on several analytical philosophical analysis of SHAME and GUILT (e.g., Deonna & Teroni 2008) to see which distinctions between the two emotions would be 'constitutive' of them, rather than simply typical. Two key oppositions are the following: (a) while the evaluative focus in SHAME is the self, in GUILT it is behavior; (b) while the formal object for SHAME is an undermined value, the formal object for GUILT is a flouted norm. This led us, therefore, to nuance the Action facet in SHAME and GUILT situations so that in the former the action was construed as the flouting of a value, whereas in the GUILT situations the action involved the violation of a norm (Table 2).

Table 2

Additional facets used in the construction of SHAME and GUILT scenarios

FACET	FACET ELEMENTS
B1. Action construed as violation of	1. Norms
	2. Values
F. Audience	1. Large
	2. Small
	3. No audience

From Ogarkova, Soriano & Lehr (in press) (7)

In the construction of PRIDE scenarios, we nuanced the Action facet into achievement/no achievement types, and the former into a yet subtler distinction between an achievement one can have over external challenges and an achievement one attains over oneself (Table 3).

Table 3

Additional facets used in the construction of PRIDE scenarios

FACET	FACET ELEMENTS	FACET ELEMENTS VARIETIES
B. Action	1a achievement	1a external (external challenges) 1b internal (over the self)
	1b no achievement	

From Ogarkova, Soriano & Lehr (in press) (7)

Twenty emotion-eliciting situations, five per emotion category (ANGER, SHAME, GUILT and PRIDE) were constructed on the basis of the facets outlined above. Five groups of native speakers of Russian (N=17), Spanish (N=17), French (N=17), German (N=17), and English (N=11) filled in the questionnaire. The respondents were asked to free-list the emotion terms (nouns, adjectives or both) in their native language that would best capture the way they would feel in each of the situations.

For each language sample, the analysis unfolded in several stages. First, the words offered in each scenario were grouped and counted; nouns and adjectives of the same lexical root (e.g. *guilt* and *guilty*) were grouped together as a single type or root. The total number of tokens (words) and types (roots) was calculated for each scenario, as well as the proportion of adjectives and nouns for each lexical root. This first analysis produced 20 lists of terms per language (one per scenario in the questionnaire). Secondly, 4 global lists were compiled for each language collapsing the scenario-based lists to gather all the labels used in the entire questionnaire for each of the emotion categories (ANGER, SHAME, GUILT and PRIDE). Since the participants did not know which emotion category was targeted by any of the scenarios and were free to list whatever

emotion term they thought appropriate. The third step was to separate in each of the lists (scenario-based and global) the on-target responses (i.e. words pertaining to our targeted lexico-semantic groups: ANGER, SHAME, GUILT and PRIDE) from off-target ones (i.e., words from other emotion categories, e.g., *sad* or *disappointed*). Fourthly, the words in all lists (partial and global) were reorganized in decreasing order of frequency of appearance. Finally, separate notice was taken of the total number of tokens and types of words used in each of the emotion categories.

2.1.1. Pre-study results

The analysis of the data obtained in the psycholinguistic pre-study led to three main research outcomes. Firstly, we were able to reach the goal for which the pre-study was designed, namely, the selection of the ANGER, SHAME, GUILT and PRIDE terms in five European languages that are most salient for the respective emotion categories. Since our analyses revealed that ANGER is the most lexicalized category, the number of words that were selected for the inclusion in the ELIN questionnaire was twice bigger than the corresponding numbers of words selected in the remaining three emotion categories. Therefore, in each of the languages from 6 to 9 ANGER words were selected, whereas a maximum of 5 words were chosen in SHAME, GUILT and PRIDE, across all the languages (See Annex 1 Tables A-G for the list of words).

Secondly, the results of our study also revealed several culture-specific tendencies in how people in five cultural groups label the emotions that arise in conflict-relevant situations. Given that three out of four of our situations (excl. PRIDE scenarios) involved the scripts that are centrally relevant for conflict, we were able to uncover four regularities in how our samples differ. All of them are largely interpretable in the light of cultural variability in the conceptualization and expression of emotion in collectivistic (Russian and Spanish) vs. individualistic (French, German, English) cultures. More specifically, the observed differences provide evidence that, in contrast to French, German and English (i.e. more individualistic Western societies), Russian and Spanish (i.e. more collectivistic cultures)

- (1) have a more pronounced tendency to repress the open manifestation of socially disruptive negative emotions like anger. In our data, this tendency has been substantiated by several findings: (a) the prototype ANGER word in Russian (that is, the most frequently used to label *all* the ANGER situations as a whole) was *razdrazhenie* ‘irritation’, which signals a lower degree of intensity of the experienced emotion than conventional translations of anger into Russian (e.g., *zlost* ‘anger’); (b) the use of lower-intensity ANGER labels in labeling individual situations, specifically those involving an offence by a superior (e.g., Russian *obida* ‘being hurt/resentment’, an internalized type of anger rarely openly manifested and much lower on intensity and associated feelings of power and dominance); (c) the use of lower-intensity ANGER labels (Russian *razdrazhenie* ‘irritation’ and Spanish *enfado* ‘mild anger’) in situations when an in-group member is the offender (e.g., in a situation where one’s country is being ridiculed by one’s *colleague* at a party). In contrast, French, German and English participants report intense types of anger (*colère*, *Wut* and *angry/insulted*); (d) among the Spanish words used to label ANGER scenarios the lexeme *impotencia* (‘impotence’) was as frequent as the most

frequent ANGER word, *rabia* ('anger') which can highlight the culture-specific appraisal of the impossibility to act on one's angry feelings;

- (2) exhibit a greater group-bias orientation in assessing an emotional situation. For instance, our data showed that in those conflict scenarios where multiple emotional responses were possible, the respondents from collectivistic cultural groups emphasized more an in-group rather than an out-group orientation: in a situation where one's child is being bullied at school, Spanish and Russian respondents reported they would feel 'anxiety' and 'worry' (Russian *bespokojstvo*, Spanish *preocupación*), i.e. concern about the in-group member, more frequently than any variety of anger. By contrast, French, German, and English speakers used anger-related lexemes (anger towards the out-group wrongdoers);
- (3) exhibit a tendency to construe a violation of a social norm as leading to shame rather than guilt. The analysis of the frequencies with which each of the five cultural groups at stake use emotion labels in GUILT scenarios (all of which included violation of the norm in their Action facet), French, German and English speakers more frequently used GUILT-related words (*culpabilité*, *Schuld*, *guilty*), whereas in the Russian and Spanish samples the top frequent labels were GUILT terms (*styd* 'shame'; *vergüenza* 'shame, embarrassment');
- (4) attenuate self-related appraisal and achievement in pride. Specifically, (a) in Russian and Spanish the most frequent labels in the emotional scenarios reporting *personal* success were 'satisfaction' words (Russian *udovletvorenje* and Spanish *satisfacción*, respectively), whereas in French, German and English the emotional scenarios reporting personal success were labeled by PRIDE words; (b) regarding *group* achievement, all groups reported feeling JOY/HAPPINESS, but collectivistic Russians report more 'pride' than 'joy' in a situation where their national team has reached success; (c) the difference between the overall use of PRIDE vs. JOY/SATISFACTION words when labeling PRIDE scenarios is less pronounced in the Russian and Spanish samples than in German and French.

Overall, the results outlined show that people from different lingual and cultural groups resort to different, culturally-motivated, strategies to account for the way they would feel in conflict scenarios. In other words, the results suggest that the very process of emotion labeling is subject to cultural display rules and the 'feeling norms', e.g., by means of specific cultural 'censure' on overt labeling of intense negative emotional experiences, or by downplaying or 'boosting' self-related positive affect like pride. Thus, '[...] the true difference between languages is not in what may or may not be expressed but in what must or must not be conveyed by the speakers' (Jacobson 1959: 232).⁴

⁴ The results of this study were presented at three conferences/workshops (see 7, 8, 9) and are reported in two research papers currently in press (see 7, 8). The financial support of SNIS in the preparation of this work for publication was acknowledged.

Thirdly, the analyses of the data obtained in the pre-study allowed us to make an investigation into the intra-categorical variation within the four broad conflict-relevant emotion categories as lexicalized in five European languages. This investigation addressed three questions: (1) which of the emotion labels in five European languages (as elicited in the context-sensitive setting of a conflict scenario) are central/prototypical for the representation of conflict-relevant emotions (as based on the frequency of their use by the respondents); (2) how the emotion domains are hierarchically organized (in terms of frequency of usage of the elicited terms); and (3) how both the central terms and the hierarchical structure of the entire emotion domains of ANGER, SHAME, GUILT and PRIDE compare across our five language samples. Given that a substantial effort has been invested into the conflict-relevant scenarios' representatively covering the possible variations of ANGER-, SHAME-, GUILT- and PRIDE-eliciting situations (including the differences on intensity, duration, social parameters, self-concept, etc), the null hypothesis was that all the words elicited in each of the groups of words should not differ on the frequency with which they were mentioned by the respondents. Submitting the frequencies of the use of each word to distribution statistic tests (Fisher exact, used on the grounds of small sample sizes), allowed us to identify (a) the words that were significantly more frequent in use than *any other* words in the respective categories, that is, the *prototype words* in the respective emotion category; (b) the next level(s) of emotion terms that are distinct from prototypes in frequencies. The four major general conclusions drawn from this study are:

The prototype element in the analyzed emotion categories can be 'strong' (one word with significant differences in use over all other words) or 'blurred', which is the case when two or more words are equally very salient (as reflected by their frequency of use). Examples of the former include Russian *razdrazhenie* 'irritation' and Spanish *rabia* 'anger', which proved to be the most frequent ANGER labels used by the respective lingual groups. An example of the latter is the case of German *Wut* and *Ärger* where both words, despite a somewhat higher frequency of *Wut*, have proved to be the most salient German ANGER terms. All findings are interesting in that the Russian term denotes a less intense and hence more socially welcome emotion. The Spanish result is interesting in the context of the convention in current cross-cultural research on emotions to use *ira*, rather than *rabia*, as the key term representing the category of ANGER in Spanish. A higher frequency of German *Wut* rather than *Ärger* is interesting in that it diverges from the literature and convention in cross-cultural studies where *Ärger* is used as the prototype word. These three findings yield interesting evidence that can be fruitfully used in lexicography, translation studies, and linguistics, where the issues of the centrality of the terms in an emotion category are of particular importance.

The differences in what words/groups of words emerged as prototypical, as well as the differences in the hierarchical structures of the categories in our analyses are largely accountable for by *cultural variation* between the cultural groups we compared (most prominently, by individualism/collectivism distinctions where Russian and Spanish are somewhat more collectivistic whereas English, French, and German are more individualistic). For instance, only in Russian and Spanish canonical SHAME words (*стыд* and *vergüenza*) emerge as prototypes, in the remaining three languages the prototypes also embrace or even are represented by EMBARRASSMENT terms. This seems to suggest a narrower referential scope of SHAME words in English, German, and French, where the use of these terms is more typical in genuinely

disgraceful situations (this allows the cross-cultural researchers to comment on the ‘unspeakable’ character of shame in contemporary Western societies).

The hierarchical structure of ANGER, SHAME, GUILT and PRIDE varies across the *emotion concepts* at stake. For instance, a cross-linguistically stable pattern suggested by our data in all five languages is that ANGER has a more complex structure, whereas the PRIDE category has a fewer-level structure. This finding is consistent with the research on emotion labels that supports the prototype model of emotion categorization, where ANGER is posited as a basic-level emotion concept that crowns a broader cluster of terms (e.g., *fury, wrath, outrage, spite*), whereas *pride* pertains to the subordinate level of categorization normally subsumed under the basic category of JOY. A closer look at the lower-level ANGER terms that emerged in our analyses suggests that languages are apt to encode important, albeit subtle, distinctions between different degrees of intensity, associated to one’s angry feelings (*irritation* vs. *anger*), one’s feelings of power, control, or social status associated to it (*indignation* vs. *being irked, zlost* ‘being cross with sb’ vs. *gnev* ‘righteous indignation’, as well as the dispositional vs. episodic character of anger (e.g., English *vindictive*, French *rancour, vengeance*, Russian *mstitel’nost* ‘malice’ as compared to words denoting more on-spot angry reactions). On the contrary, PRIDE is a relatively narrower emotion concept focused on joy and achievement, most commonly conceptualized as a pleasant, sometimes exhilarating, emotion which results from a positive self-evaluation. Labeling one’s emotion as ‘pride’ is thus self-explanatory in a way: there seems to be no need for any further specification.

The hierarchical structure ANGER, SHAME, GUILT and PRIDE varies across the *languages at stake*. This is the case of German and Russian, for instance, which have more elaborate structures for GUILT and ANGER, respectively. Unlike in the remaining three languages, where three levels emerged for the respective emotion categories, Russian has an additional and distinct frequency level of dispositional ANGER terms (e.g. *mstitel’nost* ‘malice’), whereas in German the lowest level GUILT words include *Schande* ‘disgrace’ and *Selbstvorwurf* ‘self-reproach’.⁵

2.2. Construction of the ELIN questionnaire: Selecting a representative set of discriminative features for ANGER, SHAME, GUILT and PRIDE emotion terms

The construction of the ELIN questionnaire was in many interrelated ways connected to the simultaneous advance in the GRID project, a research initiative sponsored by the Swiss Center for Affective Sciences, of which ELIN (in its Research line 1) is a natural heir. In the GRID Project the meaning of 24 prototypical emotion words, among them *shame, guilt, pride* and *anger*, was investigated for ca. 30 languages, including the 8 languages of the ELIN. Three of the current members of the ELIN executive board (Klaus Scherer, Cristina Soriano and Anna Ogarkova) and the ELIN external collaborator Johnny Fontaine are also members of the GRID project, which has allowed us to employ some of those data to address research questions pertinent to the ELIN agenda.

Four aspects of GRID work have been centrally important for the construction of the ELIN instrument. Firstly, the statistical analyses were carried out by Prof. Johnny Fontaine on

⁵ The results of this third outcome of the ELIN pre-study are reported in a research paper that is now in preparation for publication (see 9). The support of SNIS in preparation of this paper will be acknowledged.

the ca. 30 languages included in the GRID. This allowed us to establish the list of (statistically) most discriminating features for the concepts ANGER, SHAME, GUILT *and* PRIDE in the GRID questionnaire. Secondly, the ELIN linguists (Ogarkova and Soriano) did the detailed semantic analysis of the lexical terms elicited in the pre-study, with the external counseling from native speakers of the languages at stake. Thirdly, an exploratory study of the capacity of GRID to capture the subtle semantic variation between same-category emotion terms in one of the ELIN languages (Russian) was carried out, so as to allow the ELIN team both to assess the utility of the GRID approach, and to carefully consider its limitations for the ELIN agenda.

This exploratory study was based on both GRID-standard and an additional set of emotion terms in the ANGER, COMPASSION, LOVE and SADNESS categories. Three types of semantic relationships between the terms were considered: (a) hyperonymy, defined as the relation between a term and a more generic emotion word related to it (e.g. *depression* and the more generic *sadness*); (b) hyponymy, i.e. the relation between an emotion term and another more specific one; and (c) the specific relationship between an allegedly ‘culturally untranslatable’ word and the prototype word of the category that it belongs to. The results of this study showed both strong points in the GRID approach (as it was the theoretical and methodological platform to use in the ELIN questionnaire) and its limitations, granting us a better understanding of the modifications needed for the ELIN questionnaire. As regards the strong points, GRID proved to be a functional tool in capturing a fair portion of the semantic distinctions, established by various linguistic methodologies, between emotion terms within the same broad emotion category. With regard to the *type* of semantic relationship between emotion words, the GRID method has proved to be most effective in revealing meaningful distinctions between ‘culturally salient’/‘untranslatable’ emotion terms and counterparts that have canonical translations in other languages (example?). Furthermore, the results show that the GRID approach can be usefully employed in several types of tasks such as establishing translation equivalence of emotion terms across languages, determining the category membership of an ‘untranslatable’ term, and determining the *degree* of this membership, i.e. the degree to which an ‘untranslatable’ emotion label shares semantic structure with the prototype/core word in a lexico-semantic group. In addition, the GRID methodology has proven to be useful to identify those emotion components - event appraisal, bodily change, vocal expression and so on - responsible for most of the distinctions between related terms.

At the same time, the exploratory study also revealed several limitations in the GRID instrument. The first is that GRID seems to provide a less coherent pattern of results when two same-level emotions are compared (e.g. two types of anger). In part, this can be explained by the very words chosen for the analysis, between which the semantic distinctions can be said to be challengingly minute. Another explanation for this lack of discriminative power is that near-synonyms in the GRID were never presented to the participants on the same screen, so that they could answer the questions focusing on their differences. A second limitation of the GRID questionnaire, as revealed by the semantic exploratory analysis, is that the social meaning of words was rather underrepresented. The literature overviewed showed that much of the variation between semantically-close emotion words in Russian taps on the *social* aspect of meaning, given that the lexical terms encode important distinctions concerning the hierarchy and the interconnectedness between the parties involved in an emotion scenario. Of importance here are the features that relate to the social context, including whether the causal agent of an emotion is

superior or inferior, distanced or close to the experiencer, human or non-human, single or a group. These distinctions cannot be verified with the current version of the GRID, but are relevant not only for Russian emotion terms, but, more generally, for other cultures where interconnectedness between individuals is a salient concept, like Spanish, Hebrew, Chinese, and Arabic, which were to be represented in ELIN. Therefore, two major ways in which this exploratory study contributed to the construction of the ELIN questionnaire were (1) a decision to modify the design of GRID so that the respondents would be presented with the entire family of words from the same emotion category (which would allow them to focus on differences rather than similarities between the words); (2) a decision to include the above-mentioned features that tap on the social aspects that underlie lexicalization.⁶

As a final methodological step in the construction of the ELIN questionnaire, a more detailed overview of anthropological, ethnographic, and linguistic literatures on cross-cultural variation between the emotion terms was undertaken. One of its major goals was to identify additional features underlying the lexicalization of emotional states in natural languages, in a broader selection of languages than those covered by the publications referred to above. This overview resulted in the identification of additional features—overlooked in the current version of GRID—that were hypothesized to better capture the distinctions between emotion terms. These features are summarized in Table 4.⁷

Table 4

Complementary features encoding important differences in the meaning of emotion terms across languages

	FEATURE	SPECIFICATION
PERSON CAUSING AN EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCE	social status	superior
		equal
		inferior
	closeness	close person, in-group
		stranger, out-group
specificity	specific person groups of people	
FOCUS OF APPRAISAL OF OTHER	behavior (action)	
	intrinsic quality	
	possessions	
FOCUS OF APPRAISAL OF SELF	self-image	
	reputation/honour	

⁶ The results of this exploratory study in Russian are reported in a research chapter accepted for publication in the GRID book (see 4), with the acknowledgment to SNIS as one of the funding bodies that supported this publication.

⁷ The results of this literature review are presented in the theoretical overview paper accepted for publication in the GRID book (see 3 in ‘Publications’), with the acknowledgment to SNIS as one of the funding bodies that supported the publication.

SOCIAL SHARING	<u>experienced individually</u>
	<u>experienced together with others</u>
ATTRIBUTION	<u>attributed to self</u>
	<u>attributed to others</u>

From Ogarkova (submitted) (7)

The four steps outlined above provided a theoretical, methodological and empirical foundation for the construction of the ELIN questionnaire. Its final version included 95 features in 6 emotion components: 25 features refer to event appraisal, 11 to bodily experiences, 13 to expression (vocal, gestural, and facial), 13 to action tendencies, 10 to subjective feelings, and 3 to regulation. In addition, 16 more features addressed more general issues about emotion conceptualization (the final version of the ELIN questionnaire is available upon request from the ELIN team).

2.3. Administration of the ELIN questionnaire

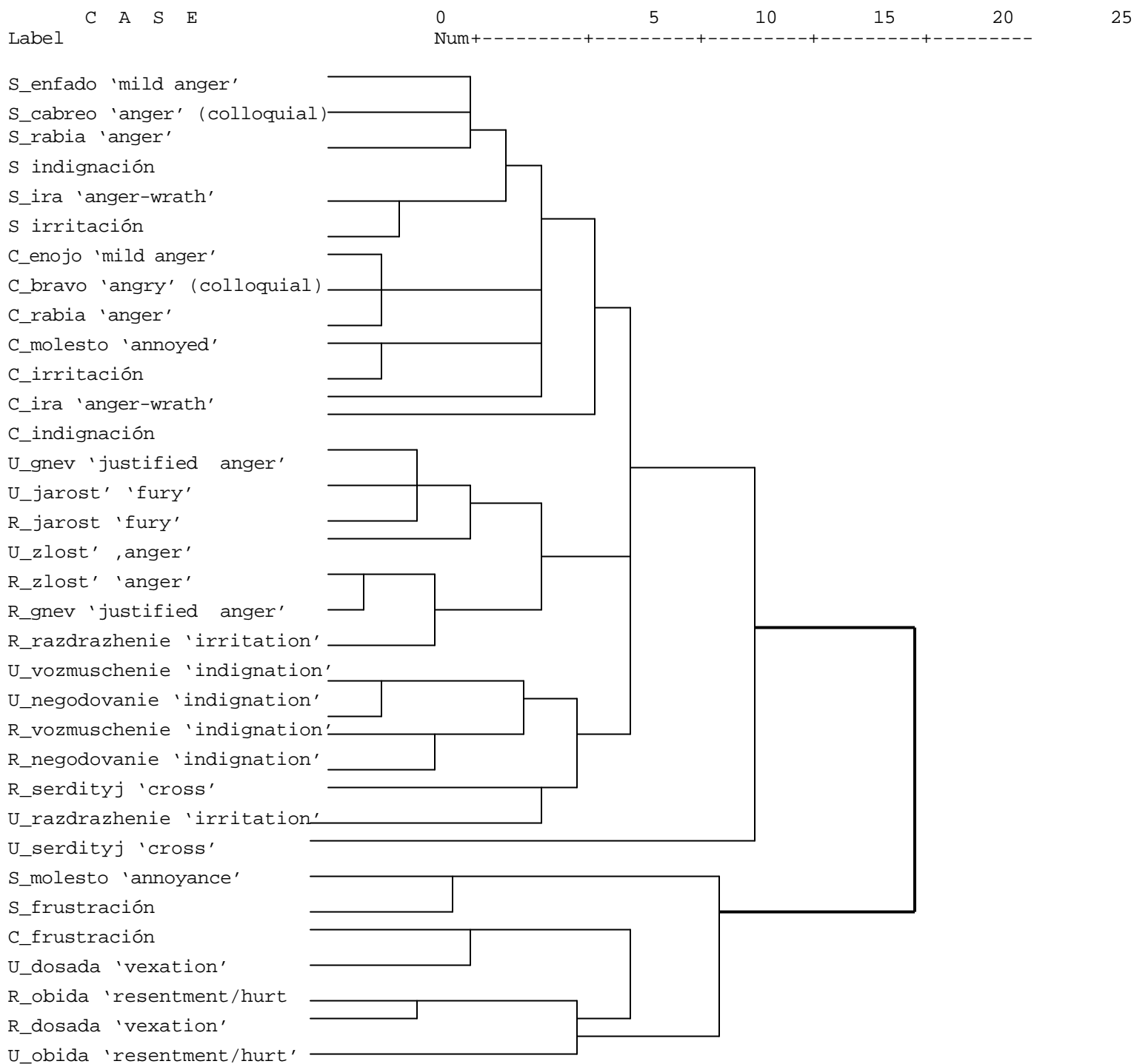
The ELIN was administered in a controlled Web study (<http://cms.unige.ch/cisa/grid/elin>) in which each participant was given several emotions terms from a randomly chosen emotion category: ANGER, SHAME, GUILT and PRIDE. Depending on the emotion category, the number of the words presented to each participant varied between 3 and 5. The set of words viewed by any one participant always belonged to the same emotion category so as to enhance the possibility of identifying semantic differences between the words. Participants were asked to rate each of the terms on the 95 emotion features. Using a 9-point Likert scale ranging from extremely unlikely (1) to extremely likely (9), they rated the likelihood with which each emotion feature can be inferred from each of the emotion words they saw see on the screen. Each of the 95 emotion features was presented on a separate screen, and participants rated all terms for that feature before proceeding to the next feature.

In total, 1111 participants completed the ELIN instrument in their own language: Spanish speakers from Southern Spain (N = 106) and Colombia (N= 100), French speakers from Switzerland (N = 82) and France (N= 104), English speakers from Australia (N = 110)and the US (N = 25), German speakers from Germany (N = 60) and Switzerland (N = 98), Russian speakers from Ukraine (N = 107) and Russia (N = 86), Hebrew speakers from Israel (N= 99), and Chinese speakers from Singapore (N = 100) and mainland China (N = 34).

2.4. Main results of the ELIN questionnaire

The data emerging from the ELIN questionnaire has been analyzed in two ways so far. A first set of analyses was carried out in Russian and Spanish for the ANGER category (9 Russian words and 8 Spanish words), maintaining the cultural region of the data (Southern Spain vs. Colombia, and Ukraine vs. Russia) as independent variable. In the second set of analyses the data from different countries speaking the same languages were merged. Both types of results will be discussed in sections 2.4.1. and 2.4.2 respectively.

Figure 1
Hierarchical clustering of Russian and Spanish ANGER terms



2.4.1. ANGER in Russian and Spanish

Several types of statistical analyses on ANGER words in four samples (two samples in both Russian and Spanish) revealed three types of findings. The first group of results relates to the overall structure of the general ANGER domain in Russian and Spanish (see Figure 1). The major finding here, substantiated by two types of analysis (hierarchical cluster analysis and principal component analysis), is that ANGER words in both Russian and Spanish fall into two major groups. Contrary to the convention that exists in the literature, these two groups do not discriminate the terms with regards to their degree of intensity. Instead, the two emergent groups contain (1) on the one hand ‘anger’ terms which in both languages connote various degrees of intensity (e.g. Russian *zlost’* ‘anger’ and *razdrazhenie* ‘irritation’; Spanish *ira* ‘wrath’ and *enfado* ‘mild anger’); (2) on the other hand, frustration-vexation terms (like Russian *dosada* ‘vexation/frustration’, *obida* ‘being hurt/resentment’, Spanish *molesto* ‘annoyed’ and *frustración* ‘frustration’).

Furthermore, all the ANGER terms analyzed naturally cluster into two language groups (Spanish vs Russian), regardless of the cultural region where the data were collected. This suggests that linguistic similarity effects are fairly large, and prevail over cultural differences. This is particularly obvious if we consider, for instance, that Spain and Russia are close to each other on the individualism/collectivism dimension (individualism indices 55 and 39, respectively) and are both fairly distinct from Colombia, which is a much more collective society (individualism index 13).

The second group of findings relates to the (*translation*) *equivalence* between (1) Russian and Spanish words; and (2) Russian words as rated by Russians vs. those same words as rated by L1 Russian Ukrainians, as well as Spanish words as rated by Spaniards vs. those same words as rated by Spanish-speaking Colombians.

As regards (1), our results suggest that whereas in many cases the translation equivalence as suggested by ELIN results (profile correlations) neatly matches the conventional translation in dictionaries (for instance, Russian *zlost’* \approx *rabia*, *gnev* \approx *ira*, *vozmuchenie* \approx *indignación*), in some cases an ANGER word in either of the languages does not have a good translation in the other language. For instance, none of the Russian ANGER words satisfactorily correlate with Spanish *molesto*. Likewise, none of the Spanish ANGER words satisfactorily correlate with Russian *serditsja* ‘to be cross’ (vb). In both cases of non-equivalence, however, ELIN allows to identify a word which is the closest (although not ideal) in meaning to the word in the source language.

Concerning (2), an interesting finding suggested by the data analysis is that the Spanish word *molesto* in peninsular Spanish has a somewhat different meaning from *molesto* in Colombian Spanish. Two findings suggest this difference: firstly, the two words enter different clusters in the hierarchical clustering (see Graph 1). Secondly, the overall correlations of the meaning profiles of the two words are lower than would be expected (.748).

Finally, the third group of findings concerning the meaning of ANGER in Russian and Spanish relates to the *features* on which ANGER terms in the two languages at stake are differentiated. Here, three major types of results emerge: (1) a feature proves to be discriminative within the emotion category in a language. This is the case, for instance, Russian *jarost’* ‘fury’ being significantly less likely to be elicited by an action of someone of a higher social status compared to *zlost’* ‘anger’; another example is Spanish *indignación*, which is more likely to be

elicited by a violation of one's standards or ideas as compared to Spanish *ira*; (2) a feature proves to be discriminative between the meanings of the same word in the same language as rated by people from different cultural regions. This is the case of *jarost* 'fury' being more likely to be caused by actions of a close person in Russian-speaking people in Ukraine as compared to Russians from Russia; another example is Spanish *frustración*, which, in peninsular Spanish, is more associated with an action that caused serious damage to others as compared to *frustración* in Colombian Spanish.⁸

2.4.2. The overall semantic structure of the conflict emotion domains

In a second set of analyses, the ELIN team analyzed the merged datasets of 7 languages represented by 12 different countries. The goal was to establish the overall semantic structure of the conflict-emotion domains.

Several types of analyses conducted thus far have amounted to two major findings. Firstly, contrary to the convention existing in the literature to treat SHAME and EMBARRASSMENT terms as belonging to one cluster of terms, our data suggest that in some languages SHAME terms load more on the GUILT factor while in other languages it loads more on the EMBARRASSMENT factor. In other words, shame terms do not just cluster with embarrassment terms, but are in-between the GUILT and the EMBARRASSMENT clusters. This suggests that the overall semantic structure of self-conscious conflict emotions is not governed by the distinctions between SHAME and GUILT but has, instead, a three-component structure of SHAME, GUILT, and EMBARRASSMENT. The second important finding is that FRUSTRATION terms across our languages do not just cluster with the ANGER terms but, in fact, are in some respects more related to the negative self-conscious emotion terms (SHAME and GUILT) than to ANGER. This finding suggests that FRUSTRATION cannot be regarded as a type of ANGER per se and has important links with other conflict-relevant emotions.

2.5. Other work in the GRID-ELIN framework

In addition to being instrumental in the construction of the ELIN questionnaire, several lines of work within the GRID project done by ELIN members are centrally relevant for the questions contained in the ELIN agenda. This is the case, first of all, of three theoretical chapters planned to appear in a book that presents the GRID/ELIN methodology to a general audience (Fontaine, Scherer and Soriano, in preparation). In this volume, the approach is contextualized in the broad domain of the multi-disciplinary research on emotion terms (for psychology see 11; for lexical semantics, see 12; for linguistic anthropology, see 2).

Additionally, several of the case studies written by ELIN team members and accepted for publication in the aforementioned GRID book are illustrative of the research questions most pertinent for ELIN. First, in relevance to the ELIN commitment to ANGER as one of the central conflict-relevant emotions, the GRID book includes a study on the literal and metaphorical

⁸ These findings, as well as their implementation to actual translation and cross-cultural research on lexical emotion are reported and discussed in the chapter currently in preparation by two ELIN team members (see 6). The support of SNIS in the preparation of this publication will be acknowledged.

conceptualization of ANGER in English and Spanish (see 13).⁹ The study shows that there is a common underlying conceptualization of the emotion for both languages, but that some differences can be found. For example, English and Spanish differ in the relative prototypicality of other people as victims of the anger-eliciting situation. For Spanish and British speakers alike, ANGER can be felt when an unfair event has occurred that is unpleasant and has negative consequences for the person him/herself; however, for Spanish speakers, more so than for English speakers, ANGER can also be felt when an unfair event has occurred to *other people*. The greater importance of “others” in the representation of ANGER may be due to the stronger collectivistic nature of Spain as opposed to the United States. In collectivistic cultures, the idea of what pertains to “oneself” is more encompassing and can incorporate members of one’s core or identity social circle, like the kin. Consequently, a perception of ANGER as elicited when something bad happens to “others” would be perceived as more likely by a speaker of a collectivistic culture than a speaker of an individualistic one.

Secondly, given the commitment of ELIN to attempt to disentangle language and culture as two interrelated, but potentially distinct variables that contribute to the variation in emotional meanings, two research chapters by ELIN member focus on the relative importance of language vs. culture as two variables contributing to the semantic structure of emotion terms.

One of them (see 1) analyzes the concept DESPAIR in Spanish (*desesperación*), Basque (*etsipena*) and English in five country samples: three Spanish ones (Northern Spain/Basque region, Southern Spain, and Chile), a Basque, and an American English sample. The results of this study suggest that, on the one hand, the linguistic similarity effects between several varieties of Spanish are strong because the semantic profiles of *desesperación* in all the three Spanish-speaking cultural groups have more in common with one another than with the semantic profiles of Basque *etsipena* and US English *despair*. On the other hand, however, the semantic profile of *desesperación* as rated by the Northern Spanish group from the Basque Land is more similar to Basque *etsipena* than the semantic profiles of the same word obtained from Southern Spaniards and Chileans. This second finding is interesting in that it offers two alternative (and not mutually exclusive) interpretations: one the one hand, the results might suggest ‘cultural diffusion’ where geographically close populations speaking different languages endorse the same, or similar, cultural beliefs about emotions. Secondly, the results are interpretable in the light of bilingualism of the Northern Spanish group, as all of them reported to have at least some knowledge of Basque.

The second paper (see 10) analyzes the differences in the meaning profiles of emotion terms in two typologically-related languages - Russian and Ukrainian - spoken by participants from the same region (Kiev, Ukraine). Contrary to our expectation that bilingualism of the speakers and their residing in the same cultural environment would make their accounts of the same words identical, the study reveals that both samples differ systematically in the regulation component that is part of the meaning structure of emotion words. Specifically, the Russian-speaking group systematically rated negative emotion terms as more likely to be inhibited, repressed, and not shown to others. One possible interpretation (although not conclusive since no studies have been run on Russian-speaking people from *Russia*) can be found in the differences

⁹ The results have also been reported at two conferences (see 4 & 5)

between Russians and Ukrainians along the individualism/collectivism dimension well attested in the previous literature (e.g., Potul'nyts'kyj 1998).

3. A cognitive exploration of conflict emotions through conceptual metaphor (Subproject 2)

Subproject 2 aimed to investigate the metaphorical construal of lexicalized varieties of ANGER, SHAME, GUILT, and PRIDE, in a corpus-based cognitive study of the role of metaphor in emotional meaning construction across languages and cultures and its consequences for translation/interpretation practice in international communication.

The work in this research line unfolded in 4 stages, following one of the most established procedures in cognitive corpus linguistics: Metaphorical Pattern Analysis (Stefanowitsch 2004, 2006). Firstly, relevant comparable corpora have been acquired and searched for the terms selected with the help of the pre-study (i.e. the most relevant emotion terms within each of the emotion categories). This was followed by a manual extraction of the metaphorical instances in a random 1000-hit sample of the use of each of the words.

Secondly, careful examination of the linguistic data compiled in the previous stage rendered an inventory of conceptual metaphors, or cross-domain systematic associations between the investigated emotions and other intrinsically different domains that we conventionally utilize to talk about and represent those emotions in the investigated languages. This stage involved an additional analytic effort to classify the different types of mental metaphors observed according to the existing literature in cognitive linguistics. The output is a cross-linguistically valid and systematic characterization of the metaphor-based representational structure of the emotion domains. This emergent structure, derived from the analysis of several languages, serves as *tertium comparationis* for the identification and characterization of language-specific associative patterns.

Thirdly, the frequencies of individual metaphors per each term were quantified and submitted to distributional statistical analyses. This allowed us to uncover central metaphors for each particular emotion lexeme in the languages under study.

Fourthly and finally, contrastive statistical analyses were run to identify how translation equivalents (e.g., Russian *gniev* 'anger' and Spanish *ira* 'anger') were metaphorically construed.

By now, stage 1 has been completed for all emotions words in 4 languages. Stages 2-4 have been completed only for ANGER words in three languages: Russian, Spanish, and German. Our results fall into three groups as regards: (a) salient metaphors for the construal of a specific emotion concept, (b) salient metaphors that differentiate two subtypes of anger in one language, and (c) salient metaphors that differentiate between translational equivalents.¹⁰

3.1. Salient metaphors for the construal of a specific emotion concept

Across all languages tested so far, all ANGER terms are characterized by the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A PRESSURIZED FLUID IN THE BODY CONTAINER. It is the most frequent one. This constitutes quantitative empirical evidence of a popular claim in Conceptual Metaphor Theory

¹⁰ Here we present only a summary of results. More detail will be reported at three conferences and workshops (see 1, 2, 3) and two research papers currently in preparation by two ELIN team members (see 13, 15).

regarding the alleged universal centrality of this mental representation. Beyond that, some emotion terms in each language are also characterized by other metaphors. Russian RAZDRAZHENIE ‘irritation’, for example, is significantly more likely than other terms to be construed as being in the whole body and voice, as opposed to other body parts – like the stomach, chest, or eyes. Spanish IRA ‘anger’, on the contrary, is significantly most frequently associated to the eyes.

3.2. Salient metaphors that differentiate two subtypes of anger in one language

Spanish IRA and RABIA share a number of preferred metaphorical representations: PRESSURIZED FLUID IN THE BODY CONTAINER, INSANITY and PRESSURIZED FLUID IN THE BODY CONTAINER. However IRA, unlike RABIA, is also significantly represented as a FORCE OF NATURE and FIRE. Since the meaning foci (Kövecses 2000) of these two metaphors are violence and lack of control (NATURE) and intensity (FIRE), IRA seems to be represented in our minds as a stronger and more damaging form of anger than RABIA. Another contrast can be found in Russian. While the Russian concept of RAZDRAZHENIE ‘irritation’ is significantly more frequently construed as a hidden object than a visible one, in ZLOST’ ‘anger’ no such difference in distribution is found. This suggests that while RAZDRAZHENIE ‘irritation’ can (and typically is) subject to regulation, the more intense ZLOST’ ‘anger’ may or may not.

3.3. Salient metaphors that differentiate between ‘translation equivalents’

Bilingual dictionaries frequently quote Russian ZLOST’, German WUT and Spanish IRA (all of them meaning ‘anger’) as translation equivalents. However, in comparison to Russian ZLOST’, German WUT is significantly less frequently associated to ILLNESS. Another problem is that Spanish IRA is associated to FORCE OF NATURE more than ZLOST’. In fact, judging from the set of most representative conceptual metaphors, the best translation equivalent for Spanish IRA is the Russian term GNIEV’ ‘anger’. A translation of IRA as ZLOST’ would inevitably miss the strong component of violence and uncontrollability that is intrinsic to IRA by virtue of the FORCE OF NATURE metaphor. Similarly, a translation of ZLOST’ as WUT would miss the association of the Russian term with disrupted bodily functions.

3.4. Integration of results

The study of conceptual metaphor nicely complements the semantic profiles provided by the GRID-ELIN questionnaire. In a study on the metaphorical and lexical representation of ANGER in English and Spanish (13), several hypotheses were proposed concerning a number of dimensions that seem to have a universal or very widespread scope. The questionnaire was shown to be useful to tap on (most of) those dimensions and provide quantitative empirical evidence about them. It also proved capable of providing additional, more nuanced and language-specific insights (like preferences in the types of causation or regulation styles) that can sometimes be linked to general cultural trends (e.g., collectivistic vs individualistic cultures). In turn, it was also shown that an investigation of conceptual representation through Metaphor Theory can reveal representational aspects about ANGER overseen by the questionnaire (like a component of

irrationality assumed to characterize the emotion, an assessment of debasement assigned to the person who loses control, or the potential harm the emotion can cause to the person him/herself).

4. Beyond the word: A discourse approach to conflict emotions (Subproject 3)

Subproject 3 focused on emotional meaning construction in conflict and negotiation discourse and its challenges for translation/interpretation in international communication. The research within this subproject followed two distinct directions: (1) linguistic variability in the indirect discursive representation of conflict emotions and (2) emotion representation in conflict report across languages.

4.1. Linguistic variability in the indirect discursive representation of conflict emotions

The first direction was explored with the questionnaire described in the pre-study of Subproject 1. In addition to lexical data, this questionnaire enabled us to collect information on the indirect discursive representation of emotions in the languages under study in a psychologically-realistic fashion. We asked informants not only to label the situations using fitting emotion words, but also to provide an account of how the same emotions could be conveyed in discourse in a polite, indirect way. The data have been coded and analyzed with respect to the *general level of explicitness* (explicitly mentioning an emotion word vs using other lexical and grammatical means to communicate it) with which culturally different populations signal emotional content in verbal interaction. The analyses unfolded within and across languages (Table 5), as well as within situations for a given language.

Table 5

Indirect signaling of an emotional state in conflict situations, across all the scenarios

	Russian	Spanish	French	German	English
ANGER	<i>nespravedlivost'</i> [injustice]	<i>molestar (vb)</i> [annoy] <i>preocupada</i> [worried]	<i>indigné</i> [indignant] <i>enervement</i> [irritation]	<i>Verärgert sein</i> [be angry]	<i>unfair</i>
SHAME	<i>sozhalenie</i> [regret]	<i>incómodo</i> [uneasy]	<i>envie de disparaître</i> [want to disappear]	<i>unangenehm</i> [unpleasant] <i>Ärger</i> [anger]	<i>embarrassed</i>
GUILT	<i>sozhalenie</i> [regret]	<i>sentirse mal</i> [feel bad]	<i>regret</i> [regret] <i>s'en vouloir</i> [blame oneself]	<i>unangenehm</i> [unpleasant]	<i>worry</i>
PRIDE	<i>radost'</i> [joy]	<i>alegría</i> [joy]	<i>fierté</i> [pride]	<i>Freude</i> [joy]	<i>pleased</i>

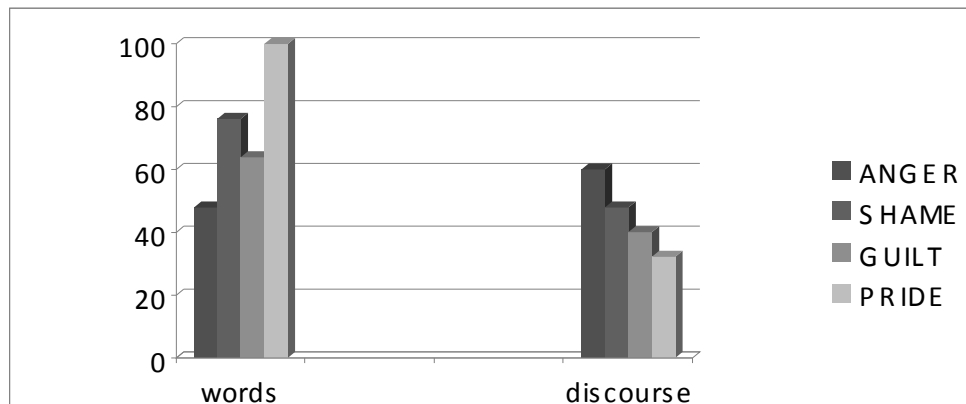
Overall, our data suggest a very low consensus across our languages as to the strategies with which emotional content is indirectly signaled in discourse. Across the languages we studied, however, the means of doing so include:

- (a) Signaling the feature of the situation rather than one's emotion reaction (e.g., *anger* → *injustice* in Russian and English ANGER).
- (b) Using a more semantically 'blurred' word (*shame/guilt* → *regret* in Russian and French GUILT).
- (c) Signaling valence only, without specifying what is characteristic of that emotion, like choosing a word that does not highlight one's sense of achievement in PRIDE (*pride* → *joy*, in Russian, Spanish, German, and English) or one that does not profile one's sense of blamefulness in SHAME (Spanish *vergüenza* → *sentirse mal, incómodo*; German *Scham, Schuld* → *Unangenehm*).

Compared to the lexical part of the situation-labeling task requested in the questionnaire, the indirect representation of the way people from different lingual/cultural groups feel in conflict scenarios is overall less consensual (Figure 2).

Figure 2

Congruence of word-use and indirect emotion representation in conflict scenarios across five languages



Moreover, the patterns in which people cohere across languages are the opposite for the lexical and the discursive representation of emotional content. As discussed in Subproject 1, ANGER is the least consensual category in lexicalization patterns across languages, while PRIDE is the most consensual one. By contrast, in the indirect representation of emotions in discourse, ANGER is the most consensual category, while PRIDE presents the greatest variability. Why do ANGER and PRIDE show reverse patterns in discourse indirect representation vs lexical representation? The

variability regarding anger lexicalization can be explained by the “broadness” of the concept ANGER and the important mediative role of cultural rules and feeling norms associated to overtly referencing socially disruptive negative affect in cross-cultural contexts. PRIDE, on the contrary, is a “subtype” emotion, a very specific emotion in the more general realm of JOY, which makes it less likely to have synonyms or near-synonyms. As for the reversed pattern found in the indirect representations of those emotions in discourse, the hypothesis we offer (which needs rigorous testing in future research) is that, both emotions have a different pragmatic status. Pragmatically speaking, communicating anger serves first of all to signal the most relevant part of it: dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs. The various key words used across languages to signal ANGER in discourse seem to coincide on that trait. On the contrary, PRIDE seems less pragmatically important, since there is no immediate problem to attend to, no threat to the person or his/her people); PRIDE is more oriented toward the person and his/her assessment, therefore more cultural factors come into play and result in the variation we observe.

4.2. *Emotion representation in conflict report across languages*

The second direction of research within Subproject 3 looked at emotion representation in conflict reports across languages. This was done through the analysis of UNOG materials (specifically, the peacekeeping documents of the Security Council (verbatim reports). The work here unfolded in three stages:

- (a) *Compilation of corpora of verbatim reports* originally written in Spanish, Russian and French, with their parallel English translation. For L1 English content, parallel corpora were created in Russian, Spanish, and French. The conflict chosen for the initial investigation was Kosovo (2003-2004).
- (b) *Qualitative data analysis and coding* (in progress). First, we focused on French/ Spanish/ Russian fragments and their translations into English. Then, we focused on how English fragments (by either US or GB diplomats) were rendered into French/Spanish/Russian. This allowed us to code several types of non-equivalence in rendering emotional content in diplomatic translation, including lexical (connotative differences, mostly in intensity of the words used), grammatical (word order, theme/ rheme structure, voice, mood), and stylistic problems (e.g., omission of quotation marks in translation can in some cases fail to convey the irony that was there in the source text), among others. The analyses are still in progress.
- (c) *Quantitative analysis and coding*. This line of research is the next planned step and will rely on the use of specific text-analysis software: Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC). LIWC will be used to compare the word use in verbatim reports of speeches at the Security Council. Using this quantitative approach will allow us to calculate the degree to which diplomats speaking different languages use specific categories of words. This type of analysis cannot start until the qualitative analysis of the data is complete, because it is necessary to create LIWC categories (i.e. specific groups of words that are automatically searched and counted by the program). This type of analysis is expected to

reveal (a) quantitative differences in word use across languages (e.g., do Russian-speaking diplomats use more positive affect lexis than French ones?); and (b) quantitative differences in word use across specific categories (e.g., *anger/indignation* vs. *anxiety/concern*) within one language.

On the basis of these findings, a research paper (see 16) is being planned for publication that will aim to uncover cultural and linguistic divergences in diplomatic conflict discourse. In a second step we will analyze whether these differences undergo any further modification in translation.

5. Conclusions

Overall, the ELIN project has generated several important insights relevant for the affective sciences and the applied areas of professional expertise such as translation and conflict negotiation. Firstly, its Subproject 1 has contributed to generate awareness on cultural differences in the conceptualization of emotions relevant in conflict settings, where members of different cultures (e.g. collectivistic vs individualistic) “read situations differently” and express their emotional state according to their specific cultural rules. It has also provided empirical quantitative and qualitative evidence of the semantic distance between similar terms within and across languages, with obvious consequences in translation practice. For example, awareness has been raised of semantic differences between the same term in two countries sharing a language, as well as semantic differences between terms traditionally considered as translation equivalents. We have also started to uncover (Subproject 3) that diplomatic discourse, even when highly ritualized (as in the verbatim reports of the US Security Council), is not devoid of emotional language, and that translations from the original language sometimes fail to convey the same emotional intent. We have observed that the lexical expression of emotion is more similar across languages than the indirect expression of emotion in discourse (Subproject 3); cultural rules are much more influential in the second, while broad cross-cultural cognitive patterns are observable in the first. We have also uncovered strategies used to indirectly express conflict emotions in discourse (Subproject 3). The ELIN (Subproject 2) has also uncovered systematic differences in the way very similar emotion concepts are represented in the mind via metaphor; these implicit associations are claimed to have an impact on reasoning and it is interesting to see how some of them appear cross-culturally, while others clearly differentiate between concepts in a way consistent with the expectations derived from the lexical meaning of the words (Subproject 1). By crossing culture and language as two independent variables in the design of our studies, we have been able to provide empirical insight about the relative importance of one and the other in the shaping of meaning. Similarly, the multilingual orientation of the whole project allowed us to measure universality vs language/culture specificity at various levels, such as the cognitive complexity of the various conflict emotions, their structural organization, their metaphorical associative patterns and their discursive expression.

Importantly, the ELIN project has also yielded a wealth of data, some of which has not yet been fully analyzed and which will continue to generate publications and insight for years ahead. Among the future contributions of the project we count a full analysis of the database in Subproject 1 for the production of a detailed semantic profile of conflict-relevant emotions within and across cultures, the production of a translation primer (summary of dos and don'ts

and translation mistakes in light of the ELIN results), and a quantitative investigation of emotional content in diplomatic discourse across languages

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7. ELIN Publications

- (1) Alonso-Arbiol, I., Soriano, C. (accepted). "The Conceptualisation of Despair in Basque, Spanish, and English". In J. Fontaine, K. Scherer and C. Soriano (eds.) *Components of emotional meaning: A sourcebook*. Oxford: OUP.

- (2) Ogarkova, A. (accepted). "Categorization of the emotion domain across languages and cultures". In J. Fontaine, K. Scherer and C. Soriano (eds.) *Components of emotional meaning: A sourcebook*. Oxford: OUP.
- (3) Ogarkova, A. (accepted). "Cross-lingual and cross-cultural comparability of emotion terms: an overview of research and its implications for the GRID approach". In J. Fontaine, K. Scherer and C. Soriano (eds.) *Components of emotional meaning: A sourcebook*. Oxford: OUP.
- (4) Ogarkova, A., Prihod'ko, I., Zaharova, J. (accepted). "But an inch of difference? Applying the GRID approach to same-category emotion terms". In J. Fontaine, K. Scherer and C. Soriano (eds.) *Components of emotional meaning: A sourcebook*. Oxford: OUP.
- (5) Ogarkova, A., Soriano, A., Fontaine, J. (in preparation). "Translating emotion across languages and cultures" (preliminary title of the manuscript).
- (6) Ogarkova, A., Soriano, C. (in preparation). "The GRID approach to interpreting and translating in international communication and negotiation". In J. Fontaine, K. Scherer and C. Soriano (eds.) *Components of emotional meaning: A sourcebook*. Oxford: OUP.
- (7) Ogarkova, A., Soriano, C., & C. Lehr (in press). "Naming feeling: Exploring the equivalence of emotion terms in five European languages". In P. Wilson & B. Lewandowka-Tomaszczyk (Eds.) *Lodz Studies in Language*, 20.
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- (9) Ogarkova, A., Soriano, C., Lehr, C. (in preparation). "The intra-categorical structure of conflict emotions" (preliminary title of the manuscript).
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- (11) Scherer, K. & Fontaine, J. (in preparation). "The foundations of the GRID-approach: methodology and basic results within the GRID study" (tentative title). In J. Fontaine, K. Scherer and C. Soriano (eds.) *Components of emotional meaning: A sourcebook*. Oxford: OUP.
- (12) Soriano, C. (accepted). "Linguistic theories of lexical meaning" (tentative title). In J. Fontaine, K. Scherer and C. Soriano (eds.) *Components of emotional meaning: A sourcebook*. Oxford: OUP.
- (13) Soriano, C. (accepted). "Conceptual metaphors and semantic dimensions in the study of ANGER in English and Spanish". In J. Fontaine, K. Scherer and C. Soriano (eds.) *Components of emotional meaning: A sourcebook*. Oxford: OUP.
- (14) Soriano, C. Ogarkova, A., Fontaine, J. (in preparation). "The structure of conflict emotion concepts: a prototype approach" (preliminary title of the manuscript).
- (15) Soriano, C., Ogarkova (in preparation). "Types of anger and their metaphors: MPA in English, German, Spanish and Russian" (preliminary title of the manuscript).

- (16) Ogarkova, A., Soriano, C. (work in progress). "Emotional content and its translation in diplomatic discourse" (preliminary title).

7. Conferences and workshops

- (1) Soriano, C., Ogarkova, A., & Lehr, C. (2010). "Different ways of being angry. Intracategorical variation in the metaphorical conceptualization of emotion". Paper accepted at the 7th AELCO International Conference: "Figuring the World". Toledo (Spain), September 30 - October 2.
- (2) Soriano, C., Ogarkova, A. & Lehr, C. (2010). "Types of anger and their metaphors. MPA in English, German, Spanish and Russian". Paper accepted at RaAM 8: "Metaphors and Domains of discourse". Amsterdam (Netherlands), June 30 - July 3.
- (3) Soriano, C. (2010). "Conceptual metaphors in the representation of specific types of anger across languages: Linguistic and psycholinguistic insights". Paper presented at the IV General Meeting of the MET Project. Granada (Spain), June 4-5
- (4) Soriano, C. (2010). "Lectal variation in the conceptualization of anger in Spanish". Paper presented at the 34th LAUD Symposium: "Cognitive Sociolinguistics". Landau (Germany), March 15-18.
- (5) Soriano, C., & Valenzuela, J. (2010). "Interdisciplinary approaches in the study of emotion concepts: Conceptual Metaphor Theory and the GRID approach". Paper accepted at the 7th AELCO International Conference: "Figuring the World". Toledo (Spain), September 30 - October 2.
- (6) Soriano, C. & Ogarkova, A. (2009) 'Linguistic approaches to the meaning of emotion terms: Relationships to the GRID componential approach', paper presented at the Symposium "Language and Emotion: Cross-Cultural Approaches to Emotion Words", Conference of the International Society for the Research on Emotion (ISRE). Leuven (Belgium), August 6-8.
- (7) Ogarkova, A., Soriano, C. & Lehr, C. (2009) 'Cultural differences in labeling conflict emotions', paper presented at the international conference of the International Society for Language Studies (ISLS). Orlando (Florida, USA), June 11-13.
- (8) Ogarkova, A., Soriano, C. & Lehr, C. (2009) Cross-cultural variation in emotion language and its implications for translation and interpretation in international conflict negotiation' paper presented at Mediation and Conflict: Translation and Culture in a Global Context, July, 8-10, Melbourne, Australia.
- (9) Ogarkova, A., Soriano, C. & Lehr, C. (2009) 'The mapping method in establishing (translation) equivalence: A case study of conflict emotions in 5 European languages', paper presented at the interdisciplinary workshop "Emotions in Translation: Lost or Found?", CISA, Geneva, Switzerland, May, 6.

Annex 1

ELIN words for the emotion categories ANGER, SHAME, GUILT and PRIDE (selected for the ELIN questionnaire on the bases of the ELIN pre-study)

ANGER	SHAME	GUILT	PRIDE
angry	embarrassed	guilty	proud
annoyed	ashamed	sorry	smug
rage	humiliated	regretful	complacent
furious	mortified	rueful	vain
frustrated		remorse	
irritation			
indignation			
resentment			

Table A. English

ANGER	SHAME	GUILT	PRIDE
colère	honte	culpabilité	fierté
enervement	embarras	désolé	orgueil
rage	gêne	remords	vanité
irritation	mal à l'aise	regret	dépassement de soi
indignation	confus	mauvaise conscience	satisfaction
agacement			
frustration			

Table B. French

ANGER	SHAME	GUILT	PRIDE
Wut	Scham	Schuld	Stolz

Ärger	Peinlichkeit	Schlechtes Gewissen	Selbstvertrauen
Zorn	Verlegenheit	Bedauern	Eitelkeit
genervt	Schande	Reue	Selbstbestätigung
Empörung	Unbehagen	Selbstvorwürfe	Genugtuung
Frustration			
ungehalten			

Table C. German

ANGER	SHAME	GUILT	PRIDE
rabia	vergüenza	culpabilidad	orgullo
enfado/ enojo	incómodo	irresponsabilidad	confianza en uno mismo
indignación	bochorno/ pena	arrepentimiento	vanidad
cabreo/ bravo	humillación	remordimiento	satisfacción
ira	vergüenza ajena		superación
molesto			
frustración			
irritación			

Table D. Spanish

ANGER	SHAME	GUILT	PRIDE
раздражение	стыд	вина	гордость
обида	смущение	сожаление	уверенность в себе
злость	неловкость	угрызения совести	тщеславие
гнев	раскаяние	самобичевание	самодовольство
досада	позор	вина	
возмущение			
негодование			

ярость			
сердитый			

Table E. Russian

ANGER	SHAME	GUILT	PRIDE
סעוּכ	שייבתמ	משא	האג
ןבצועמ	ךובנ	טרחתמ	ימצעב חוטב
לכסותמ	סלכנ	רעטצמ	גנוע ןשודמ
רמרוממ	לפשומ	ןופצמ ירוסיי	ימצעמ הצורמ
זגורמ	חונב אל שיגרמ	ימצע לע סעוּכ	האגתמ
סעוז			
תמוערת			
המקנ תשוּחת			

Table F. Hebrew

ANGER	SHAME	GUILT	PRIDE
生气	丢脸	内疚	骄傲
烦躁	羞耻	歉疚	自豪
气愤	耻辱	愧疚	得意
愤怒	难为情	自责	自信
反感	尴尬	懊悔	
郁闷			
怨愤			
恼怒			

Table G. Chinese