



UNIVERSITAT^{DE}
BARCELONA

Conceptualisation of Other-Directed Discontent in Russian, Compared to English and Spanish

Galina Yanygina Yanygina



Aquesta tesi doctoral està subjecta a la llicència **Reconeixement 4.0. Espanya de Creative Commons.**

Esta tesis doctoral está sujeta a la licencia **Reconocimiento 4.0. España de Creative Commons.**

This doctoral thesis is licensed under the **Creative Commons Attribution 4.0. Spain License.**



UNIVERSITAT_{DE}
BARCELONA

**Conceptualisation of Other-Directed Discontent in
Russian, Compared to English and Spanish**

Galina Yanygina Yanygina

Conceptualisation of Other-Directed Discontent in Russian, Compared to English and Spanish

PhD Candidate: Galina Yanygina Yanygina

Thesis Director: Juan Castellví Vives

Doctoral Programme in Cognitive Science and Language

University of Barcelona

2020

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It has been a long journey and a lesson in life. This part is dedicated to the people who encouraged me throughout the process of the present dissertation and who made its completion possible.

First of all, I would like to express my profound gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Juan Castellví for his support, his knowledgeable comments and his patience.

Second, I would like to thank my dear friends and relatives for always being there for me when times got rough. Special thanks go to Ester and Valentí for their invaluable help.

And last but not least, I would not have completed this PhD without the incredible and unconditional support of my family. My love and thanks go to my husband for his faith in me and his tremendous understanding, to my mother for encouraging and helping me whenever and wherever she could, and to my daughter for being my source of inspiration and for waiting patiently for her 'mama's fairy tale' to be finally written.

This thesis is dedicated to you.

ABSTRACT

Other-directed emotions, both positive (e.g. love, pity, admiration) and negative (e.g. hatred, anger, disgust), play an important role in communication due to their social nature and involvement of another party. Emotive discourse regulates social encounters and triggers response in participants of such encounters. When learning a new language, one needs to be able to interpret correctly emotive discourse and, ideally, to articulate adequately one's own emotions. Therefore, it is important to know what emotion concepts exist in a given language and if they differ in any way from the speaker's first language. From the sociolinguistic point of view, *other-directed discontent* is extremely culture-dependent: there are strict rules of what, how and when can or should be expressed and consequently interpreted by an illocutor and reacted upon. Moreover, according to the Russian National Corpus frequency chart, emotion terms of *discontent* are the most frequent ones among the other-directed emotions in Russian: *obida* "offence/resentment" is extremely salient, only surpassed by the lexemes denoting "love", "hope", "happiness", "joy" and "fear". The present study seeks to fill the gap in studies on the conceptualisation of *other-directed discontent* in Russian, compared to English and Spanish. For this purpose, relevant research papers, lexicographical sources and corpora studies have been employed.

The results show that power relations are crucial for the lexical choice when expressing *other-directed discontent* in Russian, i.e. emotion words are chosen according to the social status of both the experiencer and the causer. Moreover, there are different classifications of *discontent*-related words in Russian: 'rational' vs. irrational, 'expressive' vs. 'inexpressive', 'high', i.e. connected to the 'soul', and 'low', i.e. connected to the body.

The comparative analysis of Russian, English and Spanish *other-directed discontent* has revealed both similarities and differences in the respective versions of the concept. All three languages have 'low vs. high intensity', 'external vs. internal' and 'significant vs. insignificant' dichotomies. Also metaphorical conceptualisation is similar, mostly as 'a substance in a container', although the theme of 'elements' prevails in Russian, 'hot fluid in a container' in English and 'possessed object' in Spanish. Etymology plays a certain

role in conceptualisation in all three languages, especially in English (e.g. *anger*) and Russian (e.g. *obida*). In addition, differences in synonymic groups and recurrent antonyms (*mir* “peace” in Russian, *paciencia* “patience” in Spanish, and *pleasure* in English) reflect differences in respective naïve pictures of the world. On the morphosyntactic level, specific traits of Russian are 1) fusion with active verbs caused by conceptualisation of emotions as actions, and 2) derivation being the main means of lexical replenishment and the main salience indicator of a term.

In reference to the discursive representation of *other-directed discontent*, the outline of the social component in the conceptual structure and the qualitative Russian, English and Spanish corpora studies resulted in the reconstruction of the subtextual discourse. The discourse is motivated by 'archaic', rural morality in Russian, which constructs the world as a common house, by patriarchal morality in Spanish, which propagates action as a sign of power, and by the rule of law in English, postulating *anger* as a valid means of self-assertion.

RESUM

Les emocions dirigides cap als altres, tant les positives (per exemple, amor, pietat, admiració) com les negatives (per exemple odi, ràbia, fàstic), juguen un paper important a la comunicació a causa de la seva naturalesa social i l'involucrament d'un altre. El discurs emotiu regula encontres socials i provoca resposta en els participants d'aquests encontres. A l'hora d'aprendre un nou idioma, és necessari poder interpretar correctament el discurs emotiu i articular adequadament les seves emocions. Així doncs, és important per un parlant saber quins conceptes d'emocions existeixen a l'idioma en qüestió i si són diferents dels conceptes de la seva primera llengua. Des del punt de vista sociolingüístic, el *descontentament dirigit cap als altres* (tradicionalment anomenat *anger* en anglès i en la recerca internacional) és extremadament dependent de la cultura: hi ha regles estrictes sobre com, quan i què es pot expressar. A més, segons el Corpus Nacional Rus, les paraules del *descontentament* són les més freqüents entre les emocions dirigides cap als altres, només superades pels lexemes amb significat “amor”, “esperança”, “felicitat”, “alegria” i “por”. El treball present té com a objectiu estudiar la conceptualització del *descontentament dirigit cap als altres* en rus, comparat amb l'anglès i el castellà. Amb aquesta finalitat, s'han utilitzat articles de recerca rellevants, recursos lexicogràfics i estudis de corpus.

Els resultats demostren que les relacions de poder són crucials per a l'elecció lèxica a l'hora d'expressar *el descontentament* en rus. Això vol dir que les paraules emocionals s'escullen segons l'estatus social de l'experimentador del *descontentament* i del causador del *descontentament*. A més, hi ha classificacions diferents de les paraules del *descontentament* en rus: racionals o irracionals, expressives o inexpressives, 'altes' (relacionades amb l'ànima) i 'baixes' (relacionades amb el cos).

L'anàlisi comparatiu del *descontentament* en rus, anglès i castellà ha revelat tant similituds com diferències en les seves respectives versions. En totes tres llengües apareixen dicotomies 'baixa o alta intensitat', 'extern-intern', 'significatiu-insignificatiu'. La conceptualització metafòrica del *descontentament* també és similar. Majoritàriament està conceptualitzat com a 'substància dins d'un recipient', tot i que el tema dels 'elements' predomina en rus, 'el líquid calent dins d'un recipient' en anglès i 'l'objecte en

possessió' en castellà. L'etimologia juga un cert paper a la conceptualització en tots tres idiomes, especialment en anglès (per exemple *anger*) i en rus (per exemple *obida*). També, les diferències en grups sinonímics i en antònims recurrents (*mir* “pau” en rus, *paciencia* “paciència” en castellà, i *pleasure* “plaer” en anglès) reflecteixen diferències en els 'imatges naïfs del mon' en els tres idiomes. A nivell morfosintàctic, els trets específics del rus són 1) la fusió del lèxic emocional amb els verbs actius, causada per la conceptualització dels emocions com a accions, i 2) la derivació, sent el mitjà principal de l'enriquiment lèxic i l'indicador principal de la prominència d'un terme.

En referència a la representació discursiva del *descontentament dirigit cap als altres*, la descripció del component social dins de l'estructura conceptual i l'estudi qualitatiu del corpus rus, anglès i castellà han donat com a resultat la reconstrucció del discurs subtextual. El discurs rus és motivat per la moral arcaica i rural i construeix el món com una casa comuna. El discurs castellà és motivat per la moral patriarcal, fent èmfasi en l'acció com a signe de poder. El discurs anglès és influenciat per l'imperi de la llei i postula *anger* com a mitjà vàlid d'autoafirmació.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	I
ABSTRACT	II
RESUM	IV
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	XVI
LIST OF FIGURES	XVII
LIST OF TABLES	XVII
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Research topic and antecedents	1
1.2. Theoretical background	1
1.3. Objectives of the study	3
1.4. Research questions	4
1.5. Hypotheses	5
1.6. Methodology	6
1.6.1. Relevant research papers, lexicographical sources and corpora	6
1.6.2. Conceptual analysis of other-directed discontent	7
1.6.2.1. Meaning-based semantic analysis	7
1.6.2.2. Usage-based discursive analysis	9
1.7. Structure of the thesis	11
1.8. Applicability of the study	12
2. PERSPECTIVES ON EMOTION	13
2.1. Introduction	13
2.2. Perspectives on emotion in different sciences	14
2.2.1. The neurobiological and traditional psychological perspective	14
2.2.2. Cultural psychological approaches	15
2.2.3. A social constructivist approach	16
2.3. Linguistic approaches to emotions	17
2.3.1. The nativist perspective	17

2.3.2. The universalist paradigm	17
2.3.3. The relativist paradigm	18
2.3.4. A cognitive linguistic approach	19
2.3.4.1. The prototype view	20
2.3.4.2. Basic emotion terms	21
2.4. Emotive semantics	23
2.4.1. Difference between the terms ‘emotional’, ‘emotive’, ‘evaluative’, and ‘expressive’	23
2.4.2. Denotation vs. Connotation	26
2.4.3. The notion of ‘emoseme’	28
2.4.4. Emotive vocabulary	30
2.4.5. Figurative emotion-related expression	33
2.4.6. The ‘metaphorical’ view of emotional meaning	34
2.4.7. Cognitive concepts	36
2.5. Other-directed emotions	38
2.5.1. Other-directed discontent	40
2.6. Summary	40
3. DEPICTING EMOTIONS IN THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE	43
3.1. Introduction	43
3.2. Russian emotive semantics	43
3.2.1. The structure of the lexico-semantic field of emotions in Russian	43
3.2.1.1. Categorical emotive senses	44
3.2.1.2. Differential emotive senses	45
3.2.1.3. Connotative emotive senses	47
3.2.2. Figurative emotion-related expression in Russian	48
3.2.2.1. Metaphor-based approach to Russian emotion words	48
3.2.2.2. Body idioms	53
3.3. Affect on the level of morphosyntax and on the speech act level	55
3.3.1. Parts of speech and emotiveness in Russian	55
3.3.1.1. Emotive verbs	55

3.3.1.2. Emotive nouns	56
3.3.1.3. Emotive adjectives	57
3.3.1.4. Emotive adverbs	57
3.3.1.5. Emotive words of the category of state	58
3.3.1.6. Emotive interjections	60
3.3.1.7. Particles	61
3.3.1.8. Pronouns	63
3.3.2. Russian grammatical constructions in the area of emotions	64
3.3.3. Morphosyntactic means of emotive intensification	67
3.4. Affect on the conceptual level	70
3.4.1. Salience of the emotion domain in the Russian language and the resulting emotive discourse	70
3.4.2. Salience of particular emotions in Russian	73
3.4.2.1. ‘Feeling good things’-category of emotion concepts	74
3.4.2.2. ‘Feeling bad things’-category of emotion concepts	75
3.4.3. Other-directed emotions in Russian. ‘What one feels toward other people’- category of emotion concepts	76
3.4.3.1. ‘I (don’t) want to see you’-subgroup	76
3.4.3.2. ‘I feel the same thing you feel’-subgroup	77
3.4.3.3. <i>Other-directed discontent</i> in Russian	78
3.5. Summary	79

4. CONCEPTUALISATION OF OTHER-DIRECTED DISCONTENT IN RUSSIAN	80
4.1. Introduction	80
4.2. Onomasiological semantic analysis of the Russian concept <i>other-directed discontent</i>	80
4.2.1. Literature overview	80
4.2.2. Lexicography overview	81
4.2.3. The presence of <i>other-directed discontent</i> in the RFL lexical syllabus	82

4.2.4.1. Frequency chart of Russian words of <i>other-directed</i> <i>discontent</i> . The data from the New Frequency Dictionary of Russian, based on the Russian National Corpus	83
4.2.4.2. The list of the selected lexical items	85
4.2.4.3. Additional lexis	85
4.3. Semasiological semantic analysis of the Russian concept <i>other-directed</i> <i>discontent</i>	86
4.3.1. Russian words of other-directed discontent	86
4.3.1.1. <i>Gnev</i>	86
4.3.1.2. <i>Zlost'</i>	89
4.3.1.3. <i>Serdit'sya</i>	93
4.3.1.4. <i>Vozmushchat'</i>	97
4.3.1.5. <i>Yarost'</i>	100
4.3.1.6. <i>Razdrazhat'</i>	102
4.3.1.7. <i>Besit'</i>	106
4.3.1.8. <i>Nervnichat'</i>	109
4.3.1.9. Distinction between <i>gnev</i> , <i>zlost'</i> , <i>yarost'</i> , <i>razdrazhat'</i> , <i>besit'</i> , <i>nervnichat'</i> , <i>vozmushchat'</i> and <i>serdit'sya</i>	111
4.3.2. The special case of <i>obida</i>	116
4.3.2.1. <i>Obida</i>	116
4.3.2.2. Prototypical features of <i>obida</i>	121
4.3.2.3. Distinction between <i>obida</i> , <i>dosada</i> , <i>oskorblenie</i> and <i>zhalko</i>	123
4.3.2.4. Other closely related emotions	125
4.3.2.5. <i>Obida</i> vs. <i>razdrazhenie</i> and <i>serdit'sya</i>	126
4.3.3. Antonyms of discontent-related terms	127
4.3.4. Metaphors of <i>other-directed discontent</i> in Russian	128
4.3.4.1. Types of metaphors	128
4.3.4.2. Metaphor combination	133
4.3.4.3. Metaphor explanation of <i>obida</i>	134
4.3.5. Semantic classification of Russian words of <i>other-directed</i>	

<i>discontent</i>	135
4.4. Usage-based discursive analysis of the Russian <i>other-directed</i>	
<i>discontent</i>	138
4.4.1. Social component in the conceptualisation of <i>other-directed</i>	
<i>discontent</i>	138
4.4.1.1. Conceptualisation of social spaces	138
4.4.1.2. Social hierarchy and social status	141
4.4.1.3. Infantile <i>other-directed discontent</i>	142
4.4.1.4. Gender	143
4.4.2. Body language and words of <i>other-directed discontent</i>	144
4.4.2.1. Connection between the body and <i>other-directed</i>	
<i>discontent</i>	144
4.4.2.2. External manifestation of other-directed discontent	144
4.4.3. Typical scenario of <i>other-directed discontent</i>	146
4.4.4. Ways of liberation from responsibility of experiencing other-directed	
discontent	147
4.4.5. Provisional referential profile of the salient terms of <i>other-directed</i>	
<i>discontent</i>	149
4.4.5.1. Concluding remarks	153
4.4.6. Qualitative corpus study of Russian salient terms of	
<i>other-directed discontent</i>	155
4.4.6.1. Introductory comments	155
4.4.6.2. Results	156
4.4.6.3. Interpretation of the data	170
4.4.6.4. Discussion of the results	182
4.5. Summary	184
5. CONCEPTUALISATION OF OTHER-DIRECTED DISCONTENT IN	
ENGLISH	188
5.1. Introduction	188
5.2. Onomasiological semantic analysis of the English concept <i>other-directed</i>	

<i>discontent</i>	188
5.2.1. English emotive discourse	188
5.2.2. Research on other-directed discontent in English	190
5.2.3. The presence of <i>other-directed discontent</i> in the EFL lexical syllabus	191
5.2.4. Frequency chart of English words of <i>other-directed discontent</i> . Search results from the British National Corpus	192
5.2.4.1. The list of the selected lexical items	193
5.2.4.2. Additional lexis	193
5.3. Semasiological semantic analysis of the English concept <i>other-directed discontent</i>	194
5.3.1. Words of other-directed discontent in English	194
5.3.1.1. <i>Anger</i>	194
5.3.1.2. <i>Mad</i>	198
5.3.1.3. <i>Frustration</i>	200
5.3.1.4. <i>Fury</i>	201
5.3.1.5. <i>Rage</i>	202
5.3.1.6. <i>Annoyance</i>	205
5.3.1.7. <i>Irritation</i>	206
5.3.1.8. <i>Indignation</i>	208
5.3.1.9. Difference between <i>anger, fury, indignation, rage, annoyance</i> and <i>irritation</i>	210
5.3.2. Translation equivalents of the Russian <i>obida</i>	211
5.3.2.1. <i>Resentment</i>	211
5.3.2.2. <i>Insulted</i>	213
5.3.2.3. <i>Offended</i>	215
5.3.2.4. <i>A grudge</i>	216
5.3.2.5. <i>Hurt feelings</i>	217
5.3.2.6. Distinction between <i>resentment</i> ', <i>'insulted</i> ', <i>'offended</i> ', <i>'a grudge</i> ' and <i>'hurt feelings</i> '	220
5.3.3. Metaphors of <i>other-directed discontent</i> in English	221

5.3.4. Conclusions	222
5.4. Usage-based discursive analysis of <i>other-directed discontent</i> in	
.....English	224
5.4.1. Social component	224
5.4.2. Prototypical English scenario of other-directed discontent	224
5.4.3. Provisional referential profile of salient English terms of	
<i>other-directed discontent</i>	226
5.4.3.1. Concluding remarks	233
5.4.4. Qualitative corpus study of salient English terms of <i>other-directed</i>	
<i>discontent</i>	233
5.4.4.1. Introductory comments	233
5.4.4.2. Results	234
5.4.4.3. Interpretation of the data	244
5.4.4.4. Discussion of the results	246
5.4.5. Russian-English/English-Russian parallel corpus study	250
5.4.5.1. Introductory comments	250
5.4.5.2. Results	250
5.4.5.3. Discussion of the results	257
5.5. Summary	258
6. CONCEPTUALISATION OF OTHER-DIRECTED DISCONTENT IN	
SPANISH	261
6.1. Introduction	261
6.2. Onomasiological semantic analysis of the Spanish concept <i>other-directed</i>	
<i>discontent</i>	261
6.2.1. Research on other-directed discontent in Spanish. Literature	
overview	261
6.2.2. The presence of <i>other-directed discontent</i> in the lexical syllabi of	
Spanish as a foreign language textbooks	264
6.2.3. Frequency chart of Spanish words of <i>other-directed discontent</i> .	
Search results from the Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual	

(CREA) de la Real Academia Española (The Royal Spanish Academy's reference corpus of modern Spanish)	265
6.2.3.1. The list of the selected lexical items	266
6.2.3.2. Additional lexis	267
6.3. Semasiological semantic analysis of Spanish <i>other-directed discontent</i>	267
6.3.1. Words of other-directed discontent in Spanish	267
6.3.1.1. <i>Rabia</i> “anger”	267
6.3.1.2. <i>Enfado</i> “annoyance”	270
6.3.1.3. <i>Ira</i> “anger / wrath”	272
6.3.1.4. <i>Indignación</i> “indignation”	273
6.3.1.5. <i>Cabreo</i> “anger”	275
6.3.1.6. <i>Molesto</i> “annoyed”	276
6.3.1.7. <i>Frustración</i> “frustration”	278
6.3.1.8. <i>Irritación</i> “irritation”	280
6.3.1.9. <i>Furia</i> “fury”	281
6.3.1.10. <i>Impotencia</i> “powerlessness”	284
6.3.1.11. Distinction between <i>enfado</i> „annoyance“, <i>irritación</i> “irritation”, <i>frustración</i> „frustration“, <i>rabia</i> “anger, rage”, <i>indignación</i> „indignation“, <i>ira</i> “anger, wrath” and <i>furia</i> “fury, rage”	285
6.3.2. Spanish translation equivalents of the Russian <i>obida</i>	286
6.3.2.1. <i>Ofensa</i> “offence”	286
6.3.2.2. <i>Resentimiento</i> “resentment”	287
6.3.2.3. <i>Rencor</i> “rancour / a grudge”	288
6.3.2.4. Distinction between <i>ofensa</i> , <i>resentimiento</i> and <i>rencor</i>	289
6.3.3. Metaphors of other-directed discontent in Spanish	290
6.3.4. Conclusions	291
6.4. Usage-based discursive analysis of <i>other-directed discontent</i> in Spanish	292
6.4.1. Social component	292
6.4.2. Prototypical Spanish scenario of <i>other-directed discontent</i>	293

6.4.3. Provisional referential profile of salient Spanish terms of <i>other-directed discontent</i>	296
6.4.3.1. Concluding remarks	301
6.4.4. Qualitative corpus study of salient Spanish terms of <i>other-directed discontent</i>	301
6.4.4.1. Introductory comments	301
6.4.4.2. Results	302
6.4.4.3. Interpretation of the data	311
6.4.4.4. Discussion of the results	319
6.4.5. Russian-Spanish/Spanish-Russian parallel corpus study	322
6.4.5.1. Introductory comments	323
6.4.5.2. Results	323
6.4.5.3. Discussion of the results	325
6.5. Summary	327

7. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE DATA: SIMILARITIES AND MISMATCHES IN RUSSIAN, ENGLISH AND SPANISH DISCONTENT	330
7.1. Introduction	330
7.2. Onomasiological semantic analysis of <i>other-directed discontent</i> in Russian, English and Spanish	330
7.2.1. Terms of other-directed discontent in lexical syllabi	330
7.2.2. Frequency charts of emotion words	331
7.2.2.1. Lists of the selected lexical items	331
7.3. Semasiological semantic analysis of <i>other-directed discontent</i> in Russian, English and Spanish	332
7.3.1. Etymology	332
7.3.2. Lexical meaning	333
7.3.3. Derivatives and combinatory possibilities	334
7.3.4. Synonyms and antonyms	335
7.3.5. Translation equivalents of <i>obida</i>	336
7.3.6. Metaphors of <i>other-directed discontent</i>	337

7.4. Usage-based discursive analysis of <i>other-directed discontent</i>	337
7.4.1. Social component and prototypical scenarios of <i>other-directed</i> <i>discontent</i>	337
7.4.2. Provisional referential profiles of salient terms of <i>other-directed</i> <i>discontent</i>	338
7.4.3. Qualitative corpus studies of salient terms of <i>other-directed</i> <i>discontent</i>	339
7.4.4. Parallel corpora studies of <i>other-directed discontent</i>	343
7.5. Summary	344
8. CONCLUSIONS	347
REFERENCES	355
APPENDICES	375
Appendix 1: Lexical Syllabus for Russian as a Foreign Language. Emotive Lexis	375
Appendix 2: Emotive vocabulary in textbooks. Tendencies in Russia and in some European countries	378
Appendix 3: Frequency chart of Russian emotion words. The data from the New Frequency Dictionary of Russian (Lyashevskaya & Sharov, 2009), based on the Russian National Corpus	385
Appendix 4: Frequency list of emotion words based on the British National Corpus' frequency list	388
Appendix 5: LexiCLIL: A Lexical Syllabus for the Common European Framework for English	390
Appendix 6: Frequency list of Spanish emotion words. Search results of the Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual (CREA)	394
Appendix 7: Collocations with <i>discontent</i> -related words and neighbouring concepts. Search results from RNC, BNC and CREA.....	396

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A1, A2, B1, B2, C1, C2: Proficiency levels of language learners

adj: an adjective

adv: an adverb

BNC: The British National Corpus

CEFR: The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages

CLE: The categorial-lexical emoseme

CLS: The categorial-lexical seme

COCA: The Corpus of Contemporary American English

colloq.: colloquial

CORPES: El Corpus del Español del Siglo XXI

CREA: El Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual

DE: Differential emosemes

EFL: English as a Foreign Language

F.: French

IE1: The main identifier of emotiveness

IE2: An additional identifier of emotiveness

IMPFV / imperf.: imperfective

intr.: intransitive

L / Lat.: Latin

L2: Second Language

LSFE: The lexico-semantic field of emotions

n: a noun

OALD: Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary

PFV / perf.: perfective

RFL: Russian as a Foreign Language

RNC: The Russian National Corpus

SFL: Systemic-Functional Linguistics

tr.: transitive

v: a verb

WCS: Words of the category of state

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: 'Basicness' as the middle position in the vertical organisation of concepts	22
Figure 2: 'Basicness' as the middle position in the horizontal organisation of concepts	22
Figure 3: Arousal of other-directed emotions by perceived responsibility	39
Figure 4: Structure of the lexical field of emotions in Russian	44
Figure 5: <i>Obida</i> in comparison with its neighbouring concepts	126

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Frequency chart of Russian words of <i>other-directed discontent</i>	83
Table 2: Differential and common properties of <i>obida</i> and <i>dosada</i>	124
Table 3: Types of Russian words of <i>other-directed discontent</i>	136
Table 4: 'High' and 'low' words of <i>other-directed discontent</i> in Russian	137
Table 5: Provisional referential profile of salient Russian terms of <i>other-directed discontent</i>	149
Table 6: Referential profiles of salient Russian terms of <i>other-directed discontent</i> , based on the qualitative corpus study	156
Table 7: Usage-based classification of salient Russian terms of <i>other-directed discontent</i>	171
Table 8: Frequency chart of English words of <i>other-directed discontent</i>	192
Table 9: Provisional referential profile of salient English terms of <i>other-directed discontent</i>	226
Table 10: Referential profiles of salient English terms of <i>other-directed discontent</i> , based on the qualitative corpora study	234
Table 11: Usage-based classification of salient English terms of <i>other-directed discontent</i>	249
Table 12: The most frequent translation equivalents of discontent-related terms in the Russian-English / English-Russian parallel corpus	250

Table 13: Other frequent translation equivalents of discontent-related terms in the Russian-English / English-Russian parallel corpus	251
Table 14: Cases of 'no translation' in Russian-English / English-Russian parallel corpus	256
Table 15: The topic <i>Ira</i> “anger” in the vocabulary list for Spanish as a Foreign Language	262
Table 16: Frequency chart of Spanish words of <i>other-directed discontent</i>	265
Table 17: Provisional referential profile of salient Spanish terms of <i>other-directed discontent</i>	296
Table 18: Referential profiles of salient Spanish terms of <i>other-directed discontent</i> , based on the qualitative corpora study	302
Table 19: Usage-based classification of salient Spanish terms of <i>other-directed discontent</i>	322
Table 20: The most frequent translation equivalents of discontent-related terms in the Russian-Spanish / Spanish-Russian parallel corpus	324

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Research topic and antecedents

Emotionality plays an important role in human communication. Some researchers even state that any human utterance has an inherent emotional meaning (Kövecses et al. 2003:135). Indeed, the knowledge of the degree of emotionality of a word and of its affective valence is just as important as the knowledge of that word's grammatical class, or its gender. According to Dewaele, a language learner's "inaccurate or incomplete understanding of the emotionality and valence of an emotion word, or an emotion-laden word, [in the foreign language] might lead to unwanted illocutionary effects, which might be far more embarrassing than phonological, morphological or syntactical errors" (2008:7).

Nevertheless, the topic has been neglected in the research community for many years, until the so-called 'social turn' in Linguistics brought emotions into light again (Block, 2003). Since the beginning of this century, there has been a notable increase in linguistics research and theory that prioritizes socio-cultural and contextual factors (e.g. Altarriba, 2006; Glynn, 2014; Kövecses/Palmer/Dirven, 2003; Shmelev, 2005a; Pavlenko, 2003; Wierzbicka, 1999).

Thus, having admitted the importance of research into emotionality in different languages and cultures, the focus of this thesis will be on conceptualisation of emotions and on possible similarities and mismatches in this area, with an example of other-directed discontent in Russian, English and Spanish.

1.2. Theoretical background

According to the latest research, emotion words should be considered as a separate class of words in the mental lexicon, represented and processed differently from abstract and concrete words (Pavlenko, 2005). There are three types of emotion-related vocabulary:

- a) expressive emotion terms, which can be words or longer expressions and which directly predicate speaker's emotional experience, e.g. 'wow!' when enthusiastic;
- b) descriptive emotion terms, which can also be words or longer expressions and which name the emotions that they signify, e.g. 'sadness' or 'happiness';
- c) figurative emotion-related expression, e.g. 'boiling with anger' (Kövecses et al., 2003:136-137).

The main attention is usually paid to descriptive emotion terms, subdivided into more basic ones, e.g. 'anger', 'fear', 'love' etc., arguably shared by all languages, and less basic ones, e.g. 'annoyance', 'rage', 'indignation', which supposedly vary across languages (Kövecses et al. 2003:136). In other words, there are attempts at finding prototypicality of emotion concepts in different languages or cultural environments (e.g. Altarriba, 2006; Lakoff, 1987; Russell, 1991b; Wierzbicka, 1999). Moreover, the structure of emotion concepts is seen by many researchers as a script, scenario, or model (e.g. Bamberg, 1997; Lakoff, 1987; Shakhovski, 2008/2009; Shweder, 1994; Wierzbicka, 1999). These prototypical scripts are thought to be universal by some scholars and culture-specific by others (Pavlenko, 2002; Rusch, 2004; Semin/Görts, 2002; Shakhovski, 2010; Stepanova/Coley, 2002; Wierzbicka, 1999), affecting the process of inference and thus having to be implicitly or even explicitly learned.

Furthermore, many researchers view emotions as discursively constructed phenomena, as part of narrative strategies (Bednarek, 2008; Dewaele, 2004; Pavlenko, 2005; Pavlenko/Driagina, 2007; Shweder, 1994). Traditionally, this subject of emotions in discourse is studied by discursive psychology, which analyses the way people describe and invoke emotions in everyday talk and text (Pavlenko, 2005). Thus, emotional discourse is not restricted to oral expression but can also be found in newspapers, magazines, on the internet and in literary texts.

Another research trend which could be borrowed from discursive psychology is the distinction between 'self-directed' emotions (i.e., sadness, shame, guilt, pride, etc.) and 'other-directed' emotions (i.e., anger, envy, jealousy, admiration, pity, etc.) (see Graham/Taylor, 2014). This distinction is closely related to the notion of 'individualistic' and 'collectivistic' cultures. In a collectivistic culture, the dominant emphasis is relational and preventive. In an individualistic culture, the dominant emphasis is

nonrelational and self-promotional (Kumar, 2004; Ogarkova/Soriano, 2014). From a sociolinguistic point of view, other-directed emotions are good examples of social/verbal interaction: there are certain rules of what, how and when can or should be expressed and consequently interpreted by an illocutor and reacted upon. Negative other-directed emotions are the most culturally regulated ones, due to their possible social disruptiveness. Particularly complex is the concept of *other-directed discontent*. According to Pavlenko (2005), there are cross-linguistic differences in affective repertoire between languages on the level of lexicon, on the level of morphosyntax and on the level of speech act. From a pragmatic point of view, one could argue that inadequate verbal and nonverbal expression of other-directed discontent might have extremely negative consequences. Nevertheless, little research has been done in this area: Apresjan, 2000; Iordanskaja, 1974; Levontina/Zalizniak, 2001; Pavlenko/Driagina, 2007; Ogarkova, 2013; Soriano, 2013. Moreover, emotion concepts are usually described in one language, sometimes in two-language format (Pavlenko, 2002/2005; Wierzbicka, 1999; Dewaele/Pavlenko, 2003). We are interested in comparing the concept of *other-directed discontent* in three languages from different Indo-European families: Russian (Slavic), English (Germanic) and Spanish (Romance), in order to have a more objective comparative perspective. Thus, the present study will seek to fill the gap in linguistic studies on the conceptualisation of other-directed discontent in Russian, compared to English and Spanish.

1.3. Objectives of the study

The first objective of the present thesis is to examine the concept of *other-directed discontent* in Russian.

The second objective is to investigate conceptualisation of other-directed discontent in English and Spanish as complementary reference points of comparison. In the study, we refer to the English spoken in Great Britain and in the United States (e.g. by including the salient American *mad* in our study), with preference for the British English, in case of differences. Spanish is limited to its use in Spain.

The third objective is to compare the Russian concept of *other-directed discontent* with its English and Spanish counterparts. The comparison of *other-directed discontent* in Russian (a Slavic language), English (as a representative of Germanic languages) and Spanish (as a representative of Romance languages) will help to prove either its universality or its cultural relativity. However, it is important to clarify from the outset that Russian is a focal point of our study and Spanish and English are used only in relation to Russian. That is why there is for instance no English-Spanish/Spanish-English parallel corpus study and some occasional comparisons between these two languages are made only in relation to Russian.

1.4. Research questions

Based on the previous studies and according to the objectives of the present study, the following research questions have been drawn:

1. How is the concept of *other-directed discontent* semantically represented in Russian, compared to English and Spanish?
 - 1.a. What are the most salient emotion words inside this concept?
 - 1.b. What are the main semantic characteristics of these words?
 - 1.c. What similarities and what differences can be found in Russian, English and Spanish semantic representation of *other-directed discontent*?

2. What is the narrative structure of *other-directed discontent* in Russian, compared to English and Spanish?
 - 2.a. What is the social component inside the concept?
 - 2.b. What is the prototypical scenario of *other-directed discontent* in Russian, English and Spanish?
 - 2.c. What is the subtextual discourse that constitutes the concept?
 - 2.d. What similarities and what differences can be found in Russian, English and Spanish narrative structure of *other-directed discontent*?

1.5. Hypotheses

In reference to the first research question, three possible hypotheses are being tested:

Hypothesis 1: The salient other-directed emotions of discontent in Russian differ from both English and Spanish, e.g. *obida* is a specific Russian reaction to discontent-eliciting situations, compared to English and Spanish.

Hypothesis 2: 'Culturally specific' emotion terms are in fact 'salient terms in the given language and non-salient in other languages', as 1) it is always possible to find an approximate translation equivalent, and 2) following the logic, no word has exact translation equivalents in other languages.

Hypothesis 3: Semantic representation of *other-directed discontent* is similar in all three languages, due to universality of human emotional experience (see Kövecses, 2003). However, certain semantic characteristics of emotion words, e.g. their etymological and morphosyntactic profiles, can influence the preference for certain terms in a given language.

As for the second research question, the following hypotheses are being tested:

Hypothesis 1: The salience of particular emotion words is motivated not only by their semantic representation but also by the social component of the concept in respective languages.

Hypothesis 2: Prototypical scenarios are similar in all three languages, due to universality of human emotional experience (ibid.).

Hypothesis 3: Emotional mapping, i.e. specific lexical choices, in Russian differs from English but is similar to Spanish, due to the 'collectivist vs. individualist societies' division and the resulting differences in subtextual discourses. This hypothesis is based on the observation of certain lexical choices made by speakers of Russian, English and Spanish in situations eliciting other-directed discontent and on its possible explanation in previous research (see e.g. Ogarkova et al., 2012; Wierzbicka, 1998b).

1.6. Methodology

In order to answer the research questions and test the hypotheses, relevant research papers, lexicographical sources and also different corpora were analysed and compared.

1.6.1. Relevant research papers, lexicographical sources and corpora

Various works by specialists in the area of emotion concepts and emotions in discourse, e.g. Bednarek (2008), Dewaele (2010), Filimonova (2001), Fontaine et al. (2013), Goddard (2018), Kövecses et al. (2003), Ogarkova (2012), Ogarkova/Soriano (2014), Pavlenko (2002, 2005, 2008), Shakhovski (2008, 2010), Wierzbicka (1998, 1999), among others, were first analysed and compared. Results of their research were applied to the further lexicographical and corpora studies.

In reference to lexicographical sources, etymological, lexical, synonymic, antonymic, combinatory, phraseological, translational, frequency, conceptual dictionaries and thesauri were used.

Use of corpora, both monolingual and parallel, offers more objective perspective on the subject. Up to present, several corpora of modern Russian language have been created, e.g. the Russian National Corpus (RNC), the Uppsala Corpus of Modern Russian texts, the Helsinki Annotated Corpus of Russian Texts (HANCO), the Multimodal Russian Corpus (MURCO), created in the framework of the RNC, and the Russian Language Affective Speech Database (RUSLANA). The RNC contains a large number of modern Russian texts, adopted for linguistic analysis. For this reason, the corpus was used as the main reference in our research. The material was limited to a representative amount of modern Russian texts, dating from 1950 to present.

As for English, the British National Corpus (BNC) and the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) were employed. The Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual (CREA) and the Corpus del Español del Siglo XXI (CORPES) were used for Spanish, respectively.

1.6.2. Conceptual analysis of other-directed discontent

According to Pavlenko (2005) and Ponsonnet (2014), a semantic conceptual analysis of emotion terms is necessary because it clarifies the meanings of the linguistic resources that permit discursive uses.

We used the following types of semantic analysis: onomasiological, semasiological (both are meaning-based), corpus-based and discursive/textual (both are usage-based) (Bybee & Backner, 2009).

1.6.2.1. Meaning-based semantic analysis

We started with clarification of the main theoretical positions/definitions, using relevant research papers on emotions in general and those applied to the Russian language.

Then, we proceeded with an onomasiological analysis of the concept *other-directed discontent*, in order to select lexical items for our study. As mentioned above, relevant research papers, lexicographical sources (especially thesauri), lexical syllabi were consulted and corpus studies of emotion word frequency were conducted. High frequency of a word is an important indicator of the word's salience, i.e. of its central position inside the concept. Therefore, detecting salient words in a concept helps to outline the concept structure (from its nucleus, i.e. the most frequent words, to its periphery, i.e. the least frequent ones). For this matter, of equally great importance is the word's basicness (Lakoff, 1987; Rosch, 1978). Word basicness is well reflected in lexical syllabi of foreign language textbooks by ascribing lexemes to certain levels. According to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR), there are six levels of language use: A1, A2, B1, B2, C1 and C2, A1 being the most basic level and C2 being the most advanced level. Therefore, the lower the level ascribed to the word in lexical syllabi, the more basic and essential is the word in the target language.

In continuation, we conducted a semasiological study of the chosen lexical items, based on lexicographical data. We applied a standard procedure used in most papers on

emotional concepts (see Emikh, 2005), i.e. for every emotion word the following information was searched: its etymology, its lexical meaning, its derivatives, its combinatory options, its metaphorical meaning and phraseological expressions related to the word, its synonyms and antonyms. The reasons for applying the procedure were as follows:

1. Etymological study exposes the original conceptualisation of the emotion, its historical transformation and thus the present nuances in meaning. In other words, etymological information is an original element in the naïve picture of the world, e.g. it can influence the outset positivity/negativity of an emotion word and it can create certain constellations of different etymologically interrelated emotions. For instance, it determines the parallel but not overlapping existence of *obida*, *nenavist'* and *zavist'* in Russian, due to the shared root *videt'* "to see" and differentiating prefixes *o-*, *ne-* and *za-* (Levontina & Zalizniak, 2001).
2. Lexical meaning, i.e. a standard dictionary definition which speakers have in mind when using the word or teaching the word to the new speakers of the given language, plays a crucial role in conceptualisation.
3. Derivatives and phraseological expressions show whether the word is widespread, i.e. prototypical. The more derivatives the word has and the more phraseological expressions are created with the lexeme, the more salient this lexeme is (Pavlenko, 2002; Wierzbicka, 1999).
4. Combinatory possibilities help to observe the exact functioning of the word in discourse.
5. Metaphorical meaning, on the other hand, and prototypical features, associated actions and characteristics help to see the concept at a deeper level and in a wider spectrum: not only the feeling itself but also its antecedents, bodily manifestations related to the emotion, its intensity, possible reactions to the emotion and its possible outcome. In other words, it helps to observe the whole scenario, thus the concept per se (Barcelona & Soriano (2004); Kövecses et al., 2015; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) .

6. Synonyms and antonyms, their semantic similarities and differences help to see the relationship between particular words within a certain concept. The differences between the synonyms/antonyms reveal important linguistic and/or social categories for the speakers of the language. Lexical choices that speakers of a certain language make can depend e.g. on power relations established in the society, gender, age, kin relations, etc.

This procedure answered the first research question, and, therefore, we proceeded to the second research question.

In order to answer the second research question and, in addition, to contrast the findings of the meaning-based analysis for the first research question, usage-based analysis was conducted.

1.6.2.2. Usage-based discursive analysis

Ogarkova et al. (2012) approach the issue of meaning equivalence considering the “distinction between the two meanings a word can have: the “sense” – i.e., the thought the word expresses – and the “reference”, the things or events to which a word points. When applied to the assessment of equivalence between emotion words, this theoretical dichotomy results in two major methodological orientations that have emerged in emotion research at large to assess the degree of similarity between cross-lingual groups: the translation method, and the mapping method.” Thus, the focus of the translation method is on the semantic relationships among a set of emotion terms. In the mapping method, the focus of the analysis is on the mapping of emotion terms to a collection of referents or “reference points” (ibid.), i.e. 1) emotion-eliciting events, 2) thoughts (appraisals), 3) expressions (e.g., facial ones), and 4) actions (behaviour). Thus, the major criterion for semantic equivalence in mapping method is shared reference, i.e. a shared scenario.

First, based on the previous research and lexicographical data, a provisional combinatory (referential) profile of the chosen emotion terms was (re)constructed, i.e.

- a) social context associated with each term, e.g. gender, age, power relations, etc.
- b) possible antecedents of the emotions in question
- c) possible (non)-verbal or bodily reactions
- d) possible action patterns.

Then a corpora study for each emotion term was conducted, in order to have a reality check of our assumptions and, moreover, to see the discursive patterns in Russian, English and Spanish (see Baker, 2006; Fairclough, 1995; Gee, 1999; Jäger, 2004; Sánchez & Blanco-Carrión, 2007; Titscher & Jenner, 2000; on critical discourse analysis). Information obtained from the corpora examples was organised in tables according to their scenario patterns. Moreover, all the possible collocations were found using the corpus tools. These collocations and the 'parallel thoughts', i.e. explicit or implicit clarification of experiencer's discontent motivation in her/his utterances were analysed. This analysis resulted in a tentative outline of the subtextual discourse, present in respective concepts of other-directed discontent. Finally, the conceptual structure of other-directed discontent was presented schematically, as its resumed version. It is important to mention that the corpora study was qualitative. The preference for qualitative approach instead of quantitative was determined by the sufficient quantitative data from previous research but insufficient in-depth explanatory material for our field of study. Therefore, the corpora findings were limited to 50 examples for each item (in addition to the time restriction 1950-present time), in order to be sufficiently representative but still manageable for qualitative analysis (see part 4.4.6.1). After having analysed the English and Spanish conceptual representation of other-directed discontent, we conducted two parallel corpora studies (using the Russian, English and Spanish parallel corpora available in the RNC): Russian-English/English-Russian and Russian-Spanish/Spanish-Russian parallel corpora studies. Comparison of the Russian lexical items with the related lexical items in English and Spanish helped to find possible translation equivalents in these three languages and observe the mapping tendencies in the languages in question. The parallel corpora study results were limited by the date of text creation (1950-present time).

Finally, in order to find similarities and mismatches in Russian, English and Spanish conceptualisation of other-directed discontent, all the previous results were compared.

1.7. Structure of the thesis

The present dissertation is divided into eight chapters. After the introduction in chapter one, the second chapter is a presentation of general perspectives on emotion in different sciences and in cognitive linguistics in particular. Furthermore, it defines the difference between the terms ‘emotional’, ‘emotive’, ‘evaluative’, and ‘expressive’ and other topics in emotive semantics: denotation vs. connotation, the concept of ‘emoseme’, metaphor vs. meaning-based approach to emotional meaning, cognitive concepts, basic emotion terms (prototypicality), self-conscious and other-directed emotions.

Chapter three provides an overview of the metaconcept EMOTION in Russian. Special attention is paid to morphosyntactic ways of emotional expression and to different categories of emotion concepts in Russian.

The fourth chapter analyses the conceptualisation of *other-directed discontent* in Russian: the meaning-based analysis and the usage-based analysis which comprises the corpus study of the emotion terms related to the concept of other-directed discontent.

Chapters five and six analyse the conceptualisation of other-directed discontent in English and Spanish, respectively: the meaning-based analysis and the usage-based analysis which comprises the corpus study of the other-directed discontent-related terms. Moreover, at the end of each chapter, the results of a parallel corpus study (Russian-English/English-Russian and Russian-Spanish/Spanish-Russian, respectively) are presented.

Chapter seven is dedicated to a comparative analysis of the data, i.e. to finding similarities and mismatches in Russian, English and Spanish analysed concepts.

The final eighth chapter concludes the results of the study.

1.8. Applicability of the study

With reference to the applicability of the research findings, the study can be useful for the L2 research and L2 teaching purposes. The detection of basic vocabulary and its clear delimitation inside the concept of other-directed discontent makes it a practical tool for acquiring emotive vocabulary in Russian. The study can also be applied in lexicography, as it updates the traditional dictionary definitions of emotion terms by contrasting them with the corpus study results. Moreover, the results of the parallel corpora study can be used in translation studies and contrastive analysis. Finally, social importance of the concept *other-directed discontent* makes the present study applicable in intercultural pedagogics and other social sciences.

2. PERSPECTIVES ON EMOTION

2.1. Introduction

With the main research questions in mind (How is other-directed discontent conceptualised 1) semantically and 2) discursively in Russian, compared to English and Spanish?), we should first clarify the meaning of the metaconcept EMOTION in the context of the study. There is certain ambiguity of the (meta)concept as emotions are studied by many sciences. And as Dewaele puts it: “We may have an intuitive understanding of emotions, but their sheer complexity makes them difficult to define” (Dewaele 2010:16). The main sources of controversy in the field of emotion research are: 1) relation between emotion and cognition and 2) universalism of human emotions vs. their cultural/linguistic relativism. According to some, the differentiation between cognition and emotion is becoming more and more foggy, and underlines the need for new, less fuzzy concepts (Rimé, 2009). Other researchers hold on to more traditional Western view of “emotion as physicality”, and “emotion as natural fact” (Lutz, 1986: 294-295). There is also a debate between researchers who defend a more universalist perspective on emotions and others who think that emotions should be investigated using a more relativist perspective, with a focus on the differences across languages and cultures (Pavlenko, 2008).

This chapter offers an overview of the current perspectives on emotion in affective neuroscience, psychology, social sciences and linguistics. It also clarifies such linguistic terms as 'prototype', 'basicness', 'salience', 'emoseme' and 'cognitive concept'. Furthermore, section 2.4 contrasts 'emotivity' with 'emotionality', 'evaluativeness' and 'expressiveness'; it differentiates 'denotation' from 'connotation', 'meaning-based' approach from 'metaphorical' approach. Subsections 2.4.4 and 2.4.5 expose descriptive, expressive and figurative emotion-related vocabulary, plus emotion-laden words. Finally, section 2.5 addresses the topic of other-directed emotions in general and of other-directed discontent in particular.

2.2. Perspectives on emotion in different sciences

2.2.1. The neurobiological and traditional psychological perspective

The discipline of affective neuroscience is concerned with the neural and neurochemical mechanisms underlying emotion and mood. The neurologists try to distinguish emotional from cognitive processes, arguing that to make progress in understanding the neurobiological nature of emotions experimental strategies need to be used that are different from those that are common in cognitive science (Panksepp, 2003). Several parts of the subcortex have been identified as playing a part in processing emotions: the hippocampus, the thalamus, the hypothalamus and the amygdala (Rosenthal, 2002).

The hippocampus processes emotional meaning and transfers information to the long-term memory (Linden, 2007). The hypothalamus regulates autonomic and endocrine functions and controls the body's fight-or-flight response (*ibid.*). The thalamus transmits sensory information between the cerebrum and the body's muscles. It shares a nerve knot with the hippocampus, namely the two amygdalae, which are responsible for emotions and anxiety. The amygdalae judge emotions expressed in voices and faces and supply unattended and attended emotional stimuli in working memory (LeDoux, 2002). The prefrontal lobes of the neocortex, decision-taking centres, control the amygdala and dampen the strong emotional impulses through rational, cognitive analysis, allowing the individual to reappraise the situation and adapt her/his reactions.

From a traditional psychological point of view, emotion is a “complex psychophysiological experience of an individual's state of mind as interacting with biochemical (internal) and environmental (external) influences” (Bolonkin, 2012:53).

Weak point of brain physiology is that although most of its studies are conducted in predominantly English speaking research environments, brain researchers still expect that their findings will apply to human brains generally, not just those of a particular language or cultural group (Harkins & Wierzbicka, 2001:1). Further research may confirm or challenge this expectation, but “the research itself, its validity and the interpretation of its results hinge at certain crucial points upon questions of language” (*ibid.*). In other words, and this argument usually comes from cognitive linguists,

despite the degree of technical sophistication in research into the neuropsychology of human emotion, researchers seem unaware of absolutising their own language (with its built-in culture and concepts), i.e. of making universal claims on the basis of language-specific categories, whether cognitive or cultural or both (ibid.).

2.2.2. Cultural psychological approaches

Along with increased technical understanding of the workings of the human brains, there have also been major advances in the study of emotions from the perspectives of cognitive and crosscultural psychology, psychological anthropology, and sociology. (Harkins/Wierzbicka 2001:1).

Cultural psychologists are situated within the ‘relativist camp’ and link differences in the display of emotion between different societies, especially between Eastern and Western societies, to different views of the self in those societies. Markus and Kitayama (1991) claim that “while in the West the self is viewed as independent, self-contained, and autonomous, it is considered interdependent in Asian, African, Latin-American and many southern European cultures” (ibid.:225). For those with independent selves, emotional expressions may literally “express” or reveal the inner feelings such as anger, sadness and fear. For those with interdependent selves, however, an emotional expression may more often be regarded as a public instrumental action that may or may not be related directly to the inner feelings (ibid.:236). While in the West emotions that derive from and promote an independent view of the self can be openly displayed, in societies where the self is considered interdependent, overt expression of emotion is avoided (ibid.).

Conclusions drawn by cultural psychologists may seem rather dubious as their statements and notions, e.g. “the West” and “the East”, are highly generalized. On the other hand, cultural psychology has recognised “the role of language as central to the study of emotions, particularly when examining instances where the cultural life of one group seems to focus attention on emotional states for which other groups don’t even have names” (Harkins/Wierzbicka 2001:1).

2.2.3. A social constructivist approach

Equally relativist, but more scientifically grounded, is the social constructivist approach defended by Averill (1982). He proposes “to situate emotions within the hierarchy of behavioral systems” (ibid.:4) and points out that emotions can be analyzed at social, psychological and/or biological levels. In his constructivist approach, Averill emphasizes the social level of analysis. He presents the following definition of emotions: “emotions may be defined as socially constituted syndromes (transitory social roles) which include an individual’s appraisal of the situation and which are interpreted as passions rather than as actions” (ibid.:6). Averill does not use the word “syndrome” in a pathological sense, but rather with a meaning of “subsystem of behaviour”. These subsystems are composed of elements: “physiological changes, expressive reactions, instrumental responses, and subjective feelings” (ibid.:19). Averill distinguishes between three broad (and idealized) classes of emotion: impulsive, transcendental and conflictive emotional states. He warns however that “an emotion is not just the sum of its parts” (ibid.) and that, as a consequence, the grounds are never sufficient in themselves for attribution of emotion. Averill further argues that emotions reflect “the thought of an epoch, the secret of a civilization. It follows that to understand the meaning of an emotion is to understand the relevant aspect of the sociocultural system of which the emotion is a part (subsystem)” (p.24).

Harré (2009) similarly argues that the study of emotions is interdisciplinary because it links cognitive, cultural and physiological phenomena. He sees emotions as “cognitive-affective-somatic hybrids”, in other words, emotions involve “bodily perturbations, judgements of meanings, and the social force of emotion displays” (p.294).

Abu-Lungold and Lutz, in their turn, define emotions as “phenomena that can be seen in social interaction, much of which is verbal“ (1990:4) and thus emphasize the idea that the study of human emotions needs input from the study of languages.

2.3. Linguistic approaches to emotions

At present, no consensus exists in linguistic emotion research on the relationship between bodily experiences, words, and concepts, on the structure and nature of emotion concepts, on the structure of the emotion lexicon, and on methods of selection and analysis of emotion terms. Three perspectives can be distinguished in this debate: nativist, universalist, and relativist. (Pavlenko, 2005: 78). There are also several distinct views that scholars have offered in an attempt to characterize emotional meaning.

2.3.1. The nativist perspective

In the nativist paradigm, both language (as Universal Grammar) and concepts are seen as innate and universal, while words are considered to be mere reflections of the mental concepts, and cross-linguistic differences in meanings are nothing more than cultural ‘noise’ and usage conventions (Pavlenko, 2005:79). Nativism privileges mental representations and posits the existence of *mentalese*, or the innate language of thought, which is prior to and independent of language (Fodor, 1998). In this view, all emotion concepts are primary, basic, and pancultural, whether particular languages have words for them or not.

2.3.2. The universalist paradigm

The *universalist* paradigm is much more common in language and emotion research. This paradigm is based on the traditional psychological view which privileges bodily experiences and defines emotions as “biologically determined processes, depending on innately set brain devices, laid down by a long evolutionary history” (Damasio, 1999:51). In this view, both concepts and language are secondary. (See Babenko, 1989; Dewaele, 2010; Shakhovski, 2008). We experience emotions regardless of whether they are named by our language or not. Conceptual categories are formed as the situations

we experience are linked with the brain apparatus used for the triggering of emotions (Damasio, 2003: 146), and words function as “representations of emotions” (Ekman, 2003: 13) – hence, the rootedness of many emotion metaphors in bodily experiences (Kövecses, 2000).

Thus, both the nativist and the universalist paradigms defend the ‘label’ view of emotional meaning. This view maintains that the meaning of emotion terms is simply an association between a label, like the words *anger* and *fear*, plus some real emotional phenomena, like physiological processes and behaviour. This view is the simplest lay view of emotional meaning. The improved scientific version of the ‘label’ theory (Schachter and Singer, 1962) proposes that emotion involves three things: a label, plus something (emotionally) real, plus a situation. However, both the lay and the scientific versions of the ‘label’ theory exclude the possibility that emotion terms can have much conceptual content and organization.

2.3.3. The relativist paradigm

The third paradigm, also known as *relativist* or *social constructionist*, is based on the cultural psychological and social constructivist approaches in emotion research. It questions the existence of basic emotions and the universality of ‘emotion’. Consequently, while in other two paradigms bodily experiences and emotion concepts pre-exist corresponding lexical items (which function simply as labels), in the relativist framework language guides the acquisition of concepts, and concepts influence the interpretation of bodily states. In this view, affective socialization is an intrinsic part of the language socialization process, with language focusing children’s attention on phenomena linked to ‘anger’, *grust’* (sadness/melancholy; Russian), or *fago* (compassion/love/sadness; Ifaluk) (Pavlenko, 2005:80). As corresponding conceptual categories are formed and modified, children learn how to interpret physical experiences and external events in terms of these culture-specific emotion categories, and to judge whether someone is justifiably angry, *grustnyj*, or *fago*, and when and how to respond to

or with *anger*, *grust*, or *fago* (ibd.).

2.3.4. A cognitive linguistic approach

The approach chosen for our study is a cognitive linguistic approach. Cognitive linguists position themselves between universalists and relativists. They refer to ‘emotions’ “as universalists do, at the same time recognizing the linguistic and cultural specificity of this notion and its potential inapplicability to certain contexts, as relativists would” (Pavlenko, 2005:80). These researchers make more explicit connections between emotions, language, memory, and cognition than universalists do. They typically view emotions as an assortment of socially and culturally shared scripts, which allow members of different cultures to differentially interpret similar physiological, subjective and behavioural processes (Dewaele 2010:18). For Rosaldo (1984), for instance, emotions are “self-concerning, partly physical responses that are at the same time aspects of a moral and ideological attitude; emotions are both feelings and cognitive constructions, linking person, action, and sociological milieu” (Pavlenko, 2008:304).

Cognitive linguists do not reject the idea that emotions have a physiological substrate. They also accept that there may be a basic human experience of something like e.g. “anger”, yet argue that it would be problematic to claim that such an experience would be precisely equivalent to the English “anger”, or to its translation equivalents or synonyms in other languages (Harkins/Wierzbicka, 2001). Moreover, cognitive linguists point to the inherent variability in emotional responses between people in similar contexts: what one person might find harmless could be perceived as offensive by another. Even a single individual might react differently at different moments in time (ibid.:2). This variation in the display of emotions is also linked to social and cultural factors. Therefore, what is of interest to cognitive linguists is not somatic states or sensations per se, but rather emotion categorization from a linguistic, cognitive, and cultural viewpoint. (See Babenko, 1989; Dewaele, 2010; Pavlenko, 2005).

2.3.4.1. The prototype view

Both the Social-Constructionist and the Cognitive Linguistics' views of emotional meaning are based on the notion of prototype. (Dewaele, 2010:10). The 'prototype' view corresponds to the 'meaning-based' approach, in which emotions are described by means of the prototypical situations in which they occur. This approach was proposed in the early works of A. Wierzbicka and L.N. Iordanskaja. In subsequent works by Wierzbicka and Iordanskaja, as well as those of other authors who adopted the meaning-based approach, these descriptions were refined but the principle of reduction to a prototype remained. Moreover, Wierzbicka assumes the idea that emotional meaning is composed of universal semantic primitives (components which are capable of minimally distinguishing between the meaning of any two words), such as THINK, DESIRE, WANT, BAD, GOOD, CAUSE, DO, and so forth. (See, e.g., Wierzbicka, 1990, 1999). For instance, the following explications are proposed for the English *afraid* and its Russian counterpart *bojat'sja*:

afraid

X feels something
sometimes a person thinks something like this:
something bad can happen
I don't want this
I don't know what I can do
because of this, this person feels something bad
X feels like this

(Wierzbicka 1990: 363-4)

BOJAT'SJA I.1a X boitsja Y-a 'X is afraid of Y' =

Assertion	
Evaluation	'X expects that Y will cause something undesirable for X or
Emotion	'X is or has the property of being in
Characterization	an unpleasant emotional state with respect to Y
Cause	which is caused by said X's expectation,

Prototyp. conditions	this state being such as is usually caused by the expectation of something being dangerous,
Effect	this expectation and/or state causing X to tend to avoid Y'.

(Iordanskaja & Mel'cuk, 1990:335)

Apresjan criticizes the 'meaning-based' approach (Apresjan, 2000:205). First, according to the scholar, the nature of the emotion itself (Wierzbicka's 'feeling something good' and 'feeling something bad'; Iordanskaja's and later Iordanskaja's and I.A. Mel'cuk's 'positive [pleasant] state' and 'negative [unpleasant] state') needs to be further defined. In essence, the difference in emotional states as described in the explications cited come down to differences in their causes. Apresjan, however, supposes that the states of the soul are different, even in the case of two emotions as prototypically close as *strakh* [fear] and *opasenie* [apprehension] (ibid.). In the same way the negative feelings *gore* [grief] and *skorb'* [mourning] differ, although they also practically coincide in their prototype: both assume a great loss as their usual cause.

Secondly, it would be desirable to offer semantic descriptions of emotions which would make it possible to give a well-founded (semantically motivated) explanation of 'symptomatic' vocabulary, that is, of expressions such as *pokholodet' ot strakha* [to turn cold from fear], *pokrasnet' ot styda* [to blush with shame], *zadohnut'sia ot vozmushcheniia* [to be stifled by indignation], first subjected to profound and detailed analysis in Iordanskaja (1974).

Nevertheless, Apresjan admits that "the principle of reduction to a prototype still seems to be thoroughly valid" (Apresjan, 2000:205). Also Dewaele (2010) states that 'prototype' views seem to offer the greatest explanatory power for many aspects of emotional meaning.

2.3.4.2. Basic emotion terms in the cognitive linguistic approach

There are also attempts at finding prototypicality of emotion terms (the main attention is usually paid to descriptive emotion terms) in different languages or cultural environments (e.g. Altarriba 2003, Lakoff 1987, Russell 1991, Wierzbicka 1999).

Universalists and cognitive linguists subdivide emotion terms into more basic ones, e.g. ‘anger’, ‘fear’, ‘love’ etc., arguably shared by all languages, and less basic ones, e.g. ‘annoyance’, ‘rage’, ‘indignation’, which supposedly vary across languages. (Kövecses et al. 2003:136). While agreeing on the main premises, these scholars disagree as to the range of basic emotions (how many there are and what are they).

According to Kövecses, basicness can mean two things. One is that these words (the concepts corresponding to them) occupy a middle level in a vertical hierarchy of concepts (in the sense of Rosch, 1978). In this sense, say, *anger* is more basic than, for example, *annoyance* or *emotion*. *Anger*, because it is a “basic-level” emotion category, lies between the superordinate-level category *emotion* and the subordinate-level category of *annoyance*:

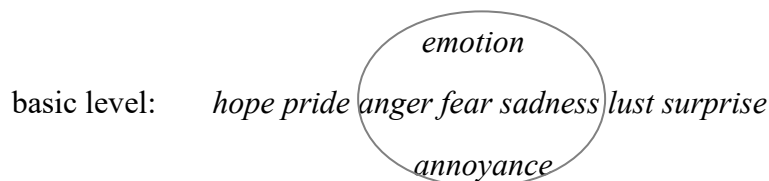
Figure 1: 'Basicness' as the middle position in the vertical organisation of concepts

superordinate level: *emotion*
 middle (basic) level: *anger*
 subordinate level: *annoyance*

(Kövecses, 2000:4)

The other sense of “basicness” is that particular emotion category can be judged to be more “prototypical” (i.e., a better example) of emotion than another at the same horizontal level (again, “prototypical” in the sense of Rosch, 1978). This horizontal level coincided with the basic level of the vertical organization of concepts. For example, *anger* is more basic in this sense than, say, *hope* or *pride*, which, in the previous sense, are on the same level:

Figure 2: 'Basicness' as the middle position in the horizontal organisation of concepts



(The circle indicates that, e.g., *anger*, *fear*, and *sadness* are better examples of emotion terms than *hope*, *pride*, *surprise*, and *lust*.) (Kövecses, 2000:10).

Many emotions, such as love, fear, and happiness, have not just one, but several prototypical cognitive models associated with them (i.e., they each have multiple prototypes). Kövecses proposes that several members (or cases) can acquire the status of “best example” within an emotion category. This is because, given a category with several members, one member can be typical, another can be salient, a third can be ideal, and so on. (ibid.:13).

2.4. Emotive semantics

2.4.1. Difference between the terms ‘emotional’, ‘emotive’, ‘evaluative’, and ‘expressive’

The term ‘emotion’ is criticized by cognitive linguists and social constructivists. Wierzbicka argues that “the concept of ‘emotion’ (born out of the distinction between ‘emotions’ and ‘sensations’) seems to be one of those concepts which originate in the English language and in the ethnopsychology embodied in it and which have become taken over by the language of scholarship as one of its basic concepts” (Wierzbicka 1992:178). The concept of ‘emotion’ involves a combination of ‘feeling’, ‘thinking’, and an unspecified internal process. In the language of universal semantic primitives, proposed by Wierzbicka (ibid.), this can be represented as follows:

Emotion
person X thought something
because of this, X felt something
because of this, something happened to X

The English concept of ‘emotions’ pick out one type of feeling (cognitively based feelings) as an important category, distinct from other types of feelings; and that, moreover, it links it with a vague reference to something that ‘happens’ to or in a person

as a result of the feeling in question. Wierzbicka suggests, then, that while the concept of 'feeling' is universal (or near-universal) and can be safely used in the investigation of human experience and human nature, the concept of 'emotion' is culture-bound, and cannot be similarly relied on. (ibid.).

However, some other scholars, e.g. Babenko, prefer not to distinguish between 'emotions' and 'feelings', as "there may be differences between these concepts on psychological or neurobiological level, but not on the linguistic one" (Babenko, 1989:6). Instead, these scholars favor the concept of 'emotivity', which was loaned by linguists from sociologists. Sociologists use the term 'emotivity' in order to distinguish between a psychophysiological experience and a sociological phenomenon. 'Emotivity' is emotional expression "through the use of language, specifically through constructions that explicitly describe emotional states or attitudes" (Luke 2004). Therefore, on the linguistic level 'emotional' is synonymous to sociological term 'emotive'. As Shakhovski puts it, "on a linguistic level emotions transform into emotivity; emotion is a psychological category, emotivity is a linguistic one" (Shakhovski, 1987:13). Also of importance is the claim that expressed emotions, i.e. emotives, may be more important than inner states of emotion in constructing a social reality (Luke 2004). This is why, as a linguistic term, 'emotivity' means "conscious, planned demonstration of emotional processes" (Slyusareva, 1990:564), and the main function of emotives is to produce emotional effect in the listener.

Emotivity is traditionally treated in connection with expressivity. Some authors distinguish between the two, some consider them to be synonymous (Volek, 1987:5). The latter position is expressed by e.g. Volek, who understands expressivity as "usually intentional and always direct expression of emotions by the speaker" (Volek 1987:9). Similarly, Jakobson (1960:354) defines the expressive function of language as a "direct expression of the speaker's attitude toward what he is speaking about". According to this concept, expressivity, that is, the expressive function of language, encompasses semiotic devices functioning as a direct expression of emotive experiences and used usually intentionally for this purpose. It includes the connotative use of words to communicate emotive experiences, without their notional expression. Expressive signs of this kind are symbolic indices and can be found, but not exclusively, in the poetic

function. (Volek, 1987:9).

Another feasible concept of expressivity is that expression is everything that the speaker uses unintentionally to let the hearer know about himself through various *symptoms*. These symptoms can be of an emotive nature, they can, however, refer also to physical states, social status, sex, dialectal incorporation, intelligence, use of the norm, deviation from norm, temperament, etc. In other words, it is any symptomatic use of linguistic devices which does not communicate information about the speaker intentionally, but unintentionally.

Nevertheless, the much more common concept of expressivity is that it is “a general characteristic of an utterance, the sum of emotive, evaluative, and stylistic functions in a text”. (Maslova, 1991: 186). Therefore, expressivity is lexical units’ ability to increase the impact of an utterance in a speech act. Therefore, as Galkina-Fedoruk puts it, manifestation of emotions is always expressive, but expressivity is not always emotional (see Galkina-Fedoruk, 1958:121). Emotivity is not as wide as expressivity but it is more informative. Thus, not any expressive uttering can be called emotive but ones which deliberately refer to the present, past or future emotional state of the speaker/the object of the speech.

The concept of ‘emotivity’ is also traditionally treated in connection with the concept of ‘evaluation’. It is true that evaluative components are very frequent in emotive signs. Shakhovski, for instance, sees ‘emotionality’ and ‘evaluation’ as inseparable categories (Babenko, 1989:9). On the other hand, Volek, who studies emotions from semiotic point of view, distinguishes between emotive signs and evaluative (or attitudinal) signs which she calls appraisors (Volek, 1987:27). Volek claims that “signs which signify emotions need not be evaluative signs [...] and that evaluative signs need not signify emotions” (ibid.:35).

According to Volek, there are emotive signs which do not include any evaluative component. This is the case in Russian augmentatives, such as *domina* “huge house”, *gorodisce* “huge city”, or in a repetition such as *daleko daleko* “far, far away”, which expresses the extraordinary amount of the distance. This is also the case in the repetition *Zavtra! Zavtra pridet!* “Tomorrow! Tomorrow he will come!”, which expresses an emotive emphasis without an evaluative component. (ibid.:36).

Similarly, we have many signs with evaluative components which do not contain any emotive components of meaning: *xorosij* “good”, *ploxoj* “bad”, *krasivyyj* “beautiful”, *neuctivyyj* “discourteous”, etc. Nevertheless, this category of words with explicit evaluative semantics, mostly adjectives like *good* vs. *bad*, *intelligent* vs. *unintelligent*, *beautiful* vs. *ugly*, etc., which, when used in direct application, especially to an addressee, will gain strong emotive connotations.

And finally, there are many signs that contain an emotive component with an evaluative character: *xaxal'* “lover” (vulgar), *boltat'* “to chatter” (colloquial), *parsivyyj* “lousy”, *prekrasno* “lovely”, *molodec* “fine fellow”, etc.

Some scholars, e.g. Babenko, claim that emotivity and evaluation are intrinsically connected but they are not identical. According to this position, evaluative component is not omnipresent (not present to the same degree) in emotional lexis (Babenko, 1989:9). It means that although evaluative component is inherent in emotive vocabulary, it is not dominant in its semantic structure. Moreover, emotivity is too complex to fit the scheme of positive-negative-neutral evaluation. (See more on the topic in Zainouldinov, 2005).

2.4.2. Denotation vs. Connotation

It is customary in semantics to distinguish between two macrocomponents in the structure of word meaning: denotation and connotation.

Denotation is traditionally understood as an area of meaning which is oriented on reflecting objectively existing reality (in contrast to connotation, which is oriented on the speaker and the communicative situation). (Babenko, 1989:19). In this view, denotative meaning wholly coincides with the objective meaning, and a denotatum can be both a physical object and an abstract concept (ibid.). What characterizes core meaning is a small number of properties or components that are taken to define a category in an adequate manner. This means that core meaning should be capable of minimally distinguishing between the meaning of any two words; that is, by virtue of the smallest possible number of components. (Dewaele, 2010:7).

However, in a more narrow sense, denotation can be understood as a part of lexical

meaning, which is oriented on depicting physical objects (in contrast to a significate which is oriented on depicting abstract concepts). In this case, emotive lexis belongs to significant part of meaning. Together, denotative component and significant component form the objective meaning. This separation is rather fuzzy, and as denotatum and significate are anyway united in the end by the objective meaning, Babenko doesn't find it necessary to distinguish between these two components, and refers to both of them as 'denotation'. Babenko defines 'denotation' as "a multicomponent, hierarchically organized part of lexical semantics, which contains information about various facts of reality, including information about human emotions" (Babenko, 1989:21). Therefore, emotions can also be denotata.

Connotation, in its turn, is a multicomponent (just like denotative) but peripheral, facultative part of the lexical meaning which contains information about speaker's personality, including his emotional state, as well as the speaking situation and the speaker's attitude towards the listener and the subject of speech. It is a kind of lexical modality. In this view, emotional meaning can be thus considered a component of connotation, 'an emotional connotation'. Its presence in a word depends on the speaker's psychological state. That is a wide understanding of connotation. But there are also researchers who narrow the scope of connotation to one component of lexical semantics, which is emotionality. They equate connotation with its emotive component (Shakhovskii 1987: 83). According to Babenko, this view is not sufficiently convincing. (See Babenko, 1989). Both definitions of 'connotation' are extreme points of view. There are many other definitions, e.g. semiotic, stylistic, psychological, and philosophical ones. In spite of this multitude of definitions, the concept of connotation is still very fuzzy and insufficiently studied.

Undisputable are the statements that components of connotation are systematically organized and that these components are not included in the objective part of meaning, because they do not so much depict objective reality as they depend to greater extent on the psychological state of the speaker. Connotations are seen as being made up of "various social, situational, or affective properties and are assumed to vary from person to person and from culture to culture" (Dewaele, 2010:7). Nevertheless, there are many discussions about what components exactly constitute connotation.

Until recently, there were no doubts about connotation's dependence on denotation. Its dependence was allegedly confirmed by interpretative activity's dependence on the nominative activity. In the 'Core Meaning' view, for instance, where the major function of definitions is systematic differentiation of meaning, the more important kind of meaning is typically thought to be core (denotative) meaning, while peripheral (connotative) meaning is viewed as less important in giving the meaning of words and expressions (ibid.). On the other hand, in expressive lexis's semantics connotation itself is of great importance. Therefore, denotative and connotative components nowadays are mostly seen as equal parts of meaning. (Babenko, 1989:22). Moreover, in a speech act, connotation may prevail, e.g. in metaphorical use of evaluative nouns. Thus, in contrast to the "core meaning" view, the 'implicational' view of meaning takes connotative meaning as its main point of departure. (Dewaele, 2010:9). In the words of a major figure: "To study what something means is to study what it entails, implies, or suggests to those who understand it" (Schweder, 1991: 244). For example, the sentence "She is your mother" implies that she is under obligation to care about your health. For Schweder, meaning is connotative meaning, not denotative meaning. Schweder relativizes this approach to emotional meaning. One of his examples is 'anger'. Schweder writes: "Anger suggests explosion, destruction, and revenge" (ibid.:245).

2.4.3. The notion of 'emoseme'

The category of 'emotivity', in its narrow sense, is synonymous to connotation; in its wide sense it refers to all possible linguistic means of emotion manifestation, and emotive element can act either as denotative element or as a connotative one. (Babenko, 1989:16). Mobility of emotive component in a word makes it difficult to seize the essence of emotive semantics of a word and to adequately describe it. Therefore, Shakhovskii has introduced the term 'emoseme', an emotive seme. He defines it as "a specific type of seme, related to the speaker's emotions and represented in a word's semantic structure as a combination of a semantic trait 'emotion' and a semic specification, e.g. 'love', 'contempt', 'humiliation', etc. (its list is open) that modify the

semantic trait, mentioned above, differently in different words” (Shakhovski 1987: 84). Babenko agrees with this definition and adds that emotive seme can depict emotional process referring to any person: the speaker, the listener or some other third person. By this remark, Babenko legitimizes emotive seme’s presence in the denotative part of the meaning. Thus, an emoseme can take different positions in the semic structure and according to its position it can perform different functions: it may be part of denotation or connotation, and it can have a categorial-lexical or a differential function. (Babenko, 1989:24-27). Categorial-lexical traits are the ones that unite all members of the same lexical semantic group. Differential semantic traits are the ones which differentiate words in the same lexical semantic group.

Thus, according to the latter view, emotions have a double way of showing its presence in language. (ibid.:11). First of all, emotions can show themselves as emotional background, emotional additive, which expresses speaker’s emotional attitude and is manifested in her or his emotional evaluative statements (connotative emosemes). This is a unique quality of the natural language and can’t be found in other semiotic systems. Second, emotions can be designated by language signs as objectively existing reality, similar to any other observable reality (denotative emosemes).

Connotative emosemes differ radically from denotative ones both in content and position in the semic structure of the word, as well as in their function. They are characterized by extreme limitation, narrowness of the expressed emotions and by evaluativeness. Connotative emosemes take a peripheral place in the lexical meaning and perform the function of expressing the speaker's emotions through “charging” the word with a certain emotional tonality, so that the words containing connotative emosemes are ambivalent: simultaneously, they designate the object – source of emotions (nominative function) and express the speaker's emotional-evaluative attitude (expressive function). (ibid.:60-61).

Therefore, the chosen perception of ‘emotivity’ dictates what types of emotion-related vocabulary can be called emotive.

2.4.4. Emotive vocabulary

According to the ‘panemotionality’ concept, any word is potentially emotional (Bally, 1961; Shakhovski, 1987). Thus, Shakhovski draws a conclusion that it is impossible to know the number of emotive words in any language (Shakhovski, 1987: 19). It is difficult to agree with this statement if one takes into account the dichotomy ‘language – speech’, i.e. if one distinguishes between language as a system, as a standard and occasional use of lexical units in speech. Obviously, it is difficult to identify all the emotives in real speech, but it is possible to identify them in a dictionary. Nevertheless, there are still no objective selecting criteria, when it comes to emotional lexis in a language. (Babenko, 1989:12).

In the 50s, before semantic word structure was studied, attempts were made to characterize emotional vocabulary according to its functions: lexis of emotions, which denotes emotions (nominative function), and emotional lexis, which expresses emotions (expressive and pragmatic functions) (see Galkina-Fedoruk, 1958; Balli, 1961). Galkina-Fedoruk points out that abusive and vulgar words also have an emotional tint, which means that the word's emotionality is connected with its stylistic characteristics (Galkina-Fedoruk, 1958:136). The author gives the following definition of emotional lexis: “emotional lexis expresses human feelings and moods, this lexis is subdivided into the lexis which names feelings and the lexis which expresses an attitude towards reality and its phenomena, either positive or negative” (ibid.). Also Babenko (1989) includes any emotion-related vocabulary into the term ‘emotive’. However, she proposes to omit the “artificial separation of lexis into lexis of emotions and emotional lexis”, in order to specify the corpus of emotive means and create a complete classification of this lexis. Kövecses, following this idea, notes that “under certain circumstances descriptive emotion terms can also “express” particular emotions. An example is “*I love you!*” where the descriptive emotion word *love* is used both to describe and express the emotion of love.” (Kövecses, 2000:2). Moreover, Pavlenko, who also defines any emotion-related vocabulary as ‘emotion words’, claims that emotion words should be considered “as a separate class of words in the mental lexicon, represented and processed differently from abstract and concrete words” (Pavlenko,

2005).

Nevertheless, the question whether words naming feelings and emotions can be listed in emotive lexis remains in dispute. Arnold, for instance, believes that “from the point of view of expressiveness one should distinguish between emotionally neutral lexis, i.e. expressing only a concept without showing a speaker's attitude to it [...] and lexis which is emotionally coloured, expressing the speaker's feelings, moods and attitudes to the statement” (Arnold, 1959:92; cf. also: Lyons, 1981). Words designating emotions, feelings and moods, according to the author, express emotions only through concepts, i.e. they name an emotion without conveying it; neither it is possible to include into emotive lexis those words which designate objects capable of evoking an emotion (e.g. ‘death’, ‘tears’ etc.). As ‘emotive lexis’ Arnold defines “terms of affection, abusive words, interjections, since only these convey approval or disapproval, contempt and admiration, derision, irony, tenderness etc.” (ibid.:94-95). She also believes that “rendering of emotional colouring may be attained by means of special affixes or semi-affixes, through a figurative use of words, thanks to a hyperbole” (ibid.:93). It should be noted that Arnold does not make a difference between expressiveness and emotionality, and the above cited statements show that the author closely links emotionality with evaluation. Also Shakhovskii, for similar reasons, understands emotive lexis only as expressive terms. He claims that “descriptive and nominative terms are associative-emotive, i.e. they only contain an abstract idea of emotions” (Shakhovskii, 1987: 96).

In general, nowadays, most linguists distinguish between two types of emotion-related vocabulary: expressive and descriptive, whereas figurative expressions, i.e. idioms, can either be part of expressive vocabulary or constitute a separate category. (See, Kövecses, 2000). Some Russian linguists, though, also distinguish between descriptive (e.g. *plakat'* “to cry”) and nominative (e.g. *grust'* “sadness”) emotion-related vocabulary. (See, e.g., Shakhovskii, 1987; Babenko, 1989). The categories of descriptive/nominative and expressive emotion terms are analogous to Searle's (1990) categories of assertive and expressive speech acts, in that descriptive/nominative terms have an assertive function and expressive terms often constitute expressive speech acts.

Moreover, Babenko claims that it is the lexis of emotions (descriptive terms), which should be used in the first place for semantic categorization of emotions, as its emotive

meaning is more stable and explicit. (Babenko, 1989:13). She follows the idea of Finkel and Bazhenov who state that “one of the most stable groups is that which has a certain tint of feeling concluded in the very meaning of the word, i.e. such words which designate feelings, attitudes, assessments, as, for example, love, hatred, kindness... etc.” (Finkel & Bazhenov, 1951:81-82). Similarly, Kövecses is primarily concerned with that part of the emotion lexicon that is used “to describe” emotional experience. He claims that “this is a much larger category of emotion terms than the one that “expresses” emotions” (Kövecses, 2000:3).

We agree with Babenko, Pavlenko, and Kövecses, as their interpretation of emotivity seems more precise. For, although Shakhovsky reduces emotive vocabulary to expressive terms, his understanding of ‘expressive’ and, thus, ‘emotive’ is rather diffuse and reduced to connotative element of meaning. He includes such words as *kazn'* "execution" because they have strong emotional connotation, although such words are emotion-laden, peripheral, and not emotion words in a strict sense.

We use Kövecses’ classification of emotion-related vocabulary, which is presented below:

- expressive emotion terms, which can be words or longer expressions and which directly predicate speaker’s emotional experience, e.g. emotive interjections ‘wow!’ when enthusiastic; exclamations (*Nu nado zhe!* “My oh my!”), and invectives used as interjections (*Vot chyort!* “Damn!”)
- descriptive emotion terms, which can also be words or longer expressions and which name the emotions that they signify, e.g. ‘sadness’ or ‘happiness’; descriptive emotion words (*obradovat'sya* “to be glad”, *razveselit'sya* “to have fun”, *rasserdit'sya* “to get angry”),
- figurative emotion-related expression, e.g. ‘boiling with anger’
(Kövecses et al. 2003:136-137).

2.4.5. Figurative emotion-related expression

There is another kind of emotion-related term, the group of figurative terms and expressions. Since figurative terms also describe (and do not primarily express) emotions, this is a subgroup within descriptive terms. Kövecses, who examines this subgroup, claims that “of the three groups identified (expressive terms, terms literally denoting particular kinds of emotions, and figurative expressions denoting particular aspects of emotions), the group of figurative expressions is the largest by far, and yet it has received the least attention in the study of emotion language” (Kövecses, 2000). According to Kövecses, figurative language of emotions is crucial to the way lay people perceive emotions and conceptualize them. Here the words and expressions do not literally “name” particular kinds of emotions, and the issue is not how basic or prototypical the word or expression is. The figurative words and expressions that belong in this group denote various *aspects* of emotion concepts, such as intensity, cause, control, and so forth. They can be metaphorical and metonymical. The metaphorical expressions are manifestations of conceptual metaphors in the sense of Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Conceptual metaphors bring two distant domains (or concepts) into correspondence with each other. One of the domains is typically more physical or concrete than the other (which is thus more abstract). The correspondence is established for the purpose of understanding the more abstract in terms of the more concrete. For example, *boiling with anger* is a linguistic example of the very productive conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID (cf. Lakoff, 1987), *burning with love* is an example of LOVE IS FIRE (cf. Kövecses, 1990) and *to be on cloud nine* is an example of HAPPINESS IS UP. All three examples indicate the intensity aspect of the emotions concerned.

Linguistic expressions that belong in this large group can also be metonymical. Conceptual metonymies, unlike conceptual metaphors, involve a single domain, or concept. The purpose of metonymy is to provide mental access to a domain through a part of the same domain (or vice versa) or to a part of a domain through another part in the same domain. (Kövecses, 2000: 5). Thus, metonymy, unlike metaphor, is a “stand-for” relation (i.e., a part stands for the whole or a part stands for another part) within a

single domain. Emotion concepts as wholes are viewed as having many parts, or elements. For instance, one part or element of the domain of anger is to be upset, and one part or element of the domain of fear is an assumed drop in body temperature. Thus, linguistic examples for these two emotion concepts include *to be upset* for anger and *to have cold feet* for fear. The first is an instance of the conceptual metonymy PHYSICAL AGITATION STANDS FOR ANGER, while the second is an example of the conceptual metonymy DROP IN BODY TEMPERATURE STANDS FOR FEAR (ibid.). A special case of emotion metonymies involves a situation in which an emotion concept B is part of another emotion concept A. In case like this, B can metonymically stand for A. This can explain why, for instance, the word girlfriend can be used of one's partner in a love relationship. Since love (A), at least ideally, involves or assumes friendship (B) between the two lovers, the word friend (an instance of B) can be used to talk about an aspect of love (A).

2.4.6. The 'metaphorical' view of emotional meaning

G. Lakoff and M. Johnson (1980:57-8) note that the linguistic means of expressing emotion are metaphorical in the highest degree. Therefore, emotion is hardly ever expressed directly, but always compared to something. For this reason the authors regard description via metaphors in which these emotions are conceptualized in language as the most satisfactory linguistic description of emotions. For example, as mentioned above, the emotions *schast'e* "happiness" and *grust'* "sadness" are metaphorically contrasted in English as TOP and BOTTOM. On the one hand a physical motivation is given for this metaphor: a person raises his head when he is happy and lowers it when he is sad. On the other hand, a linguistic motivation is offered: the metaphor at issue is an instance of a metaphor of the type 'good – up; bad – down'. Thus Lakoff's and Johnson's description is constructed in the form of a hierarchy of metaphors, in which metaphors of a lower order inherit the structure of 'ancestral' metaphors. For a similar approach to the description of emotions see Kövecses (1990). According to Apresjan, one undoubted advantage of the metaphorical approach is that it

permits one to reflect the inner comparative nature of words denoting emotions and to introduce into the description, in addition to the emotion words themselves, large groups of metaphorical expressions related to them. (Apresjan, 2000:206). The disadvantage is that the metaphor is presumed to be the end product of linguistic analysis and a strictly semantic motivation for the association between a given metaphor and a particular emotion is lacking (ibid.). Moreover the specificity of metaphors referring to emotions (mainly to 'symptomatic' vocabulary) receives no explanation.

Babenko attempts to find a solution to the problems mentioned by Apresjan. (See Babenko, 1989: 82-88). She defines 'emotion-related figurative terms' as "an intersection of emotive lexis with other lexical multitudes" (ibid.:82). The phenomenon of lexical intersection itself is caused by the complexity of the semic and semantic structure of the word. Word is a unique semic structure consisting of hierarchially arranged components which are in a dynamic balance. In different contextual conditions the ratio of these semantic features changes: some actualize themselves, advance to the centre, others fade, moving away to the periphery. It is this mobility of semantic features that motivates the existence of primary and secondary meanings, shades of meanings. The scholars who investigate the semantic classification of words, first of all, take into account the nuclear components of lexical meanings. But the intersections of lexico-grammatical groups of words and connections among various lexico-semantic units are displayed mostly at the level of secondary meanings, at the polysemy level. Secondary emotive nominations when being influenced by centripetal forces of the emotions field, include in their semic structure a new categorial lexical seme "to experience some emotional state" in all its substantial variants (formation, impact, attitude etc.). The dictionary records the new arrangement of semes in definitions of stable secondary meanings. E.g. *to feel sick* "to experience anxiety, worry, to suffer"; *to explode* "to express indignation".

Another disadvantage, mentioned by Apresjan, is that some metaphorical comparisons appear to be dictated less by established linguistic practice than by individual usage. For example, Lakoff (1987) proposes for love the image of a journey. More precisely, he sees love in the guise of a vehicle in which the lovers move towards their shared destination. Clearly many other forms of human activity (argument, negotiation,

decisions, criticism, praise, and others) might no less successfully be compared to a journey or a vehicle, so the value of this metaphor as a specific description of love is diminished. Therefore, Apresjan proposes to link the metaphorical description with the purely meaning-based and on the other hand to find independent evidence to support the metaphorical prototypes proposed for the emotions. Without this they may appear arbitrary. (Apresjan, 2000:207).

2.4.7. Cognitive concepts

Pavlenko notes that semantic representations are just a part, rather than the equivalent, of conceptual or cognitive representations. (Pavlenko, 2005:83). The scholar sees *emotion concepts* as “prototypical scripts that are formed as a result of repeated experiences and that involve causal antecedents, appraisals, physiological reactions, consequences, and means of regulation and display” (ibid.:81). This definition views concepts as more than just constellations of meanings encoded in semantic memory. Concepts involve the ability to categorize events and phenomena in language- and culture-specific ways, to appraise these events and phenomena as negative, positive, and personally relevant or irrelevant, and to respond to these phenomena in linguistically and culturally appropriate ways, comprehensible to other members of the speech community in question. (ibid.)

On the other hand, ‘cognitive’ and ‘cultural’ models are two sides of the same coin: The terms *cognitive* or *conceptual* stress the psychological nature of these representations and allow for consideration of interindividual differences, whereas the term *cultural* stresses their sociocultural and sociohistoric nature and allows for consideration of intergroup differences. (Pavlenko, 2005: 84).

As such, concepts include:

- a) experientially learned and thus culture- and language-appropriate event and emotion categories and the autobiographic memories linked to them, encoded in episodic memory;

- b) connections between these categories and somatic states associated with them, encoded in the limbic system, in particular the amygdala and the anterior cingulate gyrus (Damasio, 2003);
- c) action patterns and display rules encoded in procedural memory. (Pavlenko, 2005: 84).

The ‘concept’ view is compatible with a universalist approach, because it can accommodate concepts that derive from shared human experiences and does not preclude the ability to experience emotions not encoded in single lexical items. This view also recognizes the experiential and script-like nature of emotion concepts, emphasized in relativist approaches, which see emotions as cultural scripts (Wierzbicka, 1995) or as complex narrative structures or story-like interpretive schemes that impose meaning on somatic experiences (Schweder, 1994). Wierzbicka (1999), for instance, proposes the following classification of ‘cognitive scenarios’:

1. ”something good happened” and related concepts,
2. ”something bad happened” and related concepts,
3. ”bad things can happen” and related concepts,
4. “I don’t want things like this to happen” and related concepts,
5. thinking about other people,
6. thinking about ourselves.

Comparing emotional norms across languages and cultures, relativist scholars distinguish between different cultural scripts, e.g. the scripts of “sincerity”, the scripts of interpersonal “warmth”, the scripts of “spontaneity”, etc. (ibid.).

From a nativist viewpoint, however, the ‘concept’ approach is a cop-out: Pinker (1997) contends that it is much easier to learn, observe, and analyse causes or consequences of particular emotion states than to capture the feeling itself.

2.5. Other-directed emotions

Emotion categorization in terms of self-directed and other-directed emotions has been taken from discursive psychology and also corresponds to the social constructivist point of view.

In general, there is somewhat of a consensus among thinkers that the directionality of emotions is a necessary social dimension in elaborating emotion categories. For example, Stets & Turner (2007), looking at what are often termed 'moral emotions', i.e. which are always regulated by cultural codes specifying what is good and bad or appropriate and inappropriate, use this categorization. There are, in their view, four types of moral emotions: self-directed emotions of *shame* and *guilt*; other-directed emotions like *contempt*, *anger*, and *disgust* for violations of moral codes; sympathizing and empathizing responses to the distress of others; and emotions revolving around praise and elevation of others for their moral behaviours.

Attribution theory of motivation and emotion (Graham/Taylor, 2014) also divides causal attributions, i.e. the question "Why something happened?", into attributions about oneself and self-directed emotions (e.g. *pride* and *shame*) and attributions about other people and emotions directed toward others (e.g. *pity* and *anger*).

Another social dimension which is closely related to the directionality of emotions is the expectation dimension, i.e. to which extent actors meet or do not meet expectations in emotion situations. The essential idea in the expectation states theory is that interaction is organized around expectations that constrain how individuals respond to each other (Stets/Turner, 2007:23-24). The expected outcome of a social situation is described in the literature in terms of a 'potential', 'likely', or 'probable' outcome and is a function of the 'ability' of the actor to successfully meet expectations. According to the expectation states theory, emotions are commonly aroused when one's expectations are either fulfilled or violated. From an attributional perspective, though, causal thoughts determine feelings, and feelings, in turn, guide behaviour (Graham/Taylor, 2014:97-99). At this point, the notion of 'controllability' is important for both expectation states theory and attribution theory. From the latter point of view, positive or negative other-directed emotions are aroused by perceived responsibility, i.e. controllability of the

situation, in others. And consequently, once e.g. pity or anger are aroused, there is a vast set of interpersonal behaviours that follow, including reward vs. punishment, help vs. neglect, and prosocial vs. antisocial behaviour. In a simplistic scheme the idea of perceived responsibility looks as follows:

Figure 3: Arousal of other-directed emotions by perceived responsibility

uncontrollability → pity → helping

controllability → anger → aggression sequences

As a response, the impression management strategies can be used, i.e. accounts (explanations or reasons for social “transgressions“, and they include apology, justifications, and denials).

From a slightly different perspective, expectation states theory defines controllability in terms of which actor (Self or Other) is attributed with the responsibility (blame or praise) for controllable causal conditions. Moreover, the notion of responsibility helps define this emotion-relevant dimension of actors having met or not met expectations.

Also relevant to the proposed dimensions, Stets/Turner (2007) identify structural emotion hierarchies in terms of power and status positions and believe that different outcomes of power and status in interaction predict specific emotions. An actor (Self or Other) might have an excess of power or status, an adequate amount of power or status, or insufficient power or status, compared to the other actor. They define power as the ability and competence to control rewards and punishments, dominate resources, and influence others and define status as a social position accorded by others, dependent on perceptions of respect and prominence.

Jang (2007:523) explores emotions from juridical point of view and points out gender differences in conceiving self-directed negative emotions, i.e. *anxiety* and *depression* vs. other-directed negative emotions, i.e. *anger*. The latter are of more concern to the society as they require social negotiation and can lead to deviant other-directed behaviour and even crime, as the author puts it. Negative other-directed emotions, which have not been mentioned yet, are *envy* and *jealousy* (Graham/Taylor, 2014).

Lee (2009) states, on the other hand, that helping behaviour, e.g. charity support, is also mediated by other-directed but positive emotions. From the social psychology perspective, values-(re)affirmation and values-violation respectively trigger and enhance experiencing either positive other-directed emotions in the first case or negative ones in the latter case. Some of the positive other-directed emotions are *love*, *connectedness* and *gratitude*. Graham and Taylor also add *admiration* to this list.

2.5.1. Other-directed discontent

From the psychological point of view, the salient negative other-directed emotions would be *anger*, *contempt* and *disgust*. Especially, *anger* is seen as a prototypical negative other-directed emotion (see Graham/Taylor 2014, Stets 2007, Sung 2007). In the present dissertation, in order to avoid the linguistic fallacy and to be as objective as possible in comparative analysis, i.e. avoiding the linguistic bias, the presumably universal concept of *anger* will be referred to as *other-directed discontent*.

2.6. Summary

First, some perspectives on emotion were investigated. Then, the terminology related to verbal expression of emotions was studied.

In linguistics, the nativist, universalist and relativist perspectives on emotion and emotional meaning can be distinguished. In the nativist paradigm, both language (as Universal Grammar) and emotion concepts are seen as innate, while words are considered to be mere reflections of the mental concepts. Also the universalist paradigm posits that words function as representations of emotions, although it defines emotions as biologically determined processes and both concepts and language as secondary. Thus, these two paradigms defend the 'label' view of emotional meaning, i.e. that the meaning of emotion terms is simply an association between a label (a word) and some real emotional phenomena. The relativist paradigm, on the other hand, questions the

universality of 'emotion' and claims that language guides the acquisition of concepts, and concepts influence the interpretation of bodily states.

The approach, chosen for our research, is a cognitive linguistic one. Cognitive linguists position themselves between universalists and relativists. They refer to 'emotions' as universalists do, at the same time recognizing the linguistic and cultural specificity of this notion and making more explicit connections between emotions, language, memory, and cognition as relativists would. They typically view emotions as an assortment of socially and culturally shared scripts (concepts of emotions), which allow members of different cultures to differentially interpret similar physiological, subjective and behavioral processes. Both the 'relativist' and the Cognitive Linguistics' views of emotional meaning are based on the notion of prototype, i.e. emotions are described by means of the prototypical situations in which they occur. There are also attempts at finding prototypicality of emotion terms, which means that one term, e.g. 'fear' is a better example of emotion than another one, e.g. 'hope'. Cognitive linguists also criticize the very term 'emotion' and, instead, favor the concept of 'emotivity', a loan word from sociologists, who use the term in order to distinguish between a psychophysiological experience and a sociological phenomenon. Therefore, one could say that 'emotion' is a psychological category, 'emotivity' is a linguistic one. One should also mention that although emotivity is closely connected to expressiveness and evaluation, they are not identical terms. 'Expressiveness' is a general ability of lexical units to increase the impact of an utterance in a speech act, and evaluative elements are appraisers which fit the scheme 'positive-negative-neutral'.

In order to specify which words can be called 'emotive', a seme, which can be either denotative or connotative, related to the speaker's emotions, has been identified and the term of an emotive seme, the so-called 'emoseme', has been introduced. Therefore, on the lexical level different types of emotive vocabulary can be distinguished: descriptive (containing denotative emosemes) and expressive (containing either denotative or connotative emosemes) types. A special kind of emotion-related terms is the group of figurative terms and expressions, which is considered as a separate type or as a part of descriptive emotion terms. On the periphery are emotion-laden words (containing only connotative emosemes).

The 'prototype' view in the 'meaning-based' approach adopted by Iordanskaja (1974) and Wierzbicka (1992) was also contrasted with the 'metaphorical' view defended by Kövecses (1990) and Lakoff (1987).

Other-directed emotions are of special social interest, as they occur between people and in social contexts. Cultural background of a person and his or her social position in terms of power and status play a crucial role in the choice of a certain emotional response to a given situation, as other-directed emotions (as well as self-directed ones to some extent) depend on such notions as 'morality', 'values', 'causality', 'expectations', 'control' and 'power/status'.

The most controversial and culturally dependent concept though, and therefore of high importance to comparative linguistics, is the concept of *other-directed discontent*, traditionally referred to as *anger* in English language and international research.

3. DEPICTING EMOTIONS IN THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE

3.1. Introduction

Chapter 3 highlights the main tendencies in Russian semantic, morphosyntactic and conceptual representation of emotions. For instance, section 3.2 describes all possible emotive senses present in the Russian lexico-semantic field of emotions. Section 3.3 is dedicated to Russian parts of speech and their relation to emotivity. Moreover, the section investigates additional morphosyntactic strategies of conveying emotivity in a speech act. Finally, section 3.4 aims at defining the main features of Russian emotive discourse, listing different conceptual categories and identifying salient concepts inside the metaconcept EMOTION.

3.2. Russian emotive semantics

3.2.1. The structure of the lexico-semantic field of emotions in Russian

Using the prototypicality principle, one can say that the nucleus of the lexico-semantic field of emotions (LSFE) in Russian consists of categorial or descriptive emotive lexis (lexis with a dominant denotative emoseme), which designates emotions in a direct way and which constitutes, according to Babenko (1989:86), 81% of emotive lexis. The nearest periphery is constituted by differential emotive lexis (lexis with an additional denotative emoseme), which amounts to 13% of all emotive lexis. Further periphery is represented by connotative emotive lexis (mostly emotion-laden and evaluative lexis). It forms in the dictionary (otherwise in speech) only 6% of emotive lexis (ibid.). Schematically, the structure of the lexical field of emotions can be presented as follows:

Figure 4: Structure of the lexical field of emotions in Russian

Denotative emotive lexis (94%):

Categorial emotive lexis (81%),

Differential emotive lexis (13%)

Connotative emotive lexis (6%)

3.2.1.1. Categorial emotive senses

The categorial-lexical emoseme is represented by the model “a concept of a feeling + a specific name of some feeling” e.g.: *boyazn'* “fear”: *chuvstvo straha* “the feeling of dread”; *lyubit'* “to love”: *chuvstvovat' glubokuyu privyazannost'* “to feel profound affection for smb, smth” // *ispytyvat' chuvstvo raspolozheniya, simpatii* “to feel sympathetic of smb”. (Babenko, 1989: 24). The first component of the model is the main identifier of emotiveness (IE 1). Usually it is expressed with the words of generalised semantics, such as *chuvstvovat'* “to feel”, *ispytyvat'* “to experience” and can vary in its form, e.g. *chuvstvovat'* “to feel”, *chuvstvo* “feeling”, *chuvstvuyushchij* “the one who feels”. The second component, an additional identifier of emotiveness (IE 2), is most often replaced by specific names of emotions such as *lyubov'* “love”, *strah* “fear”, *nenavist'* “hatred” etc. Thus, the categorial-lexical emoseme (further on CLE) is commonly displayed through the combination of the generalised and specific predicates of emotiveness (the formula of CLE is: IE 1 + IE 2).

The specific identifying seme of emotiveness (IE 2) can be reiterated in dictionary definitions, e.g. the IE 2 *bespokoistvo* “worry” is reiterated in a number of words: *azhitatsiya* agitation “an agitated state, excitement, worry”, *volnenie* excitement “fever, agitation, worry”, *bespokoistvo* anxiety “worry, anguish, concern”. This peculiarity (reiteration of IE 2) allows to pick a set of the so-called original emotive senses which, given their high representation, can be referred to as basic ones. Babenko (1989) identifies 37 basic original emotive senses which most often (24 times as often and

more) are reiterated in dictionary definitions (in brackets the number of sememes is indicated): *gore* “grief” (481), *lyubov'* “love” (481), *radost'* “joy” (427), *nepriyazn'* “dislike” (417), *bespokoistvo* “worry” (338), *grust'* “sorrow” (318), *dobrota* “kindness” (307), *zlost'* “anger” (258), *strakh* “fear” (190), *smirenje* “meekness” (184), *nedovol'stvo* “discontent” (180), *styd* “shame” (176), *spokoistvie* “tranquility” (175), *odinochestvo* “loneliness” (164), *udovol'stvie* “pleasure” (151), *druzhelyubie* “friendliness” (145), *obida* “offence” (137), *vlechenie* “attraction” (130), *ravnodushie* “indifference” (106), *zhelanie* “desire” (95), *odobrenie* “approval” (91), *zhestokost'* “cruelty” (89), *udivlenie* “surprise” (86), *zhalost'* “pity” (74), *vdohnovenie* “inspiration” (72), *vera* “faith” (70), *uvazhenie* “respect” (69), *vysokomerie* “arrogance” (68), *naglost'* “impudence” (67), *smelost'* “audacity” (66), *litsemerie* “hypocrisy” (66), *somnenie* “doubt” (54), *iskrennost'* “sincerity” (54), *neverie* “disbelief” (54), *interes* “interest” (48), *protest* “protest” (48), *nadezhda* “hope” (24).

In fact, original emotive senses denote extreme poles of a single feeling. As a result, the scholar (ibid.) groups the senses into shorter lists: *bespokoistvo-spokoistvie* “worry-tranquility”; *neverie-vera* “disbelief-faith”; *vysokomerie-dobrota, sniskhoditel'nost'* “arrogance-kindness, indulgence”; *gore-radost'* “grief-joy”; *grust'-veselye* “sorrow-merriment”; *zlost'-dobrota* “fury-kindness”; *odinochestvo-druzhelyubie* “loneliness-friendliness”; *zhestokost'-zhalost'* “cruelty-pity”; *litsemerie-iskrennost'* “hypocrisy-sincerity”; *nepriyazn'-lyubov'* “dislike-love”; *ravnodushie-udivlenie, interes* “indifference-surprise, interest”; *naglost'-styd* “impudence-shame”; *nedovol'stvo-udovol'stvie* “discontent-pleasure”; *neodobrenie-odobrenie* “disapproval-approval”, *protest-smirenje* “protest-meekness”, *strakh-smelost'* “fear-bravery”. Two semantic pairs *lyubov'*(481)-*nepriyazn'*(417) “love-dislike” and *radost'*(427)-*gore*(481) “joy-grief” are on the top of the hierarchy, and can be further grouped into the opposition *schast'ye-neschast'ye* “happiness-unhappiness”.

The original emotive senses make up the semantic core of emotive lexis and are the source of generating the basic emotional vocabulary in Russian.

3.2.1.2. Differential emotive senses

Emotive senses can also be represented in the lexical semantics as additional ones. These additional or differential emosemes (further on DE) specify the nuclear categorial-lexical semes (further on CLS) and can manifest themselves in dictionary definitions through various grammatical forms (sometimes in brackets), e.g.: *uvivat'sya* “to court” “trying to please by flattering and get smb's affection”; *balagurit'* “to jest” “to speak merrily, amusingly, to crack jokes, to intersperse one's speech with witticisms”; *popirat'* “to tread” “to trample smth under feet (usually with contempt)”; *torchat'* “to hang about, to stick around” “to be present (about an inappropriate, irrelevant stay)”; etc.

So, there is a superposition, overlapping of the denotative and functional senses, e.g.: *balagurit'* “to jest” “to speak merrily, to utter funny jokes” (CLS “speaking” + DE “merriment, fun”, where DE expresses a complex sense: first, it denotes a certain emotional state (merriment, fun) – a denotative sense; second, taking the position dependent on the CLS, it expresses a certain syntactical meaning – a functional sense. Thus, a DE is a special seme, syncretic by nature, taking a transitional status between the identifying predicate (CLS) and the differential semes proper. The differential emotive lexis contains attributive (e.g. *zloslovie* “an evil, malignant gossip”, *branit'* “to scold, reprimand using offensive, sharp words”), object (e.g. *probudit'/probuzhdat'* “to excite, arouse (a feeling, a desire)”, *poborot'* “to overcome, cope with (a certain feeling, a state)”), causative (e.g. *umaslit'sya – zablestet' ot udovol'stviya* “to become bright with pleasure (Gen.) (about eyes)”) and subject e.g. *perehlestnut'/perehlyostyvat* “to manifest with enormous strength, to find a way out” (about feelings), *obuyat'* “to seize, overwhelm with an irresistible force” (about feelings, states), *peregoret'* “lit. to burn out, to stop being felt, to become dull with time”) senses.

DEs are characteristic to a larger extent of verbs (77%) and to a lesser degree of nouns (19%) and adjectives (4%). This is probably caused by the fact that the verbal lexis allows specification in the most diverse aspects: subject, object, modifying. Thus, most varied feelings are conveyed with a DE, though a set of emotions on the whole is limited by original emotive senses. The most frequent among them are: *zloba* “malice”,

vrazhdebnost' “hostility”, *azart* “passion”, *zabota* “care”.

3.2.1.3. Connotative emotive senses

Connotative emotive senses are, in essence, superstructural. These senses ‘veil’ denotative semantics of the word and charge it with a certain emotional tonality. They are marked in dictionary definitions with a special sign placed after the main dictionary definition. The set of feelings which are expressed is extremely limited by the original basic emotions varying within the poles of approval-disapproval (see Babenko, 1989).

There are several models of the emotionality scale, which differ in the degree of specifying emotional evaluations. The most recognised one is the bipolar scale (Shakhovskiy, 1987), where the connotative emotive semantics is described with the use of 8 principal emosemes: one emoseme of a meliorative evaluation (fondling) and 7 emosemes of pejorative evaluation (mocking, ironical, disapproving, derogatory, contemptuous, rude, invective). The majority of emotive connotations is drawn to the pole of the negative senses (56%), a smaller part - to the positive pole (13%). About 31% are jocose-ironical connotations (ibid.).

There are certain objective laws of connotative emotive replenishment in lexis (see Shakhovskiy, 2009). First of all, the words denoting the human being in different situations and, to a lesser degree, the words denoting the surrounding world (animal, plant and material world) contain connotative emosemes. There is variability of connotative emosemes from the positive pole to the negative one in the lexis denoting material world: fondling – *vintso* “sweetie wine”, *kashka* “nice little porridge”, *pal'tishko* “nice little coat”; disrespectful – *deshovka* “cheapster”, *tryapyo* “rags”; jocose – *knizhitsa* “booklet”, *prichindaly* “belongings”; ironical – *kovcheg* “arc”, *pisanie* “scriptures”.

Nevertheless, the lexical fields “human being”, “human appearance”, “human speech activity”, “human feeling” are the richest in registers of possible emotive tones. Most collocations are observed with the emosemes “fondling”, “disrespectful”, “jocose”. The emosemes of explicit negative evaluation (“rude”, “disapproving”, “contemptuous”)

manifest a limited number of combinations. So, the emoseme “contemptuous” mostly refers to the lexical semantics of occupational terms (*voryuga* “thief”, *ishcheika* “sniffer”), appearance (*plyugavyi* “miserable-looking”, *balbes* “stupid”), moral qualities (*bezmozglyi* “brainless”, *svinskii* “swinish”, *plebeiskii* “plebean”), behaviour (*lizoblyudstvo* “lickspittle”, *kryuchkotvorstvo* “red tape”, *holopstvo* “servility”). The lexis of moral human qualities and behaviour is the largest group of expressive emotional vocabulary in Russian, which is apparently motivated by its social importance. According to Lukyanova (1986:22), only the negative deviations (in qualities, properties and behaviour) from some accepted social norm are emotionally evaluated and lexically marked in a speech community. The most typically reiterated of those are: stupidity (*duryoha* “foolish girl”, *soldafon* “dunce”, *tupolobyi* “log-head”, *bezmozglost'* “brainlessness”), servility (*holui* “servant”, *holop* “lackey”, *lizoblyud* “lickspittle”); lightmindedness (*pustel'ga*, *fifa*, *tsatsa* “frivolous, irresponsible silly woman”, *tryapichnitsa* “rag-woman”); indecisiveness, sluggishness (*tryapka* “flabby person”, *kisel'* “jelly”, *baba* “womanish man”, *sliznyak* “slug”, *slyuntyai* “slobery man”); nonentity (*krysa* “rat”, *shut* “jester”); meanness, rudeness (*ublyudok* “bastard”, *svinskii* “swinish”, *paskuda* “rotten man”), etc. (See Babenko, 1989:54-60).

According to Babenko (*ibid.*), connotative emotive senses fixed as usual are most characteristic of nouns (77%), to a lesser degree of other parts of speech (verb – 16%, adjective – 7%).

3.2.2. Figurative emotion-related expression in Russian

3.2.2.1. Metaphor-based approach to Russian emotion words

Emotive lexis representing the nucleus of LSFE is also structured in a certain way (Babenko, 1989). The centre of the nucleus is composed by primary predicates of emotions, i.e. the meaning of these words corresponds to their semantic and syntactic function in speech. The closest circle round the centre is represented by secondary metaphorical predicates of emotions, which are functionally identical with primary

predicates, but differ from them in the nature of the meaning (the metaphorically-derived one). Uspensky (1979) examines the behavior of the nouns *strakh* “fear”, *gore* “grief” and *radost’* “joy” in metaphorical expressions such as *strakh napadaet na cheloveka, okhvatyvaet ego, dushit, paralizuet; borot’sia so strakhom; pobedit’ v sebe strakh* “fear assails a person, grips him, stifles, paralyzes him; to wrestle with fear; to conquer one’s fear” and the like; *glubokoe gore* “deep grief”, *tiazheloe gore* “heavy grief”, *ispit’ goria, khlebnut’ goria* “to taste grief”, *chelovek pridavlen gorem* “a person is oppressed by grief”, etc.; *radost’ razlivaetsia v cheloveke, burlit, igraet, iskritisia, perepleskivaetsia cherez krai* “one’s joy overflows, surges, plays, sparkles, runs over”, etc. The scholar claims that beneath these set expressions there are underlying motivating images which might serve as a basis for the coining of new metaphorical expressions with a given key word. In his view, ‘fear may be perceived in the form of a hostile organism resembling a giant octopus with a sting injecting a paralyzing substance’ (Uspensky 1979: 146). ‘Grief is a viscous liquid’ filling ‘a vessel with a man on the bottom’ (ibid.: 147). Lastly, joy is ‘a light, bright liquid’, ‘apparently lighter than air’ (ibid.).

On the other hand, Uryson has set forth the idea of the relation between *strakh* “fear” and *holod* “cold”, and Levontina – the idea of the relation between *zhalost’* “pity” and *bol’* “pain” (see their entries for the respective emotions in Apresjan et al., 1997).

The physical analogues proposed for the emotions (fear-cold; revulsion-foul taste; pity-physical pain; passion-fever, etc.) seem more clearly motivated and less arbitrary than those previously proposed (love - a journey; joy - a light liquid; fear - an octopus, etc.). They allow us to explicate a substantially broader range of symptomatic and other collocations, including metaphorical collocations. For example, according to Apresjan (2000:214), *zhalost’ X-a k Y-u* [X’s pity for Y] (*ego zhalost’ k bol’nym byla poistine bespredel’noi* “his pity for the patients was truly limitless”) is ‘a feeling upsetting X’s spiritual equilibrium and caused in X by Y; this feeling usually occurs when a person thinks that somebody is in a bad situation and that this situation is worse than that person deserves; his soul feels something akin to what his body experiences when he is in pain; his body reacts to this as it reacts to pain; the person experiencing this feeling wishes to alleviate the situation of the other person.’

Furthermore, like any other productive model, such as word-formation models, they have predictive force. New expressions usually exploit regular images based on general linguistic awareness, so that they can be readily accepted and easily understood. Motivating images form such a substantial part of the linguistic consciousness of speakers that in some form or the other they must be included in explications of the corresponding emotions.

According to Babenko (1989:82), the lexis that most often intersects with emotive lexis is the lexis with the semantics of destruction/ruin (15,6% of transferred meanings), movement (15%), quality (15%), physiological state and disease (12,4%), temperature characteristics (11,6%), separation/division (8,7%). Less regular links are observed between emotive lexis and the lexis of a specific physical action (touch, pressure, contact with a processed object), with the lexis orientated towards the animal or plant world, or denoting various specific substances and their features (stickiness, colour, form etc.). Secondary nominations are most wide-spread in the FSC of words depicting an emotional impact and formation of an emotional state. Babenko detects certain rules in the intersection of nine denotative classes of emotions with various lexical groups (ibid:83-88). Thus, the image of *lyubov'* "love" is created by the lexis of burning and fire (*ogon'* "fire", *plamen'* "flame", *plamennyi* "ardent", *pylat'* "to blaze", *zhar* "heat", *pyl* "fervor, ardour"), of boiling liquid (*kipet'* "to boil", *prikipet'* / *prikipat'* "to seethe with"), of joining (*prilepit'sya* / *prileplivat'sya* "to glue to", *lipnut'* "to stick to", *srastis'* "to adhere to, to fuse"), of causative movement (*prityanut'* / *prityagivat'sya* "to attract, to draw", *zakrutit'* / *zakruchivat'* "to screw up").

According to Apresjan (2000:214), *strast' X-a k Y-u* [X's passion for Y] (*ego strast' k etoi zhenshchine tolkala ego na bezumnye postupki* "his passion for that woman drove him to acts of insanity") is 'a very strong feeling upsetting X's spiritual equilibrium and caused in X by Y; this feeling usually occurs when a person experiences an insurmountable carnal longing for another person; he feels something akin to what his body experiences when he is feverish; the feeling has the same effect as an illness has on his body; his body reacts to this as it reacts to fever; if the feeling remains unsatisfied the person suffers deeply; this feeling may deprive the person of the ability to think rationally and impel him to act recklessly.'

The depiction of the feeling of *radost'* “joy” most often is carried out through the lexis of space (*zvezda* “star”, *solnechnyi* “solar”), of light emitting (*prosvetlet'* / *svetlet'* “to clear up, to become brighter”, *osvetit'* / *osveshchat'* “to gleam”, *svet* “light”, *svetozarnyi* “radiant”), the physiological lexis (*pianit'* / *opianit'* “to get drunk”, *pianyi* “drunken”, the lexis of life (*voskresnut'* / *voskreshat'* “to resurrect”, *ozhit'* / *ozhivat'* “to revive”), movement of air masses (*provetrit'sya* / *provetrivat'sya* “to air”, *osvezhit'sya* / *osvezhat'sya* “to refresh”).

The denotative class *gore* “grief” extremely actively intersects with disease lexis (*bolet'* “to be sick”, *perebolet'* “to get over illness”, lexis of boiling (*nakip'* “scum, fur, scale”), physiological gesture lexis (*ponyuhat'* “to sniff”, *hlebnut'* “to swallow, to have a drop of sorrow”), of sounding (*stonat'* “to moan”), of burning (*palit'* “to burn”, *propech'* / *propekat'* “to bake”), disappearance lexis (*sohnut'* / *vysohnut'* “to dry, to wither”, *tayat'* “to waste away”). But most often this class intersects with destruction lexis (*kazn'* “execution”, *dushit'* “to stifle”, *zagryzt'* “to gnaw”, *zaest'* / *zaedat'* “to eat up”, *zaklevat'* “to peck to death”, *travit'* “to hunt, to hound”) and damage lexis (*nadryv* “break-down”, *nadlom* “collapse”, *razdirat'* “to tear apart”, *istrepat'* “to tatter, to fray”). Thus, *gore* “grief” as the most tragic and hard feeling is associated in the human conscience with pain, destruction, ruin.

The feeling of *bespokoistvo* “worry” is correlated first of all with the idea of burning (*sgoret'* “to burn, to set on fire”, *zazhigatel'nyi* “igniting”, *nakalivat'sya* / *nakalit'sya* “to make smth red-hot”), with movement (*tryastis'* “to shake”, *shatanie* “swaying”, *vscolyhnut'* “to stir”), with a physiological state and gesture (*goryachka* “fever”, *zud* “itch”, *lihoradka* “hustle”, *ohmelet'* “to get drunk”, *probuzhdenie* “awakening” etc.).

The lexis of *pechal'* “sorrow” has many associative links, it intersects with the lexis of pressure lexis (*gnesti* “to oppress”, *davit'* “to press”, *tesnit'* “to restrict”), of falling (*poniknut'* / *ponikat'* “to droop, to wilt”), of the environment state (*pasmurno* “foggy”, *zatumanit'sya* “to veil in mist, to dim”, *sumerechnyi* “dusky”) , of colour (*chornyi* “black”, *tyomnyi* “dark”, *svintsovyi* “leaden”), of a certain quality in the process of forming (*kisnut'* “to get sour”, *raskisnut'* / *raskisat'* “to mope”).

The feeling of *zlost'* “anger” is associated with actions and features of some animals (*okrysit'sya* “to act like a rat”, *yadovityi* “poisonous”, *shchetinit'sya* / *oshchetinit'sya* “to

bristle”, *zmeinyi* “snaky”), with pain and illness (*yazva* “ulcer”, *zhalit'* “to sting”, *yazvit'* “to sneer”), with boiling liquid (*kipyatit'sya* “to boil”, *puzyrit'sya* “to bubble”).

The lexis of *nepriyazn'* “dislike” intersects with the lexis of disease (*toshnota* “sickness”, *toshnotnyi* “nauseating”), of a physiological gesture (*plevat'* “to spit”, *nachihat'* “to sneeze”, *izrygat' / izrygnut'* “to belch out, to spout”), of destruction (*rvat' / razorvat'* “to tear”, *porvat'* “to break, to snap”), of animal activity (*tsarapat'sya* “to scratch”, *peregryzt'sya* “to bite, to gnaw”).

Otvrashchenie X-a k Y-u [X’s disgust with Y] (*on ispytyval otvrashchenie k takim zabavam* “he experienced disgust with these games”) is ‘a very unpleasant feeling caused in X by Y; this feeling usually occurs when a person perceives or imagines something very unpleasant; his soul feels something akin to what his bodily organs experience from a sour or bitter taste, a very pungent odour or the touch of something dirty which can stain; his bodily reaction is the same as his reaction to a sour or bitter taste, a very pungent odour or the touch of something dirty; the person experiencing this feeling wishes to get away or in some other way remove himself from contact with the unpleasant object; it is difficult for him to conceal his feelings if he remains in contact with it or continues to think of it.’ (Apresjan, 2000:213).

The feeling of *odinochestvo* “loneliness” is mostly depicted with the use of the three thematic groups of lexis: the lexis of separation (*otgorodit'sya / otgorazhivat'sya* “to fence off”, *otkachnut'sya* “to push away”, *razmezhevat'sya* “to bound”, *otodvinut'sya / otodvigat'sya* “to separate”), of destruction (*porvat'sya / poryvat'sya* “to tear”, *raskolot'sya / raskalyvat'sya* “to split”, *razdrobit' / razdroblyat'* “to break, to crush”) and of low temperature (*holod* “cold”, *holodnyi* “icy”).

The lexis which intersects with the lexis of *ravnodushie* “indifference” contains the following features in its semic structure: callousness (*cherstvyi* “stale”, *zacherstvet'* “to become stale, callous”, *cherstvist'* “hard-heartedness”), hardness and immobility (*zaderevenet'* “to become numb, to become stiff”, *zakamenet'* “to turn into stone”, *kamenet'* “to become as hard as a rock”), coldness (*ohlazhdenie* “coldness”, *ostyt' / ostynut'* “to cool off”, *ostyvat'* “to cool down, to get cold”, *ostylyi* “chilly”), dryness (*sushit' / vysushit'* “to dry up, to drain, to exciccate”, *suhoi* “dry”).

Moreover, a special grammatical construction allows speakers of Russian to talk of some feelings as overwhelming. This is done by means of a noun with the preposition *v* “in/into”, which suggests a container image. Further related distinctions are drawn by means of accompanying verbs. Thus, in her study of several Russian prepositional constructions used for talking about feelings, Mostovaja (1998) shows that one construction (*on pogruzilsja v X*, lit. “he sank into X”) implies that the experience lasted for a long time, another (*on prisel v X*, lit. “he came into X”) implies a short-term feeling which is both intense and externally manifested, and yet another (*on vpal v X*, lit. “he fell into X”), implies that the emotion in question is perceived as “bad”.

3.2.2.2. Body idioms

In the Russian language a part of a person’s body is seen as an aspect of that person (rather than as an independent ‘object’). Therefore, bodily processes are typically presented as involving the whole person, by means of a locative phrase: *U neyo svetilos’ litso*. (lit. “At her the face was shining.”, i.e. “Her face was shining.”).

The ‘normal’ face in Russian is expected to be “expressive” (*vyrazitel’noe*), mobile (*podvizhnoe*), lively (*zhivoje*), as opposed to the long list of negative expressions, such as: *derevyannoje lico* “wooden face”, *kamennoe lico* “stone face”, *zastyvshee lico* “frozen (lit. hardened) face”, *nepodvizhnoje lico* “immobile face”, etc.

Movements of the head which are seen as expressive of emotional states include the following:

opuskat’/opustit’ golovu “to hang (lit. lower) one’s head”, when the person is sad;
vbirat’/vobrat’ golovu v plechi “to take in one’s head into one’s shoulders”, when embarrassed, ashamed or scared;
hvatat’sja za golovu “to clutch at one’s head”, when the person is in horror or suddenly sees one’s error, etc.

The word *glaza* “eyes” enters into a wide network of collocations describing the expression of emotions:

glaza sijajut (ot radosti) “someone’s eyes are shining (with joy)”,

glaza sverkajut (ot gneva) “someone’s eyes flash (with anger)”,
glaza na lob lezut “someone’s eyes crawl onto their forehead” (when surprised), etc.

There are also numerous expressions involving eyebrows:

nahmurivat’/nahmurit’ brovi “to knit one’s eyebrows, to frown” or *sdvigat’/sdvinut’ brovi* lit. “to draw together one’s eyebrows”, when angry;
povodit’/povesti brovju “to move one’s eyebrows (in disbelief)”, etc.

In Russian, not only the face is expected to be emotionally expressive but also hands/arms and legs/feet (Wierzbicka, 1999:230). There is a remarkably wide range of Russian collocations describing ‘manual expression of emotions’ (ibid.). Kreidlin (1999:4), who has collected approximately 70 Russian gestural phrasemes and idioms, denotes several classes of such collocations, the most important ones of them being:

- (1) phrasemes and idioms with semantic definitions close to those of the corresponding gestures, e.g. *mahnut’ rukoju na* “to give up as lost”, lit. ‘to wave one’s hand to/at smb.’), *bit’ sebja v grud’* “to thump one’s chest”;
- (2) phraseological units that have lost touch with the related gestures and broken away from them (though etymologically they are derived from the gestures that went out of use today, e. g. *polozhiv ruku na serdce* (lit. ‘having placed one’s hand on one’s heart’.) When a Russian speaking person asks another: *otvet’, polozha ruku na serdce* (lit. ‘answer, placing your hand on your heart’) she or he wants to hear an absolute sincere answer. However, in answering the addressee does not need to place his hand on his heart because the gesture is only optional here;
- (3) phrasemes and idioms which have semantic traces or reflexes inherited from the meaning of the related gestures, e. g. *snimat’ shlyapu* (‘to take off one’s hat <to smb.>), *postavit’ na koleni* (‘to force someone to her/his knees’.)

These phraseological expressions reflect the transformation of a human body as a purely physical substance into a body as carrier of the essential attributes of the Russian culture - the cognitive process called culturalization of human body (ibid.).

3.3. Affect on the level of morphosyntax and on the speech act level

The devices expressing emotions can be found on all linguistic levels. Therefore, not only semantic, but also morphological and functional-textual approaches can be used in studying emotive lexis (Babenko, 1989:14).

3.3.1. Parts of speech and emotiveness in Russian

According to Babenko (ibid.), the priority in depicting emotions in the Russian language belongs to the verb (35,2%), then in their lexical representation are nouns (30,4%) and adjectives (24,1%).

3.3.1.1. Emotive verbs

Verb, as a stylistically and semantically rich category, can depict feelings in various aspects and shades. In fact, experiences comparable to “joy”, “sadness”, or “anger” are often conceptualised in Russian as inner states in which one engages rather than as states which one passively undergoes, and so they are often designated by verbs rather than adjectives (Wierzbicka, 1999:18). Some examples: *radovat'sya* “to rejoice” (in English archaic), *grustit'* (from *grust'*, roughly “sadness”), *toskovat'* (from *toska*, roughly “melancholy-cum-longing”), *serdit'sya* (roughly, “to be angry”, but a verb, like “to rage” in English), *stydit'sya* (roughly “to be ashamed”), and so on (for detailed discussion see Wierzbicka, 1992 and 1995). Apart from conveying emotions as a state, verbs can also convey emotions as a state in formation (*vlyubit'sya* “to fall in love”), as an attitude (*lyubit'* “to love”), as an influence (*vlyubit'* “to make smb love oneself”), as well as an outward manifestation of emotions (*tselovat'* “to kiss”, *obnimat'* “to embrace”).

Thus, Russian is extremely rich in “active” emotion verbs (Wierzbicka, 1992:401). For

this reason, many scholars describe the tendency to ‘active emotions’ in Russian (ibid.) and list the following common traits of Russian emotion verbs.

First, most (though not all) Russian emotion verbs are reflexive verbs, formed with the suffix *-sya* ‘self’, e.g. *radovat’sja* (roughly “to be glad”), *obizhat’sja* (roughly “to get offended”). This fact strengthens the impression that these verbs present the emotions in question as somehow self-induced, rather than due to external causes.

Second, many emotion verbs are able to govern the preposition *o* (*ob*, *obo*) ‘of/about’, just as verbs of active thinking do. This fact supports the idea that emotion verbs link the feeling with prolonged concurrent thinking. Cf.: *On dumal o nej*. “He was thinking about her.” and *On grustil o nej*. (lit. “He was ‘saddening-himself’ about her.”, i.e. “He was making himself sad by thinking about her.”) (ibid.).

Third, the active implications of Russian emotion verbs manifest themselves in the way these are used – often on a par with action verbs.

Fourth, the active character of Russian verbs of emotion manifests itself, among other ways, in the fact that many of them (in the perfective form) can be used to report speech. (Cf. Iordanskaya & Mel’chuk, 1990).

3.3.1.2. Emotive nouns

First, emotive nouns can designate emotions abstractly: de-verbal emotive nouns mostly denote emotive states, attitudes and actions: *vdohnovenie* “inspiration”, *blagovolenie* “kindly disposition”, *obyatiya* “embraces”. De-adjective emotive nouns are mainly abstract nominations of emotional qualities: *strastnost’* “passion”, *vspyl’chivost’* “irascibility”, *azartnost’* “recklessness” et al. . Second, they can name the person experiencing emotions, e.g. *gordets* “man full of false pride”, *al’truist* “altruist”, *pessimist* “pessimist”, *zlyuka* “spitfire” et al., or being an object and source of emotions of another person, e.g. *lyubimets* “a fondling”.

3.3.1.3. Emotive adjectives

The content of an adjectival emotive word is recorded in the dictionary in such a way that one and the same emotive adjective possesses a variety of meanings conveying an emotion as an existential state (with the identifier “full of some feeling”), causation of state (with the identifier “causing some feeling”), an expression of an emotional state (with the identifier “expressing some feeling”), an emotional attitude (with the identifier “treating smb with some feeling”). E.g.: *zloi* “angry” – 1. Full of hostile feelings, anger, malice; // Expressing anger, malice; //Being angry with smb, smth, feeling malicious. 2. Caused, penetrated with anger, malice, ill-will. 6. Figurative: Stinging sharply, biting. Thus, the word *zloi* “angry” is able to convey an emotion as a state observed in appearance, as an attitude and as causation.

Emotive adjectives of the type *grustnyi* “sad”, *vlyublyonnyi* “enamoured”, *robkii* “timid”, which are oriented first of all at reflecting human psychic qualities and states, may be direct, immediate and indirect, mediate (cf.: *radostnyi* or *grustnyi chelovek* “joyful or sad person” and *radostnyi* or *grustnyi peizazh* “joyful or sad landscape”). Taking this peculiarity of emotive adjectives into account, Volf classifies them as “adjectives [...] which can both designate features of a subject and of an object” (1985:88).

As is shown, the emotive senses of an emotive adjective found in the dictionary are ‘embryonic’. Only the context can remove the semantic vagueness of these adjectives (cf., e.g.: *radostnyi chelovek* “a joyful person” (state) – *radostnyi vzglyad* “a joyful look” (manifestation) – *radostnyi den'* “a joyful day” (impact).

3.3.1.4. Emotive adverbs

The main peculiarity of emotive adverbs is their stability, they are predominantly primary nominations of the type *lyubezno* “kindly”, *zlo* “angrily”, *l'stivo* “flatteringly” (96,4%). Lexically, they are limited in quantity (in comparison with other grammatical emotive classes), but this is compensated by a higher frequency in speech, reiterated

usage.

Emotive adverbs are mainly orientated at designating a state, especially a concomitant state which characterises emotionally various actions (*grustno smotret'* “to look sadly”, *grustno skazat'* “to speak sadly”) and features (*grustno-tomnye glaza* “sadly-languid eyes”).

Adverbs, like adjectives, perform the function of emotional background.

3.3.1.5. Emotive words of the category of state

Words of the category of state (WCS), also called predicatives, impersonal predicative words or “adverbials of a special kind” (see Wierzbicka, 1992/1999), are a special, first of all functional class of words. Emotive predicatives designate the state of living creatures, nature, surrounding milieu, passive involuntary emotions, sometimes with a modal colouring and evaluation: *Mne grustno potomu, chto veselo tebe*. “I am sad because you are joyful”. *Zdes' tiho i spokojno*. “It is quiet and calm in here.” *A slyozy lyutsya, lyutsya po litsu molodogo Kartashova: zhal' otsa, zhal' zhivuchshikh, zhal' zhizni*. “Tears are streaming, streaming along the young Kartashov's face: pity for Father, pity for the living, pity for life”.

Up to the present time the grammatical nature of this class has not been sufficiently studied, its status in the system of other parts of speech has not been determined (see, e.g. Rozental et al., 2010). It can be explained first of all by the fact that the category of state has evolved, according to Vinogradov, “on the basis of a complex grammatical tangle of properties and functions of the noun, verb and adverb” (1947:420). WCS are drawn to the adverb because of their form, because of their content, to the noun, and functionally to the verb. This secondary, derived character of WCS causes their regular replenishment in speech. It also explains the fact that in the dictionary only a small part of the words of the category of state is recorded.

Most scholars agree that emotive words of the category of state include:

- 1) words ending in -o correlated with the short form of the adjective in the Neutral gender Singular, and adverbs (*teplo* “warm”, *tikho* “quiet”, *veselo* “joyfully”, *smeshno* “ridiculously, funny”; *udobno* “conveniently”) or not correlated with

those (*boyazno* “I am scary”, *sovestno* “I am ashamed to say”, *stydno* “I am ashamed of myself”). The words of this group designate: a) the state of nature, milieu, setting (*na ulitse tikho* “it is quiet outside”); b) the physical state of living creatures (*emu bol’no* “he feels pain”); c) the psychological state of the human being (*mne grustno* “I am sad”);

- 2) words etymologically related with nouns: *okhota* “I feel like”, *neokhota* “I don't feel like”, *len'* “I feel lazy”, *grekh* “sin”, *zhal'* “pity”, *styd* “shame”, *nevnoch* “I can't do it”. They express: a) an evaluation of the state from the moral ethical side (*grekh zhalovat'sya* “it is sinful to complain”); b) moral volitional impulses (*len' vstavat'* “I feel too lazy to get up”); c) an emotional evaluation (*zhal' brata* “I feel pity for my brother”).

WCS have some specific characteristics. First of all, they are immutable, only forms ending in *-o* form the comparative degree: *Stalo prokhladnee*. It became cooler; *Skoro budet teplee*. Soon it will get warmer.

Another distinctive peculiarity is WCS's monofunctionality: they are only adjusted to be principal members of impersonal sentences with the semantics of state and to have a Predicate function. For this reason, WCS do not enter into subordinate relations with other words though they may have a dependent infinitive with them, e.g.: *Smeshno slushat' vashi rassuzhdeniya*. “It is ridiculous to listen to your reasoning”.

WCS do not allow the Subject in the Nominative case, they combine only with the subject in the Dative case (*Mne veselo*. lit. “To me [Dat.] it is joyful”, i.e. “I am having fun”.) or with a noun in the Locative case (*V lesu tikho*. It is quiet in the wood.). Therefore, it is controversial whether to include short form adjectives (*grusten* “sad”, *vesel* “joyful”) when used in the Predicate function in personal two-member sentences as it violates the integrity of the syntactic principle of this given part of speech (see Galkina-Fedoruk 1958, Rozental et al. 2010).

Moreover, as WCS have the Predicate function, they combine with the copula and due to this may be in various tenses and moods (Indicative and Subjunctive): *Emu horosho s nami*. “He feels good with us”. *Emu bylo (budet) horosho s nami*. “He felt (will feel) good with us”. *Emu bylo by horosho s nami*. “He would feel/have felt good with us”.

Finally, in this grammatical class, a tendency to depict negative emotions is that of

priority (80% of emotive WCS): worry, fear, loneliness, the lexis of anguish and distress (*gadko* “repulsive”, *gnusno* “vile”, *mutno* “turbid”, *otvratno* “loathsome”, *sumrachno* “dark”, *tosklivo* “despondent”, *unylo* “gloomy” etc.) and grief (*gorestno* “sorrowfully”, *gor'ko* “bitterly”, *ploho* “badly”, *pogano* “foul”, *priskorbno* “melancholy”, *tyazhelo* “hard”, *uzhasno* “awfully” etc.) representing the richest variety. For example: *Zhal', chto ne udalos' vstretit'sja* “It’s a pity, we couldn’t meet.” Only 20% of emotive WCS describe positive feelings, first of all the feeling of joy (*veselo* “joyfully”, *ozhivlyonno* “lively”, *otlichno* “excellent”, *prazdnichno* “festively”, *radostno* “merrily”, *torzhestvenno* “solemnly” etc.) and tranquillity (*spokoino* “calmly”, *tiho* “quietly”, *horosho* “nicely” etc.). For example: *Vsem bylo veselo*. “Everybody had fun”.

3.3.1.6. Emotive interjections

A semantic peculiarity of interjections is their vagueness of sense, diffusion, mutual penetration and co-existence of various emotive senses in them. The complexity of emotive senses is reflected in dictionary definitions. E.g., Babenko (1989) indicates that the interjection *u* “ouch” is used to express a threat, discontent, fear, approval, enthusiasm and other emotions, and the interjection *fu-ty* “oh/ugh” expresses vexation, annoyance, contempt, relief etc. Such diffusion of semantics is explained and motivated by the suggestion of being used in oral speech in which first of all interjections actively function and which easily removes their polysemy and semantic vagueness. The range of emotions expressed by interjections is small and is limited by original emotive senses: grief (*tyu-tyu*, *okh*, *akh* “pah, ugh, damn, oh, ah”), anger (*ha*, *t'fu* “ha, pah”), indifference (*t'fu* “pah”), contempt (*fi*, *fu*, *fu-ty*, *er* “pew, er”), irritation (*fu-ty*, *nu-ty* “pew, pah”), indignation (*proklyatie* “damn”), doubt (*mm..* “mm...”), laughter (*ha-ha*, *he*, *hi-hi* “ha-ha, he-he”), joy (*evrika*, *bozhe!* *Bog moi!* *Goplya!* “eureka, Lord, hoop-la”), enthusiasm (*ura!* “hurrah”), tranquillity (*uf*, *fu-ty* “uff, pah”), admiration (*uh*, *o*, *fora* “ugh, oh, forah”). Interjectional means of expressing surprise are especially various: *tyu*, *uh*, *fyu*, *ho*, *ho-ho*, *bog moi*, *bozhe moi*, *i*, *eva*, *ek*, *eka*, *eko*, *podumat' oi-li*, *nu* “ugh, phew, ho, my Lord, think of it, oh dear, well” etc. Some interjections are

characterised with the pragmatics of immediate impact on the interlocutor's emotional sphere and are a medium of his/her emotional influence: *sha sha*, “come-come” (reassurance), *chur* “shoo” (forbearance), *egei* “eheu” (warning), *uzho, ei, podi, egei* “hey, eheu” (threat).

There is also a special class of interjections directed at people. Nearly all items in this class can be assigned the basic meaning: ‘I want (don’t want) you to do something now’. Each item, however, contains in addition some more specific components. The whole class can be divided, according to Wierzbicka (1992) into the following subclasses:

1. The ‘I don’t want you in this place’ group (*Won!* “Get out!”);
2. The ‘urging’ group (*Nu zhe!* “Come on!”);

The limited number of the expressed emotive senses also brings interjections closer to connotative emotive lexis, as the variety and wealth of emotions is first of all conveyed through denotative categorial emotive lexis.

3.3.1.7. Particles

Russian is a language extraordinarily rich in particles expressing the speaker’s attitudes and feelings and colouring the style of speaker-hearer interaction.

First of all, the Russian language abounds in “dialogue” particles (*nu, -ka, da, zhe, ved’, -to*, etc.): they are numerous and variegated and they constantly occur in speech. Until recently such particles were often viewed as purely pragmatic. However, they prove to be rich in content, and their behavior turns out to be semantically explicable.

It was found out, for example, that the situation of repeated request is linguistically relevant for Russian. If one repeats one's request in Russian, the insertion of a certain particle into the phrase is nearly obligatory. It could be the particles *nu, da* or *zhe*, which produce different semantic and pragmatic effects in an utterance (Levontina, 2008). A repeated request with *nu* means approximately the following: 'I have no new argument, but I want it very much and I shall not leave you alone until you do it'. Thus, a request

with *nu* can be repeated over and over again; it is pronounced with a specific "begging" intonation and involves a certain amount of humiliation for the speaker. *Nu* thus presupposes a certain communicative strategy and suggests a sort of psychological self-portrait of the speaker. The particle *da* presents quite a different picture. A repeated request with *da* means: 'I know all you can say about the reasons for your refusal, and they are not important at all, you can't really want to start a discussion about such a trifle'. In this case the intonation would be "casual" (there is even a special kind of "unimportant" prosody or timbre). Such a request cannot be repeated many times, and it does not damage the speaker's dignity. The particle *zhe* cannot be used if one repeats one's request after a direct refusal; the request can only be repeated in case one did not have an answer.

Second, among the Russian particles there is one which is worth mentioning for its particular emotivity. It is the particle *avos'* "perhaps, maybe". The importance of this particle in Russian thinking is reflected in the fact that it is at heart of a whole derivational family of words and expressions. Thus, there is the adverbial expression *na avos'* "on the off-chance"; there is the noun *avos'*, referring to the attitude in question (the *avos'* attitude); there is the verb *avos'kat'* 'to say *avos'* habitually'; there is the noun *avos'ka* referring to a string bag (which might perhaps come in handy); and so on. The *avos'* attitude is also reflected in many proverbs and traditional folk sayings (often, rhymed ones) devoted to it. So, basically, "the Russian *avos'*" is an attitude which treats life as unpredictable: 'it is not worth making plans and trying to carry them out; one cannot organise one's life rationally because one cannot control life; the best one can do is to count on luck' (Wierzbicka, 1992:434).

Finally, particles are a part of speech widely used for conveying emotive shades of exclamative utterances in Russian (see Volek, 1987:23). They can either stand independently, like *nu*, or be closely connected with the entirety of the utterance and very often even combined among themselves, as in *Nu i nahal zhe!* "What a cheeky person!". *I*, *zhe*, *nu* are all particles which function in different combinations to emphasise the content of the utterance *Nahal!* "What a cheeky person!".

3.3.1.8. Pronouns

Pronouns are another device used widely in various emotive functions (Volek, 1987:239). Russian uses abundantly the interrogative pronoun in exclamatory utterances, like *Kakaja krasota!* “What a beauty!”. Interrogative pronouns are sometimes combined with particles, as in *Chto i govorit’* “Well, what can we say”, or with a preposition, as in *Posmotrite, chto za publika!* “Look, what kind of people!”. Some such formations are completely stabilised in colloquial language, as the type *Chto ty!* “Come on!”.

Russian uses relative pronouns in connection with particles for emphatic purposes: *Ivan, vot kto eto sdelal!* “Ivan, that’s who did it!”; or personal pronouns: *Masha, ona ne uedet!* “Masha, she will not go away!”. Personal pronouns can either emphasise the general emotional state of the speaker, abandoning their usual referential function, as in *Ech ty!* “Oh, you!”, or keep their referential function, but act as moderators, as in combinations with imperatives: *A vy prosledite!* “Well, you look after it!”.

Demonstrative pronouns can also be used for emphatic purposes, as in *Tam takie svetila!* “There are such bright heads there!” or else have a function of giving statements an uncertain quality connected with the element of surprise: *Jurij Petrovich, chto zhe eto poluchaetsja s cementom? – zaoral on.* “Jurij Petrovich, what on earth is happening to the concrete, he yelled”.

Moreover, Sokolova (2008) provides some interesting examples of pronominal semantic enrichment. The author identifies six individual pronouns that can be used with a qualitative meaning: *chto-to / nechto* “something”, *nikakoy* “none”, *nichego* “nothing”, *togo* “that”, *nikuda* “nowhere”. Here are some examples from the scholar's research (ibid.:189):

(1) *Obyazatel’no skhodite na vystavku. Eto chto-to!*
[Without fail visit PREP exhibition. This something!]
“You ought to see the exhibition. It is really something!”

(2) *Ego talant – eto nechto!*
[His talent – this something!]
“His talent is really something!”

(3) *Ya segodnya nikakoy!*
[I today none!]
“I feel exhausted today/I am good for nothing today!”

(4) *A ya eshche ochen' dazhe nichego!*
[But I yet very even nothing!]
“I am still not bad, I should say/ I am still attractive!”

(5) *Po-moemu, on togo...*
[I think he that-GEN SG M]
“I think he is crazy/out of his mind...”.

(6) *Zdorovye u nego nikuda!*
Health by him nowhere!
“He is in a very poor health!”.

One peculiarity of pronominal semantic enrichment in Russian can be observed in the examples above. It could be expected that negative pronouns should convey depreciative meanings. It is true for *nikakoy* “none”, but fails in case of *nichego* “nothing”, which has an appreciative meaning.

3.3.2. Russian grammatical constructions in the area of emotions

Russian is richly equipped with means allowing its speakers to talk about their emotions as active and as if voluntary. It is also richly equipped with means allowing its speakers to talk about their emotions as involuntary and beyond their control (Wierzbicka, 1992:403). Therefore, in speaking about people, one can take two different orientations: one can think of people as agents, or ‘doers’, who bring the feelings on themselves by persisting in thinking certain thoughts, and one can think of them as passive experiencers. In Russian, unlike most other European languages, both of these orientations play a major role.

For instance, according to Wierzbicka (ibid.:303), Russian grammar includes the following three constructions for the description of something akin to “sadness”:

- | | | |
|---------|---------------------|---------------|
| (1) On | grustil | |
| He-NOM | sad(VERB)-PAST.MASC | |
| | | |
| (2) Emu | bylo | grustno |
| He-DAT | (it)was-NEUT | sad(ADV)-NEUT |
| | | |
| (3) On | byl | grusten |
| He-NOM | was-MASC | sad-MASC |

All these sentences can be roughly glossed as “he was sad”, but in fact they differ in meaning. In particular, sentence (1), which has a verbal pattern, implies active involvement by the experiencer and suggests that he was bringing about his own sadness by thinking certain thoughts (and also that he was somehow displaying it), whereas sentence (2), which has an impersonal predicative pattern, implies that the sadness was involuntary and was, so to speak, “happening to the experiencer”. The subject in this conceptual configuration is in the semantic role of ‘recipient’. He responds to a state of affairs produced by someone else: he does something, but does not take responsibility for it. Whereas in the nominative model the subject acts himself and takes responsibility for his actions, and in the accusative one he does not take responsibility, nor does he do anything either, but is merely subjected to something that happens to him, this dative-subject construction embodies a characteristic Russian attitude to the action itself: I am doing something, but, at the same time it is *kak by* (‘as if) it were not me. The subject is on the edge of what is taking place, outside the sphere of responsibility for it. Thus in Russian syntax the desire to renounce responsibility for one’s own actions acquires, if not a justification, at least a codified means of expression (ibid.).

There is one further dimension to contrast between the verbal and the impersonal predicative pattern: roughly, feeling versus external manifestation of feeling. Typically, emotions designated by verbs of emotion, in contrast to those designated by words of category of state, tend to be expressed in action, often externally observable action. For example, a person who *raduetsja* (“rejoices”) is probably doing something because of this feeling – dancing, singing, laughing, and so on. Sentence (3), in its turn, has an adjectival pattern, which is used in Russian to characterise, to describe the subject as if describing a picture.

Another construction used for emotive communication is the participial model (*Ya*

voskhishchon spektaklem. “I am delighted with the performance.”; *Ya vlyublyon v neyo*. “I am in love with her.”). This model implies that the subject is entirely absorbed with the emotion caused by somebody or something.

Similar implication has the prepositional model (*On v toske i pechali*. “He is in distress and sorrow.”; *Ona v vostorge ot etoi muzyki*. “She is delighted with this music.”; *Ona vseгда v zabotakh o dome*. “She is always full of care of her home.”). Moreover, it also conveys the state of the subject which has outward manifestations, it is 'being looked at by someone else'.

The substantive model (*U nikh veselye*. “They are merry making.”) conveys the significance of a state, provides explanation of the particular behaviour (*U menya takoe voodushevenie ot etogo uspekha*. “I feel so enthusiastic because of this success.”).

The Russian language also possesses a formal device which makes it possible to express idiomatically the connection between the inner states of subjects and their actions, namely, a construction with an infinitive subordinate to an inner-state predicate (see Levontina & Zaliznjak, 2001:329). One of the most characteristic of these is the construction with a personal verb in the perfective, the meaning of which may be described by the general formula ‘I didn’t do so because of an inner state’: *postesnjalsja sprosit’* (lit. “was too embarrassed to ask”), *polenilsja shodit’* (lit. “was too lazy to go”), *pozhalen otdat’* (lit. “was too attached to it to give it away”) etc. Another typical construction is the combination of an impersonal predicate with a subject in the dative, which means 'Experiencing a passive emotion while doing so':

Nam bylo zhalko rasstavat'sja.
To us it was sorry(ADV) to part(INF. IMPERF.)
“We were sorry to be parting”.

3.3.3. Morphosyntactic means of emotive intensification

Russian offers a rich system of emotive diminutives used widely in terms of endearments and baby talk (such as *dochen'ka*, *dochurka*, *dochushka* “little daughter”). In general, Russian diminutives are one of the most typical means of expression of connotative emotivity in Russian (Volek, 1987: 250). Especially diminutive adjectives have fundamental importance in Russian speech, because of their exceptionally high frequency and exceptionally wide range of use. According to Wierzbicka (1999:409), diminutive suffixes impart to the adjective various expressive emotive nuances, “from the meaning of a low degree of the quality to the expression of the emotions of love, tenderness, sympathy and delight”. For instance, the diminutive suffix *-en'k-* implies a free-floating ‘good feeling’ toward the object described by the adjective. Therefore, “pity” or what is called in Russian *zalost'* is particularly often conveyed by adjectives with *-en'k-*.

Another type of emotive meaning, called particularization, can be found in certain word-formational devices e.g., in intensifying suffixes like *-uk(a)*: *zverjuka* (animal), or the prefix *po-* in adverbs: *pobol'she* (more), *pomen'she* (less), *pobystree* (quicker), *podal'she* (further), etc. The prefix *po-*, for instance, adds the particularizing component ‘a little’ and the suffix *-uk(a)* adds the component “bad, aggressive”. The emotive component, however, is in both cases of a general character.

The type of emotive meaning, called intensification, arises in response to the high degree or measure of a phenomenon, and thus is directly associated with quantity. Quantity can be of any conceivable kind: intensity of action, length of performance, intensity of a quality, quantity of an object, intensity of a phenomenon (by adverbs). There is no indication of the positive or negative character of “unusually large quantity”, even though such information can be added. Typical examples of intensificational emotivity can be found in augmentatives: *domishche* (huge house), *silishcha* (huge strength), augmentatives formed with the adjectival prefix *pre-*: *prekrasnyj* (very very beautiful), *premalen'kij* (very very small), the suffixes *-ushch-*: *bolshushchij* (very very big), and *-enn-*: *vysochennyj* (very very high).

Apart from diminutives, augmentatives, and other types of derived nouns, Slavic

languages make wide use of hypocoristic formations (Volek, 1987). These are, especially, proper names: *Shura* (for *Aleksandr* or *Aleksandra*), *Masha* for *Marija*, *Volodja* for *Vladimir*, etc. As pointed out by Wierzbicka (1992:407), the style of interpersonal relations prevailing in a given society is epitomised in the use of names. When applied to Russian names and to their expressive derivation, this would seem to mean that if in a particular relationship the speaker calls the addressee *Katja*, *Katen'ka*, *Katjusa*, *Kat'ka*, *Katjuxa*, *Katjusen'ka*, and so forth, depending on the exact shade of feeling and on the momentary state of the relationship (as perceived by the speaker), exact shades of interpersonal feelings and the vicissitudes and fluctuations of interpersonal relationships are felt to be extraordinarily important. According to Wierzbicka (ibid.), “the proliferation of expressive categories of names in Russian in intimacy accords well with a familiar semantic-psychological principle. For language communities the degree of lexical differentiation of a referent field increases with the importance of that field to the community”. Direct address can not only make use of suffixes expressing intimacy, e.g. *Vit'ka*, *Svetik*, but can be also repeated or paralleled with another expression which enhances the expression of the emotional attitude of the speaker towards the addressee, as in – *Vit'ka, drug, chto s toboj?* (*Vit'ka*, friend, what's the matter with you?). In a dialogue, hypocoristic formations set the emotive tonality of the discourse.

Among the most prominent morphological ways of expressing emotions belong the interferences of grammatical forms, especially verbal moods, tenses and aspects, persons and numbers. Thus the imperative can stand for the indicative with modal meaning (*Vot i nakazyvaj esli nravitsja* “So punish if you like”, i.e., “You can punish...”).

The imperfective aspect is grammaticised in Russian to emphasise negation, e.g. “*On skazal tebe ob etom? – Nichego on ne govoril*” (Did he tell you about it? – He didn't say anything).

The use of perfective aspect instead of imperfective one and vice versa is another example of emotional expression in speech acts. Textual functions of aspectual forms usually correspond to their syntactical functions. So, the expression of simultaneity of actions with the imperfective forms adds to a text descriptive character; presentation of

succession of complete and partly simultaneous actions with perfective forms gives a dynamic character (ibid.). Specific means of representation of emotive iterative meaning is revealed in this type of text — it is correlation: PFV future – present + IMPFV present: *Kak vspomnyu etot fil'm, tak srazu nachinayu pet' i tancevat'* (The minute I think of that film, I start singing and dancing).

Affect can also be expressed through pronominal choice (*ty/vy*). For example, Wierzbicka (1992) believes that the Russian form *vy* differs in meaning from the French form *vous* – despite the fact that in Russian the contrast itself came in as a borrowing from French. The Russian *vy* has a triple prototype: strangers, partial strangers, and also groups; whereas French *vous* has no positive prototype at all and is based on an avoidance of two prototypes: well-known people and children.

Apart from affect intensification, there is also emotive emphasis, a component of meaning closely related to a non-emotive, merely foregrounding emphasis. Emphatic meaning, as opposed to the intensificational, is primarily of a syntactic character. That is why it is sometimes referred to as syntactic expressivity (Volek, 1987:18). The most typical means for emphasis in all languages are suprasegmental devices, such as a certain degree of additional stress, and syntactic devices, such as repetition. E.g., “*Vse. Vse poluchili otdel'nye kvartiry!*” (Everybody. Everybody received separate apartments!). Here emphasis is expressed by the repetition of the rheme of the sentence which gets an intensified stress and conclusive cadence between the two parts; it is moreover supplemented by the subjective word order – another means of emotive emphasis in languages with free, i.e., nongrammatical, word order (as Russian or Czech). Frequently repetition appears modified by various particles, as in: “*Gripoznyj virus boitsia svezhego vozduha. – Kakoi tam virus – skazal Timosha, - simuljanty oni vse!* (The flu virus is afraid of fresh air. ‘What virus?’ said Timosha, ‘They are all fakers!’). *Kakoi tam* functions here as an emphasizing particle rather than pronoun.

Another typical means of expressing emotive emphasis is intensificational repetition as in *On slavnyj slavnyj!* “He is quite fantastic!”. Colloquial English has ‘super-’ as in ‘superbig’, ‘supernice’, so that the utterance *On slavnyj slavnyj!* could also be translated as ‘He is supernice!’. Intensificational repetition is an onomasiological, not a syntactic device, and can be found with practically any part of speech in Russian (ibid.:237).

3.4. Affect on the conceptual level

3.4.1. Salience of the emotion domain in the Russian language and the resulting emotive discourse

Wierzbicka (1992,1999) identifies the centrality of emotions in Russian culture and ‘emotionality’ as one of the fundamental semantic themes of the Russian language, that is “the tremendous stress on emotions and on their free expression, the high emotional temperature of Russian discourse, the wealth of linguistic devices for signaling emotions and shades of emotions” (1992:395). The scholar also argues that Russian culture includes a general “script” related to the expression of emotions which she phrases as follows: “It is good if other people know what a person feels” (ibid.:237). In support of such a general ‘script’ Wierzbicka cites collocations such as *zdorovyj hohot* “healthy loud laughter”, and phrases such as *dusha naraspashku* “soul wide open (like a shirt thrown wide open)”, which have positive connotations: the implication is that “it is good, indeed wonderful, if a person’s ‘soul’ (heart), which is the seat of emotions, is flung open in a spontaneous, generous, expansive, impetuous gesture, expressing full trust in other people and an innocent readiness for communion with them” (ibid.).

Wierzbicka also reveals certain other tendencies in the Russian language significant for the analysis of emotional words, such as ‘irrationality’, i.e. the stress on limitations of logical thinking, human knowledge, and human understanding; ‘non-agentivity’, i.e. the feeling that human beings are not in control of their lives and that their control over events is limited; a lack of emphasis on the individual as an autonomous agent; and ‘moral passion’, i.e. the stress on the moral dimensions of human life, the tendency to extreme and absolute moral judgements, both positive and negative. The tendency to *osuzhdat’* “condemn” other people in conversation, and to link moral judgments with emotions, is reflected in a wide variety of Russian words and expressions, e.g. *podlec* “scoundrel”, *merzavec* “villain”, *Kak im ne stydno!* “Shame on them!” etc. (cf. Wierzbicka 1992). The Russian lack of inhibition in expressing moral enthusiasms is reflected, to some extent, in the high frequency of adjectives such as *blagorodnyj*

“noble”, *prekrasnyj* “wonderful”, *chudesnyj* “marvellous”, etc., which are commonly used to express a generalised enthusiasm for a person (for example, *ona chudesnyj chelovek*, ‘she is a lovely person’).

These specific features of how Russian presents emotions are related to the conception of the *dusha* “soul”, which is considered not only as the most important part of a human being (the receptacle of feelings) but also as a physical object, a part of the human body (see Levontina & Zalizniak, 2001: 292; Uryson, 1995; Shmelev, 2005a). This positioning of *dusha* probably explains a paradoxical combination of the cultural emphasis on ‘absolutes’, ‘higher values’ and ‘idealised’ feelings, and an almost physical perceptibility accompanying them. According to Wierzbicka (1992:40), the word *dusha* has two different, though related, meanings of: a religious or quasi-religious meaning corresponding to the meaning of “soul”, and a second meaning, which is extremely common and is deeply rooted in the common Russian ‘ethnography of speaking’ and ‘ethnography of thinking’ and which is much closer in status to the ‘psychological’ meaning of the German word ‘Seele’. But the psychological use of *dusha* has a much greater scope than that of ‘Seele’. The word *dusha* appears in many emotive idioms, e.g. in Shansky & Bystrova (1975) *bolet' dushoy* “to take smth to heart”, *brat' za dushu/brat' za serdce* “to move smb deeply”, *dushi ne chayat'* “to adore smb”, etc. The word *dusha* also appears in the phrase *na dushe*, lit., “on (the) soul”, which is most commonly used to refer to feelings and moods. This contrasts with the phrase *v dushe*, literally “in (the) soul”, which tends to be used to refer to other aspects of inner life, and in particular to secret thoughts. It is interesting that from the way these two phrases *na dushe* and *v dushe* are used in Russian it is clear that they are not ‘idioms’ of any kind (as might be suggested) but applications of the same concept which is encoded in the noun *dusha* used with other prepositions, e.g. *ot vsej dushi* “from the bottom of one’s heart”, or without any prepositions, e.g. *dusha raduetsja*, lit. “one’s soul rejoices”, *dusha bolit*, lit. “one’s soul aches”, etc.

Emikh (2005) also analyses Russian emotive discourse and identifies ‘intimisation’, i.e. creating an intimate style, as its main feature. This ‘intimate’ style is characteristic for personal conversations in Russian in general and it is crucial for emotional expression. According to the scholar, ‘intimization’ entails two parts:

1) Interlocutor's personal involvement:

- Using parentheses *predstavlyaesh* “imagine that” and *(ty) znaesh* “you know” while describing the event to the interlocutor: *Predstavlyaesh, segodnya prikhozhu v bank, a tam govoryat, chto deneg net*. “Imagine, I come to the bank today, and they say there is no money“.
- Expressing one's professional or personal qualities' low evaluation to the interlocutor in the indefinitely generalised form as a provocation of the interlocutor to encourage the speaker: *Nichego ne poluchilos'*. “No luck!“
- Sharing with the interlocutor the opinion of one's own guilt or innocence, even blaming what has happened on the interlocutor: *Chort, esli by ne ty, etogo by s nami ne sluchilos'!* “Damn, but for you, we shouldn't have got in this mess!“
- Establishing personal contact with the interlocutor in the emergency situation when the speaker urgently needs help from the interlocutor: *Drug, pomogi!* “Friend, help!“

2) Interpretation of events and construction of reality in conceptual cloisters: *sud'ba* “destiny”, *obida* “offence/resentment”, *dushevnost'* “cordiality”, *druzhiba* “friendship”, *schast'e* “happiness”.

Sud'ba:

- Informing the interlocutor about one's negative emotional state (ES) in the indefinitely generalised form or in terms of the abstract concepts "luck - ill luck": *Zhizn' - dryan'!* “Life is rotten!“
- Expressing one's positive ES to the interlocutor with mentioning the lengthy expectation of the positively evaluated event: *Nakonets-to moi mucheniya konchilis'*. “At last my torture is over“.

Obida:

Expressing one's negative ES to the interlocutor through verbalizing the irritant's negative evaluation: *Vot kozyol, za chto on menya uvolil?!* “Now what a skunk, why has

he fired me?!“

Druzhiba, dushevnost', schast'e:

- Expressing a positive evaluation of the interlocutor's actions through his evaluative definition: *Ty drug chto nado!* “You are a real friend!“
- Suggesting that the interlocutor shares the speaker's positive ES: *Pozdrav' menya!* “Congratulate me!“ (ibid.)

Emikh (ibid.) claims that the aim of the verbal 'intimisation' is establishing a deeper emotional contact between interlocutors which ensues a more spontaneous and not just standard development of the emotional expression scenario.

3.4.2. Salience of particular emotions in Russian

Emotions in general are frequently referred to in everyday talk by speakers of Russian (see Pavlenko, 2005:108). Nevertheless, some emotions in the Russian language are more salient than the others.

Traditionally, most of linguistic studies of emotion words in Russian have been ‘universalist’, i.e. they have focused on universal properties of emotions which could be identified through linguistic analysis of particular words (cf. Iordanskaja 1974; Arutjunova 1988; Iordanskaja & Mel'chuk 1990). In the 1990's, though, research in this area saw a ‘relativist’ shift toward interest in language-specific features in designating emotions, leading to several works focussing on specifically ‘Russian emotions’ (Wierzbicka 1990, 1992, 1999; Apresjan 2000; Fesenko, 2004; Gladkova 2008, etc.). Consequently, according to Levontina & Zalizniak (2001:291), ‘Russian’ emotions are nowadays studied in two ways. First, by searching for “specifically Russian” words (i.e. words comprising conceptual configurations peculiar to the Russian language and missing in other languages: such words as *toska*, *udal'*, *rodnoj* or *nadryv*). Second, by dealing with words that refer to universal human categories and can be translated into other languages, but have some language-specific aspects of meaning (such words as

schast'e, radost', obida, razluka, drug – as opposed to “happiness”, “joy”, “offence”, “separation”, “friend”). The scholars analyse words of both types (leaving them without translation in the first case and indicating approximate translation equivalents in brackets in the second). They divide emotion words into sections, such as ‘Feeling good things’, ‘Feeling bad things’, and ‘What one feels toward other people’, the latter subdivided into ‘I (don’t) want to see you’, ‘I want to talk to you’, ‘I feel the same thing you feel’, etc.

After having analysed research papers on the concepts of *ljubov'* “love” and *strah* “fear”, one could conclude that there are no significant semantic or conceptual differences between these Russian emotion concepts and their analogues in other European languages (on the concept of *ljubov'* “love” see Buyanova (2003), Klyuchnikova (2010), Makshanceva (2008); on the concept of *strah* “fear” see Fesenko (2004), Ivanova (2010)). There are differences in semantic representation in the 'feeling good things'- and in the 'feeling bad things'-categories, which are exposed in continuation.

3.4.2.1. ‘Feeling good things’-category of emotion concepts

Schast'je, radost' and *udovol'stvie*

When comparing *schast'je* (roughly, “happiness”) and *radost'* (roughly, “joy”), one can see similarities in metaphorical associations: *schast'je*, like *radost'*, can *perepolnjat'* someone (“feel a person to overflowing”), can be *bezoblachnym* “cloudless”, or on the contrary, *omrachat'sja* by something (“to be darkened”); it can be *priliv schast'ja* “surge of happiness”; a person can *svetit'sja schast'jem* “shine with happiness”, etc. The closeness of antonyms should be mentioned: the opposite of *schast'je* is *gore* (roughly, “grief”) and to *radost'* is *ogorchenie* (roughly, “pain”). Nevertheless, according to Levontina & Zalizniak, 2001:294), it would be wrong to say that *schast'je* is simply great *radost'*. *Schast'je* has a very strong emotional charge. It is not an ‘everyday’ word.

As for *radost'* and *udovol'stvie* (roughly, “pleasure”), *radost'* belongs to the ‘elevated’, spiritual world, whereas *udovol'stvie* belongs to the ‘low’, profane, corporeal (ibid.). *Radost'* is associated with the abilities of the soul, whereas *udovol'stvie* is an attribute of the body. When confronted by the need to fit the intellect into the framework of the binary ‘soul - body’ opposition, the Russian language places it in the ‘low’ sphere, linking the intellectual with the ‘corporeal’ as opposed to the ‘spiritual’ (ibid.:295). In Russian, *intellectual'noe udovol'stvie* “intellectual pleasure” is on the same level as physiological or motor pleasures, and does not attain the ‘higher’ level of *radost'* “joy”. The words *dovol'stvo soboj* “being pleased with oneself” and *samodovol'stvo* “self-contentment” clearly contain a negative assessment.

3.4.2.2. ‘Feeling bad things’-category of emotion concepts

Grust' and *pechal'*

Apart from *obida*, other salient concepts in the category of ‘feeling bad things’ are *grust'* and *pechal'*. Both *grust'* and *pechal'* correspond, to some degree, to the English “sadness”, although *pechal'* and *grust'* are salient conceptual categories in Russian (unlike, for example, ‘melancholy’ in English), and, in fact, they are both much more common in Russian speech than ‘sadness’ is in English. Nevertheless, there are semantic differences between *grust'* and *pechal'* (Wierzbicka 1999:41). *Pechal'* is much more readily described as “deep” than *grust'* is (*glubokaja pechal'*), and *grust'* is more readily described as “light” (in weight) or “passing” than *pechal'* (*mimoletnaja grust'*, *legkaja grust'*). This is consistent with the fact that an expression such as *pechal'noe lico* (roughly, “a sad face”) implies a permanent characteristic, whereas *grust'noe lico* (“a sad face”) is more likely to refer to a passing emotion. It is also consistent with the fact that one can say *pogruzit'sja v pechal'* “to sink into *pechal'*” but not **pogruzit'sja v grust'*. Moreover, the predicative *grust'no* can occur in a dative construction, e.g. *Mne grust'no* (lit. “to me sad”, i.e. “I feel sad”), which indicates a purely subjective perspective; but the corresponding predicative *pechal'no* cannot occur in this construction. One could

also mention that *toska*, an intense form of *pechal'*, glossed sometimes as “sadness” or “yearning”, also has a high frequency in Russian speech (see Wierzbicka 1998b/2002).

3.4.3. Other-directed emotions in Russian. ‘What one feels toward other people’-category

3.4.3.1. ‘I (don’t) want to see you’-subgroup

Nenavidet', *prezirat'*, *ljubovat'sja*, etc.

Many designations of feelings in the Russian language are connected with the idea of ‘seeing’. The frequent verb *nenavidet'* “to hate”, is derivative of the idea ‘to see’. According to Fasmer (2006), the church-slavonic word *nenavideti* is formed by negation of *navideti* “to look gladly at something or somebody”. The same idea is found in the Russian expressions *videt' ne mogu; glaza by moi (na nego/nejo) ne gljadeli* “I can’t stand the sight of (him/her)”. The desire not to see is reflected in the inner form of the word *otvratchenie* “revulsion”, lit. “turning away from”; cf. also the expression *otvernut'sja (ot kogo-to)* “to avert one’s eyes (from somebody)” (Levontina & Zalizniak, 2001:314). A similar idea is included in the word *prezrenie* “contempt”; *prezirat' (kogo-to)* lit. “to look over (someone)”, i.e. “not to see the person (being somehow above him/her)” (ibid.).

The authors also stress the connection of love with the desire to see the beloved person being very widespread in Russian and reflected in the inner form of some emotion words. Thus, one of the Russian words for addressing the beloved, which has no translation equivalent, is *nenagljadnyj*, lit. “(so beautiful that) it can never be enough looking at it” (ibid.). The connection of love with looking is also reflected in the word *ljubovat'sja* lit. “to look with love and admiration”, i.e. “to admire”, from the root meaning ‘love’.

3.4.3.2. 'I feel the same thing you feel'-subgroup

Zhalost' (roughly, "pity")

In Russian, there are several words which can describe the feeling of pain in response to the suffering of others: nouns *zhalost'* "pity", *sochuvstvie* "sympathy", *sostradanie* "compassion", *uchastie* "compassionate help" and a number of corresponding adverbs (*zhal'*, *zhalko*); verbs (*zhalet'*, *sochuvstvovat'*, *sostradat'*); and adjectives (*zhalkij*, *zhalostlivyj*, *uchastlivyj*). The meanings of these Russian words have been described in detail (see Apresjan 2000; Danaher, 2002). The particular significance of the feeling of *zhalost'* in Russian culture has often been pointed out (see Wierzbicka 1992:169). *Zhalost'* in the Russian language is both one of the most spontaneous and one of the most culture-mediated emotions. It is an uncontrollable and immediate response of the soul to the suffering of others. *Zhalost'* may *ohvatit'* "embrace", *zahlestnut'* "cover", *szhat' serdce* "squeeze the heart", etc. *Zhalost'* implies a state of mind closely associated with physical sensations (Levontina & Zalizniak, 2001:318). The feeling of *zhalost'* is often accompanied by sensations of discomfort, wearisome anxiety, and spasmodic contractions inside the body. This feeling may be painful and cause tears. Therefore, the feeling of 'compassion', 'feeling sorry for someone' is closer to the feeling of 'anguish' and 'pain' or to the experience of sentiments in general than to the feeling of 'sadness', as is the case with its English counterpart "pity". The feeling of *zhalost'* implies more personal involvement and less judgmental distant contemplation than "pity" (see Danaher, 2002). In some respect, according to Levontina & Zalizniak (2001), *zhalost'* also resembles tenderness on the one hand, and disgust on the other hand, and frequently the two occur in combinations: there can be *nezhnaja zhalost'* "tender pity" and *brezglivaja zhalost'* "fastidious pity".

Zhalost' differs from similar emotions in the following way. *Sochuvstvie*, *sostradanie* and *uchastie* imply a partial identification of oneself with another person, and a wish to share his or her sorrow, while *zhalost'* denotes a certain feeling that does not depend on the feelings of another person. That is why one can feel *zhalost'* towards oneself, or towards animals, trees, inanimate objects, etc. Additionally, *zhalost'*, unlike *sochuvstvie*,

presupposes awareness of a certain distance between the subject and object of this emotion; it is often accompanied by a slightly protective attitude towards the object. Nevertheless, *zhalost* per se is a highly acceptable and socially praised emotion. Moreover, it is desirable to be the recipient of another's *zhalost*, of the 'sympathy-pity'. This tendency can be observed and thus confirmed in Russian discourse. For instance, Pavlenko (2005:121) points out that "in Russian culture litanies and complaints constitute a very salient act and aim to impress the interlocutors and elicit their compassion and empathy". The reason for this discursive practice can probably be found in the historical interpretation of *zhalost* as 'subspecies' of *ljubov* "love" (see Wierzbicka, 1992/2002).

3.4.3.3. Other-directed discontent in Russian

Russian other-directed discontent is traditionally analysed in separate groups of concepts. For instance, in the classification exposed above, *gnev* "anger/wrath" would be part of the 'What one feels toward other people'-category, whereas *obida* "offence/resentment" would belong to the 'Feeling bad things'-category. Nevertheless, we consider not only *gnev*, *zlost'* "anger", *razdrazhenie* "irritation", *vozmuschenie* "indignation", *serdit'sya* "to be angry", etc. but also *obida* to be subconcepts of the same generic concept *other-directed discontent*. Our assumption is based upon the latest research findings on specific lexical choices of Russian speakers with reference to other-directed discontent (see Ogarkova et al. 2016).

3.5. Summary

Main tendencies in Russian emotional expression have been exposed. Descriptive emotive lexis represents the largest group in Russian language and forms the nucleus of emotional denotation. Moreover, figurative expression is very common and has some peculiarities, such as body idioms. On the morphosyntactic level, repetition, pronominal

choice, suffixation, e.g. diminutives, augmentatives, hypocoristic formations, etc. can indicate emotivity. As for parts of speech, verbs and the ‘emotive words of the category of state’, i.e. predicatives, are by far the preferred means of denoting emotions in Russian. ‘Emotive words of the category of state’, sometimes also called ‘impersonal predicative words’ or ‘adverbials of a special kind’, express involuntary, ‘passive’ and predominantly negative emotions, e.g. *Mne grustno* “I feel sad”, whereas verbs designate ‘active’ emotions, e.g. *On grustit* “He is sad” or “He acts like a sad person”. On the conceptual level, they designate ‘passive’ and ‘active’ emotions respectively. The importance of both ‘passive’ and ‘active’ emotions in Russian conceptualisation of emotions has been stated. Moreover, the possibility to choose between ‘passive’ and ‘active’ emotions also influences considerably the emotive discourse. Russian emotional discourse is organised in several conceptual cloisters, i.e. *sud’ba* “ill luck”, *obida* “resentment”, *dushevnost’* “understanding cordiality”, *druzhiba* “friendship”, *schast’e* “happiness” In order to achieve the ‘intimate’ emotional style which ideally leads to an emotional ‘unification’ with the interlocutor, the positive evaluation of one another is crucial. Thus, such culture-specific verbal designations, as *obida* “resentment” and *dushevnost’* “understanding cordiality”, reflect this tendency.

As for conceptual categories proposed by Wierzbicka (1992) and later modified by Levontina/Zalizniak, (2001), *ljubov* “love” and *strakh* “fear” have clear structure and show similarities in different languages. On the other hand, many other positive and negative self-directed (*schast’je* “happiness”) and other-directed (*zhalost’* “pity”) emotions manifest cultural peculiarities. In addition, the Russian concept of *other-directed discontent* does not fit into one category, but into two instead: ‘feeling bad things’ (*obida* “offence/resentment”) and ‘what one feels towards other people’ (*gnev* “wrath/anger”, *serdit’sya* “to be angry”).

As a result of these findings on the semantic, morphosyntactic and conceptual levels, the previous theoretical findings have been confirmed and the main elements of the Russian emotional repertoire have been defined.

4. CONCEPTUALISATION OF OTHER-DIRECTED DISCONTENT IN RUSSIAN

4.1. Introduction

The objective of chapter 4 is to examine the concept of *other-directed discontent* in its Russian version. Sections 4.2 and 4.3. are dedicated to semantic representation of the concept, i.e. they present the most salient Russian words of *other-directed discontent* and the main semantic characteristics of these words. Section 4.4. aims at describing the narrative structure of *other-directed discontent* in Russian, i.e. the social component inside the concept, the prototypical scenario of *other-directed discontent* and the subtextual discourse that constitutes the concept. The detailed corpus study of Russian *other-directed discontent* is presented in the subsection 4.4.6.

4.2. Onomasiological semantic analysis of the Russian concept *other-directed discontent*

First, we conduct an onomasiological study of the concept *other-directed discontent* in Russian, in order to define the scope of the lexical items in question. As was previously mentioned in chapter 1, relevant research papers, lexicographical sources (especially thesauri) and a corpus study, form part of the analysis.

4.2.1. Literature overview

First of all, it should be clarified that *other-directed discontent* is generally referred to as *anger* in international research, which is influenced by the dominance of English in scientific research and, in addition, by the basicness of *anger* in English. Thus, comparative studies on the subject traditionally represent comparison of *anger* to its possible counterparts in other languages, in our case, in Russian. For instance,

Wierzbicka (1998) proposes the verb *serdit'sya* "to get angry/cross" as the best equivalent for the English *anger*. Also, Pavlenko (2002) confirms the prevalence of the verbal pattern of the Russian discourse on *other-directed discontent*, linking the emotion state to the body language and external behaviour. The author also mentions the verbs *razdrazhat'* "to irritate" / *razdrazhat'sya* "to get irritated" and *zlit'* "to make somebody angry" / *zlit'sya* "to get angry", the nouns *zlost'* "anger" and *gnev* "anger/wrath", the adverb *gnevno* "in wrath".

According to Ogarkova et al. (2012), the most frequent Russian words used to label the 'discontent' group of emotional situations are *obida* "resentment", *razdrazhenie* "irritation", *gnev* "justified anger" and *dosada* "vexation", *obida* and *razdrazhenie* being the most frequent ones. They also mention the word *bespokoystvo* "worry / anxiety" as a possible label for specific discontent-related situations.

Similarly, in the study conducted by Soriano et al. (2013), *razdrazhenie* and *obida* are the most frequent emotion words corresponding to the English "anger", followed by *zlost'* "anger", *gnev* "rage", *dosada* "annoyance", *vozmushchenie* "indignation", *negodovanie* "indignation", *yarost'* "fury" and *serdityj* "cross".

Babenko et al. (2017) analyse some additional words which can be used in the 'discontent' situations, usually as reaction to the discontent-eliciting situation, e.g. *spor* "quarrel", *rugat'* "to scold" and *molchanie* "silence".

Nevertheless, the noun *gnev* "justified anger / wrath" is still the most frequently used general term for the emotion known in English as "anger".

4.2.2. Lexicography overview

As for lexicographical sources, *gnev* "wrath / anger" is also usually given as a typical translation equivalent of "anger". Akishina & Akishina (2009) list the following synonyms: *nedovol'stvo* "discontent", *razdrazhenie* "irritation", *dosada* "annoyance", *negodovanie* "indignation", *vozmushchenie* "indignation", *zloba* "malice", *bran'* "scolding", *rugan'* "bad language", *skandal* "scandal", *buystvo* "rage". The typical situations, according to the authors, would be *vy'yasnenie otnosheniy* "open

confrontation", *zashchita* "defence", *opravdanie* "justification", *obeshchanie* "promise", *uvereniya* "assurances".

Apresjan analyses the verbs *serdit'* "to anger" and its synonyms *vozmushchat'* "to make indignant", *vzorvat'* "to explode", *zlit'* "to anger", *besit'* "to infuriate" and *razyarit'* "to make mad". The scholar also mentions *privodit' v beshenstvo* "to make somebody mad", *dovodit' do belogo kaleniya* "to make somebody hopping mad", *vyvodit' iz seb'ya /iz terpeniya* "to make somebody lose his temper / his patience", *privodit' v negodovanie* "to make somebody angry", *privodit' v yarost'* "to send somebody into a flying rage", *dosazhdat'* "to pester"; *razdrazhat'* "to irritate"; *bespokoit'* "to bother, to worry"; *ogorchat'* "to grieve"; *rasstraivat'* "to distress"; *obizhat'* "to offend"; *draznit'* "to tease"; *zadevat'* "to make sore, to touch to the quick"; *kipet'* "to be boiling", *kipyatit'sya* "to be boiling", *burlit'* "to be overexcited", *pyhtet'* "to sputter /splutter/ with irritation", *vskidyvat'sya* "to get one's gander up", *vzryvat'sya* "to explode", *vspyhivat'* "to get inflamed", *vspylit'* "to lose one's temper", *vzbelenit'sya* "to get into a frenzy", *lezt' v butylku* "to be getting into a bottle / to be beyond oneself with anger", *dosadovat'* "to be annoyed", *(na)dut'sya* "to pout", *osuzhdat'* "to disapprove", *rugat'* "to scold / to upbraid", *isstuplenie* "frenzy".

4.2.3. The presence of *other-directed discontent* in the RFL lexical syllabus

The official "Lexical Syllabus for Russian as a Foreign Language (RFL)" was designed to serve as a guidance for teaching Russian. It includes the basic vocabulary, according to the six CEFR levels, which students of Russian should acquire and actively use. In the syllabus, the notion of *other-directed discontent* is absent, except for the adjective "zloy" at the level A2, which is translated in the syllabus as "angry / evil" in English, and "malo" ("bad/evil") in Spanish (see Appendix 1). Therefore, even this word refers not so much to the emotion of *discontent*, as to the character trait of being a bad person. On the other hand, verbs *obizhat'* "to offend" and *obizhat'sya* "to take offence" are included in the syllabus for the B1-level.

The same tendency can be observed in various textbooks of Russian as a foreign language. We have analysed four textbooks: one edited in Russia, one in Spain and one in Germany (see Appendix 2). Only the German textbook "Otlitschno!" for the level B1 had the verb *rasserdit'sya* "to get cross / angry" in its Glossary, alongside with the 'resentment' words *obizhat'* "to offend", *obizhat'sya* "to take offence" and *obidno* "it hurts/ it's a pity".

4.2.4.1. Frequency chart of Russian words of *other-directed discontent*. The data from the New Frequency Dictionary of Russian, based on the Russian National Corpus

The data for the frequency chart of Russian emotion words was extracted from the New Frequency Dictionary of Russian, based on the Russian National Corpus (Lyashevskaya & Sharov, 2009). (see Appendix 3). The most frequent emotion words in Russian are *lyubit'* "to love", *lyubov'* "love", *boyat'sya* "to be afraid", *interes* "interest", *chuvstvovat'* "to feel", *chuvstvo* "feeling", *nravit'sya* "to like", *nadezhda* "hope", *schast'ye* "happiness", *radost'* "joy". The reduced version of the chart includes only Russian emotion words of *other-directed discontent*.

Table 1: Frequency chart of Russian words of *other-directed discontent*

order	emotion word	part of speech	normalised frequency
1957	злой* <i>zloj</i> «angry»	a	61.5
2553	нервный** <i>nervnyj</i> «nervous»	a	45.0
2614	обида <i>obida</i> «offence»	s	43.4
3381	обидеться <i>obidet'sya</i> «to take offence»	v	32.3
3572	обидеть <i>obidet'</i> «to offend»	v	30.4
3738	гнев <i>gnev</i> «wrath / anger»	s	28.8
3839	недовольный <i>nedovol'nyj</i> «discontented»	a	27.9
4203	раздражение <i>razdrazhenie</i> «irritation»	s	24.9

4321	раздражать <i>razdrazhat'</i> «to irritate»	v	23.9
4417	обижаться <i>obizhat'sya</i> «to take offence»	v	23.2
4564	обидно <i>obidno</i> «it hurts»	adv	22.4
4633	сердиться <i>serdit'sya</i> «to be angry»	v	22
4785	ярость <i>yarost'</i> «fury»	s	21
4867	возмутиться <i>vozmudit'sya</i> «to be indignant»	v	20.4
5165	злоба <i>zloba</i> «hostility»	s	18.8
5211	сердито <i>serdito</i> «angrily»	adv	18.6
5343	нервничать <i>nervnichat'</i> «to be nervous»	v	18.0
5477	злость <i>zlost'</i> «malice / anger»	s	17.4
5691	досада <i>dosada</i> «annoyance»	s	16.5
5756	недовольство <i>nedovol'stvo</i> «discontent»	s	16.3
5808	зло <i>zlo</i> «wickedly»	adv	16.1
5867	агрессивный <i>agressivnyj</i> «aggressive»	a	15.9
6177	злиться <i>zlit'sya</i> «to be angry»	v	14.9
6303	возмущаться <i>vozmushchat'sya</i> «to be indignant»	v	14.5
6345	возмущение <i>vozmushchenie</i> «indignation»	s	14.4
6381	оскорбить <i>oskorbit'</i> «to insult»	v	14.3
6649	обижать <i>obizhat'</i> «to offend»	v	13.5
6665	рассердиться <i>rasserdit'sya</i> «to become angry»	v	13.5
6766	агрессия <i>agressiya</i> «aggression»	s	13.1
6851	недовольно <i>nedovol'no</i> «discontentedly»	adv	12.9
7171	обидный <i>obidnyj</i> «offensive»	a	12.1

* High frequency of *zloj* is caused by its polysemy (apart from “angry”, *zloj* can also mean “evil” and “strong”).

** High frequency of *nervnyj* is caused by its polysemy (apart from “angry”, *nervnyj* can also refer to the nervous system and to the state of being anxious).

4.2.4.2. The list of the selected lexical items

As a result of the previous study, the following list of salient emotion terms has been created:

obida "offence / resentment", *obizhat'* "to offend", *obizhat'sya* "to take offence", *obidno* "it is hurting",
gnev "justified anger / wrath", *gnevno* "in wrath",
razdrazhat' "to irritate" / *razdrazhat'sya* "to get irritated", *razdrazhenie* "irritation",
serdit'sya "to be angry", *rasserdit'sya* "to get cross / angry", *serdit'* "to make angry",
serdityj "cross",
yarost' "fury", *raz'yarit'* "to enrage",
vozmushchat' "to arouse indignation", *vozmushchenie* "indignation", *vozmushchat'sya* "to be indignant",
zloj "angry / evil", *zlit'* "to make somebody angry" / *zlit'sya* "to be angry / mad", *razozlit'sya* "to get angry / mad", *zlost'* "anger", *zloba* "malice",
besit' "to infuriate", *besit'sya* "to be mad", *beshenstvo* "fury / rage",
nervnichat' "to be nervous / irritated".

4.2.4.3. Additional lexis

The following subconcepts of *other directed discontent* are considered to be of secondary importance and will be studied in less detail:

bespokojstvo "worry / concern", *dosada* "vexation", *nedovol'stvo* "discontent",
oskorblenie "insult, offence".

4.3. Semasiological semantic analysis of the Russian concept *other-directed discontent*

In order to answer the research question 1b in reference to Russian (What are the semantic characteristics of *other-directed emotional discontent* in Russian?), we conducted a semasiological study with the selected lexical items, based on lexicographical data. We applied a standard procedure used in most papers on emotion concepts (see Emikh, 2005), i.e. for every emotion word the following information was searched: its etymology, its lexical meaning, its derivatives, its combinatory options, its metaphorical meaning and phraseological expressions related to the word, its synonyms and antonyms.

4.3.1. Russian words of *other-directed discontent*

The most frequent emotion words which serve as labels for different *discontent*-eliciting situations, are *obida*, *razdrazhenie*, *gnev*, *serdit'sya*, *zloj* and *nervnyj*. First, it is necessary to define differences between *discontent*-words which are traditional Russian translation equivalents of English "anger". Dictionary entries and corpora lexical data are reproduced in the original Cyrillic script.

4.3.1.1. *Gnev*

In several papers, *gnev* is defined as a basic emotion, together with *radost'* "joy" and *strakh* "fear" (see Akishina A. / Akishina T., 2009; Ivanova, 2010; Bazylev, 1999:79), and is usually translated as "anger" in English (see Ivanova, *ibid.*)

etymology

The word *gnev* has an unclear etymology, as there are several versions of its origin. The

Slavic word *gněv, which in all Slavic languages means “rage“, could originate from *gnit'* "to rot", *gnil'* "putridity / decay", *gnoj* "pus", *yad* "poison", which in its turn comes from the Indo-European root *ghen "to grind / to gnaw / to nibble / to demolish". Some scholars claim that *gnev* could originate from archaic *gnetit'* "to make fire", hence its metaphorical associations with fire and burning (see Fasmer, 2006).

lexical meaning

The feeling of strong indignation, irritation by smb or smth, outrage bordering on the loss of self-control, usually fiercely expressed anger, ire, wrath.

derivatives

ГНЕВНЫЙ *gnevnyj* "angry, irate, wrathful"

ГНЕВНО *gnevno* "angrily, wrathfully"

ГНЕВИТЬ *gnevit'* "to make smb angry, enrage"

ГНЕВАТЬСЯ *gnevat'sya* "to be angry with"

ГНЕВЛИВЫЙ *gnevlivyy* "prone to feel angry, irascible"

ГНЕВЛИВО *gnevlivo* "angrily, wrathfully (constantly)"

combinatory possibilities

ВЫЗЫВАТЬ ГНЕВ *vyzyvat' gnev* "to cause anger"

ПРИВОДИТЬ В ГНЕВ *privodit' v gnev* "to enrage"

ВВОДИТЬ В ГНЕВ *vvodit' v gnev* "to enrage"

ЗАКИПЕТЬ ГНЕВОМ *zakupet' gnevom* "boil with anger / rage"

БЫТЬ В ГНЕВЕ *byt' v gneve* "to be furious"

ГОРЕТЬ ГНЕВОМ *goret' gnevom* "to burn with rage"

РАСПАЛЯТЬСЯ ГНЕВОМ *raspalyat'sya gnevom* "to fly into a rage / to get inflamed with anger"

В ПЫЛУ ГНЕВА *v pylu gneva* "in the heat of the moment"

в порыве гнева *v poryve gneva* "in a fit of anger"

в припадке гнева *v pripadke gneva* "in a fit of rage"

вспышка гнева *vspyshka gneva* "a flash of fury"

не помнить себя в гневе *ne pomnit' sebya v gneve* "to be beside oneself with rage"

сменить гнев на милость *smenit' gnev na milost'* "to change anger for mercy"

ничего бога гневить *nechego boga gnevit'* "one cannot desire anything better, (lit. you shouldn't anger the Almighty)"

synonyms

гнев *gnev* - бешенство *beshenstvo* "madness", досада *dosada* "annoyance", исступление *isstuplenie* "frenzy", запальчивость *zapal'chivost'* "vehemence", злоба *zloba* "malice", злость *zlost'* "wickedness / anger / malice", негодование *negodovanie* "indignation", недовольство *nedovol'stvo* "discontent", немилость *nemilost'* "disfavour", неудовольствие *neudovol'stvie* "displeasure", нерасположение *neraspolozhenie* "indisposition", несочувствие *nesochuvstvie* "lack of sympathy", озлобление *ozloblenie* "wrath", опала *opala* "disgrace", остервенение *ostervenenie* "wickedness", раздражение *razdrazhenie* "irritation", свирепость *svirepost'* "fierceness", *nenavist'* "hatred", *razdrazhenie* "irritation", *beshenstvo* "madness / fury", ярость *yarost'* "wrath".

в гневе *v gneve* - в сердцах *v serdtsah* "angrily", с сердцов *s serdtsov* "in anger", вгорячах *vgoryachah* "without thinking (lit. in the heat of the moment)", сгоряча *sgoryacha* "without deliberation", вспылыв *vspyliv* "having shown one's quick-temper", осердясь *oserdyas'* "having flown into a rage", остервенясь *ostervenyas'* "having shown one's wickedness", запальчиво *zapal'chivo* "vehemently".

гневаться *gnevat'sya* "to be angry / to be enraged", сердиться *serdit'sya* "to become angry / to take offence"

гневить *gnevit'* "to make smb angry", See: сердить *serdit'* "to anger / to irritate / to vex"

гневный *gnevnyj* "angry", возмущенный *vozmushchyonnyj* "indignant", взбешённый *vzbeshyonnyj* "enraged", негодующий *negoduyushchij* "indignant", недовольный

nedovol'nyj "discontented", озлобленный *ozloblennyj* "wrathful", ожесточенный *ozhestochyonnyj* "embittered", остервенелый *ostervenelyj* "wicked", раздраженный *razdrazhyonnyj* "irritated", раздосадованный *razdosadovannyj* "annoyed", рассерженный *rasserzhennyj* "angry", разъяренный *razyaryonnyj* "infuriated", сердитый *serdityj* "angry", хмурый *hmuryj* "sullen" **ГНЕВЛИВЫЙ** *gnevlivyyj* "quick-tempered", сварливый *svarlivyyj* "cantankerous"

antonyms

гнев *gnev* - спокойствие *spokoystvie* "tranquility", радость *radost'* "joy", восторг *vostorg* "rapture", удовольствие *udovolstvie* "pleasure", нежность *nezhnost'* "tenderness"

4.3.1.2. Zlost'

etymology

From зло *zlo* "malice". Old Russian (since XI c.) - *zelo* "ill luck, sin", *zelyj* - "bad, mean, low".

lexical meaning

- ill-naturedness, wickedness
- fury, anger

derivatives

злой *zloy* (about people) – "wicked, malicious, vicious, unfriendly, hostile, full of hatred, angry, irritated, discontented"
(about animals) – "severe, merciless"

злоба *zloba* "spite, anger"
злбный *zlobnyj* "wicked, malicious"
злить *zlit'* "to anger, to vex, to irritate"
злиться *zlit'sya* "to feel angry, to be in a bad temper"
злбствовать *zlobstvovat'* "to feel outraged"
злвещий *zloveshchij* "ominous, sinister, ill-omened"
злврдный *zlovrednyj* "harmful, noxious, pernicious"
злдеей *zlodej* "villain, scoundrel, miscreant"
злдеяние *zlodeyanie* "crime, evil deed"
злключение *zloklyuchenie* "mishap, misadventure"
злнамренный *zlonamerennyj* "ill-intentioned"
злпамятный *zlopamyatnyj* "rancorous"
злполучный *zlopoluchnyj* "unhappy, ill-starred, ill-fated"
злрадство *zloradstvo* "malicious / malignant joy"
злрадный *zloradnyj* "gloating, full of malicious joy"
злрадствовать *zloradstvovat'* "gloat over, rejoice at the misfortune of others"
злупотребление *zloupotrblenie* "abuse, misuse"
злдьень *zlyden'*, злюка *zlyuka* "a malicious creature, shrew (of women)"
злющий *zlyushchij* "furious, very angry"

combinatory possibilities

Zlost' is often interchangeable with *zlo* "malice":

его берёт злость *ego beryot zlost'* "it makes him wild/furious (with)"

меня зло берёт *menya zlo beryot* "it vexes me / it annoys me"

злой *zloj* angry

- a person in the state of *irritation, discontent, anger* caused by/with smb/smith;
- a feature revealing the state of *irritation, discontent, anger*

combinatory possibilities of the derivative zloj

злой от природы, от рождения *zloi ot prirody, ot rozhdeniq* "evil by nature, from the birth"

злой по натуре, по характеру *zloi po nature, po harakteru* "evil by nature, by character"

Зол на кого — что: (о человеке) на друга, на всех, на него, на неё, на Мухина ... на группу, на класс, на весь мир ... *Zol na kogo -chto: (o cheloveke) na druga, na vseh, na nego, na neyo, na Muhina...na gruppu, na klass, na ves' mir...*"Angry with/at smb/smth: (about a person) with a friend, with everybody, with him, with her, with Muhin...at the group, at the class-mates, at the entire world..."

Зол как кто: как чёрт (разг.), как собака (разг.) ... *Zol kak kto: kak chyort (razg.), kak sobaka (razg.)...* "Angry like who: like the Devil (coll.), like a dog (coll.)"

Очень, страшно (разг.), ужасно (разг.) ... злой. Я очень зол на тебя, ты опять не выполнил своего обещания. *Ochen', strashno (razg.), uzhasno (razg.)... zloj. Ya ochen' zol na tebya, ty opyat ne vpolnil svoego obeshchaniya.* "Very, awfully (coll.), terribly (coll.) angry. I am very angry with you, for you haven't fulfilled your promise again."

Быть, стать, прийти, вернуться, ходить ... злым. *Byt', stat', priyti, vernut'sya, hodit'...zlym.* "To be, become, turn up, come back, be pacing up and down... angry/angrily/ in the state of anger"

Кто-л. злой / зол; *Kto-libo zloj/zol*; "Smb is angry"

что-л. злое / зло. *chto-libo zloe/zlo.* "smth is wicked/angry".

Лицо, глаза, взгляд, выражение лица, голос, тон, настроение ... *Litso, glaza, vzglyad, vyrazhenie litsa, golos, ton, nastroenie...* "The face, the eyes, the look, facial expression, voice, intonation, mood...". Глаза у него вдруг стали злыми и колючими. *Glaza u nego vdrug stali zlymi i kolyuchimi.* "His eyes suddenly turned angry and prickly".

Зло (нареч.) посмотреть на кого-что-л., ответить, заметить ... *Zlo (narechie) posmotret' na kogo-chto-libo, otvetit', zametit'...* "To look at smb/smth, to answer, to remark angrily (adverb)..."

со злым умыслом *so zlym umyslom* "with an evil, malicious intent / purpose; (legal) of malice prepense"

злой язык *zloi yazyk* "bitter/venomous tongue"

злая воля *zlaya volya* "evil will"

злой рок *zloi rok* "bad luck"

злой-презлой *zloj-prezloj* "as cross as two sticks"

combinatory possibilities of other derivatives

злоупотребление доверием *zloupotreblenie doveriem* "breach of trust / confidence",

отплатить злом за добро *otplatit' zlom za dobro* "to repay good with evil",

из двух зол выбрать меньшее *iz dvuh zol vybrat' men'sheye* "to choose the lesser of two evils",

злоба дня *zloba dnya* "topic of the day, latest news"

synonyms

zlost' "anger" - *zloba* "malice", *yad* "poison", *zhelch'* "bile", *ozhestochenie* "embitterment"

zloj "angry" - 1. *zlobnyj* "malicious" 2. *serdityj* "angry / cross"

zlit' "to irritate" – *serdit'* "to make angry"

zlit'sya "to be angry / cross" – *serdit'sya* "to be angry"

antonyms

злость *zlost'* "anger" - дружба *druzhiba* "friendship", доброжелательность *dobrozhelatel'nost'* "goodwill", доброта *dobrota* "kindness", любовь *lyubov'* "love", благодушие *blagodushie* "complacency", добродушие *dobrodushie* "good nature", радость *radost'* "joy", ласковый *laskovyyj* "affectionate", нежный *nezhnyj* "tender", добросердечный *dobroserdechnyj* "kind-hearted", добродушный *dobrodushnyj* "kind", незлобивый *nezloblivyyj* "good-natured", душевный *dushevnyj* "cordial",

кроткий *krotkij* "meek", чуткий *chutkij* "tactful", хороший *horoshij* "good".
 Злить *zlit'* "to anger" - радовать *radovat'* "to gladden", тешить *teshit'* "to please"
 Злоба *zloba* "anger" - доброта *dobrota* "kindness"
 Злобливость *zloblivost'* "wickedness" - добродушие *dobrodushie* "good nature"
 Злобность *zlobnost'* "ill-naturedness" - добросердечность *dobroserdechnost'* "kind-heartedness"
 Злобный *zlobnyj* "ill-natured" - добрый *dobryj* "kind", дружелюбный *druzhelyubnyj* "friendly", Незлобивый *nezlobivyj* "good-natured"
 Злой *zloy* "angry" - благой *blagoj* "venerable", добродушный *dobrodushnyj* "good-natured", добрый *dobryj* "kind", ласковый *laskovyj* "affectionate"

4.3.1.3. *Serdit'sya*

etymology

Old Russian *serdityj*, cognate with the noun *serdtse* heart, since in old times people believed that the heart is the centre of *love* and *friendship* as well as the container of *wrath* and *anger*. Hence the original meaning of *serd* – гнев *gnev* "wrath", the adjective сердитый *serdityj* "angry", meaning гневный *gnevnyj* "wrathful", злой *zloy* "angry".

lexical meaning

- to be angry/cross (with smb at/about smth); the least intensive and profound emotion in comparison with other synonyms, it can appear under the influence of any fact which is able to cause *discontent* and there is someone or something concrete who or which is guilty: a slow-minded person, a child's prank or a violation of accepted norms of social life
- БЫТЬ НЕ В ДУХЕ; ВСТАТЬ С ЛЕВОЙ (ИЛИ НЕ С ТОЙ НОГИ) (РАЗГ. ШУТЛ.) *byt' ne v duhe* "to be out of sorts", *vstat' s levoj (ili ne s toj nogi) (razg. shutl.)* ; to stand up from the left (or from the wrong) foot (coll., jocosely)"

- втайне: таить злобу; *vtajne: tait' zlobu*; "surreptitiously: to hold a grudge"

derivatives

сердить *serdit'* "to make angry"

сердитый *serdityj* 1) "(of people) - angry" 2) "(of mustard, tobacco, spices) - strong"

сердито *serdito* "angrily"

combinatory possibilities

сердиться на сына, на мужа и т. п. *serdit'sya na syna, muzha i t.p.* "To be angry with the son, husband etc."

продолжать/перестать сердиться *prodolzhat'/perestat' serdit'sya* "to continue / stop being angry", сердиться на кого-либо за что-либо/за то, что *serdit'sya na kogo-libo za chto-libo/za to, chto* "to be angry with smb for smth/(with a subordinate clause)"

сердитый взгляд, вид *serdityj vzglyad, vid* "an angry look, appearance"

дёшево и сердито *dyoshevo i serdito* "cheap but good, a good bargain (a figurative expression)"

synonyms

сердиться (рассердиться) *serdit'sya (rasserdit'sya)*

- гневаться, злиться *gnevat'sya, zlit'sya* "to be angry", злобиться *zlobit'sya* "to be full of spite", злобствовать *zlobstvovat'* "to feel angry", беситься *besit'sya* "to feel enraged", возмущаться *vozmushchat'sya* "to be indignant", досадовать *dosadovat'* "to feel annoyed", негодовать *negodovat'* "to feel indignant", приходить в бешенство (или в ярость) *prihodit' v beshenstvo (ili v yarost')* "to fly into a rage (or to become mad with fury)", терять терпение *teryat' terpenie* "to lose patience", разъяряться / разъяриться *razyaryat'sya razyarit'sya* "to fly into a rage", свирепеть *svirepet'* "to become enraged", выходить из себя (или из терпения) *vyhodit' iz sebya (ili iz terpeniya)* to be beside oneself with anger

(or to lose patience), быть вне себя *byt' vne sebya* "to be beside oneself", метать громы и молнии *metat' gromy i molnii* "to shoot out thunder and lightnings", звереть *zveret'* "to become brutal", распаляться *raspalyat'sya* "to get heated", взорваться *vzorvat'sya* "(lit.) to explode / to burst out", кипятиться *kipyatit'sya* "to boil", стervenеть *stervenet'* "to become mad with anger", доходить до белого каления *dohodit' do belogo kaleniya* "to turn red-hot incandescent", рвать и метать *rvat' i metat'* "to tear and throw", лопаться от (или со) злости (разг.) *lopat'sya ot (ili so) zlosti (razg.)* "to burst out from (or with) anger (coll.)", серчать *serchat'* "to get angry", лютовать *lyutovat'* "to be infuriated", сатанеть *satanet'* "to turn Satanic", сатаниться *satanit'sya* "to turn Satanic", злыдничать (прост.) *zlydnichat' (prost.)* "to act wickedly (vernac.)", пылать гневом (высок.) *pylat' gnevom (vysok.)* "to burn with anger (poet.)", метать икру *metat' ikru (npocm.)* "to get very angry / (lit.) to throw hard roe", лезть в пузырь (или в бутылку) (прост.) , *lezt' v puzyr' (ili v butylku) (prost.)* "to get very angry / (lit.) to get into a bubble (or into a bottle) (vernac.)"; Зло берет кого (разг.) *Zlo beryot kogo (razg.)* "Smb is overwhelmed with anger (coll.)". Не могу понять, чего он сердится, что он имеет против меня. *Ne mogu ponyat' chego on serditsya, chto on imeet protiv menya.* "I can't understand why he is cross with me, what he's got against me." У меня все внутренности переворачиваются, когда я вижу... *U menya vse vnetrennosti perevorachivayutsya kogda ya vizhu...* "My guts turn upside down when I see..."
 Быть вне себя. *Byt' vne sebya.* "To be beside oneself".

- быть не в духе; встать с левой (или не с той ноги) (разг., шутл.) *byt' ne v duhe* "to be out of sorts"; *vstat' s levoj (ili ne s toj nogi) (razg. shutl.)* "to stand up from the left (or from the wrong) foot (coll., jocose)"
- втайне: таить злобу; *vtajne: tait' zlobu*; "surreptitiously: to conceal malice"; точить нож (или зуб) на кого, иметь зуб на кого / против кого (разг.) *tochit' nozh (ili zub) na kogo, imet' zub na kogo/protiv kogo (razg.)* "to sharpen a knife (or a tooth) for/against, to have a tooth for/against (coll.)", держать зло (или сердце, гнев) на кого (прост.) *derzhat' zlo (ili serdtse, gnev) na kogo (prost.)* "to hold malice (or heart, anger) against (vernac.)", хмуриться *hmurit'sya* "to

frown", дуться *dut'sya* "to pout", надуть губы *nadut' guby* "to pout one's lips", смотреть косо *smotret' koso* "to look askew".

сердить *serdit'* "to anger" — гневить *gnevit'* "to anger", прогневливать *prognevlyat'* "to anger", дразнить *draznit'* "to tease", бесить *besit'* "to infuriate", злить (разозлить) *zlit' (razozlit')* "to tease / to irritate", озлоблять *ozloblyat'* "to make smb angry", ожесточать *ozhestochat'* "to embitter", раздражать *razdrazhat'* "to irritate", досаждают *dosazhdat'* "to annoy", возмущать *vozmushchat'* "to make smb feel indignant", волновать *volnovat'* "to worry / excite", приводить в гнев / в бешенство / в ярость *privodit' v gnev / v beshenstvo / v yarost'* "to bring smb into anger / rage / fury", вызывать гнев *vyzyvat' gnev* "to cause anger", выводить из себя (или из терпения) *vyvodit' iz sebya (ili iz terpeniya)* "to make smb feel beside himself with anger(or lose one's patience)", восстанавливать против себя *vosstanavlivat' protiv sebya* "to make smb one's own enemy", разъярять *razyaryat'* "to make smb feel furious", распалять *raspalyat'* "to heat up", будить зверя в ком *budit' zverya v kom* "to arouse brutality in", доводить до белого каления (разг.) *dovodit' do belogo kaleniya (razg.)* "to bring smb to red-hot incandescence", кровь портить *krov' portit'* "to spoil blood".

сердитый *serdityj* "angry" — гневный *gnevnyj* "angry / enraged", недовольный *nedovol'nyj* "discontented", нервный *nervnyj* "nervous", возмущенный *vozmushchyonnyj* "indignant", озлобленный *ozloblennyj* "angry", ожесточенный *ozhestochyonnyj* "embittered", раздосадованный *razdosadovannyj* "annoyed", раздраженный *razdrazhyonnyj* "irritated", разъяренный *razyaryonnyj* "infuriated", остервенелый *ostervenelyj* "brutal", свирепый *svirepyj* "fierce", грозный *groznyj* "formidable", яростный *yarostnyj* "furious", взбешенный *vzbeshyonnyj* "enraged", бешеный *beshenyj* "mad", сварливый *svarlivyj* "cantankerous", злой *zloy* "angry", осердясь *oserdyas'* "in ill-temper", остервенясь *ostervenyas'* "mad with anger", в сердцах *v serdtsah* "angrily", с сердец *s serdtsov* "angrily", в горячах *vgoryachah* "without thinking", сгоряча *sgoryacha* "without deliberation", запальчивый *zapal'chivyj* "in the heat of anger", негодующий *negoduyushchij* "indignant", суровый *surovyj* "severe", хмурый *hmuryj* "sullen", надутый *nadutyj* "pout".

сердито *serdito* "angrily" — гневно *gnevno* "angrily", свирепо *svirepo* "fiercely", грозно *grozno* "formidably", злобно *zlobno* "maliciously", зло *zlo* "spitefully",

яростно *yarostno* "furiously", с сердцем (прост.) *s serdtsem (prost.)* "angrily (lit. with a heart) (vernac.)."

antonyms

сердиться *serdit'sya* "to anger" – успокаиваться *uspokaivat'sya* "to calm down", радоваться *radovat'sya* "to be delighted"

сердитый *serdityj* "angry" - добродушный *dobrodushnyj* "good-natured"

4.3.1.4. *Vozmushchat'*

etymology

It is formed from the prefix воз- + -мущать (мутить) *voz + mushchat' (mutit')*. The word originates from Pre-Slavic *mōtīti which generated among others: Old Slavic *мѣтити*, Russian *мутить, мучу*: "to mix, to disturb, to bother".

lexical meaning

возмущать *vozmushchat'* / возмутить *vozmutil'*:

- to arouse in smb the feeling of indignation, irritation
- to instigate a crowd to a riot (obsolete)

derivatives

возмущаться *vozmushchat'sya* / возмутиться *vozmutil'sya*

- to feel indignant, discontented, irritated
- to start a riot (obsolete)

возмущение *vozmushchenie*

- indignation, a strong feeling of irritation, annoyance

- a riot, a rebellion" (obsolete)

возмущённый *vozmushchyonnyj* - "full of indignation" (adj)

возмущенно *vozmushchyonno* - "full of indignation" (adv)

возмущенность *vozmushchyonnost'* - "the feeling of indignation" (n)

возмутительный *vozmutil'nyj* - "causing indignation" (adj)

возмутительный *vozmutil'nyj* - "causing the feeling of indignation" (adj)

возмутительность *vozmutil'nost'* - "something causing indignation" (n)

combinatory possibilities

возмутить кого (что) чем *vozmutil', kogo (chto) chem* "to arouse indignation in somebody by something":

возмутить народ *vozmutil' narod* "to instigate the people to a riot",

возмутить кого-н. грубостью *vozmutil' kogo-nibud' grubostyu* "to arouse indignation in smb by one's rudeness"

возмущаться *vozmushchat'sya* "To feel indignation, irritation" is usually used with the conjunction что *chto* "that" (with the optional indicative word тем *tem* "by that") and conjunctive words как *kak* "how" (with the obligatory indicative words тем *tem* "by that"), почему *pochemu* "why":

Многие жильцы возмущались тем, что в доме зимой слишком холодно. *Mnogie zhil'tsy vozmushchalis' tem, chto v dome zimoj slishkom holodno.* "Many tenants felt indignant at the fact that it was too cold in the house in winter".

Туристы возмущались тем, как их обслуживали в ресторане. *Turisty vozmushchalis' tem, kak ih obsluzhivali v restorane.* "The tourists were enraged at the way they were served at the restaurant".

Пассажиры возмутились, почему рейс самолёта задерживается, несмотря на лётную погоду. *Passazhiry vozmutilis', pochemu rejs samolyota zaderzhivaetsya, nesmotrya na lyotnyuyu pogodu.* "The passengers were infuriated wondering why the flight was delayed the weather being navigable".

возмутиться при виде несправедливости *vozmutil'sya pri vide nespravedlivosti* "to feel indignant at the sight of injustice"

Народ возмутился. *Narod vozmutil'sya*. "The people started a riot".

Чувство возмущения *chuvstvo vozmushcheniya* "the feeling of indignation".

в крайнем возмущении кто-н. *v krajnem vozmushchenii kto-nibud'*. "smb is extremely indignant".

возмущение крестьян *vozmushchenie krestyan* "the rebellion of the peasants".

возмущённый тон *vozmushchyonnyj ton* "an indignant intonation".

возмущенно говорить *vozmushchyonno govorit'* "to speak indignantly"

возмутительный поступок *vozmutil'nyj postupok* "conduct causing indignation"

synonyms

раздразниться *razdrazhat'sya* "to get irritated", сердиться *serdit'sya* "to be angry", противиться *protivit'sya* "to oppose"; восстать *vosstat'* "to rebel", взбунтоваться *vzbuntovat'sya* "to riot", подняться *podnyat'sya* "to stand up", забунтовать *zabuntovat'* "to start a riot", занегодовать *zanegodovat'* "to get indignant", прийти в негодование *priйти v negodovanie* "to become indignant", встать мятежом *vstat' myatezhom* "to stand up with a riot", поднять восстание *podnyat' vosstanie* "to rise a rebellion", поднять бунт *podnyat' bunt* "to rise a riot", раздосадоваться *razdosadovat'sya* "to get annoyed", раздражиться *razdrazhit'sya* "to get irritated", ополчиться *opolchit'sya* "to be at daggers", выйти из терпения *vyjti iz terpeniya* "to lose patience", вознегодовать *voznegodovat'* "to feel outraged with indignation", офонареть *ofonaret'* "to become mad with indignation" (lit. to turn into a lantern), вооружиться *vooruzhit'sya* "to revolt", прогневиться *prognevit'sya* "to get infuriated", выйти из себя *vyjti iz sebya* "to be beside oneself", разгневаться *razgnevat'sya* "to start feeling furious", рассердиться *rasserdit'sya* "to start feeling angry", разъяриться *razyarit'sya* "to start feeling enraged", взорваться *vzorvat'sya* "to explode".

antonyms

возмущать *vozmushchat'* "to arouse indignation" - успокаивать *uspokaivat'* "to soothe"
возмутиться *vozmutil'sya* "to become indignant" – успокаиваться *uspokaivat'sya* "to

calm down"

возмущение *vozmushchenie* "indignation" - успокоение *uspokoenie* "calming down",

утихомиривание *utihomirivanie* "pacification", смирение *smirenje* "humility"

возмущенный *vozmushchyonnyj* "indignant" - невозмущённый *nevozmushchyonnyj*

"imperturbable," спокойный *spokojnyj* "calm", флегматичный *flegmatichnyj*

"phlegmatic"

4.3.1.5. *Yarost'*

etymology

The word ярость *yarost'* has been borrowed from Old Slavic, as a suffixation derivative from *jarъ* (ярость), *ярый* *yaruj* "zealous, having a strong feeling of wrath, violent, forceful, hot" with the original meaning "hot, fiery", also "bright, light, brilliant". The Common Slavic word has the Indo-European root *ia-* "to be excited, irritated" and probably comes from the Indo-European *ioros* "ardent, impetuous, violent". In its turn, the root *ia-* is represented by Old Hindu *'yatar'* "avenger, persecutor". In Old Russian, the word *яръ*, ярость *yarost'* "wrath, vexation" has been widely used approximately since XI c.

lexical meaning

ярость *yarost'* "rage"

- extreme wrath, rage
- figurative, poetical: pressure, untamed power",

e.g. ярость волн *yarost' voln* "the wrath of the waves"

derivatives

яростный *yarostnyj* "wrathful"

разъяриться *razyarit'sya* "to fly into a rage"

combinatory possibilities

прийти в ярость *priiti v yarost'* "to fly into rage"

synonyms

ярость - азарт *azart* "venture", гнев *gnev* "wrath", горячность *goryachnost'* "heatedness", усердие *userdie* "zeal"; умоисступление *umoisstuplenie* "fever of the mind", пылкость *pylkost'* "heatedness", фанатизм *fanatizm* "fanaticism, камни вопиют *kamni vopiyut* "stones are lamenting", негодование *negodovanie* "indignation", исступление *isstuplenie* "fury", исступленность *isstuplyonnost'* "insanity", грозность *groznost'* "menace", раж *razh* "rage", неукротимость *neukrotimost'* "wildness", раздражение *razdrazhenie* "irritation", неистовость *neistovost'* "a frantic state", возмущение *vozmushchenie* "outrage", пыл *pyl* "heat", неистовство *neistovstvo* "a frantic state", буйство *bujstvo* "tumult", ярь *yar'* "uproar", эмоция *emotsiya* "emotion", бешенство *beshenstvo* "madness", бурность *burnost'* "violence", остервенение *ostervenenie* "fury", напор *napor* "pressure"

разъяриться *razyarit'sya* "to fly into a rage" - остервениться *ostervenit'sya* "to infuriate", вспылить *vspylit'* "to break out", взъярить *vzyarit'* "to make smb furious", раскипятиться *raskipyatit'sya* "to go boiling", распалиться *raspalit'sya* "to go heating", взорваться *vzorvat'sya* "to explode", раздражиться *razdrazhit'sya* "to get irritated", рассерчать *rasserchat'* "to become angry", освирепеть *osvirepet'* "to fly into a rage", опалиться гневом *opalit'sya gnevom* "to feel burning anger", ожесточиться *ozhestochit'sya* "to become cruel", распалиться гневом *raspalit'sya gnevom* "to become heated with anger", окрыситься *okrysit'sya* "to act like a rat", осердиться *oserdit'sya* "to go peevish", рассвирепеть *rassvirepet'* "to become infuriated", надуться *nadut'sya* "to pout", вскипеть *vskipet'* "to boil up", остервенеть *ostervenet'* "to become furious", погневаться *pognevat'sya* "to show ill-temper", занегодовать *zanegodovat'*

"to start feeling indignant", озвереть *ozveret'* "to become brutal", вскипятиться *vskipyatit'sya* "to start boiling", дойти до белого каления *dojti do belogo kaleniya* "to reach red-hot incandescence", прогневаться *prognevat'sya* "to show one's anger", обозлиться *obozlit'sya* "to become angry", осерчать *oserchat'* "to show indisposition", прогневиться *prognevit'sya* "to show one's anger", разлютоваться *razlyutovat'sya* "to become fierce", вспылать гневом *vospylat' gnevom* "to become heated with wrath", разозлиться *razozlit'sya* "to get cross", прийти в бешенство *prijti v beshenstvo* "to become infuriated", взъяриться *vzyarit'sya* "to become furious", взбелениться *vzbelenit'sya* "to go mad", прийти в ярость *prijti v yarost'* "to become infuriated", выйти из терпения *vyjti iz terpeniya* "to lose patience", возмутиться *vozmudit'sya* "to become indignant", выйти из себя *vyjti iz sebya* "to be beside oneself", рассердиться *rasserdit'sya* "to become angry", взбеситься *vzbesit'sya* "to go mad", надуть губы *nadut' guby* "to puff one's lips", озлиться *ozlit'sya* "to become spiteful", разгневаться *razgnevat'sya* "to become wrathful"

antonyms

ярость *yarost'* "fury"– спокойствие *spokojstvie* "calmness", хладнокровие *hladnokrovie* "coolness", самообладание *samoobladanie* "self-possession", сдержанность *sderzhannost'* "self-restraint", мир *mir* "peace", затишье *zatishe* "calmness, lull"

4.3.1.6. Razdrazhat'

etymology

A borrowing from Old Slavic where it was formed by prefixation from the verb *drzhati* meaning "to tease".

lexical meaning

раздражать / раздражить *razdrazhat' / razdrazhit'* "to irritate, to annoy":

- to irritate the body, part of the body, a muscle, a nerve, to excite, to stir, to generate the feeling of itch, tickling, pain etc., forcing the vessels to further activity. Свет, раздражая глазной нерв, вызывает в нем чувство зрения. Light irritating the ocular nerve causes in it the feeling of vision.
- to anger, to enrage, to astonish in a negative way, to bring smb into a state of nervous agitation which is combined with vexation, anger.

derivatives

раздразниться *razdrazhit'sya* "to get angry"

- to become annoyed, to get angry
- to become inflamed". Веки раздразнились. *Veki razdrazhilis'*. "The eyelids got inflamed".

раздражение *razdrazhenie* "annoyance" - the state of vexation, discontent caused by smth. Ответить с раздражением. "To answer with annoyance". В голосе сквозит р. "There is annoyance in his/her voice".

раздражённо *razdrazhyonno* "irritably"

раздражённый *razdrazhyonnyj* "irritated", "inflamed"

раздражимый - irritable, able to get irritated

раздражительный *razdrazhitel'nyj*:

- "irritable". раздражительный человек, весьма раздражимый, восприимчивый, впечатлительный, сильно раздражающийся; "An irritable person, very irritable, susceptible, sensitive, irritable to a great extent". Все нравственно раздражительные люди бывают вспыльчивы. "All irritable people are as a rule quick-tempered".
- "exasperating" - раздражительные средства, сильно раздражающие напитки "exasperating products, exasperating drinks".

раздражительность *razdrazhitel'nost'* - a state, a property of being irritable, irritability

combinatory possibilities

- Раздражать кого: (о человеке) *R. kogo*: отца, жену, больного, меня, всех, Петра... *otsa, zhenu, bol'nogo, menya, vseh, Petra*... "irritate whom? (about a person) the father, wife, patient, me, everybody, Pyotr" ...
- Раздражать кого-л. чем: *R- kogo-libo chem*: "to irritate smb by smth": каким-либо тоном, какими-либо манерами, к-л вопросами, к-л просьбами, к-л смехом, к-л шутками, к-л поведением, капризами...*kakim-libo tonom, voprosami, pros'bami, smehom, shutkami, povedeniem, kaprizami*... "by some intonation, manners, questions, laugh, banter, behaviour, whims..."
- Кто-л. раздражает кого-л.; *Kto-libo razdrazhaet kogo-libo*; "Smb irritates some other person"; что-л. (чей-л. тон, чьё-л. поведение, чьи-л. манеры, шум, свет, музыка...) раздражает кого-л. *chto-libo (chey-libo ton, povedenie, manery, shum, svet, muzyka...)* *razdrazhaet kogo-libo*. "Smth (smb's intonation, behaviour, manners, noise, light, music...) irritates some other person."
- Что-л. (какое-л. вещество, какой-л. газ, дым...) раздражает что-л. (слизистую оболочку чего-л. (носа...), глаза, дыхательные пути...) - что-л. вызывает боль, воспаление чего-л., неприятное ощущение в чём-л. *Chto-libo (kakoe-libo veshchestvo, gaz, dym...)* *radrazhaet chto-libo (slizistuyu obolochku chego-libo (nosa...), glaza, dyhatel'nye puti...)* - *chto-libo vyzyvayet bol', vospalenie chego-libo, nepriyatnoe oshchushchenie v chyom-libo*. "Smth (some substance, gas, smoke...) irritates smth (the mucous membrane of smth (of the nose...), eyes, respiratory organs...) - smth causes pain, inflammation of smth, an unpleasant feeling in some place of the body".
- Раздражать как часто: *R. kak chasto*: "To irritate (only imperf.) how often": всегда, иногда, часто, постоянно...*vsegda, inogda, chasto, postoyanno*... "always, sometimes, often, constantly..."
- Раздражать как: *R. kak*: "To irritate how": очень, страшно (разг.), ужасно (разг.), невероятно...*ochen', strashno (razg.), uzhasno (razg.), neveroyatno*... "very much,

awfully (coll.), frightfully (coll.), incredibly..."

- Начать, стать, перестать... раздражать кого-л. *Nachat', stat', perestat'... razdrzhat' kogo-libo.* "To begin, to start, to stop... irritating smb."

synonyms

раздражать *razdrzhat'* - возбуждать *vozbuzhdat'* "to excite", возмущать *vozmushchat'* "to arouse indignation", сердить *serdit'* "to anger"; нервировать *nervirovat'* "to get on nerves", действовать на нервы *dejstvovat' na nervy* "to get on nerves", играть на нервах *igrat' na nervah* "(lit.) to play on nerves", издегивать *izdyorgivat'* "to exasperate", растравлять *rastravlyat'* "to irritate", надоедать *nadoedat'* "to tire/bother", горячить *goryachit'* "to heat", колоть глаза *kolot' glazu* "to irritate (lit. to prick eyes)", заставляя нервничать *zastavlyat' nervnichat'* "to make smb nervous", растревоживать *rastrevozhivat'* "to disturb/worry", озлоблять *ozloblyat'* "to make furious", сидеть в печенках *sidet' v pechyonkah* "(lit.) to sit in the liver, to sit in the guts", доводить *dovodit'* "to madden", зацеплять *zatseplyat'* "(lit.) to hook", растравливать *rastravlivat'* "to exasperate", бередить *beredit'* "to irritate", драть *drat'* "to vex", дергать *dyorgat'* "to bother", гнобить *gnobit'* "to pursue", коробить *korobit'* "to make smb feel unpleasant", трепать нервы *trepat' nervy* "to swingle nerves", заводить *zavodit'* "to infuriate", не нравиться *ne nraivit'sya* "to dislike", портить нервы *portit' nervy* "to frustrate (lit. to spoil nerves)", гладить против шерсти *gladit' protiv shersti* "to put smb's back up", портить кровь *portit' krov'* "to spoil smb's blood", досаждают *dosazhdat'* "to vex", быть бельмом на глазу *byt' bel'mom na glazu* "to be a sore eye", разгорячать *razgoryachat'* "to heat up", волновать *volnovat'* "to excite".

antonyms

Раздражение *razdrzhenie* "irritation" – покой *pokoj* "tranquility", *otsutstvie reakcii* "absence of reaction", спокойствие *spokojstvie* "calmness", безмятежность *bezmyatezhnost'* "serenity", удовольствие *udovol'stvie* "pleasure", легкость *lyogkost'*

"lightness, ease".

Раздражённо *razdrazhyonno* "irritably" - невозмутимо *nevozmuto* "imperturbably"

спокойно *spokojno* "calmly" флегматично *flegmatichno* "phlegmatically"

Раздражённый *razdrazhyonnyj* "irritated" - спокойный *spokojnyj* "calm"

Раздражительность *razdrazhitel'nost'* "irritability" - терпение *terpenie* "patience"

терпимость *terpimost'* "tolerance"

4.3.1.7. *Besit'*

etymology

The word «бес» *bes* "demon" came from the Old Russian language (it is encountered in literary sources since XI c.). The Old Russian form «бѣсъ» is borrowed from Old Slavic (clerical) *besъ*. Ultimately, «бес» ascends to the Indo-European substantivized adjective 'bhoidh-sos' - "causing fear, awful, frightful", with the root *bhoi-* (the same as in Common Slavic *bojatis* "to fear").

lexical meaning

бесить *besit'* / взбесить *vzbesit'* (coll.) "to make smb extremely irritated"

беситься, *besit'sya* / взбеситься *vzbesit'sya* (coll.) -

- about animals: to be taken ill with rabies
- to be in a state of extreme irritation
- to have fun, to play pranks without limits (coll.). Дети бесились весь вечер.
Deti besilis' ves' vecher "The children behaved frantically all evening."

derivatives

бешенство *beshenstvo* "madness, rage, fury"

бешеный *beshenyj*:

- "mad, frantic, one's reason and consciousness gone, having turned into a fierce beast".
- "Passionate, vehement; fiercely hot"
- "Audacious, daring, excessively categorical".
- "Frantically rapid".

бесноватый *besnovatyj* "full of frenzy"

бесовской *besovskoj* "demoniac",

бесовщина *besovshchina* "demoniac deeds",

бесновать *besnovat'* "to act outrageously",

бесенок *besyonok* "imp, little devil".

combinatory possibilities

Бесить (кого?) *besit' (kogo?)* "to enrage (whom?)",

приводить в бешенство *privodit' v beshenstvo* "to make smb furious";

Молодые бранятся - тешатся; старики бранятся бесятся *molodye branyatsya - teshatsya; stariki branyatsya besyatsya* "The young people scold with pleasure, the old people scold to become frantic".

Бешеному дитяти ножа не давати *beshenomu dityati nozha ne davati* "Do not give a knife to a frantic child".

С жиру беситься *s zhiru besit'sya* "lit. to go mad from fat, well-to-do people may become over-fastidious" (coll.).

synonyms

бесить *besit'* "to make smb furious" - сердить *serdit'* "to make smb cross", злить *zlit'* "to anger smb", гневить *gnevit'* "to make smb wrathful", раздражать *razdrzhat'* "to irritate"; доводить до иступления *dovodit' do isstupleniya* "to make smb frantic", выводить из себя *vyvodit' iz sebya* "to get on smb's nerves", разъярить *razyarit'* "to make smb enraged", доводить до белого каления *dovodit' do belogo kaleniya* "to bring smb to red-hot incandescence"

беситься *besit'sya* "to be outraged" - лезть на стену *lezt' na stenu* "to climb the wall", злобиться *zlobit'sya* "to be wicked", неистовствовать *neistovstvovat'* "to act fiercely", свирепствовать *svirepstvovat'* "to act outrageously", бушевать *bushevat'* "to act boisterously", выходить из себя *vyhodit' iz sebya* "to be beside oneself", злиться *zlit'sya* "to be angry", разъяряться *razyaryat'sya* "to fly into a rage", сумасшествовать *sumasshestovat'* "to go mad", звереть *zveret'* "to become brutal", сердиться *serdit'sya* "to be angry", быть вне себя *byt' vne sebya* "to be beside oneself", бесноваться *besnovat'sya* "to become frantic", сатаниться *satanit'sya* "to be Satanic", сатанеть *satanet'* "to become Satanic", метать икру *metat' ikru* "to throw hard roe", лопаться со злости *lopat'sya so zlosti* "to burst with anger", метать перуны *metat' peruny* "to shoot lightnings", злыдничать *zlydnichat'* "to be wicked", лезть в пузырь *lezt' v puzyr'* "to get into a bubble", лопаться от злости *lopat'sya ot zlosti* "to burst from anger", стервенеть *stervenet'* "to fly into a rage", свирепеть *svirepet'* "to become furious", рвать и метать *rvat' i metat'* "to tear and throw", гневаться *gnevat'sya* "to show one's wrath", возмущаться *vozmushchat'sya* "to be indignant", кипятиться *kipyatit'sya* "to boil", доходить до белого каления *dohodit' do belogo kaleniya* "to become red-hot incandescent", метать громы и молнии *metat' gromy i molnii* "to shoot thunder and lightnings", нервничать *nervnichat'* "to be nervous", лютовать *lytovat'* "to act fiercely", резвиться без меры *rezvit'sya (bez mery)* "to be playful (excessively)", играть *igrat'* "to play", шалить *shalit'* "to play pranks", дурить *durit'* "to do foolish things", буйствовать *bujstvovat'* "to act violently", серчать *serchat'* "to show one's indisposition", лезть в бутылку *lezt' v butylku* "to get into a bottle", сумасшедствовать *sumasshedstvovat'* "to go mad", юродствовать *yurodstvovat'* "to act like one of unbalanced mind", гневиться *gnevit'sya* "to be wrathful", приходить в ярость *prihodit' v yarost'* "to become furious", приходить в бешенство *prihodit' v beshenstvo* "to fly into a rage", выходить из терпения *vyhodit' iz terpeniya* "to lose patience", распалиться *raspalyat'sya* "to become heated", зло берет *zlo beryot* "smb is overwhelmed with anger", щетиниться *shchetinit'sya* "to bristle", возиться *vozit'sya* "to make fuss", пороть горячку *porot' goryachku* "to act without thinking", яриться *yarit'sya* "to become infuriated", шизовать *shizovat'* "to turn mad", злобствовать *zlobstvovat'* "to act wickedly", безумствовать *bezumstvovat'* "to act insanely", вести

себя безрассудно *vesti sebya bezrassudno* "to behave insanely", сходить с ума *skhodit' s uma* "to go mad", поступать безрассудно *postupat' bezrassudno* "to behave insanely", досадовать *dosadovat'* "to be annoyed", буяннить *buyanit'* "to act ruffianly" бешенство - гнев *gnev* "wrath", исступление *isstuplenie* "frenzy", неистовство *neistovstvo* "frantic state"

antonyms

бесить *besit'* "to infuriate" – успокаивать *uspokaivat'* "to soothe"
бешеный *beshenyj* "mad, insane" - здоровый *zdorovyj* "healthy, sane", спокойный *spokojnyj* "calm", умиротворенный *umirotvoryonnyj* "pacified"

4.3.1.8. Nervnichat'

etymology

Нерв *nerv* "nerve" is a borrowing from French where *nerf* ascends to the Latin *nervus* - "a nerve, a muscle" ascending to the Greek *neuron*.

lexical meaning

нервничать *nervnichat'* (imperf.) "to be nervous / irritated", понервничать *ponervnichat'* (perf., coll.) "to fret"

нервный *nervnyj* 1) "nervous, irritated" (about a person), 2) "full of irritating moments, worries, confrontations" (about smth, e.g. a job, a day), 3) "vehement, jerky" (about smb's way of walking, speaking, etc.)

derivatives

нервность *nervnost'* "nervousness"

нервировать кого (что). *nervirovat' kogo (что)* "to make smb nervous / to get on smb's

nerves / to irritate"

нервозный *nervoznyj* "nervous, irritable",

нервозность *nervoznost'* "nervousness, irritability"

нервотрепка *nervotryopka* (coll.) "jitters"

combinatory possibilities

нервничать из-за чего-л./ по поводу чего-л. "to get nervous about smth / because of smth"

нервничать по пустякам. *Nervnichat' po pustyakam.* "To get nervous / angry over trifles".

приводить кого-н. в нервное состояние "to make smb nervous / angry"

быть... нервным *byt'...nervnym* "to be...nervous."

что-л. нервное *chto-libo nervnoe* "smth is nervous":

нервная женщина. *Nervnaya zhenshchina.* "a nervous / irritated / angry woman"

нервные жесты. *Nervnye zhesty.* "nervous gestures"

нервная походка. *Nervnaya pohodka.* "a nervous gait"

нервная работа. *Nervnaya rabota.* "a nerve-racking job, full of conflicts"

нервозный характер *nervoznyj harakter* "a nervous, irritable character/disposition"

нервная обстановка *nervoznaya obstanovka* "nervous environment"

ненужная нервотрепка *nenuzhnaya nervotryopka.* "unnecessary jitters"

Постоянный шум нервирует. *Postoyannyj shum nerviruet.* "Constant noise is irritating".

synonyms

нервничать *nervnichat'* "to feel nervous, to fret"

Быть на взводе *byt' na vzvode* "to be aroused", сумасшествывать *sumasshestvovat'* "to behave insanely", менжеваться *menzhevat'sya* "to fret", маразмировать *marazmirovat'* "to behave marazmatically", возбуждаться *vozbuzhdat'sya* "to get aroused", психовать *psihovat'* "to freak out, lit. to behave insanely", шизовать *shizovat'* "to become half-

witted", пузыриться *puzyrit'sya* "to be beside oneself, lit to bubble" , трепыхаться *trepyhat'sya* "to feel uneasy, lit. to palpitate", безумствовать *bezumstvovat'* "to behave insanely", ходить на ушах *hodit' na ushah* "to be beside oneself, lit. to go on one's ears", беситься *besit'sya* "to feel furious", прокалиться *prokalit'sya* "to get red-hot with anger", взводиться *vzvodit'sya* "to feel hitched up", скипидарничать *skipidarnichat'* "to act like turpentine", комплексовать *kompleksovat'* "to feel inferior, lit to be having complexes", мандражировать *mandrazhirovat'* "to be scared", плавиться *plavit'sya* "to melt", раздражаться *razdrazhat'sya* "to get irritated", психа давить *psiha davit'* "to be very anxious, angry, lit. to press on the psychic (person)", волноваться *volnovat'sya* "to be anxious", своенравничать *svoenravnichat'* "to show one's wilfulness", расстраиваться, искрить / искриться, дурить, капризничать, какая муха укусила, быть на иголках, чувствовать себя неловко, возбужать, глупить, привередничать, самодурить

нервный *nervnyj* раздражительный *razdrazhitel'nyj* "irritable", беспокойный *bespokojnyj* "anxious", порывистый *poryvistyj* "vehement", судорожный *sudorozhnyj* "jerky"

antonyms

нервный *nervnyj* "nervous" – невозмутимый *nevozmutimyj* "cool-headed", хладнокровный *hladnokrovnyj* "in cold blood"

нервно *nervno* "nervously" – спокойно *spokoyno* "calmly"

4.3.1.9. Distinction between *gnev* "rage", *zlost'* "anger", *yarost'* "fury", *razdrazhat'* "to irritate", *besit'* "to infuriate", *nervnichat'* "to be nervous", *vozmushchat'* "to indignant" and *serdit'sya* "to be angry"

To begin with, all the words above are listed as synonyms in the dictionaries. In the Dictionary of Russian Synonyms (Apresjan et al., 2000), *serdit'sya* "to be angry", *vozmushchat'sya* "to be indignant", *zlit'sya* "to feel irritated", *raz'yarit'sya* "to fly into a

rage" and *besit'sya* "to go crazy" (along with *vzorvat'sya* "to explode", but omitted in our study due to its low frequency) are listed as variations of the same concept of *discontent*. Apresjan also mentions *razdrazhat'* "to irritate" / *razdrazhat'sya* "to fret", *obizhat'* 'to offend' / *obizhat'sya* "to take offence" and *bespokoit'* 'to bother / to worry' / *bespokoit'sya* "to feel worried" as analogous, along with *dosazhdat'* "to pester", *dosadovat'* "to be annoyed", *ogorchat'* "to grieve", *rasstraivat'* "to distress", *draznit'* "to tease" and *zadevat'* "to make sore / to touch to the quick". Moreover, the author lists *(na)dut'sja* "to pout", *osuzhdat'* "to disapprove" and *rugat'* "to scold / to upbraid" as close synonyms to the *discontent*-verbs.

Traditionally, *gnev*, *zlost'*, *yarost'*, *razdrazhenie* and *serdit'sya* are differentiated by their respective intensity, e.g. *razdrazhenie* – *chuvstvo nedovol'stva, dosady* "feeling of discontent, vexation", *serdit'sya* – *ispytyvat' chuvstvo sil'nogo razdrazhenija, nedovol'stva* "to experience strong annoyance, discontent", *zlost'* – *gnevnoe razdrazhenie* "wrathful annoyance", *gnev* – *sostoyanie kraynego razdrazheniya, nedovol'stva* "state of extreme annoyance, discontent". Therefore, from this point of view, one could say that *razdrazhenie* "annoyance" and *nervnichat'* "get nervous, irritated" are the least intense 'anger'-words and *gnev* "wrath" and *yarost'* "fury" are the most intense 'anger'-words in Russian. This fact can partly explain the high frequency of *razdrazhat'*, especially if we apply the idea of collective societies being reluctant in open 'anger'-manifestation. This is the common explanation of the 'anger'-word preference in Russian so far (see e.g. Ogarkova et al., 2012). Nevertheless, observing the dictionary entries above, one can notice the tendency to use *razdrazhenie* as a basic word for the explanation of 'anger'-words, apart from the general word *nedovol'stvo* "discontent". There are several reasons for this.

Razdrazhenie "irritation", along with the more intense *besit'* "to infuriate", can be positioned between two groups of anger-words in Russian (see Apresjan, 1992). Although the author does not include *razdrazhat'* "to irritate" in the main article, he mentions the word as analogous). The synonyms of the first group (*serdit'sya*, *vozmushchat'sya*) denote emotions that are caused by a negative evaluation of somebody's actions, states or traits of character as contradicting one's personal expectations or the norms of human morality. Such emotions are always experienced by

a human being, and are caused by factors which are immediately related to human agency. Even when it is difficult to trace the dissatisfaction of the experiencer to the actions or properties of a concrete person, the state of things causing dissatisfaction is visualized as a more or less direct consequence of a human activity.

Gnev also belongs to the first group of synonyms, but it is usually rated as archaic and out of use (See Apresjan, *ibid.*, Wierzbicka 1999, Andrews 2002). Nevertheless, due to its high frequency, this notion should be corrected. *Gnev* is a technical term nowadays, used in psychology, mostly as translation equivalent for 'anger'. It is often alternated by another technical term *agressiya* "aggression". In further explanation in such scientific articles the word *gnev* is also often accompanied by *zlost'* and *obida*. Therefore, it would be false to state that *gnev* is an out-dated, archaic word. It has been revived by psychology in order to fill the lexical gap in Russian for a noun denoting "anger" in scientific, professional discourse. Although, from linguistic point of view, *gnev* only partly corresponds to the term 'anger' even as a technical term, as it could be translated only as one of the facets of the English anger, i.e. as 'outbursts of anger, physical or verbal aggression' (external manifestation of anger) or "judgemental anger, which is directed towards others, and may come with feelings of resentment". Hence, its frequent combination with *obida*.

Within this group *serdit'* denotes the least intense and deep emotion which arises as a result of any factor capable of causing *discontent* and suggesting or implying a concrete culprit. This emotional reaction may be purely subjective.

What is important for *serdit'* is that the culprit cannot occupy a considerably higher position in the age or social hierarchy than the experiencer (subject) of emotion. Husband and wife can *annoy (serdit')* each other, a daughter can arouse the same feeling in her parents, as well as a servant in his master. One cannot say, however, **Professor serdil studentov svoim pedantizmom.* "The professor vexed the students with his pedantry".

Serdit'sya – only close relationship and at individuals (comes from *serdce* "heart").

Vozmushchat' "to fill someone with indignation", as distinct from other synonyms of the group except *vzorvat'* 'to make someone explode', denotes a feeling with the strongest moral motivation and the least implication of immediate perceptual contact between the

experiencer and the culprit. It may be very profound and stay on in someone's soul for a long time. It is usually caused either by someone's immediate observation of injustice or misconduct on somebody's part, or by knowledge of such things acquired at second-hand. *Vozmushchenie* "indignation" is least motivated by one's personal grudge or the feeling of offence, that is, by one's personal involvement in the situation. One may be outraged (*vozmushchyon*) by the actions of the city authorities of which one has learnt from newspapers, or by the behaviour of the military in a foreign country, or by the builders' barbaric attitude towards nature, or by the police harassing illegal immigrants, and so on. *Serdit'* "to make angry", as well as the majority of other synonyms, is not used to refer to such situations. Hence *vozmushchenie* is considered to be the most objective, righteous and profound of all emotions denoted by the synonyms of the group in question. That is why one cannot say **Okkupantov / grabitelej vozmushchalo, chto ih zhertvy osmelivayutsya protestovat.** "The invaders / robbers were indignant that their victims dared to protest".

The major point of difference between the first and the second group of synonyms is the fact that the verbs *zlit'* "to irritate / to madden", *razozlit'* "to irritate / to make mad", and *raz'yarit'* "to infuriate / to enrage" suggest a displeasing action upon more primitive systems of the experiencer, first of all, upon his nerves. This is the reason why they can be used to refer to the emotional reactions of higher animals as well as those of a human being: *Ne nado zlit'sobaku* "You shouldn't irritate the dog". The suggestion of primitiveness accounts for the fact that *zlit'*, *razozlit'* and *raz'yarit'* denote a less rational emotion, an emotion with a smaller share of reflection on the part of the experiencer about what causes his displeasure. In particular, all these synonyms may denote the reaction of a living being to the source of pain. This is especially characteristic of *raz'yarit'* "to make smb crazy". Yet even these synonyms cannot be used to describe a situation where there is no visible link between the immediately operative factor and some sort of human agency. Such phrases as **Dozhd' ego zlit/razozlit/raz'yarit'** "He was angry / got crazy at the rain" are at least risky in Russian.

Anyone can *zlit'sya* (animals and human beings, both adults and children). But there is a certain reluctance to use this verb, as it is 'contaminated' by the second meaning of *zloj* "angry / mean / wicked". Therefore, there is somehow a threat of becoming 'bad'. As it

is the most animalistic *discontent*-word, only surpassed by *yarost'* "fury", it is more wild, uncivilised and unpredictable than its synonyms *serdit'sya*, *razdrzhat'sya* and *vozmushchat'sya*. A person who *zlits'ya* becomes an animal, not human. e.g. *zloi kak sobaka* or *zloi kak chyort* "as cross as a dog / as Devil". It is connected to 'cruelty', aggressive behaviour and destructive intentions, which overweigh justified *anger* and negatively portray the experiencer (the border is too thin between 'mean' / 'wicked' and 'angry'). As an alternative, one can use the word *nervnichat'* "to be nervous" instead of *zlit'sya* (and *nervnyj* instead of *zloj*, respectively). *Nervnichat'*, therefore, represents a milder version of *zlit'sya* / *razyarit'sya*.

As has already been stated, *besit'* "to madden" and *razdrzhat'* "to irritate" serve as a link between the two groups of synonyms. *Razdrzhat'* and *besit'* resemble *serdit'* and the other synonyms of the first group because it presupposes rationalizing and reflection on the part of the experiencer: he is fully aware of what causes his *discontent*. Cf. *Ego vseгда besili eti provolochki* "Such delays have always maddened him". On the other hand, *besit'* and *razdrzhat'* suggest above all the action of an undesirable factor on the nervous system of the experiencer and in this respect comes closer to *zlit'* and the other synonyms of the second group. Moreover, *razdrzhat'* and *besit'* are applicable to situations in which the emotion is caused by a natural factor, such as the elements: *Ego besil etot neprekrashchajushchij dozhd'* "This incessant rain maddened him".

The feeling denoted by *besit'* may be caused by a variety of factors, great and small, intended or unintended. In this respect *besit'* again behaves like *serdit'*: *Sledovatelya vzbesila popytka mashinista perelozhit' otvetstvennost' za avariyu na svoego pomoshchnika* "The engine driver's attempt to put the blame for the crash on his aid's shoulders maddened the coroner".

On the other hand, since *besit'* suggests a state with less rational motivation than *serdit'*, it can be used to describe the situation of the incommensurately violent emotional reaction to absolutely trivial stimuli: *Eya besit, esli uchenik na eyo uroke prosto posmotrit v okno* "She gets mad if her pupil as much as looks out of the window during her lesson". *Besit'* is quite comparable to *raz'yarit'* as far as the intensity of reaction is concerned. However it differs from the latter verb in that for some reason or other the experiencer cannot discharge his emotion in an act of aggression directed at the culprit.

The emotion finds expression in more civilized forms or is checked completely generating an emotional turmoil in his soul: *Ego tupost' / zhestokost' etih rasskazov/ besila Elenu* "His dullness / the cruelty of those stories / maddened Helen".

Therefore, the frequency of *razdrazhenie* "irritation" compared to other synonyms mentioned above (see Ogarkova et al. 2012), can be explained by the following factors:

- it is more neutral (there is no social hierarchy involved);
- *razdrazhenie* is more unspecific (it can refer to some human agency but also to other general causes);
- there is no moral stance involved;
- its etymology is not so negatively charged, as compared to *gnev* or *zlost'*;
- in the naïve picture of the world, feeling *razdrazhenie* does not have such negative consequences for one's character as *zlost'* (becoming a 'mean, evil' person *zloj*);
- it is not so dramatic, as it is the least intensive of the *discontent* synonyms;
- it defines the feeling and not so much the external actions, as e.g. *serdit'sya* can signify more external actions than a feeling itself (in such cases, *serdit'sya* is equivalent to *rugat'sya* "to swear" and *kricat'* "to shout").

Therefore, *razdrazhenie* "irritation" can be considered semantically the most versatile subconcept of *other-directed discontent* in Russian, hence its frequency.

4.3.2. The special case of *obida*

4.3.2.1. *Obida*

The emotion of *obida* (roughly, "offence") is specific to the Russian language and is one of the most important emotions for the Russian linguistic consciousness (see Levontina / Zalizniak, 2001).

etymology

The etymological analysis of the lexeme *obida* shows that the semantics of *vzglyad* «a look in one's eyes» lies at the core of *obida*. Etymological dictionaries trace the origin of the lexeme *obidet'* “to offend“ from Old Slavic **ob-videti* “to look around“ and *obida* “offence“ from **ob-vida*, separating the root **vid-*. The prefix **ob-* is used to form verbs with the meaning “to do smth avoiding smb or smth“. Taking into account the meaning of the prefix **ob-*, one can assume that *obidet'* “to offend“ is to look in another direction, to make a point in not looking at a person and by this causing distress, insulting the person. (Emikh 2005:16).

lexical meaning

There are two most common dictionary definitions of the lexeme *obida* : 1. an unjust, undeserved insult, offence; 2. a feeling caused by this insult, sorrow, resentment. Nevertheless, the tendency of the modern Russian language is to use mainly the second definition, i.e. *obida* as a feeling. For instance, Levontina / Zalizniak (2001:307) claim that *obida* only “consists in the feeling of pity for oneself linked with a certain disillusionment in another person, caused by the fact that this person by his or her words or acts has shown less affection or regard for us than what we had expected from him or her (the disillusionment must be a local one, which has not yet become global: in the latter case there is no room left for *obida*)”. All scholars agree that the idea of injustice is constitutive to the feeling of *obida*. Emikh defines *obida* as “an emotional reaction to words or an action of another person which are felt as unjust due to lack of respect, attention or trust“ (Emikh 2005:17). Also Iordanskaya (1974:107) includes the idea of ‘unfairness’ in the interpretation of the word *obizhat'sya*. For Levontina / Zalizniak, the conception of unfairness arises from the idea that the other person owes to oneself something good (good feelings or respect), often without any definite grounds. So, the authors proceed, *obida* is a passive aggressive feeling: it means a reluctance to accept the situation that seems unfair, a ‘silent’ demand for compensation. *Obida* is opposed to a ‘resignation’, on the one hand, and to the state of *proshchenie* “forgiveness” on the

other. Levontina / Zaliznjak propose the following explanation for the Russian *obida*:

- a) this other person did something
- b) because of this I felt something bad
- c) I think that this person should not have done this
- d) I feel something bad about me because of this
- e) I feel something bad toward this person because of this

The components (a)-(b) constitute a presupposition, (c)-(e) are assertive: *Ja ne obidelsja* “I did not take offence” means “I don’t find that this person ought not do it”, “I don’t feel anything bad about me because of this” and “I don’t feel anything bad toward this person”. Note that *Ja prostil* “I forgave” differs from *Ja ne obidelsja* first and foremost by the fact that it does not include the negation of the component (e), meaning ‘I don’t feel anything bad toward this person (even though I think the action was unfair)’.

derivatives

обижать *obizhat'* / обидеть *obidet'* “offend, hurt / wound smb's feelings”,

обидчик *obidchik* "offencer, the person who causes the offence",

обидный *obidnyj* "offensive",

обидеться *obidet'sya* / обижаться *obizhat'sya* "take offence / feel hurt" - denotes a certain emotion which arises as a reaction to an action by another person, as one cannot *obidet'sja* at oneself or at a natural phenomenon.

обидно *obidno* "to feel offended / hurt" - its meaning, according to Levontina / Zalizniak (2001), is very specific, as the *obidchik* (the person who causes the offence) literally disappears in this case: there is no syntactic opportunity for mentioning this person. Thus, whereas *obidet'sja* and *obida* describe an attitude of the offended person to the offending one, in *obidno* the stress shifts to the offended person himself. We feel *obidno* when we perceive, as Wierzbicka says, a “message of indifference from the outer world”. E.g. *Ona obidelas' na Ivana za to, chto on ne pozdravil eyo s dnyom rozhdeniya* “She is offended that Ivan did not wish her a happy birthday”, but *Ej*

obidno, chto nikto iz eyo druzhej ne pozdravil eyo s dnyom rozhdeniya "She is offended that none of her friends wished her a happy birthday": the former sentence describes one's attitude towards Ivan, the latter, the person's feeling pity for herself. The feeling expressed in the word *obidno* arises when something dear to the person in question is abased, ridiculed or simply underrated (ibid.:309).

обиженный *obizhennyj* "offended (with), bearing a grudge (against)"

обидчивость *obidchivost'* "touchiness"

обидчивый *obidchivyj* "touchy, susceptible to offence, quick to take offence, someone who is inclined to take offence (and not to give it)"

combinatory possibilities

обидное замечание *obidnoe zamechanie* "insulting remark",

обидные слова *obidnye slova* "insulting words",

заплакать от обиды *zaplakat' ot obidy* "to cry because of an insult",

Такая обида! *Takaya obida!* "Such a pity! I am deeply hurt!"

Мне обидно *Mne obidno* "I feel hurt, it hurts me"; мне обидно это слышать *mne obidno eto slyshat'* "it hurts / pains me to hear it";

обиженный тон *obizhennyj ton* "offended tone";

он выглядел обиженным *on vyglyadel obizhennym* "he looked / seemed hurt / aggrieved / offended"

Obida can be *malen'kaya* "small" – *bol'shaya* "big", *velikaya / ogromnaya* "enormous"; *lyogkaya* "slight" – *tyazhyolaya* "heavy" (*chuvstvo tyazholoi obidy* "to feel heavily wounded / touched to the quick"); *slabaya* "weak", *nebolyashchaya* "not hurting", *krotkaya* "meek", *smertel'naya* "deadly", *zlobnaya* "angry", *gor'kaya* "bitter" (Mamayeva / Shmul'skaya 2012:118).

One can define the quantity for *obida*: *voroh obid* "a pile of hurt feelings", *summa obid* "a sum of hurt feelings", *mnogo obid* "many offences", *edinstvennaya obida* "the only offence", *pervaya obida* "the first offence", etc.

In order to indicate the causator of the feeling, the preposition *na* is used, e.g. *obida na nachal'nika* "a grudge against the boss".

There are also idiomatic expressions:

курицы не обидит *kuritsy ne obidit* "(lit.) he won't hurt a hen", *мухи не обидит мухи не обидит* "(lit.) he won't hurt a fly / an inoffensive person"

не в обиду будь сказано *ne v obidu bud' skazano* "no offence meant",

не дать в обиду *ne dat' v obidu* "not to let smb insult someone or do harm to another person, defend someone"

проглотить обиду *proglotit' obidu* "(lit.) to swallow insult, not to react openly"

промолчать обиду *promolchat' obidu* "(lit.) to pass silent over insult, not to react openly"

synonyms

обида *obida*: огорчение *ogorchenie* sorrow, оскорбление *oskorblenie* insult, неприятность *nepriyatnost'* unpleasant thing, поношение *ponoshenie* blaming, поправление *popranie* violence, поругание *poruganie* severe criticism, унижение *unizhenie* humiliation, колкость *kolkost'* sharp remark, укол *ukol* bitter word, шпилька *shpil'ka* pungent remark, уязвление *uyazvlenie* sarcastic word, афронт *afront* attack; бесславие *besslavie* diffamy, бесчестие *beschestie* dishonour, позор *pozor* shame

обидеть *obidet'*/ обижать *obizhat'*: оскорблять *oskorblyat'* to insult, задевать *zadevat'* to touch to the quick, трогать *trogat'* to touch, огорчать *ogorchat'* to make smb feel sorry; нападать *napadat'* to attack, колоть *kolot'* to say unpleasant things, язвить *yazvit'* to speak sarcastically; обездолить *obezdolit'* to leave smb without means of sustenance, обделить *obdelit'* to leave smb without his share, обойти *oboiti* to leave smb unattended; причинить неприятность *prichinit' nepriyatnost'* to put smb in an unpleasant situation

обидеться *obidet'sya* / обижаться *obizhat'sya*: оскорбиться *oskorbit'sya* to feel insulted, жаловаться *zhalovat'sya* to complain, негодовать *negodovat'* to be indignant, роптать *roptat'* to show discontent, претендовать на что *pretendovat' na chto* to contend for smth, дуться *dut'sya* to puff one's lips

обидно *obidno*: досадно *dosadno* it vexes me, больно *bol'no* it hurts me, жалко *zhalko* it's a pity

обидный *obidnyi*: оскорбительный *oskorbitel'nyj* insulting, унижительный *unizitel'nyj* humiliating, горький *gor'kij* bitter, злой *zloy* angry, колкий *kolkij* sharp, резкий *rezkij* severe, едкий *edkij* pungent, ядовитый *yadovityj* poisonous, язвительный *yazvitel'nyj* sarcastic

обидчивость *obidchivost'*: себялюбие *sebyalyubie* selfishness, спесь *spes'* arrogance, амбиция *ambitsiya* ambition, гонор *gonor* haughtiness

обидчивый *obidchivyy*: гордый *gordyj* proud, чувствительный *chuvstvitel'nyj* susceptible

обидчик *obidchik*: враг *vrag* enemy, гонитель *gonitel'* persecutor, оскорбитель *oskorbitel'* an insulting person

обиженный *obizhennyj*: надутый *nadutyj* pout (lit.) inflated, with puffed lips, разобиженный *razobizhennyj* offended very much, deeply insulted

antonyms

обида *obida* "offence" - добрая воля *dobraya volya* "good will", понимание *ponimanie* "understanding", прощение *proshchenie* "forgiveness", самоуспокоенность *samouspokoennost'* "self-complacency", восторг *vostorg* "rapture", успокоить *uspokoit'* "to pacify"

обидчивый *obidchivyy* "touchy" - бесстрастный *besstrastnyj* "indifferent", флегматичный *flegmatichnyj* "phlegmatic"

обидеть *obidet'* "to offend"- обрадовать *obradovat'* "to rejoice", порадовать *poradovat'* "to gladden", утешить *uteshit'* "to console"

обидеться *obidet'sya* "to take offence" - обрадоваться *obradovat'sya* "to be delightful"

4.3.2.2. Prototypical features of *obida*

The prototypical cause of *obida* is lack of respect, distrust, indifference or disregard, absence of gratitude which was expected, of help that was expected to come, underestimation of one's professional qualities, a negative opinion publicly voiced,

insult, ill-treatment, betrayal, incongruity with accepted cultural norms. Thus, the violation of rules of hospitality, social behaviour, norms of family relations often triggers *obida*. As Emikh (2005) puts it, *obida* can be felt in response to practically any negative emotional situation.

Obida often arises as a result of an inference made by the “offended” person. Different people are more or less inclined to such inferences. *Obidchivost’* “touchiness” is determined by the degree of dependence on the opinion of the surrounding people and eagerness to get confirmation of one's value as a person (a permanent demand of respect). This characteristic implies the lack of power, weakness. The sources of touchiness may also lie in the cultural peculiarities of the Russian society, its' preference for the collective, and not the individual. Dependence on the opinion of other people explains the difficulty of saying "No" to anyone, because the denial can be understood as lack of respect, disregard or unwillingness to help. The high dependence also gives rise to the inclination to infer some «offensive» meaning out of a situation, to suspiciousness. Emikh (ibid.) also states that the lexeme *obidchivost’* “touchiness” connotes criticism, tendency to blame the others. A person who is experiencing *obida* is characterized by a specific verbal and non-verbal conduct: it is possible to show one's taking offence by turning away one's head, by leaving, by starting to cry.

Obida is caused, as a rule, by a relative, a friend, a partner. It is also typically caused, according to Emikh (ibid.), by a boss, in case of working people or by a teacher, in case of pupils/students. The role of offender may be taken not only by a person, but also by an abstract notion – life, fate, authorities. In such a situation the offended person thinks that life or fate are to blame for his/her failures. By blaming the fate for its injustice, the offended person 'frees' him/herself of responsibility. Moreover, one can take offence not only individually but also for a third party: for a close relative, a friend, even a group of people. As mentioned above, the Russian philosophy of life is not based on individuality but on collectivity.

Obida interacts with the concepts *spravedlivost’* “justice”, *uvazhenie* “respect”, *doverie* “trust”, *terpenie* “patience”, *druzhiba* “friendship”, *dushevnost’* “understanding cordiality”, *sostradanie* “compassion”, all of them being dominant concepts of the Russian linguistic mentality. Especially, the concepts *druzhiba* “friendship” and

dushevnost' "cordiality" play a crucial role in understanding *obida*. A high evaluation of friendly relations by Russian respondents was discovered by Emikh in her analysis of the speech-thoughts reflecting the notion "friendship" (a situation *zabota druga* «a friend's care» describing the expression of warm friendly feelings by a friend towards the speaker, taking care of the speaker, doing things for him/her and even solving his/her problems). Russian respondents defined their attitude to the situation as extremely positive, evoking the most positive feeling of *schastye* «happiness», ousting all other feelings to the background. Connection between *obida* and *dushevnost'* "understanding cordiality" is reflected, according to Emikh, in the Russian people's tendency to emotional proximity and verbal intimacy. One can observe the following pattern of verbal behaviour: the emotional unification with the interlocutor in the opposition against a negatively evaluated "negative party (causator of *obida*)" and the emotional unification with the interlocutor in the positive evaluation of one another. As for the concept *terpenie* «patience», Emikh notes that its interaction with the concept *obida* presupposes not taking any actions in order to remove the factor causing pain, discomfort, which demonstrates such property of the Russian mentality as non-agentiveness.

On the other hand, the culture-specific actions, at least imaginary, described by the Russian respondents are: *bit' i lomat' vsyo, chto mozhno* "to hit and break everything one can reach"; *obrugal nachal'nika* called the boss names; *poslat' bossa* "to swear at the boss"; *ujti zakhlopnuv dver'* "to slam the door behind oneself / on leaving".

4.3.2.3. Distinction between *obida*, *dosada*, *oskorblenie* and *zhalko*

On the basis of dictionary definitions and research papers' analysis, we come to a conclusion that the most frequently mentioned synonyms of *obida* are *dosada* "vexation", *oskorblenie* "insult" and, to some extent, the impersonal *zhalko* "it's a pity". Levontina / Zalizniak (2001) compare *obida*, *obidno* with *dosada*, *dosadno* (roughly, "vexation", "annoyance", "annoyed"). Whereas *obida* is always felt in relation to someone else, i.e. it is a feeling towards someone, *dosada* can only be felt about

something, some circumstances which prevent the fulfillment of one's wishes: this could also be another person, but in *dosada* this person appears only as a mechanical obstacle. Therefore, one can *dosadovat'* "be annoyed" with oneself, for example, at one's own stupidity or bad luck. The source of *dosada* is a single event from which no consequences are drawn – unlike *obida*, where what is important for us is usually not the act itself, but what lies behind it (namely, an attitude towards us which we do not like). *Obida* is akin to 'grief' and 'tears', *dosada* to 'anger' and 'aggression'.

Emikh (2005:22), in her turn, lists the differential and common properties of *obida* and *dosada* in the following table [our translation]:

Table 2: Differential and common properties of *obida* and *dosada*

parametres	<i>dosada</i>	<i>obida</i>
personal character	there is no inclination to take offence	<i>obidchivost'</i> "touchiness", <i>mnitel'nost</i> "suspiciousness"
evaluation of an action	perception of the real situation	It is not the action itself that matters, but what stands behind it.
who is to blame	the person herself	another person
the cause of the feeling	life circumstances which hinder obtaining one's goals, a failure the person herself: irritability, stupidity, bad luck	lack of love, respect, attention
characteristics	a less profound feeling, not durable, not perilous, more intense	a more profound feeling, durable, perilous
outward manifestation	<i>pomorscsshit'sya</i> "to make a wry face", <i>topnut'nogoj</i> "to stamp one's foot", <i>dyornut'plechami</i> "to shrug", <i>vyrugat'sya</i> "to swear", <i>plyunut's dosady</i> "to spit in vexation"	silence, tears

The examination of the concepts *obida* and *oskorbleniye* (roughly, "offence", "insult") is stipulated by the fact that these lexemes are defined in the dictionary of synonyms as synonymic. Emikh (ibid.:23) believes that they are different in the intensity parameter

(*oskorbit'* - *ochen'obidet'* "to insult – to offend very much"), when the word *obida* is considered as naming of unjust actions and not naming of a feeling. In addition, *oskorbleniye* means humiliation of another person's honour and dignity (insults, disrespectful attitude, violating human dignity, honour), whereas *obida* is primarily a feeling caused by unjust words, by a disrespectful action. So, according to Emikh, the lexemes *obida* and *oskorbleniye* differ due to cause-effect relations.

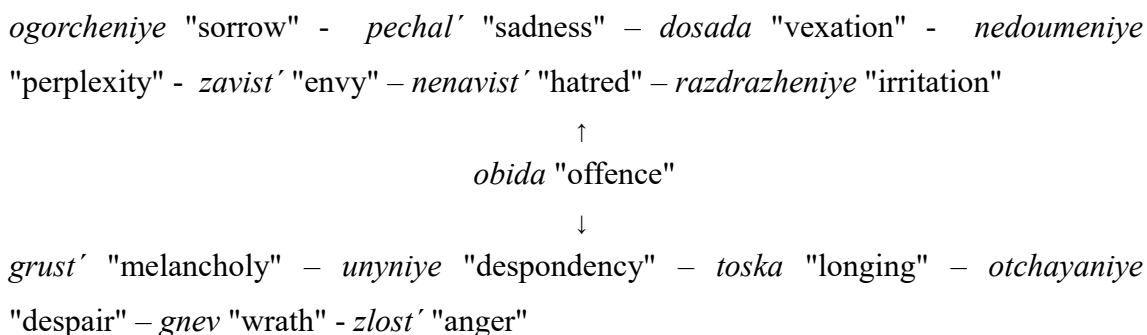
Sometimes *obidno* comes close to *zhalko*: *Obidno/zhalko, chto ne udalos' vstretit'sja* "It's a pity we could not [(lit.) did not manage to] meet". *Obidno* and *zhalko* in this case describe the feeling that arises at the thought that circumstances which have taken a certain turn might have developed differently and that this 'differently' would have been better. Both words express the idea of some positive alternative. It is rooted in the very word *zhalko* (see Zaliznjak 1991); in *obidno* it appears by the transformation of the idea of a 'just' state of affairs which is being violated. The difference between impersonal *zhalko* and *obidno* result from the fact that the 'raison d'être' of *sozhalenie* "regret" is 'it could be otherwise', whereas the main idea of *obida* is 'it must be otherwise'. So, one can say *Obidno, chto iz-za kakogo-to pustjaka vsjo sryvaetsja* "What a pity that it has been called off because of a trifle", but one can only say *Zhalko, chto sejchas leto: nel'zja pokatat'sja na lyzhah* "What a pity it is summer now and we can't go skiing".

4.3.2.4. Other closely related emotions of *obida*

Emih (2005:21) presents the concept *obida* schematically in the system of other emotive concepts (see figure 5). The author finds common parameters (profundity, duration, intensiveness) and elaborates the idea of a systemic mutual stipulation of feelings. For instance, the semantic affinity of etymologically related concepts *obida* «offence», *zavist'* «envy» and *nenavist'* «hate» manifests itself in general characteristics of these feelings: intensity, spontaneity, profundity, and also in common metaphorical images of water and fire. Depending on the personal character, *obida* may also be "accompanied" by irritation, anger, rage, wrath, or sorrow, melancholy, sadness, depression,

despondency, despair, and perplexity. These emotive concepts are in the relations of "juxta-position".

Figure 5. *Obida* in comparison with its neighbouring concepts



4.3.2.5. *Obida* vs. *razdrazhenie* and *serdit'sya*

According to the latest research and RNC studies, the most frequent anger-related words in Russian are *obida* and *razdrazhenie*. First, one could explain their popularity and their difference from one another by the tendency to 'feel' *razdrazhenie* toward outsiders and *obida* toward insiders. Therefore, the notion of insiders and outsiders is related to a collectivist society. Several scholars explain popularity of *obida* in Russian, in comparison to other European languages, by collectivist values, especially by its 'prohibition' of explicitly experiencing anger. One could slightly change the stress from the society prohibitions and behaviour rules to the general collectivist conceptualisation of space. If one considers that in a collectivist society the 'private' space is considerably more extended compared to an individualistic society, it is no surprise that one primarily feels *obida* toward practically anyone inside this extended space and not anger in its classical form. In other words, it is not exactly prohibited to express anger, but the collectivist reality is constructed from such a perspective that one expects respect and even love from the members of the insider-group and one is more prone to *obida* when the expectations are not met. Another explanation, which does not contradict the stated above, could be found in the spiritual/profane opposition of emotions in Russian.

Levontina / Zalizniak use a structuralist-based dyadic approach to Russian lexemes found in the early works of the Tartu-Moscow school of Semiotics, which attempts to divide the lexico-semantic fields of Russian into a “high / low” (or “spiritual / profane”) opposition (2001:293-4). Although the emotion of anger is missing from their analysis, their approach can be also applied to our study. *Obida*, although considered a negative emotion, is still more 'noble' and justified, than for example *zlost'* or *serdit'sya*, as *obida* is connected to the spiritual world of the soul. Moreover, again from collectivistic perspective, *serdit'sya* could be hierarchically impossible to use in many situations and *razdrazhenie* is too inexpressive to render the intensity of *obida*.

4.3.3. Antonyms of *discontent*-related terms

The study of *discontent* antonyms can probably give us the key to the general conceptualisation of *other-directed discontent* in Russian and provide some sort of connecting line between such apparently unconnectable (inside one concept) words as *nervnichat'* "to be nervous", *obizhat'sya* "to take offence", *zlit'sya* "to be angry" or *vozmushchat'sya* "to be indignant".

The main observation made is that the most common antonyms of anger-related lexis in Russian are *spokojstvie* “tranquility”, *mir* “peace” and slightly less common, *radost'* “joy”. Eleven out of twelve anger-related words (except *zlost'*) have 'tranquility' as its antonym. The absence of 'anger' is interpreted in four ways: positively from a religious point of view (*blazhennyj* "beateous", *smirennyyj* "meek", *umirotvorenie* "conciliation", *blagoslovenie* "benediction", *uteshenie* "consolation", *dobrota* "kindness", *lyubov'* "love", *druzhiba* "friendship", *proshchenie* "forgiveness", *terpenie* "patience", *milost'* "mercy") and medical point of view (*zdorovie* "health", *ravnovesie* "balance", *otpuskat' / prohodit'* "alleviation from pain", *balzam* "balm / medicine that cures pain", *lyogkost'* "lightness"), negatively in a sense that the lack of emotional expression is seen as coldness (*hladnokrovie* "coolness"), indifference (*bezrazlichie*), lack of passion (*besstrastnyj, flegmatichnyj*) or conformism, inactivity (*bezdeystvie*) from a political point of view.

Dobro "good", *mir* "peace" and their derivatives are frequently used as antonyms.

A slightly less elaborate group of antonyms is the notion of joy, pleasure: *radost'* "joy", *udovol'stvie* "pleasure", *vostorg* "rapture", *nezhnost'* "tenderness", *priyatno* "pleasantly".

One could conclude therefore that the religious, moral conceptualisation of anger is predominant in Russian. Observing the antonyms, one can see that the main stress is put on the damage to external (and internal) peace and order, interpersonal relations.

Another important observation which sheds light on the preference of such words as *nervnichat'* "to be nervous", *rugat'sya* "to tell smb off" or *kricat'* "to shout" as a reference to 'anger', instead of using the word 'anger' itself, is the tendency to describe external, visible part of the emotions or intrinsic qualities related to experiencing a certain emotion, e.g. *laskovyj* "affectionate", *dobryj* "kind, doing good things to the others", *mirnyj* "peaceful" are common antonyms for *zloy*.

4.3.4 Metaphors of *other-directed discontent* in Russian

4.3.4.1. Types of metaphors

Elements

Many anger metaphors in Russian are etymologically motivated. One of the most important metaphors related to etymology is that of fire / high temperature (see Wierbicka, 2003; Shakhovskij, 2010; Krylov, 2007; for *yarost'* "fury" and *gnev* "anger"): *vspyhnul gnev* "anger flared up", *podlivat' masla v ogon'* "to add oil to fire", *popast'sya pod goryachuyu ruku* "to get under a hot hand", *s pylu s zharu* "from the blazing flame", *vspylit'* "to show one's quick temper", *raspalyat'* "to make smb flare up", *vspyhnul ot gneva* "flared up from anger", *zharkij spor* "a heated dispute", *zagorelis' glaza ot gneva* "the eyes flared up with anger", *razgoryachilsya* "got heated", *dovesti do belogo kaleniya* "to bring smb to red-hot incandescence". An antonym would be: *pogasit' ogon'* "(lit.) to extinguish the fire".

Two further subgroups of a bigger fire-metaphor are: *zlost'* / *gnev* is a thunder storm

(*vspyshka* "outburst", *metat' gromy i molnii* "to shoot thunder and lightnings", *razrazit'sya negodovaniem* "to burst into indignation", *Tucha tuchej* "like a dark cloud", *glaza sverkayut* "the eyes are sparkling", *bushevat'* "to storm / to rage") and *obida* is a slow fire (*obida tleet* "offence is smouldering").

The only positively motivated anger metaphor in Russian, related to the 'thunder storm' metaphor is that *zlost' / gnev* is strength / power. This metaphor justifies the free expression of *discontent* by people having superior social position. *Gnev* "anger" arguably helps at work, in administration, in achieving some goal. In this case, *gnev* is analogous to confidence and concentration. *Tucha ne bez gromu, hozyain ne bez gneva*. "The cloud can't be without a thunder, the boss can't be without anger". The boss who governs needs *anger* as manifestation of power.

Other-directed discontent is water / sea storm / boiling liquid: *zahlestnula zlost, kak ozhog* "anger overcame as a burn"; *nakatila obida* "offence came as a wave", *vyplesnut' razdrazhenie* "to spill irritation", *vylit' svoj gnev* "to spill one's anger", *bushevat' (kak more)* "to storm (like the sea)", *burlit'* "to bubble", *kipet'* "to boil", *Krov' zakipela v zhilah* "The blood boiled in the veins", *kipyatit'sya* "to boil", *puzyrit'sya* "to bubble", *burya v stakane vody* "a storm in a glass of water", *lezt' v butylku* "to go into a bottle", *perezhit' svoyu buryu* "to endure one's storm".

Other-directed discontent is cold (liquid) (*okatit' holodnym vzglyadom* "to cast a cold eye", *obdat' holodom* "to pour over with cold", *holodno posmotret'* "to look coldly"). Cold temperature does not mean low intensity of the emotion but merely implies total control and subjective superiority of the experiencer.

Personification

Anger is an adversary. This metaphor brings to the fore the problem of control the psychic state of the person and danger of losing self-control *sderzhivat' gnev* "to curb anger", *zlost' oburevaet* "anger takes the upper hand", *zahvatyvaet razdrazhenie* "irritation overcomes", *ovladet' soboj* "to master oneself", *odolevat' negodovanie* "to restrain indignation", *ne poddavat'sya zlobe* "not to yield to anger", *odolel gnev* "anger

has overpowered", *ohvatilo bezumie* "insanity has overpowered", *protivostoyat' svoemu gnevu* "to oppose one's anger", *skrutit' zlost'* "to wring anger", *poborot'* "to overcome", *spravit'sya* "to handle", *beryyot verh* "takes the upper hand".

Anger is an animal. If however the control has been lost, then the animal gets at large *ozveret'* "to become a beast / brutal", *budit' zverya* "to rouse the beast", *okrysit'sya* "to act like a rat", *nahohlit'sya* "to look like an angry bird", *zhalit'* "to sting", *zmeinyi* "snake's". An image of a dog is predominant in this type of metaphors (*Kak budto s tsepi sorvalsya* "As if smb has run away from the leash", *s tsepi sorvat'sya* "to run away from the leash", *shchetinit'sya / oshchetinit'sya* "to bristle", *lajat'sya* "to bark at each other", *zloy kak sobaka* "as angry as a dog", *rychat'* "to snarl").

Illness, deterioration

As mentioned above, etymology plays an important role in the creation of metaphors. The idea of expired products *negodnyj* "worthless" in *negodovanie* "indignation", *gnil'* "rot" in *gnev* "anger", *chyorstvyj* "stale" in *zloy* "angry", of an upset stomach caused by *razdrazhenie* "irritation" or *vozmushchenie* "indignation", result in the following metaphor: Anger is an ailment / illness (*poblednet'* "to become pale", *zadrozhat'* "to shiver", *s tryasushchimisya ot bessil'nogo gneva gubami* "with lips trembling from powerless anger", *ona bledneet i guby eyo drozhat ot gneva* "she turns pale and her lips tremble with anger"). There are following subtypes of this metaphor:

a) anger is blindness, loss of eye-sight. Metaphors *osleplyonnyj zloboj* "blind with anger", *gnev oslepil menya* "I was blind with anger", *zakativ glaza* "with eyes rolled", *nichego ne vidya pered soboj* "without seeing anything in front of him", *nalitye krovyu glaza* "blood-shot eyes", *gnev zastilal glaza* "anger spread over the eyes", *glaza kosyat ot zlosti* "the eyes are squinting with anger". The link between the breach of vision and the emotion of anger may be explained by the fact that during intensive feelings all attention concentrates on the cause of the emotion, i.e. any other thing not related to the cause of emotion is out of sight.

b) Anger' is a loss of speech, *onemet' ot vozmushcheniya* "to become dumb from

indignation";

c) Anger is a paralysis, *grimasa zastyla na litse* "a grimace set the face motionless", *zlost' skovala ego* "anger made him motionless", *skrivitsya* "with a crooked face";

d) discontent is food poisoning / blood poisoning / bitter medicine: *proglotit' obidu / pilyulyu* "to swallow the offence / pill", *krov' portit'* "lit. to spoil blood, to anger smb.", *yadovityi* "poisonous";

e) *discontent* is inside body organs. The place of the emotion in the body is also very important: the heart, the liver, the teeth, the eyes or the soul. *Serdit'sya* is etymologically related to the heart, *obida* and *gnev* to the soul, teeth are mentioned when controlling anger, eyes are mentioned when expressing anger, and *zlost'* is associated with liver and gall: *v pechyonkah sidit* "it sits in the liver", *zhelch razlilas'* "the bile has poured out", *zhelch'nyj* "bilious", *zhelchnyj chelovek* is a person full of *discontent*, *hatred*. In *Bol'shoy tolkovy slovar'* "The Big Explanatory Dictionary", the second meaning of *zhelch* "bile" is "Razdrazhenie, zloba. "Irritation, anger". *Skol'ko v tebe zhelchi!* "You are so bilious!" *V ego slovah stol'ko zhelchi!* "His words contain so much bile!" *Zhelch nakopilas' v dushe.* "The bile has accumulated in the soul." *Zhelch dushit kogo-libo.* "The bile is stifling smb". *Izlit' na kogo-libo svoyu zhelch i dosadu.* "To pour one's bile and annoyance over smb". *Skazat' chto-libo s zhelchyu, zloboj.* "To say smth with bile, anger". *Zhelch podnyalas' v kom-libo.* "The bile has risen in smb". *Nasmeshka* "mocking" serves as a synonym for *zhelch*. Therefore, as liver is associated with food and alcohol excess, the metaphorical cause of *discontent* can be the overwhelming feeling, fullness, physical discomfort. Etymologically it is seen in the verbs *razdrazhat'* "to irritate", *vozmushchat'* "to uprise" (e.g. the stomach). The person who makes angry remarks is called *yazva* "ulcer", and the action is *yazvit'* "to sneer", as an ultimate irritation of the stomach. *Discontent* is typically manifested by experiencing physiological discomfort, rise of body temperature and pressure, physical agitation (*skvoz' zuby* "through the teeth", *skrezhetat' zubami* "to gnash one's teeth"). The picture of a person overwhelmed with emotions is as follows: a red bloodshot face, eyes are sparkling and do not see anything but the object of anger. The speech of the person is loud, abrupt, the elocution is distorted and is similar to animal sounds. His body is, on the one hand, rigid, on the other hand, his movements are sharp. His posture is like that

of a rapacious animal, ready to attack. The behaviour may be compared to that of a mad person or a wild beast. Such person is certainly dangerous. The subject tries to control his/her *discontent* (*obuzdat' gnev* "to bridle anger", *sderzhivat' zlost'* "to curb anger"). This process is comparable in Russian to the process of taming a wild animal. When anger is not reacted upon, it is kept inside: *derzhat' kamen' za pazuhoj* "to hold a stone in the bosom", *tochit' nozh na kogo-to* "to sharpen/turn a knife against", *imet' zub* "to have a tooth", *derzhat' / kopit' zlo* "to hold / accumulate malice", *kopit' v sebe razdrazhenie* "to store up irritation within oneself", also *proglotit' pilyulyu* "to swallow the pill". The theme of possible violence and damage, accumulating forces and bitterness are present in such metaphors.

The metaphor of fullness, overwhelming state is also present in *надуть губы* *naduvat' guby* "(lit.) to puff / to inflate one's lips, to pout ", *nadut'sya kak mysh na krupu* "(lit.) to get inflated like a mouse at cereals, to pout like a mouse at the corn", *chut' ne lopnut' ot zlosti* "all but burst with anger". The latter expression is also a metaphor of losing control over one's own body: the theme of losing patience / temper is presented as a metaphor of pressure: image of a balloon that explodes after enduring some burden for a long time.

Very similar or even as a subtype of the metaphor *zlost'* is an illness, is the metaphor anger is insanity. According to this metaphor, people unable to control anger may behave furiously as if insane (Cf. Lakoff, 2004), when high degree of intensity: *besit'sya (beshenstvo)* "to fly into a rage (rage)", *yarost'* "fury", *psihovat'* "to become insane", *isterika* "hysterics". As a subtype of this metaphor is the image of expulsion of fluid from the mouth: *bryzgat' slyunoy* "to sprinkle with saliva", *plevat'sya* "to spit", *s penoj u rta* "with foam at the mouth". This image, in its turn, evokes either the image of rabies (animal madness) or the Christian belief of demonic possession. Parallel to the demons, a general state of extreme exaltation as an ultimate expression of anger (and other strong emotions), the ultimate loss of control over one's body is inherent in the metaphor of "losing or leaving one's body": *isstuplenie* (literally meaning "stepping out"), *teryat' samoobladanie*, *ne pomnit' sebya ot zlosti*, *poshyol v raznos*. The antonymic phraseological expressions are *brat' sebya v ruki* "to regain hold of oneself", *uspokaivat'sya* "to calm down", *prijty/privesti v sebya* "to come/bring to".

Another metaphor related to discontent in Russian, not mentioned in previous research, is the loss of balance / an accident, which is another way of losing control: *lishat' dushevnogo ravnovesiya* "to deprive of the soul balance", *vybit' kogo-libo iz ravnovesiya* "to hit smb out of balance", *sorvat'sya* "to lose control (as if falling from a trapeze)".

4.3.4.2. Metaphor combination

The mix of different metaphors can be observed in some idioms:

- The subgroup of both illness and fire/high temperature groups is color red / maroon, as if feeling hot or suffering from high blood pressure: *kraska gneva zalila litso his face* "flushed red with anger", *krasnet'* "to turn red", *krasnyj kak rak* "as red as a crab", *bagrovyy* "blood-red", *litso pobagrovelo* "the face was blood-shot". These metaphors show that the speakers perceive the link between the intensive, "hot" emotion of anger and the rise of internal pressure and subjective feeling of the body temperature. (high temperature + illness).
- *bushevat'* (thunder + sea storm)
- The cloud can't be without a thunder, the boss can't be without anger. (thunder + power)

It is worth mentioning that most metaphors are identical for *zlost'* "anger" and *obida* "offence", and also for *strah* "fear". The similarity between *gore* "grief" and *zlost'* "anger" lies in their origin, in the negative appraisal of the situation. The difference between *gore* and *zlost'* is concentration of forces and short-lived cycle of *zlost'* and waste of energy and long duration of *gore*, e.g. *obessilel ot gorya* "has lost all force because of the grief", *stradaniya vysosali sily* "the suffering has sucked all force", *pechal' podkosila ego* "the sorrow has taken over him", etc. The metaphor of collecting, concentrating forces is unique for the emotion of *discontent*.

4.3.4.3. Metaphorical explanation of *obida*

As stated above, most metaphors are identical both for *gnev* / *zlost'* and *obida*. Krylov's (2007) analysis of adjectival, verbal and adverbial word-combinations allows to metaphorically compare the feeling of *obida* to a certain liquid substance which fills a vessel (a metaphoric image of the soul). 'Fire' is another characteristic image for the concept *obida*. The properties of the concept *obida* are similar to those of the other *discontent*-words and are as follows: an unpleasant bitter taste, dark colour, a sharp object causing pain, tears; a liquid substance capable of getting hot; a fiery element; inconspicuous, quiet; volume, profundity, intensity, duration; a harmful effect on the person. Nevertheless, the differentiating tendency would be that *obida* is typically conceptualised as less harmful for other people than e.g. *gnev*, *yarost'*, *zlost'* or even *razdrazhenie*. Therefore, one can observe the general conceptualisation of *obida*:

- as slow fire: *obida tleet* "offence is smouldering", whereas active *discontent* (*gnev*, *yarost'*) is mostly compared to a thunder storm;
- zero or minimal external expression: проглотить обиду *proglotit' obidu* "(lit.) to swallow insult", промолчать обиду *promolchat' obidu* "(lit.) to pass silent over insult", надуть губы *naduvat' guby* "to pout / (lit.) to inflate/ lips", надуться как мышь на крупу *nadut'sya kak mysh' na krupu* "(lit.) to get inflated like a mouse at cereals";
- in the animal-metaphor, a small size and practically harmless creatures (birds, mice) are predominant: наохлиться *nahohlit'sya* "to look like an angry bird"; надуться как мышь на крупу *nadut'sya kak mysh' na krupu* "(lit.) to get inflated like a mouse at cereals";
- as in the 'anger is inside the body'-metaphor, *obida* is associated with the soul, a very interesting unique phraseological expression is often used when describing the act of offending someone / hurting someone's feelings: плюнуть в душу *plyunut' v dushu* "(lit.) to spit into the soul, to hurt someone's feelings"

4.3.5. Semantic classification of Russian words of *other-directed discontent*

According to the results of our semantic study, the following classification can be made.

- The intensity of *discontent* has four stages 1) the lowest degree of intensity (*dosadovat'*, *razdrazhat'sya*), 2) the medium degree (*serdit'sya*, *zlit'sya*), 3) high intensity (*vozmushchat'sya*, *gnevat'sya*), 4) the most intensive (*besit'sya*, *yarost'*).
- *Discontent* can also be divided into primary, basic, animalistic *discontent* (*zlost'*, *razdrazhenie*, *beshenstvo*) and secondary, cultural, rational type of *discontent* (*gnev*, *vozmushchenie*, *nedovol'stvo*). This division is based on the distinction between high cognitive and low cognitive appraisal (see Apresjan, 2000; Izard, 1991; Ortony, 1995).
- The cause of *discontent* can be significant (*gnevat'sya*, *vozmushchat'sya*) or insignificant (*dosadovat'*, *razdrazhat'sya*) or both (*serdit'sya*, *zlit'sya*, *obizhat'sya*).
- interpersonal (*gnev*, *obida*) vs. general *discontent* (*zlit'sya*)
- external (*yarost'*, *vozmushchenie*, *gnev*) vs. internal (*obizhat'sya*, *zlit'sya*, *serdit'sya*)
- collective vs. individual: The subject of emotion can also be an individual (*obizhat'sya*, *serdit'sya*, *zlit'sya*) or a group of people (*yarost'*, *vozmushchenie*, *nedovol'stvo*).
- The form of expression: the obligatory verbal expression depends on the complexity and the level of cognitivity of the *discontent*, e.g. *Beshenstvo*, *zlost'*, *razdrazhenie*, *serdit'sya*, *yarost'* are possible without words, whereas *vozmushchenie*, *gnev* need compulsory verbal expression.
- In regard to the words' etymology, they are mostly of Slavic origin, except for *nervnichat'*, which makes their original lexical meaning more traceable for a Russian speaker.
- Prolific derivation has a unifying function inside the concept.
- The synonyms of the *discontent*-related words are mostly interchangeable, although *obida* has only two words of *discontent* as its synonyms: *negodovat'* “to be indignant” and *dosada* “vexation”.

- The common antonyms are *spokoystvie* “tranquility” (for *gnev*, *zlit'sya*, *razdrazhenie*, *vozmushchat'sya*, *besit'sya*) and *radost'* “joy” (for *gnev*, *zlost'*, *serdit'sya*, *obizhat'sya*), less common *umirotvoryonnost'* “peacefulness” (for *beshenyj*), *mirit'sya* (for *obizhat'sya*). Apresjan also gives *vosxishchat'* “to arouse admiration” as an antonym for *vozmushchat'*.
- Recurrent themes of the common discontent-related metaphors are 'the elements', 'the fluid in a container', 'an opponent', 'an illness' and 'insanity'.

In conclusion, one could divide Russian emotion words of *other-directed discontent* into three larger groups (see table 3) and the first group could be further divided into three subgroups respectively (see table 4). Thus, tables 3 and 4 illustrate the findings of our semantic study.

Table 3: Types of Russian words of *other-directed discontent*

Group 1		Group 2	Group 3
reflection (only human beings)		reflection (only human beings)	no reflection (human beings and animals)
mental+heart, soul (adults and children)		nervous system (only adults and children aged 2 or older)	body, esp. liver, primitive nervous system
moral		not moral / anti-moral**	purely physical, animalistic
personal	public		
social hierarchy (from the highest to the lowest position): <i>gnev</i> (archaic or specialised psychological term* "anger") <i>serdit'sya</i> "to be angry" <i>obida</i> "offence"	intensity (from the highest to the lowest degree): <i>vozmushchat'sya</i> "to be indignant" <i>kapriznichat'</i> (only for children "to be naughty")	intensity (from the highest to the lowest degree): <i>isterika</i> "hysterics" <i>psihovat'</i> "to be crazy" <i>besit'sya</i> / <i>besit'</i> "to go crazy / to make crazy" <i>nervnichat'</i> / <i>nervirovat'</i> "to be nervous / to get on smb's nerves" <i>razdrazhat'sya</i> / <i>razdrazhat'</i> "to get irritated / to irritate"	intensity (from the highest to the lowest degree): <i>yarost'</i> "fury" <i>zlost'</i> "anger"
high cognitive		low cognitive	

* technical term, as if aspiring to its pure expression, but almost impossible to perform due to social and cultural restraints.

** As it is pure personal discomfort, but still mentally originated and processed, it can contradict to conventional moral norms and standard values. e.g. *Menya razdrzhayut ego poucheniya*. “His preaching annoys me”. Or *Menya besit klassicheskaya muzyka*. “Classical music drives me mad”.

Furthermore, based on Levontina / Zalizniak's (2001) classification, one can divide anger-words into high, spiritual ones and low, profane ones, depending on their relation to the notion of *dusha* "soul" (see table 4). For this reason, only the first group (group 1) from table 3 comes into consideration, as it is related to *dusha* “soul”.

Table 4: 'High' and 'low' words of *other-directed discontent* in Russian

Group 1		
'good'/ 'high', elevated, belonging to the spiritual world	negative, but nevertheless belonging to the spiritual world	'bad'/ 'low', profane, corporeal
<i>obida</i> "offence": <i>dushevnyaya</i> "of the soul", <i>v dushe</i> "in the soul", <i>obizhennyj do glubiny dushi</i> "offended to the bottom of one's soul", <i>vozmushchat'sya</i> "to be indignant": <i>do glubiny dushi</i> "to the bottom of one's soul"	<i>gnev</i> "anger": <i>ohvatyvaet dushu</i> , "overcomes the soul", <i>prihodit v dushu</i> "comes to the soul", <i>gubit dushu</i> "ruins the soul", <i>umershchvlyaet dushu</i> "kills the soul", <i>szhigaet dushu</i> "burns the soul", <i>zagryaznyaet dushu</i> "soils the soul" <i>kapriznichat'</i> "to be naughty / capricious": <i>dushevnyj kapriz</i> "a caprice of the soul" <i>dosada</i> "annoyance": <i>chuvstvovat' v dushe</i> "to feel in the soul"	<i>serdit'sya</i> "to be angry": experienced inside one's heart

Obida is metaphorically portrayed as an intrinsic quality of *dusha* 'soul', as its natural reaction to injustice. Therefore, it is considered a righteous feeling, whereas *gnev* is an alien substance / a dangerous intruder / a virus, which infiltrates there where it is not supposed to be. Thus, from this point of view, *obida* is a justified emotion in Russian linguistic mentality.

Gnev, on the other hand, has a paradoxical attribution: it is obviously very negative, but at the same time, due to its combinatory possibilities with the word *dusha*, *gnev* is somehow elevated to the higher spiritual rank than e.g. *serdit'sya* or *razdrazhat'*, it is considered more noble (also probably due to its higher social hierarchical position). Here could lay another possible explanation of its preference, its attractiveness as a general term for 'anger' in the specialised psychology, compared to *zlost'*, which is too animalistic and ignoble.

4.4. Usage-based discursive analysis of the Russian *other-directed discontent*

4.4.1. Social component in the conceptualisation of *other-directed discontent*

4.4.1.1. Conceptualisation of social spaces

As mentioned above, the conceptualisation of social spaces, of human communication and the construction of the opposition We vs. the Other have their peculiarities in Russian and influence *discontent*-related lexical choice.

According to Shmelyov (2005b), the opposition of *mir* "world / peace" as "one's own", lived-in, arranged space and *volya* "freedom" as "smb else's", not-arranged space dates back to pre-historic times. In Modern Russian, the lexeme *mir* corresponds to several meanings (*otsutstvie vojny* "absence of war", *vselennaya* "universe", *sel'skaya obshchina* "rural community", etc.). However, the variety of meanings represent in the

historical perspective the modification of some original meaning which can be interpreted as *garmoniya* "harmony"; *obustrojstvo* "arrangement"; *poryadok* "order". The universe can be viewed as "world order" opposed to the chaos, *kosmos* "outer space". The absence of war is also connected with the harmony in the nations' mutual relations. A pattern of harmony and order, the way they are represented in the Russian language, could be a rural community which, as it is, was called *mir* "community". The living in the community is strictly regulated, any deviation from the accepted rules is perceived morbidly as a violation of order.

Mir is associated with *lad* "accord", *pokoj* "tranquillity", *uyut* "comfort / cosiness" i *obustrojstvo* "arrangement". It is also very important that *mir* is often associated with *dom* "home" where everything is "arranged". This refers both to *mir* as "universe" (the word *mirozhdanie* "lit. world construction" is characteristic by itself) and *mir* as a metaphorical designation of the social *stroj* "formation" (Cf. the expression *stroit' novyj mir* "to create / build a new world" or the word *domostroy* "lit. home-building, the patriarchal system in old Russia which dictated how to behave according to one's position in the family"). Thus perceived, *mir* is opposed to an open space outside home. But 'home' is not necessarily a small space. It can be the whole country or even the whole planet. An important feature of both *uyut* "cosiness" and *prostor* "vast space" is that they are both naturally linked with the concept of *rodnoj* "native / home / dear to one's heart". Hence *rodnoj ugolok* "a native nook" seems very comfortable, where *rodnye* "the relatives" surround the person but so do *rodnye prostory* "vast expanses of the homeland". Big distances do not contradict with the image of a common space, as Russia is a big country. In this regard, the Russian 'we (insider-relationship) vs. others (outsider-relationship)' division has consequent peculiarities. It can refer to a small group of friends, a family, but it can also be extended to one's work place, district, town, region, the whole country or even the whole planet. This phenomenon can be observed in the functioning of *obida*. This emotion is reserved only for the insider-group, which can be very extended. On the other hand, *razdrazhat'sya* is usually directed at strangers, outsiders.

Furthermore, another characteristic feature of the Russian linguistic picture of the world consists in aiming at *primirenie s dejstvitel'nostyu* "resigning oneself to reality". Also

characteristic is the fact that the key word designating this aim, *primirenie*, as well as the verb *primirit'sya* "to reconcile, to resign to", both have the derivation base *mir*. Having this aim in view one must reconcile with the outer *mir* "the surrounding world" in order to reach the inner *mir* (the peaceful state of his spirit). Which means giving up hostility against others and accepting all that is going on around her or him. Having this aim, the person would find reasons why reconciliation with reality should be possible, sensible and necessary.

It was already mentioned above that the idea of *mir* as some building is characteristic of the Russian linguistic picture of the world, and this conception is supported by the use of words with the same root *stroj*, which evoke the idea of *stroitel'stvo* "creation, building". Moreover, the very idea of the verb *stroit'* "to build, to create" by itself, appears as the process of creating something well-designed. Thus, the word *perestrojka* "rearrangement, re-building" in the fore has the idea of the society as a home, a building which is possible *perestroit'* "to re-build", i.e. to change the design of the building, to demolish something and build anew and so on. The general idea of the words belonging to this word-group consists in the order being established in something which originally had been disorderly, in creating order out of chaos. *Stroit' plany* "to make planning" means to replace vague disorderly ideas about the future with a clear programme of actions. The idea of something regulated, set in order appears also when designating *dushevnyj mir* "the inner world" of a human being. It is no chance that here as well words with the root *stroj* are often used - *nastroenie* "mood", *rasstrojstvo* "distress". When the proper order in the soul gets lost, the person feels unpleasant emotions, becomes *rasstroen* "distressed". Positive emotions are designated by the word-combination *horoshee nastroyenie* "lit. good mood" which presupposes regulation in the desired direction.

Therefore, *mir* is a priori a friendly (but not always) space, a common space, a common house, which is built according to some strict rules (*mirozhdanie, domostroy*), and one has to adapt to the rules (*primirit'sya*) without expressing personal discontent in order to be able to live peacefully inside this *mir*. The strict rules and order result in social hierarchy.

4.4.1.2. Social hierarchy and social status

Hierarchical structures in main social institutions, i.e. family, school, workplace and politics, and their peculiarities also influence the anger-related vocabulary. Lotman (2002) compares two archetypical cultural models, present in both Western and Eastern (European) societies: *dogovor* "a treaty / a contract" and *vruchenie sebya* "entrusting oneself". The treaty-model presents members of the society as partners who sign a (social) contract. When certain parts of the contract are violated, the 'suffering' party has the right to express her or his *discontent*. The author claims that 'a treaty' has always been considered in Russia as a merely "human" business, as opposed to "divine", therefore without due respect. The centralized power, in a much clearer form than the state power in the West, was created as a copy of the religious model of relations. Once built in the *domostroy* (Russian patriarchal system, see subsection 4.4.1.1), the isomorphic model – God in the universe, Tsar in the state, father in the family - reflected the three grades of one's unconditional entrusting oneself and copied the religious system of relations on other levels. The notion of the "sovereign service" which appeared under these circumstances, implied the absence of contract between the parties: one had to entrust oneself unconditionally and entirely, while the other party was to grant *milost'* "mercy" on its servant (consider, e.g. *milost'* as a possible antonym for *gnev* "anger"). Lotman (ibid.) believes that although there have been transformations in society and mentality, the core idea is still present in the Russian culture. The humorous proverb *Ya nachal'nik, ty durak; ty nachal'nik, ya durak* "I'm the boss, you're the fool; you're the boss, I'm the fool", serves as an illustration to this fact.

Therefore, the expression of *other-directed discontent* is hierarchically regulated: the higher the social status, the more lexical possibilities there are to express it. Nevertheless, the frequent use of *obida* is motivated not only by the objective low social status and, thus, by the lack of other lexical choices, but also by the patriarchal (family) relations in most social institutions. For instance, a boss, a teacher or a city mayor are not only higher on the social ladder than employees, pupils or common citizens, respectively, but they also have a 'parental', i.e. protective, function towards the latter. Therefore, one can *obidet'sya* at them in case of non-fulfilment of this function, as if

they were one's parents.

4.4.1.3. Infantile *other-directed discontent*

After having reviewed various children's books, the predominance of the concept *obida* over *zlost* or *gnev* is evident. There are many literary creations dedicated to feeling *obida*. Also in annotations to children's books dedicated to emotions the word *obida* is omnipresent along with *strah* "fear", *radost'* "joy" and *grust'* "sadness". As for infantile expression of *other-directed discontent*, we have encountered the following terms on child psychology, paediatrics and educational web pages: *u detey obidy: oni serdyatsya i stradayut* "children get offended: they become angry and distressed"; *detskaya zlost', yarost' i agressiya, zhestokost'* → *nevroz* "infantile anger, fury and aggression, cruelty → neurosis"; *yarost' i kaprizy* "fury and caprices"; *detskiy gnev* "infantile wrath" (rarely, mostly in articles translated from English); *vspyshki gneva* "fits of anger"; *zlost' i gnev u detey* "children's anger and wrath"; *rebyonok zlitsya* "the child is angry" (similar entries were also found for domestic animals, e.g. *koshka zlitsya* "the cat is angry"). *Razdrazhat'sya* "to become irritated", *nervnichat'* "to be nervous" (as a synonym for *zlit'sya*) can only adults and children starting from two years of age, as it presupposes a developed nervous system. *Gnev, yarost'* can also be experienced mostly by adults, although, as mentioned above, one can encounter the collocation *detskiy gnev* in some translated psychological articles.

One can see that there are various ways of describing infantile *other-directed discontent*. Nevertheless, in originally Russian (not translated) texts, *obida* "offence" and words denoting external (socially practically always unacceptable) expression of discontent, i.e. *kaprizy* "caprices", *agressiya* "aggression", *zhestokost'* "cruelty", also words presenting active discontent as mental disorder (*nevroz* "neurosis", *isterika* "hysterics"), are mostly used. Therefore, it is not the lack of words, but the social component connected to them, that dictates the preference for certain discontent-related terms. Children are presented as delinquents or mentally ill when they express active discontent. *Obida* in this case seems more acceptable, even when the actual behaviour

can be analogous to the English *anger*.

4.4.1.4. Gender

In the similar internet search for female expression of anger, no specific gender differences were noticed at first. Nevertheless, the search results for children's expression of anger gave us a hint for an interesting tendency in the Russian speaking society, i.e. similarities between the vocabulary used for children's expression of discontent to those words, traditionally attributed to women in patriarchal societies. The frequency of the use of words *isterika* and *kaprizy* can lead to the conclusion of 1) infantilisation of female anger, and 2) hierarchically placing women and children at one level, which is one level below men. One should note that such collocations as *muzhskaya isterika* "men's hysterics" and *muzhskie kaprizy* "men's whims" were found in our search, but there were few entries for these collocations and they were presented as somewhat unusual and jocular. Similar results were stated for the collocations *nervnaya zhenshchina* "a nervous woman" and *nervnyj muzhchina* "a nervous man". The adjective *nervnyj* is mostly related to women, as the collocation *nervny muzhchina* is possible but had fewer entries. Moreover, there are specific words meaning an angry woman: *furiya* and *megera*, both translated into English as "a shrew", *garpiya*. (elevated style); *yazva* "ulcer", *ekhidna* "viper", *zlyuka* "ill-tempered woman", *zlyuchka* "a petty wicked woman", *ved'ma* "a witch", *zmeya (podkolodnaya)* "a snake (from under a log)", *baba yaga* "a hag"(colloq.).

There are also words that designate an angry man: *zlyden'* "a wicked man".

Nevertheless, there are few authors who study differences in Russian expression of *other-directed discontent* ascribed to gender or age. Babenko (2017) addresses such differences in verbal expression of discontent: *pilit'* "lit. to saw", *gryzt'* "lit. to gnaw", *poedom est'* "to eat non-stop" for women, and *ryavknut'* "to snarl", *garknut'* "to yell" for men. *Vorchat'* "to grumble" is associated with an old age: *vorchat' kak stary ded* "to grumble like an old man", *starcheskoe bryuzhanie* "senile grumbling", etc.

4.4.2. Body language and words of *other-directed discontent*

4.4.2.1. Connection between the body and the *other-directed discontent*

As Pavlenko (2002) puts it, “the same situations and even the same general emotions can be constructed in different ways depending on ways in which emotions are framed in particular speech communities”. The author states that American monolinguals emphasize the internal and passive state aspect of emotions, not necessarily externalized, while Russian speakers tend to construct emotions as an active process expressed in a number of external behaviours. They also present emotions as forces to which individuals may 'give in', while their American counterparts construct emotions as abnormal states that need to be 'dealt with' (ibid). Also Krylov (2007) notes the preference of verbal constructions for the concept “*zlost*”, followed by predicative (*on vozmushchyon* "he is indignant") and prepositional (*on v gneve* "he is in wrath") constructions. According to Pavlenko, Russian discourse pays significantly more attention to the embodied aspect of emotions, i.e. the link between emotions and the body. Also Apresjan (2000) and Babenko (2017) confirm this statement by their study of the verb *rugat'* "to scold" which can be seen as an external manifestation of '*discontent*', and thus a metonymic equivalent for being 'angry', without having to mention the emotion per se. Nevertheless, Apresjan corrects the notion of constructing emotions as active processes in Russian by his observation of aspectual forms used with anger-verbs. All the synonyms have both aspectual forms. However, according to Apresjan, only the verb *zlit'* "to anger" can have the progressive meaning in the present tense. All the other synonyms denote an accomplished fact and not a state at the moment of its observation even in this grammatical form.

4.4.2.2. External manifestation of *other-directed discontent*

Gnev “justified anger / wrath”:

According to Ivanova (2010), *gnev* is accompanied by a high level of tension, aggression, enormous energy consumption and the desire to control *gnev*. Tight lips,

narrowed eyes, clenched teeth, tight fists, deep breathing and pacing back and forth are typical physical reactions related to *gnev*. Face slapping is also associated with this emotion (ibid.). Also Bazylev in his study lists the following actions and characteristics associated with *gnev*: destruction, aggression, violence, murder, insincerity, burden for other people, immoral actions, lies, anti-social behaviour, wrecklessness, negative consequences, death, hatred, unacceptance of changes, threat, punishment, inflexibility, unpopularity, misunderstanding, incomprehensibility, social failure, etc. (Bazylev, 1999:80-83)

Serdit'sya "to be angry":

According to Apresjan (2000), outwardly this emotion manifests itself in mimicry (pressed lips, frowning brows, angry looks), upbraiding, reproaches or similar verbal reactions. Another typical manifestation of *vexation* (*serdit'* "to anger") is discontinuance of conversation, withdrawal and the like.

Vozmushchenie "indignation" is typically manifested (if it is manifested at all) by critical remarks, the position of the critic being active in the sense that he tries to put an end to the deviation from the norm by invoking generally accepted moral or social values. *Vozmushchat'* "to make indignant" resembles *serdit'* in its outward manifestations because *vozmushchenie* can also be expressed by abrupt discontinuance of conversation, withdrawal and other similar acts.

Zlost' "anger":

In typical instances *zlit'* "to anger" and *raz'jarit'* "to infuriate" are outwardly manifested in sharp movements, shouts, ferocious grimaces, sparkling eyes, gritting teeth. A typical concomitant state is the urge to aggression: *Nasmeshki sobutyl'nikov razozlili / raz'jarili / ego do takoj stepeni, chto on nabrosilsja na nix s kulakami* "The sneers of his boon companions maddened /irritated/ him to such a degree that he charged at them with raised fists".

Yarost' "fury":

When one is *razozlyon* "maddened", however strongly, one may still keep one's temper in check, whereas the state of being *raz'yaryon* "infuriated" suggests such a violent and primitive feeling that it almost always finds an outlet, the most typical reaction being an urge to unrestrained aggression, to senseless and blind destruction, not necessarily directed against the actual source of unpleasurable emotion: *Raz'jarjonnaja tolpa mozhet rastoptat' i ubit' cheloveka* "An infuriated crowd may trample down and kill a person"; *Eto nastol'ko ego raz'yarilo, chto on sxvatil topor i stal krushit' vsyo vokrug* "He was so infuriated that he seized an axe and started to smash everything around".

Only *raz'yarit'* can describe a shared emotion of a number of people feeling like one person: *Eto soobshchenie sovershenno razyarilo tolpu / mitinguyushchih* "This news brought the crowd / the gathering into a state of utter frenzy".

Yarost' is always a physical reaction directed at the general environment, *vozmushchat'sya* "to feel indignant", *negodovat'* "to feel outraged" – is a rational verbal reaction, directed only at the human activity.

4.4.3. Typical scenario of *other-directed discontent*

- Cause (and a possible reaction):

unfriendliness, refusal of contact, distrust, indifference, hostility, coldness, stare, turn away, quarrel, offend (*oskorblyat'* "to insult"), take smth too personally (*prinimat' blizko k serdtsu* "to take to the heart").

It can be a reaction to an undesirable situation: *zlost'*, *obida*, *vozmushchenie*.

- Manifestation of *discontent*: the subject feels physiological discomfort, rise of body temperature and blood pressure, physical agitation (*skvoz' zuby* "through the (clenched) teeth", *skrezhetat' zubami* "to gnash the teeth").
- The subject tries to control his / her *discontent*: *obuzdat' gnev* "to curb the wrath", *kopit' v sebe razdrazhenie* "to store up irritation within oneself", *sderzhivat' zlost'*

"to restrain anger".

- Loss of control (especially in case of active anger): *poshyol v raznos* "got quite out of one's own control" , *sorvalsya* "got off the hinges" → the act of punishment. The theme of cruelty and damage as part of *discontent* expression scenario. Additionally for *gnev*: accusation as the main reaction, as if in court (being a judge). It doesn't last long, as *zlost'* is short-lived.
- The final stage of intense and active *discontent* is either pleasure (e.g. laughter) or remorse/shame.
- Ways of solution:
 - a) on the part of the experiencer: forgiveness → *pogovorit' po dusham* "to speak frankly / to have a heart-to-heart talk", *pomirit'sya* "to resume friendly relations", *naladit' otnosheniya* "to fix / put right the relations", *vyzvat' kogo-libo na otkrovennyj razgovor* "to call smb for a heart-to-heart talk", *prostit' drug drugu* "to forgive each other", *perestat' obizhat'sya* "to stop taking offence" ,
 - b) on the part of the accused: acceptance (*prosit' proshcheniya* "to ask to forgive") or non-acceptance of the guilt, promises, as logical continuation of the scenario (see Krylov, 2007)

4.4.4. Ways of liberation from responsibility of experiencing *other-directed discontent*

As '*discontent*', especially '*active discontent*', is very negatively conceptualised in the Russian language, there is a linguistic tendency to minimize the subjective responsibility of the experiencer for his feelings.

a) metaphors:

Kakaya muha tebya ukusila? "What fly has bitten you?" implies that somebody else

(the fly in this case) is responsible for one's actions. Another interpretation can be that one has a virus now and therefore cannot react adequately.

b) grammatical constructions:

Menya razdrazhaet, menya besit "It irritates me, it enrages me". The shift of attention from the subject (the experiencer) to the object (the cause) of the emotion.

c) lexical choice that diminishes the sense of responsibility:

- avoiding using terms of *other-directed discontent* per se. *Bespokoit'sya* "to worry", *rasstraivat'sya* "to be distressed", *perezhivat'* "to take to the heart / to feel uneasy" (see Ogarkova et al., 2012; Pavlenko, 2005; Wierzbicka 1992, etc.) are frequently used terms which actually relate to experiencing *other-directed discontent* without mentioning it.
- representation of experiencing *discontent* as self-defence. For instance, *razdrazhenie'* "irritation" is represented as self defence, as a natural reaction of the body /psyche to teasing and other negative factors. The synonym is *serdit'sya* "to be angry", but the corresponding verb *razdrazhat'* "to irritate" lacks the agentivity of *serdit'sya*, it implies liberation from responsibility, as it is the causer who grammatically performs the action. Compare its other synonyms *dejstvovat' na nervy* "to get on one's nerves", *igrat' na nervah* "to play on one's nerves", which imply culpability of the causer. Similarly, when choosing *nervnichat'*, one implies some medical explanation, justification, liberation from responsibility of manifesting one's discontent.
- On the contrary, *yarost'* "fury" and *gnev* "wrath" reflect the metaphor of fire. They correspond to active, self-induced agitation. Similarly, although less intense, is conceptualised the verb *serdit'sya* "to be angry". The inherent judgemental stance of *serdit'sya* implies the personal responsibility for experiencing ANGER, deliberate choice of the experiencer to feel so.

4.4.5. Provisional referential profile of the salient terms of *other-directed discontent*

Based on the previous research and lexicographical data, a provisional referential profile of the selected emotion terms has been constructed, which includes:

- a) social context associated with each term, i.e. age, gender, power relations, social form of emotional experience (individual vs. collective), etc.
- b) possible antecedents of the emotions in question
- c) possible (non)-verbal or bodily reactions
- d) possible action patterns (further actions)

Numbers in brackets indicate the frequency of the term in the RNC.

Table 5: Provisional referential profile of the salient terms of *other-directed discontent*

emotion term	злюй (30Л) zloj/zol "angry" (61.5)
social context: gender, age, power relations	- a 'lower', 'primitive' emotion - can be experienced by both animals and human beings of any social status and any gender, predominantly adults
possible antecedents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the action of displeasing fact upon more primitive systems of the experiencer, above all, upon his nerves. • may be used in the context suggesting no intention on the part of anyone to cause somebody's irritation • insult, offence, humiliation, violation of social status' rules (age, power, etc.), undesirable course of events, personal injustice, sometimes unclear reason (at least for the observers) • physical antecedents: hunger, pain
intensity / objectivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a fairly intense, but not very profound emotion • when one is maddened (razozljon), however strongly, one may still keep one's temper in check • a less rational emotion, an emotion with a smaller share of reflection on the part of the experiencer about what causes his displeasure
possible (non)- verbal / bodily reactions	sharp movements, shouts, reprimands, sparkling eyes, gritting teeth, tight lips, paleness or redness of face, unkempt personal appearance, predisposition to violence
possible action patterns	- agitation (throwing/moving things), crying, disappointment, violence

(further actions)	- other people: negative reaction
-------------------	-----------------------------------

emotion term	нервный <i>nervnyj</i> "nervous" (45.0) / нервничать <i>nervnichat'</i> "to be nervous" (18.0)
social context: gender, age, power relations	- adults of any gender, equal partners, - can be a collective emotion
intensity / objectivity	- can be intense and uncontrollable, but not long-lasting - subjective
possible antecedents	- insult, contempt, lack of respect, lack of affection, jealousy, problems in a relationship, quitting smoking, dislike, general irritation, traumatic or simply unpleasant previous experiences or present situation, difficult life circumstances, bureaucratic procedures - physical antecedents: hunger, tiredness, stress
possible (non)-verbal / bodily reactions	- shouting, reprimands, verbal aggression, agitation, trembling, tension, possible physical aggression, intolerance - unkempt personal appearance
possible action patterns (further actions)	- quarrel, break up, physical aggression, separation by a third party, no contact, calm down, remorse, justification, apology - other people: stunning and even fear of the receiver (who is not necessarily the culprit of the emotion), the intention to justify and to calm the experiencer of the emotion

emotion term	обида <i>obida</i> "offence" (43.4) / обидеться <i>obidet'sya</i> "to take offence" (32.3) / обидеть <i>obidet'</i> "to offend" (30.4) / обижаться <i>obizhat'sya</i> "to take offence" (23.2) / обидно <i>obidno</i> "it is hurting" (22.4)
social context: gender, age, power relations, social sharing	- adults and children of any gender (predominantly male?) - inferior or equal social status - individual or collective
intensity / objectivity	- an intense, profound, long-lasting emotion - subjective
possible antecedents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • words or an action of another person (or an institution, e.g. government) which are felt as unjust due to lack of respect, attention, affection or trust (so, it is not the action itself that matters, but what stands behind it) • a situation that seems unfair • distrust, indifference or disregard, absence of gratitude which was expected, of help that was expected to come, underestimation of one's professional qualities, a negative opinion publicly voiced, insult, ill-treatment, betrayal, incongruity with accepted cultural norms, violation of rules of social behaviour (e.g., of hospitality or of family relations)
possible (non)-verbal / bodily reactions	criticism, tendency to blame the others, accusations, turning away one's head, silence, tears, leaving

possible action patterns (further actions)	expression of discontent; negotiation with the offender, her/his apology and further reconciliation; suppression of the emotion
emotion term	ГНЕВ <i>gnev</i> "wrath" (28.8)
social context: gender, age, power relations	- adults (middle-aged or elderly), - superior social status
intensity / objectivity	- an intense but short-lived emotion - presumably objective
possible antecedents	transgression, disobedience
possible (non)-verbal / bodily reactions	high level of tension, aggression, enormous energy consumption and the desire to control <i>gnev</i> , tight lips, narrowed eyes, clenched teeth, tight fists, deep breathing and pacing back and forth, face slapping
possible action patterns (further actions)	destruction, aggression, violence, murder, insincerity, burden for other people, immoral actions, lies, anti-social behaviour, recklessness, negative consequences, death, hatred, non-acceptance of changes, threat, punishment, inflexibility, unpopularity, misunderstanding, incomprehension, social failure, etc.

emotion term	раздражение <i>razdrazhenie</i> "irritation" (24.9) / раздражать <i>razdrazhat'</i> "to irritate" (23.9)
social context: gender, age, power relations	- adults - inferior, equal or superior social status
intensity / objectivity	- low intensity, can be long-lasting - rationalizing and reflection on the part of the experiencer, full awareness of what causes her/his discontent - subjective
possible antecedents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the action of a variety of factors, great and small, intended or unintended, on the nervous system of the experiencer • can be caused by a natural factor, such as the elements, unfair actions (of other people towards oneself), unfair situation (for oneself), unfair (one's own) life circumstances, when reality does not meet one's high expectations, crowded places, inconveniences, unpleasant situations, personal dislike (often based on moral principles), trivial stimuli
possible (non)-verbal / bodily reactions	For some reason or other the experiencer cannot discharge his emotion in an act of aggression directed at the culprit. The emotion finds expression in 'civilized forms'(reprimands, rude comments) or is checked completely generating an emotional turmoil in her/his soul
possible action patterns (further actions)	- causing problems to another person (not necessarily the culprit of the emotion) in order to feel better oneself,

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - different ways of relaxation, e.g. alcohol - other people: can react calmly, especially if they are not the culprits of the emotion, or apologize
--	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

emotion term	сердиться <i>serdit'sya</i> "to be angry" (22.0)
social context: gender, age, power relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a 'higher' emotion • The culprit cannot occupy a considerably higher position in the age or social hierarchy than the experiencer of emotion. • any gender
intensity / objectivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the least intense and deep emotion, can last for some time • may be purely subjective
possible antecedents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • any factor capable of causing discontent and suggesting or implying a concrete culprit • the actions of the culprit themselves are not aimed at causing those negative emotions, that is, arouse them irrespective of or even contrary to the intentions of the culprit: a slow-minded person, a child's prank, a (sometimes unintended) violation of accepted norms of social life, etc.
possible (non)-verbal / bodily reactions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mimicry: pressed lips, frowning, angry looks • reproaches, reprimands or similar verbal reactions • discontinuance of conversation, withdrawal
possible action patterns (further actions)	other people: justification

emotion term	ярость <i>yarost'</i> "fury" (21.0)
social context: gender, age, power relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a 'lower', 'primitive' emotion • can be experienced by both animals and human beings of any social status and any gender, predominantly adults • a specific type of temperament: it is difficult to enrage or infuriate a melancholic or phlegmatic person • can be experienced collectively
intensity / objectivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • extremely intense, but short-lived • an irrational emotion, little reflection on the part of the experiencer about what causes her/his displeasure
possible antecedents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the action of displeasing fact upon more primitive systems of the experiencer, above all, upon his nerves • physical or emotional pain • sometimes no intention on the part of anyone to cause somebody's fury
possible (non)-verbal / bodily reactions	sharp movements, screaming, ferocious grimaces, sparkling eyes, gritting teeth, the urge to aggression

possible action patterns (further actions)	Always results in violent outbreaks: physical violence, unrestrained aggression, senseless and blind destruction, not necessarily directed against the actual source of unpleasant emotion
emotion term	ВОЗМУТИТЬСЯ <i>vozmutil'sya</i> "to be indignant" (20.4)
social context: gender, age, power relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a 'higher' emotion, a feeling with the strongest moral motivation and the least implication of immediate perceptual contact between the experiencer and the culprit • adults, inferior or equal social status • can be experienced collectively
intensity / objectivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It may be very profound and stay on in someone's soul for a long time. • the most objective, righteous and profound of anger-like emotions
possible antecedents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is usually caused either by someone's immediate observation of injustice or misconduct on somebody's part, or by knowledge of such things acquired at second-hand. • "Vozmushchenie" is least motivated by one's personal grudge or the feeling of offence, that is, by one's personal involvement in the situation. • The emotion is morally, socially and politically motivated
possible (non)-verbal / bodily reactions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • critical remarks, abrupt discontinuance of conversation, withdrawal and other similar acts • no manifestation
possible action patterns (further actions)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • intents to put an end to the deviation from the norm by invoking generally accepted moral or social values, lawsuit or other legal actions, scandal, demand for compensation • the culprit: justification • other people: intent to calm down the experiencer

4.4.5.1. Concluding remarks

After having analysed the data and created the referential profile, the following concluding remarks can be made:

- The 'closeness' criterion has been eliminated from the original design after having

analysed the data, as 'gender' seems to be irrelevant for the lexical choice, when expressing *other-directed discontent*, and *closeness* appears to be a complex concept in the Russian naïve picture of the world, i.e. not only family members and friends but practically any person is considered close from the outset, if not stated otherwise. This peculiarity in the conceptualisation of *closeness* could probably explain the high frequency of *obida* “offence” and of its' derivatives in Russian, as *obida* presupposes certain *closeness* between the offender and the experiencer.

- The results show that power relations are crucial for the lexical choice when expressing *other-directed discontent*, i.e. emotion words are chosen according to the social status of both the experiencer and the wrong-doer.
- There are three different classifications of *discontent*-related terms in Russian. According to Apresjan (1992), they can be divided into 'rational', e.g. *serdit'sya* and irrational, e.g. *yarost'*. Ogarkova et al. (2012) offer another classification: 'expressive', e.g. *serdit'sya* vs. 'inexpressive', e.g. *obida*. And yet another way to classify Russian emotion terms is suggested by Levontina / Zalizniak (2001). The authors refer to the Tartu-Moscow school of semiotics and divide terms of *other-directed discontent* into 'high', i.e. connected to the 'soul', and 'low', i.e. connected to the 'body'. All three classifications can be perfectly coordinated, e.g. *obida* can exemplify a 'high', 'rational' and 'inexpressive' emotion, while *yarost'* stands for a 'low', 'irrational' and 'expressive' emotion.
- In the case of *zloj*, it is difficult to draw a line between a character trait (being mean, bad, wicked), and an emotion (feeling angry). It could be suggested that in the Russian naïve picture of the world this duality of meaning is seen as follows: “ If the emotion of being angry lasts longer than necessary or is frequently experienced, the feeling transforms into a character trait” or “When a person is angry, he / she actually becomes a “mean, wicked” person for a moment, because at this moment he does behave as a 'mean' person”. This could probably explain the low frequency and thus the unwillingness of Russian-speaking community to use the term *zlit'sya* “get angry” when describing one's feelings.
- In the case of *nervnyj*, it is necessary to see the difference between it's two meanings “nervous=worried, scared” and “nervous=irritated, angry”, which, again, in the

naïve picture of the world is not so marked: an angry person can be simultaneously worried and even afraid of something. An image of a nervous person in the Russian-speaking imaginary often includes aggressive behaviour. The lexical meaning of *nervnyj* in Russian includes verbal aggression, and Russian synonyms of *nervnyj* are, among others, “angry” and “irritated”. Also the term *nervnyj sryv*, the Russian equivalent of “nervous breakdown”, includes unrestricted aggressive behaviour as one of its main characteristics, and the verb *sryvat'sya* (derivative of *sryv*) means “not being able to hold one's anger, become verbally aggressive, infuriated, start shouting at smb”. Moreover, just like *zloj*, *nervnyj* can be either a character trait, or an experienced emotion.

4.4.6. Qualitative corpus study of Russian salient terms of *other-directed discontent*

4.4.6.1. Introductory comments

Based on a qualitative study of the RNC main corpus, a final referential profile of the selected emotion terms has been constructed. Aleatory examples for each emotion term (50 examples for every term) were analysed according to the following scheme:

- a) scenario, i.e. antecedents, place, possible actions and their result,
- b) people involved, i.e. subjects and objects of the emotional experience and their social roles, age, gender, number of people involved,
- c) visible and / or audible manifestation of emotional experience
- d) parallel thoughts, as they reveal the subtextual discourse of the concept
- e) collocations with the term in question

- The issue of polysemy of “*zloj*” and “*nervnyj*” has been dealt with by selecting the items with the meaning „angry“ from the first one hundred examples of these lexemes. As a result, 49 items out of 100 for “*zloj*” and 40 items out of 100 for “*nervnyj*” have been selected.

- Collocations for each term were found using the corpus tools (4-word collocation search) in RNC.

4.4.6.2. Referential profiles based on the qualitative corpus study

Results of the qualitative corpus study are presented in the table below.

Table 6: Referential profiles of salient Russian terms of *other-directed discontent*, based on the qualitative corpus study

emotion word		zlost'
scenarios	antecedents	nobody is interested in a scientific discovery, none, unexpected laughing at the experiencer's utterances, different opinions, ideological differences, unreliability, situation is not as desired, one's own failings
	place	public space, on a highway, at home, in the street
	possible actions	type 1) acknowledgement of the other's mocking attitude, shock, trying to modify one's words, failure to understand the reaction of the causer(s) type 2) acknowledgement of the situation, inner non-acceptance of the situation, trying to modify the situation (usually to no avail)
	result /the end	none, aggressive behaviour, acceptance of the situation / resignation
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	a scientist and other people, a road policeman and car drivers, a teenager and her adult relatives, two friends, a real-estate agent and his client, two partners, oneself
	age	an adult, a teenager, a child
	gender	female, male
	number of people involved	unknown, 2
visual/audio expression		none, unfriendly manner of speaking / looking / facial expression, exclamations, shouting, snarling, grinding one's teeth, red / distorted face, tears, trembling, jumping to one's feet, convulsions, general agitation

thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)	the others are not interested in my discoveries / the others see me as a weird person, I used to think I understood them, the ideas are wrong
collocations / associations	<p>zli: на себя <i>na sebya</i> “at oneself”, посмотрел <i>posmotrel</i> “took a look”, на свое бессилие <i>na svoyo bessilie</i> “at one's own impotence”, злоба и страх <i>zloba i strah</i> “malice and fear”, стыдась <i>stydyas</i> “feeling ashamed”, на всех <i>navseh</i> “at everyone”, кричал <i>krichal</i> “to shout”, страдал <i>stradal</i> “suffered”</p> <p>razozli: не на шутку <i>ne na shutku</i> “in earnest”, и сказал <i>iskazal</i> “and said”, чёрт <i>chyort</i> “Damn it!”, ощерился <i>oshcherilsya</i> “grinned”, пёс <i>pyos</i> “a dog”, кот <i>kot</i> “a cat”, вскочил <i>vskochil</i> “leapt up”, кто-то <i>kto-to</i> “somebody”, на маму <i>na mamu</i> “at the Mother”</p> <p>zlost': вне себя <i>vne sebya</i> “beside oneself”, облитый горечью <i>oblityj gorechyu</i> “poured over with bitterness”, обида <i>obida</i> “offence”, в голосе <i>v golose</i> “in the voice”, досада <i>dosada</i> “annoyance”, страх <i>strah</i> “fear”, с перекошенным лицом <i>s perekoshennym litsom</i> “with a distorted face”, плача <i>placha</i> “weeping”, волнения <i>volneniya</i> “anxieties”, стыд <i>tyd</i> “shame”, покраснел <i>pokrasnel</i> “turned red”, помня себя <i>potnyu sebya</i> “remembering oneself”, скрипя зубами <i>skripya zubami</i> “gnashing with teeth”, взглянул <i>vzglyanul</i> “glanced”, ответил <i>otvetil</i> “retorted”, неожиданной <i>neozhidannoj</i> “unexpected”, дрожа <i>drozha</i> “trembling”, трясло <i>tryaslo</i> “was shaking”</p>

emotion word		nervnichat'
scenarios	antecedents / cause	a heated argument, endless discussions, an indecisive customer, an important match is difficult to win, an ironical / critical comment, a misinterpreted question, having endured many hardships in life, many difficult tasks at work, preventing the experiencers to cross the border, any disturbance, lies / defamation of the experiencer, the course of events is different from the one expected, having no partner / being a single parent, jealousy, alcohol abuse
	place	at home, in a shop, at a stadium, public space, in a prison, at work, at the border, in the street,

		at school
	possible actions	shouting, speaking in a rude / angry manner, insults, (sometimes) violent action, body language manifesting impatience / discontent, stating one's own right to behave in this manner
	result /the end	none, relaxation / obtaining the desired results, deterioration of a relationship or intent on the part of the causer / interlocutor to ease the tension, (possible) acceptance / excuse on the part of the interlocutor if there are good reasons for the experienter's behaviour
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	partners, a shop attendant and a customer, two sports rivals, authorities and the media, convicts, colleagues, acquaintances, a crowd at the border and the border patrol, a cat and the cat's owner, laboratory staff and the work plan, the whole society and the criminal bands, a mother and her child, a teacher and his/her pupils
	age	an adult, a child
	gender	male, female, unknown
	number of people involved	2, unknown
visual/audio expression		shouting, agitated movements, violent actions, e.g. throwing things, demonstrative body language indicating impatience / discontent
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		it's difficult but I need to persuade this person / I need to win the match, I'm tired, I was wrong but I can't lose face, If you want to be 'heard'you need to shout angrily / be rude to people,
collocations / associations		беременная <i>beremennaya</i> “pregnant”, переживала <i>perezhivala</i> “was anxious”, раздражалась <i>razdrazhalas'</i> “lost her temper”, здоровье себе портить <i>zdorovye sebe portit'</i> “to spoil one's own health”, истерю <i>isteryu</i> “I am hysterical”, когда что-то долго обсуждают <i>kogda chto-to dolgo obsuzhdayut</i> “when something is discussed for too long”, раздражалась по малейшему поводу <i>razdrazhalas' po alejshemu povodu</i> “fretted over nothing”, аксакалы <i>aksakaly</i> “the oldest men of the East”, балдею <i>baldeyu</i> “I am like a blockhead”, не надо <i>ne nado</i> “not necessary”, маман <i>matan</i> “Maman”, из-за моей внешности <i>iz-za moej vneshnosti</i> “because of

	my looks”, когда это видит <i>kogda eto vidit</i> “when he sees this”, не стоит <i>ne stoit</i> “it's not worthwhile”, продавец <i>prodavets</i> “shop-assistant”, жена кричала <i>zhena krichala</i> “the wife was shouting”, майор <i>major</i> “major”, менеджер <i>menedzher</i> “manager”, люди <i>lyudi</i> “people”, водители <i>voditeli</i> “drivers”, опять промах <i>opyat' promah</i> “again a failure”, удивлялся <i>udivlyalsya</i> “was surprised”, ярится <i>yaritsya</i> “flies into a rage”, из-за <i>iz-za</i> “because of”, психует <i>psihuet</i> “goes mad”, от бессонницы <i>ot bessonnitsy</i> “because of insomnia”
--	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

emotion word		obida
scenarios	antecedents	experiencer's name has not been mentioned in an article about his invention, the causer has and exhibits more life experience than the experiencer, various unexplained reasons, illness or other negative life situations, losing a game, made redundant at the workplace, the lack of hospitality, alleged defamation/criticism in a newspaper article, low salary, lack of faith in the government, a decision of a judge
	place	public space, visiting someone, at home, in the street, at work
	possible actions	acknowledging the facts, (sometimes) trying to rectify the situation, waiting for the causer to rectify the situation (an act of repentance or apology / kind words / some other recompense)
	result /the end	type 1) leaving, self-loathing / low self-esteem, deterioration of the relationship, carrying the weight of <i>obida</i> 'forever'or causer's repentance and excuse / recompensation type 2) active vengeance (usually in a civilised form), e.g. closing down / ruining financially a newspaper
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	an employee and the company manager(s), two friends, a person and the whole society, a person and his/her destiny, an experiencer empathising with someone/something dear to her/him (family, friends, the homeland, etc.) and any (even abstract) causer, a player/a team and a rival player/team, guests and a host, a

		corrupt politician and a newspaper, nurses in public hospitals and the government, the government and the citizens, citizens and a judge
	age	an adult, a teenager, a child
	gender	male, female
	number of people involved	2 (sometimes the experiencer and an abstract other party)
visual/audio expression		tone of voice, talking 'nonsense', speaking rudely, exclamations, reproach, sad face, tears, sulking, growling, demonstratively rejecting something offered by the causer, turning away, leaving
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts, underlying ideas)		I have nothing interesting to tell, I can't understand (accept) other people's actions, this is unfair, firing someone is less humiliating than making someone redundant, the allegations are true but they can't be made public, Questioning the government decisions threatens the whole system: the government is the God/the Father and thus people ought to have faith in it.
collocations / associations		obida: не хотел <i>ne hotel</i> “did not want to”, в голосе <i>v golose</i> “in the voice”, больно <i>bol'no</i> “it is painful”, за за “for”, более бед <i>bolej bed</i> “is more painful than misfortunes”, сделал вид <i>sdelal vid</i> “pretended”, сказал <i>skazal</i> “said”, бессилие <i>bessilie</i> “impotence” obizh*: боялись что <i>boyalis' chto</i> “were afraid that”, покинет <i>pokinet</i> “will leave”, не на шутку <i>ne na shutku</i> “in earnest”, очевидно <i>ochevidno</i> “evidently”, нахохлился <i>nahohlilsya</i> “was stooping”, ребенок <i>rebyonok</i> “a child”, баба <i>baba</i> “a peasant woman”, бабка <i>babka</i> “Granny”, разозлилась <i>razozlilas'</i> “got angry”, без него <i>bez nego</i> “without him”, благодетели <i>blagodeteli</i> “benefactors”, брат <i>brat</i> “brother”, бурчал недовольный <i>burchal nedovol'nyj</i> “was muttering in discontent”, разогорчило <i>razogorchilo</i> “to distress very much”, муж <i>muzh</i> “husband”, друзьями <i>druzyami</i> “by friends”, товариществом <i>tovarishchestvom</i> “by the company”, разговором <i>razgovorom</i> “by the conversation”, наплачешься <i>naplachesh'sya</i> “you will cry your heart out”, в

	утешении <i>v uteshenii</i> “in consolance”	
emotion word	gnev	
scenarios	antecedents	educational methods of other parents, KGB's agents selling state secrets to another country, malfunctioning of the fishing industry, criticism, crisis in international politics, difficulties in a politically motivated criminal case, irregularities in an electoral campaign, firemen's slow actions cause death of innocent people in a fire, betrayal, discontent with a bride, discontent with moral standards of a piece of art, people's disobedience, ecological problems
	place	in the street / at school, in an office, public space, in a theatre, at a wedding
	possible actions	acknowledging the situation, immediate reaction in form of a speech or a letter (usually using the media), rarely unsanctioned violent actions
	result /the end	punishing sanctions (not exceeding the law), none, deterioration of a relationship
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	a man and a woman (parents of different children), the whole society / KGB and an 'enemy of the state', high rank executives and the local administration, the state propaganda department and a newspaper's editorial staff, western countries and Russia, a lawyer and another lawyer (working together on a difficult case), the Central Electoral Committee and local candidates, a mother of a fire victim and firemen, a famous musician and people close to him, bridegroom's relatives and the bride, minister of culture and artists, god(s) and people, a famous scientist and authorities
	age	an adult, usually older than the causer
	gender	male, (rarely) female
	number of people involved	2, unknown
visual/audio expression	a (public) speech, an open letter, a letter to a high rank official, trembling, suffocating sensation, unsanctioned violence, shouting, red face, giving orders	
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		
collocations / associations	gnev: вне себя <i>vne sebya</i> “beside oneself”, навлечь на себя гнев <i>navlech' na sebya gnev</i>	

	<p>“to cause anger on oneself”, сменить гнев на милость <i>smenit' gnev na milost'</i> “to change anger for mercy”, стыд <i>styd</i> “disgrace”, на брата <i>na brata</i> “with the brother”, презрение <i>prezrenie</i> “disdain”, дал волю <i>dal volyu</i> “gave vent to”, задыхаясь <i>zadyhayas'</i> “suffocating”, божий <i>bozhij</i> “God's”, дрожащим голосом <i>drozhashchim golosom</i> “in a trembling voice”, возмущение <i>vozmushchenie</i> “indignation”, страх <i>strah</i> “fear”, не гневи бога <i>ne gnevi boga</i> “do not anger God”, не помня себя <i>ne pomnya sebya</i> “forgetting oneself”, барский <i>barskij</i> “lordly”, печали <i>pechali</i> “grievances”, в минуты <i>v minuty...</i> “in the time of...”, красный <i>krasnyj</i> “red”, государя <i>gosudarya</i> “of the sovereign”, жалости <i>zhalosti</i> “of pity” <i>razgnev*</i>: хозяин дома <i>hozyain doma</i> “the owner of the house”, мужчин <i>muzhchin</i> “of men”, чиновник <i>chinovnik</i> “an official”, требует <i>trebuet</i> “requires”, диана <i>diana</i> “Diana”, дед <i>ded</i> “an old man”, волхвами <i>volhvami</i> “by the Magi”, критическое положение <i>kriticheskoe polozhenie</i> “a critical situation”, господь <i>gospod'</i> “Lord”, мамаша <i>matasha</i> “Mom”, папа <i>papa</i> “Dad”, отец <i>otets</i> “father”, майор <i>major</i> “major”, распорядился снять <i>rasporyadilsya snyat'</i> “ordered to dismiss”, грозя <i>grozya</i> “threatening”, мужик <i>muzhik</i> “a peasant man”, художник <i>hudozhnik</i> “an artist”, богов <i>bogov</i> “of the Gods”, крестьянин <i>krestyanin</i> “a peasant”, царя <i>tsarya</i> “of the Tzar”, самец <i>samets</i> “a male”, притихли <i>pritihli</i> “calmed down”, закричал <i>zakrichal</i> “gave a shriek”</p>
--	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

emotion word		razdrazhenie
scenarios	antecedents	smoking, bad acting, partner's reprimands, a party is not what was expected, a computer programme interferes with the work process, sitting "in a wrong way" at a table, tedious work which should be done by the others, rival's victory in sport, gadget's repetitive vibration, differences in cars' characteristics, unnecessary use of foreign words in Russian media, unfulfillment of economical and political resolutions by the local government,

		stupidity and repetitive questions of others
	place	public space, at home, in a club, in an office / at workplace
	possible actions	listening / observing, some visible reaction or none, verbal manifestation, turning off the source of irritation
	result /the end	leaving, none, satisfaction
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	a former smoker and actual smokers, a spectator and actors, a man and a woman (partners), a girl and a party, a worker and a computer programme, a mother and a child, the president and local officials, foreign sportsmen and Russian sportsmen (rivals in a competition), a person and a gadget, a person and a car, a person suffering from insomnia and his/her colleagues / friends / family, a reader and a journalist, local people and local authorities, colleagues interacting
	age	an adult, a teenager
	gender	unknown, male, female
	number of people involved	unknown, 2
visual/audio expression		closing a newspaper in an irritated manner, verbal manifestation, tone of voice, general negative attitude
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		difficulty to understand or accept something, dislike, unsatisfied (aesthetic) expectations, recognition of one's own unjust behaviour / attitude
collocations / associations		запальчивости <i>zapal'chivosti</i> “vehemently”, с плохо скрываемым <i>s ploho skryvaemym</i> “with hardly disguised”, сказал <i>skazal</i> “said”, в голосе <i>v golose</i> “in the voice”, крайнего <i>krajnego</i> “of extreme”, подумал <i>podumal</i> “thought”, с трудом сдерживал <i>s trudom sderzhival</i> “having difficulty to restrain”, отцы детей <i>otsy detej</i> “the children's fathers”, их любовь <i>ih lyubov'</i> “their love”

emotion word		besit'
scenarios	antecedents / cause	political propaganda, advertisement (especially of foreign brands), silence (non-communication), cultural differences, the way people call or look at the experiencer, impotence or clumsiness in other people, other people's ideas, their personal traits, trivial

		things, a love triangle, work competition, educational methods of a partner, educational methods at school, misinterpretation of one's art
	place	at home, at school, at the theatre
	possible actions	observation and suppression of discontent, verbal appraisal in a mild form (exposing the reasons to the causer of discontent)
	result /the end	no action
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	partners (mother and father), parents and teachers, an artist and critics / the audience, a human being and the nature, friends/partners, colleagues (rivals), some birds and animals
	age	an adult
	gender	female, male, unknown
	number of people involved	3, all the country, general public, 2
visual/audio expression		trembling voice, keeping silence
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		different mentality, pity, inner conflict, no action for the sake of family harmony; political accusation of the government, there is a threat to the present status
collocations / associations		<p>Besi*: агитационные предвыборные <i>agitatsionnyye predvybornyye</i> “pre-electoral campaign”, реклама <i>reklama</i> “commercials”, с жиру <i>besit'sya s zhyru</i> “not to be thankful for one's well-being”, собаки <i>sobaki</i> “dogs”, из принципа <i>iz printsipa</i> “as a matter of principle”, молчание <i>molchanie</i> “silence”, англичанка <i>anglichanka</i> “an English woman”, молчать <i>molchat'</i> “to keep silent”, угнетать <i>ugnetat'</i> “to dispirit”, доводить до <i>dovodit' do</i> “to drive into”, ненавидеть <i>nenavidet'</i> “to hate”, сводить с <i>svodit' s</i> “to drive mad”, когда его называют <i>kogda ego nazyvayut</i> “when they call him”, мучиться <i>muchit'sya</i> “to be tormented / to endure”, импотентные <i>impotentnyye</i> “impotent”, взгляд <i>vzglyad</i> “the look”, злиться <i>zlit'sya</i> “to get angry (<i>zlit'sya</i>, without externalisation)”, нерадивость <i>neradivost'</i> “carelessness”, руки опускаются <i>ruki opuskayutsya</i> “frustrated”</p> <p>vzbesi*: до последней степени <i>do posledney stepeni</i> “to the outmost limit”, не на шутку <i>ne na shutku</i> “seriously”, раздражённый <i>razdrachyonnyj</i> “irritated”</p>

	beshen*: дрожащим голосом <i>drozhashchim golosom</i> “in a trembling voice”, отчаяние <i>otchayanie</i> “despair”, дрожать <i>drozhat'</i> “to tremble”
--	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

emotion word		serdit'sya
scenarios	antecedents	immoral conduct of a partner, unsatisfactory work performance, the change of an important conversation topic, eating up the food too quickly at the funeral, minor ideological differences, the absence of a TV-set in a hospital ward, very trivial matters (lost or broken things, bad jokes, etc.), not living up to the experiencer's standards
	place	at home, at work, visiting someone, at a funeral, at a party, at a hospital, at school
	possible actions	observing, telling off or manifesting discontent visually
	result /the end	the feeling of guilt in the causer, none
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	a woman and a man (partners), a boss and employees, a girl and her acquaintances, a host and (uninvited) guests, conversational partners, a patient and the hospital staff / his family, a teacher / a school headmaster and the pupils, (grand)parents and (grand)children
	age	an adult
	gender	female, male
	number of people involved	2, unknown
visual/audio expression		verbal expression (reprimands), angry look, smoking and leaving the ashes at the table
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		
collocations / associations		serdi*: посмотрел <i>posmotrel</i> “looked”, на себя <i>na sebya</i> “at himself” rasserdi*: не на шутку <i>ne na shutku</i> “in earnest”, в конце концов <i>v kontse kontsov</i> “finally”, очень <i>ochen'</i> “very much”, страшно <i>strashno</i> “awfully”, объявил <i>obyavil</i> “announced”, мама <i>tama</i> “Mom”

emotion word		yarost'
scenarios	antecedents	rejection of a desired job caused by stupid job requirements, partner's sexual rejection, people of other nationality or other religion during the war or other conflicts, a pupil insults a teacher in front of other pupils, difficulty to win a

		tennis match
	place	in an office, at home, national territory, at school, at a tennis court
	possible actions	type 1) acknowledgement, active verbal manifestation of discontent, (possible) aggressive behaviour and (possible) damage to inanimate objects type 2) sexual frustration, aggressive behaviour, violence towards the causer type 3) creation of an 'enemy image'(people of other nationality or other religion), verbal manifestation of hatred, (possible) violence towards these people
	result /the end	none or damage to inanimate objects, death of the causer, threat to the causer, relief
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	a job candidate and a firm, a man and a woman (partners), one group of people and another group of people (defined by nationality or religion), a teacher and a pupil, a tennis player and his racket
	age	an adult
	gender	male, (rarely) female
	number of people involved	2, unknown
visual/audio expression		insults, strangle, shouting, beating, rolling one's eyes, grimace, spitting, trembling, distorted face
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		stupidity of others, unfairness of others, unfulfillment of other's promises, one's impotence or physical exhaustion
collocations / associations		уарост*: вне себя <i>vne sebya</i> "beside oneself", пришел в <i>prishyol v</i> has flown into", благородная <i>blagorodnaya</i> "noble", вскипает <i>vskipaet</i> "boils up", народной <i>narodnoj</i> "popular", перекошенным лицом <i>perekoshennym litsom</i> "with a distorted face", неописуемую <i>neopisuemyu</i> "indescribable", ударил <i>udaril</i> "hit", гнев <i>gnev</i> "anger", дикую <i>dikuyu</i> "wild", дрожал <i>drozhal</i> "was trembling", бессильной <i>bessil'noj</i> "powerless", тихой <i>tihoj</i> "quiet", посмотрел <i>posmotrel</i> "looked" газуг*: океан <i>okean</i> "ocean", толпа <i>tolpa</i> "crowd", зверь <i>zver'</i> "beast", отставкой <i>otstavkoj</i> "at the retirement", бежит <i>bezhit</i> "is running", успокаивает <i>uspokaivaet</i> "is

	reassuring”, <i>уводит</i> “is taking away”, обнаружил пропажу <i>obnaruzhil propazhu</i> “has found out the loss”, плюётся <i>plyuyotsya</i> “is spitting”, ворвалась <i>vorvalas'</i> “rushed in”, бык <i>byk</i> “bull”, пьяным <i>pyanym</i> “by a drunkard”
--	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

emotion word		vozmuschenie
scenarios	antecedents	wrong political decisions, promiscuity of a partner, not living up to the experiencer's moral standards, irresponsibility / unreliability of a friend, offensive portrayal of a book character, malfunctioning of a criminal court, internet password stealing, the oligarchs getting richer using natural resources, unjust work legislation, closing down of a university, disqualification of a ski runner, low moral standards of a new TV-show, allegations of the experiencer's alcohol problems
	place	public space, at the university, in a sport centre
	possible actions	observing, verbal manifestation of discontent, written complaints
	result /the end	unknown
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	a citizen and some abstract authorities, a man and a woman (partners), two friends, a reader and the author of the book, the whole society / the authorities and the criminal court, the whole society and the internet hacker, the whole society and the oligarchs, professional workers and the government, university administration and the authorities, the head of the Russian sport committee and the members of the FIS committee, abstract tv audience and the new TV-show, a person and abstract defamation
	age	an adult
	gender	unknown, male,
	number of people involved	unknown, 2
visual/audio expression		trembling voice, shouting, interrupting, loud verbal complaints, complaints in written form (e.g. letters to the authorities), in the media
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		
collocations / associations		<i>vozmusch*</i> : до глубины души <i>do glubiny dushi</i> “to the quick”, кипит <i>kipit</i> “is boiling”, по поводу <i>po povodu</i> “concerning”, гнев <i>gnev</i>

	<p>“anger”, вне себя <i>vne sebya</i> “beside oneself”, не задохнулся <i>ne zadohnulsya</i> “has not suffocated”, обида <i>obida</i> “offence”, душа <i>dusha</i> “soul”, бесстыдством <i>besstydstvom</i> “by the obscenity”, громко выражал <i>gromko vyrazhal</i> “loudly expressed”, дрожащим голосом <i>drozhashchim golosom</i> “in a trembling voice”, отвращение <i>otvrashchenie</i> “aversion”, растёт <i>rastyot</i> “is growing”, ужас <i>uzhas</i> “horror”, говорил <i>govoril</i> “said”, страшно <i>strashno</i> “awfully”, глубоко <i>gluboko</i> “deeply”, поражен <i>porazhyon</i> “struck”, во всем мире <i>vo vsyom mire</i> “all over the world”, страх <i>strah</i> “fear”, разум <i>razum</i> “reason”</p> <p>vozmut*: заявил <i>zayavil</i> “has announced”, до такой степени <i>do takoj stepeni</i> “to such an extent”, поведение <i>povedenie</i> “behaviour”, думы <i>dumy</i> “thoughts”, духом <i>duhom</i> “by the spirit”, иисус <i>iisus</i> “Jesus”, 92-летняя бабушка <i>devyanostodvuhletnyaya babushka</i> “a 92-year-old Granny”, доклад Хрущева <i>doklad Hrushchyova</i> “Khrushchyov's speech”, больной <i>bol'noj</i> “a patient”, жестоким <i>zhestokim</i> “by the cruel”, прервал его <i>prerval ego</i> “interrupted him”, огромными счетами <i>ogromnymi schetami</i> “by the enormous bills”, братва <i>bratva</i> “criminal brethren”, бумажный король <i>bumazhnyj korol'</i> “paper King”, вскрикнул <i>vskriknul</i> “gave a shriek”, вмешательством <i>vmeshatel'stvom</i> “by the intrusion”, вольностью <i>vol'nostyu</i> “by the liberty”</p>
--	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Close synonyms of *obida*

emotion word		oskorblenie
scenarios	antecedents	political scandals, verbal abuse, miserable pensions, low moral standards in TV-shows
	place	public space
	possible actions	
	result /the end	
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	the citizens and the government / tv producers
	age	an adult
	gender	unknown

	number of people involved	unknown
visual/audio expression		exclamations
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		They are laughing at us, humiliating us, people from low social classes do such things
collocations / associations		униженных <i>unizhennyh</i> “those humiliated”, чувству <i>chuvstvu</i> “to the feeling”, к ответственности за <i>k otvetstvennosti za</i> “to the responsibility for”, с видом <i>s vidom</i> “with an air”, личное <i>lichnoe</i> “personal”, по делу об <i>po delu ob</i> “concerning”, чести и достоинства <i>chesti i dostoinstva</i> “of honour and dignity”, в суд <i>v sud</i> “to the court”, по обвинению в <i>po obvineniyu v</i> “due to the accusation in”, до глубины души <i>do glubiny dushi</i> “to the quick”, не позволю <i>ne pozvolyu</i> “I shall not allow”, величества <i>velichestva</i> “His/Her Majesty”, род <i>rod</i> “generation”, смертельно <i>smertel'no</i> “mortally”, гений <i>genij</i> “genius”, со стороны <i>so storony</i> “from aside”, чинов полиции <i>chinov politsii</i> “police officials”, тяжким <i>tyazhkim</i> “by something grave”, потерпевшего <i>poterpevshego</i> “of the victim”, без всякого намерения <i>bez vsyakogo namereniya</i> “without any intention whatsoever”, обиды <i>obidy</i> “of the offence”, должностного лица <i>dolzhnostnogo litsa</i> “of an official person”, выражения по адресу <i>vyrazheniya po adresu</i> “blame on somebody”

emotion word		dosada
scenarios	antecedents	failure, one's own impotence, something that could be regretted, lost opportunities in a match, trivial matters
	place	public space, a war zone (during the break), a hockey stadium, a tourist trip, a glamorous party
	possible actions	
	result /the end	
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	an abstract citizen, a hockey player, a soldier, a tourist, politicians
	age	an adult, a teenager, a child
	gender	unknown, male, female
	number of people involved	1
visual/audio expression		to give a wave of the hand (to give up)

	something / to resign), to shrug, to cry, to linger, tone of voice
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)	
collocations / associations	<p>dosada: махнул рукой <i>mahnul rukoj</i> “gave a wave of the hand”, сказал <i>skazal</i> “said”, подумал <i>podumal</i> “thought”, стыд <i>styd</i> “shame”, как бы <i>kak by</i> “as if”, как будто <i>kak budto</i> “as though”, пожал плечами <i>pozhal plechami</i> “shrugged”, на самого себя <i>na samogo sebya</i> “at oneself”, очень <i>ochen'</i> “very much”, со смешанным чувством <i>so smeahannym chuvstvom</i> “with mixed feelings”</p> <p>razdosadovan: неудачей <i>neudachej</i> “by the failure”, голодна <i>golodna</i> “is hungry”, крайне <i>krajne</i> “extremely”, огорчён <i>ogorchyon</i> “is distressed”, вдвойне обидный <i>vdvojne obidnyj</i> “twice offensive”, самоуверенной <i>samouverennoj</i> “bumptious”, расплакался <i>rasplakalsya</i> “burst into tears”, затоптался <i>zatoptalsya</i> “began to trample on the spot”, на свою оплошность <i>na svoju oploshnost'</i> “for one's own negligence”, местные болельщики <i>mestnye bolel'shchiki</i> “local football fans”, необязательностью <i>neobyazatel'nostyu</i> “by negligence of one's duties”, голос <i>golos</i> “voice”, на мальчишку <i>na mal'chishku</i> “at the boy”</p>

4.4.6.3. Interpretation of the data

First, emotion words were grouped according to their frequency. Nevertheless, in the process of the data interpretation, the words were reorganised according to the inner relations between the words. Schematically, the reorganisation is represented in the table below:

Table 7: Usage-based classification of the Russian emotion words of *other-directed discontent*

	high-power status		neutral status	low-power status	
	morally justified	morally unjustified	morally neutral	morally unjustified	morally justified
low/medium intensity	<i>serdit'sya</i> "to be angry"	<i>nervnichat'</i> "to be nervous"	<i>razdrazhenie</i> "irritation"	<i>zlost'</i> "anger"	<i>obida</i> "offence"
high intensity /collective	<i>gnev</i> "wrath"	<i>psihovat'*</i> "to go crazy"	<i>besit'</i> "to infuriate"	<i>yarost'</i> "fury"	<i>vozmushchenie</i> "indignation"

* *psihovat'* is a more intensive form of *nervnichat'*. Yet, this emotion word was not included in the study due to its relatively low frequency

Low-power status group

Morally unjustified *discontent*

***Zlost'* "anger"**

There are three typical scenarios of *zlost'*. In the first *zlost'* scenario, the others show no interest in the matters crucial for the experiencer, when they disregard or place no importance on the experiencer's values and opinions, or when they contradict these values and opinions (demonstratively or implicitly). The feeling per se is actually caused not so much by the antecedent as by the (sometimes repetitive) intents to rectify the situation, e.g. by trying to convince the others or change the others' opinion, usually to no avail. Implicitly, there is a vanity factor present in such a feeling, as it is probably not the statement done by the experiencer or the values that matter but the fact that (s)he was not sufficiently respected or regarded as an authority in that particular question when doing so. Thus, there is the lack of authority / power which is being lamented. Very often, there is an opposition between the experiencer and the general public, some

specific group of people (which in this case has the power and takes the accusative stance) or the experiencer and some individuals who (s)he wishes (s)he could exert authoritative power upon but (s)he obviously can't (a child and his parents, two friends, partners, etc.). *Zlost'* is universal as it can be experienced by both children and adults, both male and female, and even by any social group when suddenly experiencing the subjective lack of authority / power.

The second scenario is similar to the first one, but the causer presumably is the experiencer himself. Although, when looking closer to the examples, one can see that one laments the impossibility to change the existing situation (caused by the experiencer) and the whole world. This type is usually invisible to the others or provokes a sympathetic reaction, as it means no harm to the interlocutors.

The third scenario originates in biological needs of the experiencer, e.g. hunger, thirst, tiredness, lack of sleep, nervous agitation, stress, etc. This scenario usually involves general negative thinking and aggressive behaviour. Interestingly, this type of *zlost'* is usually more tolerated by the interlocutors than the first type, as it seems more 'justified' and out of the experiencer's control, compared to the vain (individualistic) ideas in the first type of *zlost'*. Moreover, as a rule, the aggressive actions don't exceed the legal laws and typically consist in unfriendly manner of speaking, shouting, cursing, etc., directed at inanimate objects or people of the same or lower social status.

When analysing the corpus collocations, one can see the animalistic nature of the emotion. It is connected with such words as *pyos* "a dog", *kot* "a cat", *oshcherit'sya* "to snarl / bare one's teeth". The experiencer could be compared to a trapped, wounded animal. Its negativity is stressed by the diabolic connection in the frequent expression *zloi kak chyort* "angry as a devil". There is a tendency to lose control, to step out of one's body (*vne sebya, ne pomnya sebya*). *Zlost'* is associated with suffering, pain (redness of face, distorted face, grinding teeth, convulsions, tears), general agitation (trembling, jumping to one's feet, nervousness) and such emotions as its own derivative *zloba* "malice", but also *obida* "offence", *dosada* "vexation / annoyance", *strah* "fear", *styd* "shame", *bessilie* "impotence", *gorech'* "bitterness". Humiliation is another possible factor provoking the emotion of *zlost'*, e.g. *oblityj gorech'yu ...* as in *oblit' pomoyami* "to fling dirt at smb". These associated emotions demonstrate the weak social position of

the experiencer. The weak position of the experiencer is also stressed by the lower hierarchical position in his / her family (*zlit'sya na mamu* "to be angry with one's mother"). Nevertheless, the weak / low social position also interchangeably correlates with a weak / low moral position and implies a (morally) unjustified reason for experiencing the emotion.

The logical implications are as follows:

- When experiencing *zlost'*, one becomes an animal / a devil / a mean person. Therefore, as it is bad and dangerous, one should be ashamed, beware of this feeling and not express it freely.
- As the reason is morally not justified enough: too trivial / too selfish / vain, one has no right to express this emotion.

***Yarost'* "fury"**

Yarost' is an intensive form of *zlost'*. The reasons are also similar, but much higher in their irritating capacity, e.g. rejection of a desired job caused by stupid job requirements, partner's sexual rejection, a pupil insults a teacher in front of other pupils, difficulty to win a tennis match. *Yarost'* can also be a collective emotion, and the causer of *yarost'* can be people of other nationality or other religion during the war or other conflicts. As *yarost'* is a highly intensive form of discontent, it is the most socially disruptive and dangerous form of discontent. There is always unrestrained violence involved in the *yarost'* scenario, sometimes with lethal consequences for the causer. *Yarost'* is experienced by male adults, very rarely by female adults. Typical actions of people present (not necessarily the causer) is trying to calm the experiencer, hold him, take him away from the cause of *yarost'*. Facial expression is similar to *zlost'*, e.g. distorted face, trembling.

There are three prototypical *yarost'* scenarios:

Type 1) emotional frustration, active verbal manifestation of discontent, (possible) aggressive behaviour and (possible) damage to inanimate objects. The experiencer-causer pairs found in the corpus: a job candidate and a firm, a teacher and a pupil, a

tennis player and his racket

type 2) sexual frustration, aggressive behaviour, violence towards the causer

type 3) creation of an 'enemy image' (people of other nationality or other religion), verbal manifestation of hatred, (possible) violence towards these people

The outcome of these actions can be relief on the part of the experiencer, but damage to inanimate objects, threat to the causer and, in the worst case, death of the causer. Parallel thoughts and predominant themes involved in *yarost'* are stupidity of others, unfairness of others, unfulfillment of other's promises, one's impotence or physical exhaustion.

When analysing the collocations of *yarost'*, one can see the animalistic nature of this emotion, just like of *zlost'*: *zver'* "animal", *byk* "bull", *dikaya* "wild". *Pyanyj* "drunk" is also associated with *yarost'*. Parallel emotions are *gnev* "wrath" and *bessilie* "impotence".

Morally justified *discontent*

***Obida* "offence"**

Obida is constructed as an emotional reaction to some perceived unfairness. One has to note that the idea of fairness in case of *obida* is not (exclusively) based on legal law, as is the case with *oskorblenie* "insult", but on certain moral values. For instance, the general public can *obizhat'sya* "be offended" at the judge who makes his final decision based on the official law and not on his own moral convictions. Moreover, the notion of fairness can even go back to an archaic idea of world order. This peculiarity of *obida* can be observed in the example, when a corrupt politician is *obizhen* "(lit.) offended" at the journalists who expose his crimes in a newspaper. By doing so in public, the journalists 1) violate the hierarchical system of authorities and threaten the social order, 2) humiliate the politician by not talking to him privately first (face to face). The use of *obida* instead of *zlost'* in this case somehow morally justifies / humanizes the politician's reaction.

The patriarchal discourse is extremely persistent in most examples of *obida*. There is the hierarchy the God / the tsar / the president / the government / the father (above) - the people / the children (below). *Obida* works in both directions: there is a demand for faith and trust from 'above' and a demand for protection / giving things from 'below'. The following constellations were found in the RNC: An employee and the company manager(s), two friends, a person and the whole society, a player/a team and a rival player / team, guests and a host, a corrupt politician and a newspaper, nurses in public hospitals and the government, the government and the citizens, citizens and a judge. There are also examples of a person and his / her destiny, an experiencer empathizing with someone / something dear to him / her (family, friends, the homeland, etc.) and any (even abstract) causer. Therefore, once again one can observe archaic world view inherent in *obida*: 1) one's life is ruled by the destiny, 2) the experiencer and other members of his / her tribe feel as one.

When analysing the collocations and associations, one can see the theme of low self-esteem, humiliation, unfairness. One can simultaneously experience *bol'* "pain", *bessilie* "impotence", *zlost'* "anger", *razogorchit'sya* "to get upset / disappointed". Member of one's family and friends are typical collocates of *obida*. Just like *zlost'*, *obida* is a universal emotion, as both adults and children, males and females can experience it. Traditionally, *obida* is considered to be an internalised, passive emotion, but in the analysed examples one can clearly see the elaborate tactics of indirectly demonstrating one's *obida*: meaningful silence, a specific facial expression, the tone of voice, sulking, growling, turning away, leaving. But active retaliation can also be considered a part of *obida* scenario, especially if the experiencer has power. Anyway, there is always a demand for *uteshenie* "consolation" and rectification of the situation.

***Oskorblenie* "insult"**

As mentioned above, *oskorblenie* is based on the official law. It is practically a technical legal term. Therefore, *oskorblenie* has such collocations as *chest' i dostoinstvo* "honour and dignity", *ofitsial'noe litso* "an official", *politsejskiy* "a policeman", *delo* "a criminal

file”, *sud* “a criminal court”, etc. The cause or an antecedent of *oskorblenie* can be a political scandal, verbal abuse, miserable pensions, low moral standards in TV shows. The experiencer-causer pairs in many examples are the citizens and the government / TV producers. Parallel thoughts involved in *oskorblenie* are “They are laughing at us” and “they are humiliating us”. There is also a hint of arrogance and social bias attached to this emotion word. An implicit thought found in some examples of *oskorblenie*, is “People from low social classes do such things”.

***Dosada* "annoyance"**

This particular emotion arouses when something goes not according to the experiencer's plan. It can be objectively fair and even accepted as such by the experiencer, but the experiencer is still not content with the situation. The reasons for *dosada* are very trivial, superficial, 'unworthy' of *obida*. Typically, this emotion word is used when commenting sports games and some technical mistakes are made, e.g. when a player misses a goal in a football match. Interestingly, in the examples when the whole match is lost, it is more appropriate to experience *obida*. Also, one's own failure and impotence to change the way things are can cause *dosada*.

***Vozmushchenie* "indignation"**

Just like *obida*, *vozmushchenie* is based on moral values and other social dogmas. It usually takes a collective form and is expressed openly in public, in form of verbal or written complaints. For instance, 'wrong' political decisions of the government, malfunctioning of the criminal court, internet password stealing, the oligarchs getting richer using natural resources, unjust work legislation, closing down of a university, low moral standards of a new TV show, etc. *Vozmushchenie* is also typical in private sphere when the experiencer is appalled by the causer's moral deficiencies, e.g. by his / her promiscuity, unreliability or irresponsibility. Visual and audible signs of *vozmushchenie*

in this case are: a trembling voice, shouting, interrupting the causer. It is typically experienced by adults.

Collocations of *vozmushchenie* are *do glubiny dushi* "(lit.) to the bottom of one's soul, deeply", *besстыdstvo* "shamelessness", *vol'nost'* "excessive liberty", *porazhyon* "shocked". The predominant themes are of immoral behaviour, cruelty, political interference, huge amounts of money wasted / to be paid. Related emotions are *gnev* "wrath", *obida* "offence", *otvrashchenie* "disgust", *uzhas* "horror", *strah* "fear".

High-power status group

Morally justified *discontent*

***Serdit'sya* "to be angry"**

the emotion word *serdit'sya* is used only in private sphere (at home, at school, at work, in a hospital, at a party) and not in public space. The reasons for *serdit'sya* can coincide with those of *vozmushchenie* in private sphere, e.g. immoral conduct of a partner, minor ideological differences, unsatisfactory work performance, the change of an important conversation topic, not living up to the experiencer's standards, etc. Nevertheless, they can also be trivial: lost or broken things, bad jokes, eating up the food too quickly at the funeral, the absence of a TV set in a hospital ward, etc. The emotion is conceptualised as a correcting mechanism of the causer's behaviour. It is acted upon from a certain power / authoritative position. The typical experiencer - causer pairs in the corpus are: a woman and a man (partners), a boss and employees, a host and (uninvited) guests, conversational partners, a patient and the hospital staff / his family, a teacher / a school headmaster and the pupils, (grand)parents and (grand)children. It is expressed in reprimands and discontent facial expression. The desired reaction in the causer is guilt / repentance. The word *mama* "mother" is a common collocation of *serdit'sya*. Adults are typical experiencers of the emotion.

***Gnev* "wrath"**

Similarly to *yarost'* "fury", *gnev* is an extremely intense emotion, and often involves aggressive behaviour. Another similarity is that it is usually experienced by male adults, rarely by female adults, although there is a peculiarity that the experiencer is predominantly older than the causer. The main difference between *yarost'* and *gnev* is the position of extreme power of the experiencer that gives him / her the right to freely express this emotion. The reasons are similar to those of *vozmushchenie*, they are morally motivated: educational methods of other parents, KGB's agents selling state secrets to another country, malfunctioning of the fishing industry, criticism, crisis in international politics, difficulties in a politically motivated criminal case, irregularities in an electoral campaign, firemen's slow actions which caused death of innocent people in a fire, betrayal, *discontent* with a bride, *discontent* with moral standards of a piece of art, people's disobedience, ecological problems. The experiencer-causer pairs are as follows: a man and a woman (parents of different children), the whole society / KGB and an 'enemy of the state', high rank executives and the local authorities, the state propaganda department and a newspaper's editorial staff, western countries and Russia, a lawyer and another lawyer (working together on a difficult case), the Central Electoral Committee and local candidates, the mother of a fire victim and firemen, a famous musician and people close to him, bridegroom's relatives and the bride, minister of culture and artists, god(s) and people, a famous scientist and authorities.

The scenario of *gnev* is: acknowledging the situation, immediate reaction in form of a speech or a letter (usually using the media), rarely unsanctioned violent actions. In the end come punishing sanctions (not exceeding the law) or there is deterioration of a relationship on the personal level.

This is the most patriarchal emotion word of discontent in Russian. When observing the collocations, one finds such words as *bog(i)* "god(s)", *gospod'* "the Lord", *otets* "father", *barin* "landlord", *korol'* "king", *volhvy* "Magi", *tsar'* "tsar", *hozyain doma* "a housemaster", *muzhchina* "a man", *ded* "an old man", *chinovnik* "a functionary", *ma'yor* "a major", *muzhik* "a peasant", *krest'yanin* "a farmer". An ironical collocation *mamasha v gneve* "mommy's in rage / furious" implies a negative attitude to women

expressing *gnev*. An action associated with the causer is *pritihtnut'* “to become very quiet and meek in fear”.

Related emotions are *prezrenie* “disdain”, *vozmushchenie* “indignation”, *pechal'* “sadness”, *zhalost'* “pity”, *styd* “shame” and *strah* “fear”.

Morally unjustified *discontent*

***Nervnichat'* "to feel / be nervous"**

Nervnichat' is a subtype of *discontent* that combines the trivial, morally unjustified cause of *discontent* with sufficient social power to express it freely. The experiencer of this emotion can traditionally have a sufficiently high social status, it can be an animal (thus, free from social conventions) or the experiencer can openly claim the right to freely express *discontent*. If the requirements for the status justification are met (people who are affected by the experiencer's actions decide), the behaviour is tolerated. Typical justification for *nervnichat'* (in the eyes of the equal or lower social status interlocutors) is being pregnant, suffering from insomnia, having no partner / being a single parent, having endured many hardships in life, having too much work, etc. Nevertheless, one cannot openly *nervnichat'* at a person who has a higher social status than the experiencer. The following experiencer-receiver (not necessarily causer) pairs were found in the corpus: partners, a shop attendant and a customer, two sports rivals, authorities and the media, convicts, colleagues, acquaintances, a crowd at the border and the border patrol, a cat and the cat's owner, laboratory staff and the work plan, the whole society and the criminal bands, a mother and her child, a teacher and his/her pupils.

Many things can make somebody *nervnichat'*: a heated argument, endless discussions, an indecisive customer, an important match which is difficult to win, an ironical / critical comment, a misinterpreted question, preventing the experiencers from crossing the border, any disturbance, lies / defamation of the experiencer, the course of events being different from the expected one, jealousy, alcohol abuse, etc.

The typical scenario of *nervnichat'* starts 1) directly with shouting, speaking in a rude /

angry manner, insults, agitated movements, (sometimes) violent actions, e.g. throwing things, and, in case of an insufficiently high social status, claiming one's own right to behave in this manner; or 2) with demonstrative and exaggerated body language indicating impatience / *discontent*. The scenario typically ends in nothing or in relaxation / obtaining the desired results. *Nervnichat'* can also cause deterioration of a relationship or intent on the part of the causer / interlocutor to ease the tension, (possible) acceptance / excuse on the part of the interlocutor if there is sufficient justification for the experiencer's behaviour.

The parallel thoughts that were found in the examples were as follows: It's difficult but I need to persuade this person / I need to win the match, I'm tired, I was wrong but I can't admit it without losing face, If you want to be 'heard' you need to shout angrily / be rude to people. Thus, the actual discourse that lies at the core of this emotional construct is of a selfish, manipulative nature: there are personal interests that often contradict with others' interests → one has to fight for his / her interests → the most effective way to get what one wants / to persuade others / to win an argument is by being aggressive and intimidating others, by being 'the strongest' → in order not to get the same aggressive reaction from others, one can use his / her high social status as protection or try to evoke pity and compassion in others right before or after the aggressive actions. In other words, being nice equals to being weak and being rude, aggressive equals to being strong. This idea can be reflected in the Russian proverb *Ya nachal'nik, ty durak. Ty nachal'nik, ya durak!* “When I'm the boss, you're the fool. When you're the boss, I'm the fool!”.

The typical collocations of *nervnichat'* are *opyat' promah* “another failure”, *po pustyakam* “for trivial reasons”, the emotion verbs *perezhivat'* “to be concerned/to suffer”, *razdrazhat'sya* “get irritated”, *isterit'* “get hysterical”, *yarit'sya* “be in rage”, *psihovat'* “get insane / furious”.

Neutral group

The emotion words of this group are neutral in the sense of both the moral justification

and the social status of the experiencer or the causer.

***Razdrazhenie* "irritation"**

The reasons are usually not crucial for the experiencer's well-being. (S)he can live with it, although without the cause of irritation life of the experiencer would be better. The reason can be smoking in public spaces, bad acting in a film, partner's reprimands, a party is not what was expected, a computer programme interferes with the experiencer's work process, sitting 'in a wrong way' at a table, tedious work which should be done by others, rival's victory in sport, the gadget's repetitive vibration, differences in cars' characteristics, unnecessary use of foreign words in Russian media, unfulfilment of economic and political resolutions by the local government, stupidity and repetitive questions of others, etc. Very often *razdrazhenie* can be caused by inanimate objects. In this case, manipulating the object, e.g. switching it off, helps solving the problem.

Moreover, as the emotion of *razdrazhenie* is morally neutral, objectively positive things can irritate someone, e.g. love between two people can irritate the experiencer for some personal reasons, parents can irritate their children and vice versa, etc.

The mental processes that participate in the construction of *razdrazhenie* originate in difficulty to understand or accept something, dislike, unsatisfied (aesthetic) expectations. Mostly, recognition of one's own unjust behaviour / attitude also takes place which leads to suppression of external manifestation of *razdrazhenie*.

***Besit'* "to infuriate"**

Besit' is a more intense form of *razdrazhenie*. Just like in *razdrazhenie*, there must always be a reason for *besit'* and there is usually no possibility to openly express the feeling. Typical reasons for *besit'* are political propaganda, advertisement (especially of foreign brands), silence (non-communication) of the causer, cultural differences, the way people call or look at the experiencer, impotence or clumsiness in other people, other people's ideas, their personal traits, trivial things, a love triangle, work

competition, educational methods of a partner, educational methods at school, misinterpretation of one's art, etc.

Parallel thoughts that accompany the emotion of *besit'* can be the existence of an inner conflict due to a different mentality, no action for the sake of family harmony; political accusation of the government, if there is a threat to the present status (at work).

Parallel emotions can be *zhalost'* "pity", *ugnetat'* "to dispirit", *muchit'* "to torment", *nenavist'* "hatred", *zlit'sya* "to be angry", *otchayanie* "despondency", *razdrazhyonnyj* "irritated", *ruki opuskayutsya* "lit. one's arms fall down, frustrated"

4.4.6.4. Discussion of the results

The Russian discourse on the *other-directed discontent* is centred on the (lack of) moral justification of it on the one hand, and on giving or not giving the licence of unrestrained violent expression of *discontent* to an individual. When the *discontent* is morally justified, any experiencer (with or without social power) is allowed and even encouraged to verbally or indirectly express it, complain about it to the world. Litanies of complaints and (usually exaggerated) hardships endured in life are a prototypical form of greeting ritual and 'small talk' in a Russian-speaking culture (see Pavlenko, 2000; Wierzbicka, 2002). On the other hand, only people in power or otherwise legitimised individuals are culturally permitted and even expected to openly express *discontent* with the causer present. Unrestrained expression of *discontent* is a status privilege: the higher the status of the experiencer, the louder one can shout.

Nevertheless, all subtypes of *discontent* are conceptualised as active inner or external processes, as verbs are the preferred part of speech in the Russian emotional expression. In general, *zlit'sya* is culturally non-acceptable emotion as it is animalistic, low, individualistic and questions the hierarchical system of power. *Yarost'* is also culturally non-acceptable because of its animalistic, dangerous nature. All the other subtypes of *discontent* are culturally tolerable but socially strictly sanctioned according to moral or social status limitations. As some examples of *obida* and *vozmushchenie* show, moral justification is not (entirely) based on the juridical law but also on traditional and

sometimes even archaic values.

The moral and social status neutrality of *razdrazhenie* and *besit'*, combined with low intensity of *razdrazhenie*, explains the salience of this group in the modern Russian discourse.

As for antecedents, either irritation / dislike or humiliation / disrespect provoke *discontent* in the Russian-speaking culture. The place of action can be anywhere.

When observing the people involved, the most important factor is the social status of the experiencer and the causer.

In possible scenarios of *discontent*, only *yarost'* involves unrestrained, dangerous physical violence. Other emotion words can involve verbal violence, undirected violence, e.g. throwing things around, body language, tone of voice, facial expression or (rarely) no visible reaction. *Discontent* is constructed as an interactive process which always includes some other party. There is always demand for recompense or rectification. The outcome depends on the causer. Only in *gnev* and *yarost'* the outcome depends on the experiencer.

Collocations and associations are specific for every subtype of *discontent*, but body language and other indices of *discontent* are important collocates for all emotion words. As for other emotions that can collocate with the studied ones, *obida* "offence" (2), *strah* "fear" (3), *styd* "shame" (2), *bessilie* "impotence" (3), *gnev* "wrath" (2), *zlost'* "anger" (2), *zhalost'* "pity" (2) and *razdrazhenie* "irritation" (2) are the most frequent ones. Therefore, apart from *other-directed discontent*, fear, shame, (self-)pity and impotence are prominent neighbouring emotions.

There are two parallel discourses which motivate the conceptualisation of *discontent* in the Russian-speaking culture. The first one corresponds to the morally justified type of *discontent* (of both high and low social status) and is culturally reinforced. Its predominant narrative constructs the world as a common house with certain rules of living in it. There is also a hierarchical system which makes this world work. Thus, the world (the country / the city) is like a big patriarchal family. Questioning the system or being individualistic threatens the system / the social harmony. Logically, feeling psychological / spiritual separation from the group is irritating and causes *discontent*. One additional thought involved in the construction of the morally justified *discontent*

has been identified during the corpus study: "High is good, low is bad" -> people in power are good, people from low social classes are bad. This subtextual discourse is relatively new in the Russian speaking society and can be attributed to political, economic and social transformations in Russia.

The contrasting subtextual discourse which motivates the morally unjustified *discontent* in Russian, is negatively judged by the society and can be summed up in two implicit ideas:

- When one's opinion is different from others' opinion, (s)he is right and others are wrong.
- One has to be aggressive in order to be a winner -> aggressive / rude is strong, therefore good; nice is weak, therefore bad.

4.5. Summary

As the results of the onomasiological analysis show (see section 4.1), *obida* “offence / resentment” is extremely frequent in Russian. Apart from *obida*, other less frequent terms of *other-directed discontent* are *gnev* “wrath” and *zlost'* “anger”. Thus, one can suggest that the expression of 'passive' *discontent* is more salient in Russian than the expression of 'active' *discontent*. Furthermore, the noun *razdrazhenie* “irritation” and the verb *razdrazhat'* “irritate” are more frequent than the verb *serdit'sya* “to be angry / cross”, which signals the preference for less intense expression of *discontent* in Russian. The semasiological study with the selected lexical items, based on lexicographic data, is presented in section 4.3. For every emotion word the following information was searched: its etymology, its lexical meaning, its derivatives, its combinatory options, its metaphorical meaning, its synonyms and antonyms. The resulting semantic classification of Russian words of *other-directed discontent* is resumed in subsection 4.3.5. According to the classification, the intensity of *discontent* has four stages: the lowest degree (*razdrazhat'sya*), the medium degree (*serdit'sya*), high intensity (*vozmushchat'sya*), the most intensive (*besit'sya*). *Discontent* can also be divided into primary, animalistic, irrational *discontent* (*zlost'*, *yarost'*) and secondary, cultural,

rational type of *discontent* (*serdit'sya, gnev*). The cause of *discontent* can be significant (*vozmushchat'sya*) or insignificant (*razdrazhat'sya*) or both (*zlit'sya, obizhat'sya*). One can also distinguish between interpersonal (*gnev, obida*) and general *discontent* (*zlit'sya*). Other classifying categories are external, expressive (*serdit'sya, vozmushchenie*) vs. internal, inexpressive (*obizhat'sya, zlit'sya, serdit'sya*), and collective (*yarost', vozmushchenie*) vs. individual (*obizhat'sya, zlit'sya*). The form of expression can vary: e.g. *yarost'* is possible without words, whereas *vozmushchenie* needs compulsory verbal expression. Moreover, there is one more classifying category of discontent-related words in Russian, which plays an important role in conceptualisation of Russian emotions in general: 'high', i.e. connected to the 'soul' (*obida, vozmushchenie*), and 'low', i.e. connected to the 'body' (*zlost', serdit'sya*). All the classifying categories can coordinate, e.g. *obida* can exemplify a 'high', 'rational' and 'inexpressive' emotion, while *yarost'* stands for a 'low', 'irrational' and 'expressive' emotion. In regard to the words' etymology, they are mostly of Slavic origin, except for *nervnichat'*, which makes their original lexical meaning more traceable for a Russian speaker. The unifying function of derivation, the interchangeability of synonyms inside the concept, shape the perception of *other-directed discontent* in Russian. The common antonyms are *spokoystvie* “tranquility” and *radost'* “joy”, less common *umirotvoryonnost'* “peacefulness”, *mirit'sya* (for *obizhat'sya*). Recurrent themes of the common discontent-related metaphors are 'the elements', 'the fluid in a container', 'an opponent', 'an illness' and 'insanity'.

After concluding the meaning-based analysis of the *other-directed discontent* in Russian, we continued with the usage-based analysis of the lexical items, presented in section 4.4. First of all, the social component, discussed in subsection 4.4.1, plays central role in conceptualisation of *other-directed discontent*. For instance, the social status is crucial for choosing an adequate emotion word. Social hierarchy, i.e. age, gender, family and work hierarchy, dictates lexical choices, which is exposed in subsections 4.4.1.2, 4.4.1.3 and 4.4.1.4. Moreover, we (insider-relationship) vs. others (outsider-relationship) division is connected to the notion of 'closeness' which not only includes friends and close family but can refer to the whole country or even the whole planet. This peculiarity in the conceptualisation of 'closeness' is one of the reasons of the

high frequency of *obida* in Russian, as *obida* presupposes certain closeness between the causer and the experiencer.

Based on the previous study results, a provisional combinatory (referential) profile of the emotion terms has been constructed (see subsection 4.4.5). It included the following information: the social context associated with each term, possible antecedents of the emotions in question, possible verbal or bodily reactions and possible action patterns. Then, a qualitative corpus study for each term was conducted (using the Russian National Corpus for this purpose), in order to have a reality check of our assumptions (see section 4.4.6). According to the qualitative corpus study results, moral justification of *discontent* on the one hand and the right to openly express *discontent* on the other are focal points of its narrative structure in Russian. When the *discontent* is morally justified, any experiencer is 'allowed' to verbally or indirectly express it, litanies being a traditional part of the greeting ritual and 'small talk' in the Russian culture (see Pavlenko, 2000; Wierzbicka, 2002). Nevertheless, open expression of *discontent* with the causer present is a status privilege. As for antecedents, either dislike or humiliation and disrespect can provoke *discontent*. In possible scenarios of *discontent*, only *yarost'* involves unrestrained, dangerous physical violence. In general, *yarost'* and also *zlost'* are culturally non-acceptable emotions as they are animalistic, low, and question the hierarchical system of power. All the other subtypes of *discontent* are culturally tolerable but socially strictly sanctioned according to moral or social status limitations. The moral and social status neutrality of *razdrazhenie* and *besit'*, combined with low intensity of *razdrazhenie*, explains the ever growing popularity of this group in the modern Russian discourse. *Discontent* is conceptualised as an active inner or external process, as verbs are the preferred part of speech in the Russian emotional expression. In addition, *discontent* is constructed as an interactive process which always includes some other party. The outcome, except for *gnev* and *yarost'*, always depends on the causer who is expected to recompense or to rectify the situation. As corpus study of collocations showed, *fear*, *shame*, *(self-)pity* and *impotence* are prominent neighbouring emotions of *other-directed discontent*. Finally, there are two parallel discourses which motivate the conceptualisation of *other-directed discontent* in Russian. The first one corresponds to the morally justified and culturally reinforced type of *discontent*. Its

predominant narrative constructs the world as a common house with certain hierarchical system and with certain rules of living in it. Questioning the system or disobeying the rules threatens the social harmony and causes righteous *discontent*. The contrasting discourse which motivates the morally unjustified *discontent*, negatively judged by the society, postulates aggressiveness as a sign of strength and as the best way to reach one's goals.

5. CONCEPTUALISATION OF *OTHER-DIRECTED DISCONTENT* IN ENGLISH

5.1. Introduction

The goal of chapter 5 is to study the concept of *other-directed discontent* in English. Semantic representation of the concept from onomasiological perspective is featured in section 5.2. and from semasiological perspective in section 5.3. Thus, the most salient English words of *other-directed discontent* are selected and the main semantic characteristics of these words are described. The discursive structure of English *other-directed discontent*, i.e. its social component, its prototypical scenario and its subtextual narrative, is outlined in section 5.4. Moreover, subsections 5.4.4 and 5.4.5 present the detailed corpus study of salient *discontent*-related terms and the Russian-English/English-Russian parallel corpus study of these terms.

5.2. Onomasiological semantic analysis of the English concept *other-directed discontent*

5.2.1. English emotive discourse

Bednarek (2008) states that a number of emotion terms are frequent in the British National Corpus (BNC) overall, occurring in all or at least three of the sub-corpora of the BNC. Ten most frequent emotion terms in the BNC are: *to love, to enjoy, love, happy, to suffer, sorry, fear, hope, to worry, to hate* (see Appendix 4). As for the syntactic variations in BNC (nouns: singular vs. plural; adjectives: positive vs. comparative (*more*) vs. superlative (*most*); verbs: base form (*love*) vs. -ed form (*loved*) vs. -s (*loves*) vs. -ing form (*loving*), the author comes to the following results. Starting with emotion nouns, one can see that 92-96 per cent of all nouns in the four registers (conversation, news reportage, fiction, academic discourse) are used in the singular

form and only 3,5-6,9 per cent in the plural form. This fact relates to the specific character of *emotion* nouns. Nouns denoting emotion are usually uncountable nouns, and the low frequency of the plural form is hence not surprising. Those nouns that do allow the plural often have different affect meanings for the non-count and the count usage. Nouns that occur in the plural include: *whim, worry, disappointment, affection, antagonism, leaning, surprise, regret, resentment, apprehension, sorrow, anxiety, frustration, humiliation, jealousy, grudge*. Many of these have different affect meanings typically associated with the plural form: for example, *worry* is usually "the state of worrying about something", whereas *worries* often refers to "something that worries you"(OALD, 2005). Similarly, *disappointment* typically means "sadness because something has not happened or been as good, successful, etc. as you expected or hoped", whereas *disappointments* are "[persons or things]that [are] disappointing"(ibid.).

In verbs the occurrence of the -ing form is roughly the same in all four registers (circa 10 per cent), with other forms being differently distributed among the registers. Therefore, with verbs one can observe a similar grammatical restriction as with nouns: many verbs denoting emotion typically do not allow the progressive. In "traditional" grammar they belong to the so-called *stative verbs*; in SFL grammar, they belong to the category of *mental processes*, where the simple present is the unmarked tense.

Both emotion nouns and emotion verbs are thus restricted grammatically. With adjectives, the situation is slightly different in that there is no restriction on their gradability: emotion adjectives are in fact potentially gradable (*happy-happier-happiest*) but are not often used as graded forms (*happier, happiest*). According to Bednarek (ibid.), 96-99 per cent are used in the positive form, 1-3 per cent in the comparative form and only 0,2-0,5 per cent in the superlative form. The author makes a conclusion that "if we assume that language is at least partly responsible for construing reality, the usage of emotion terms in the English language with respect to syntactic variation seems to contribute to the Western conceptualization of emotions as prototypically:

- non-comparable (adjectives)
- non-countable (nouns)
- stative (verbs)

- private rather than public / shared (emoters) “

5.2.2. Research on *other-directed discontent* in English

Research papers dedicated to *other-directed discontent* in English are mostly focused on the metaphorical and metonymical conceptualisation of 'anger', and not on the meaning of 'anger' per se (Lakoff&Kövecses, 1987; Lakoff&Johnson, 1980; Soriano, 2013; etc.). It is probably due to the general fact that the word 'anger' is indisputably the most frequent and thus the basic one to express the *other-directed discontent* in English. There seems to be a general consensus on what 'anger' means, therefore research starts on the following stage, i.e. on the metaphorical level, without questioning the concept of 'anger' as such. Nevertheless, there are also studies of different lexemes, parts of speech and registers used to express *other-directed discontent*. Glynn (2014) confirms in his empirical study that 'anger' is the most common term of *discontent* in both spoken British and American English, alongside with '*annoyed*' and colloquial / vulgar '*pissed off*' in British English and '*annoyed*' and colloquial '*mad*' in American English. The author also presents the following structuring of the concept of *anger*: 1) violent response type of *anger* associated with norm violations and immoral behaviour; 2) a complaining or irritated kind of *anger* associated with inanimate objects and inconveniences such as being ill; and 3) more interpersonal *anger*, associated with the behaviour of people known, which results in social engagement with the problem without violence (ibid.:77). As for parts of speech, Pavlenko (2002) and Bednarek (2008) both state that adjectives are the preferred part of speech to express emotions in English.

In her study of BNC baby (smaller version of the British National Corpus), Bednarek (ibid.) includes “affect type: *dissatisfaction, displeasure*; typical emotions: *anger, frustration, dissatisfaction, discontent*; emotion terms: *to bother, bothered, impatience at, irate, to mind, to spite, unsatisfactory, vexing*, etc. The author also lists '*cross, sick of, to have a grudge against smb, fed up with, hold on to smb's temper*. Interestingly, Bednarek considers "*to resent*" not as part of the “*dissatisfaction*”-group but as part of

the "*antipathy*"-group (*hate, dislike, scorn*) (ibid.:175).

(Ogarkova et al., 2012:270) study the verbal expression of *discontent* in different languages by using labelling questionnaires which have to be fulfilled by native speakers of these languages. The authors list the following emotion terms as the most frequent labels in English: *anger, annoyed, rage, frustrated, angry, insulted*. In the similar later study (Ogarkova et al., 2016, p.80), they propose the following list for English, with the most frequently used term occupying the first position and the least frequently mentioned term being number 8:

1.*anger, 2.annoyance, 3.rage, 4.fury, 5.frustration, 6.irritation, 7.indignation, 8.resentment*

This ranking confirms Glynn's (2014) assumption about *anger* and *annoyance* being the most salient English terms of *other-directed discontent*.

5.2.3. The presence of *other-directed discontent* in the EFL lexical syllabus

Lexical Syllabus for the Common European Framework for English (LexiCLIL) is a lexical syllabus describing the words that a learner should be able to use productively according to their language proficiency as described by the Common European Framework for Languages (CEF). After having manually extracted emotive lexis from LexiCLIL (see Appendix 5), the following list of *discontent*-related lexemes was created:

worry (A1), hurt (A1), sad (A1), angry (A2), hate (A2), mad (A2), disappointed (A2), temper (A2), pain (A2), nervous (B1), yell (B1), insulted (B2), annoyed (C1), rage (C1), displeased (C1), dissatisfied (C1), discontent (C2), offended (C2).

'*Resentment*' does not form part of the LexiCLIL, neither do '*grudge*', '*cross*', '*vex*', '*fury*', '*frustration*', '*indignation*' nor '*irritation*'.

5.2.4. Frequency chart of English words of other-directed discontent. Search results of the British National Corpus

In order to obtain frequency data, the following sources have been used:

- the British National Corpus (BNC),
- not lemmatised rank BNC frequency lists (spoken and written English),
- lemmatised alphabetically ordered BNC frequency lists,
- Bednarek's (2008) data for *annoyed*, *outrage*, *furiously*, *irritated*, *irritably* and *maddenningly*.

The study gave the following results:

Table 8: Frequency chart of English words of *other-directed discontent*

order	emotion word	part of speech	absolute frequency	normalised frequency
2095	angry	adj	4282	42
2530	anger	n	3291	33
2566	mad	adj	3210	31
4026	frustration	n	1636	14
4770	furious	adj	1270	13
4972	rage	n	1197	12
5084	fury	n	1154	11
5186	annoy	v	1116	11
5254	angrily	adv	1093	11
5313	resentment	n	1068	10
5791	frustrate	v	926	9
5835	resent	v	913	9
5902	anger	v	892	9
-	annoyed	adj	870	8
-	outrage	n	632	6
-	furiously	adv	572	5
-	irritated	adj	484	4

-	irritably	adv	252	2
-	maddeningly	adv	31	0,3

According to the BNC frequency lists, '*angry*' and '*anger*' are the most frequent emotion words of discontent, with enormous numerical difference followed by '*mad*', '*frustration*', '*furious*', '*rage*', '*fury*' and '*to annoy*'. Interestingly, '*resentment*' is the tenth most frequent emotion word of *discontent*.

5.2.4.1. The list of the selected lexical items

Thus, after having studied relevant research papers (Bednarek 2015, Ogarkova et al. 2012, Wierzbicka 2006, Kövecses 2000, Pavlenko 2002, Ekman 1992, etc.), the lexicographical data, the BNC frequency data and the syllabus of EFL vocabulary, the following *other-directed discontent* words could be included in our study:

anger, angry, to anger, angrily

annoyance, to annoy, annoyed

frustration, to frustrate

fury, furious, furiously

indignation, indignant

irritation, irritated, irritably

mad, maddeningly

rage, outrage

resentment, to resent

5.2.4.2. Additional lexis

Hurt, insulted, offended and *a grudge* were also included in our list as partial translation equivalents of *obida*. On the other hand, '*cross*' was excluded on the early stages of the study for its disuse in modern English (see Glynn, 2014).

5.3. Semasiological semantic analysis of the English concept *other-directed discontent*

5.3.1. Words of *other-directed discontent* in English

5.3.1.1. *Anger*

According to Gevaert (2007), important cultural influence on the conceptualisation of *discontent* in English is the introduction of the Scandinavian loan-word *anger*. In many works on the history of the English lexicon, this introduction has been mentioned. In most cases, however, no explanation is offered as to why this loan-word was introduced and came to be the standard expression of *other-directed discontent* in English. Diller (1994) suggests that this expression was introduced c1400 because social changes gave rise to new forms of *other-directed discontent*: Whereas *wrath* expressed the traditional type of *other-directed discontent*, in which the angry person has a high social rank and typically reacts in a violent way, *anger* expressed the emotions of lower-ranked persons, who react less violently or in a non-violent way. Moreover, the non-Romance and perhaps also the non-religious character of *anger* may also have played a role.

Wierzbicka presents the concept '*anger*' in semantic primitives:

- a) X thought something like this about someone:
- b) this person did something bad
- c) I don't want this
- d) I want to do something (bad) to this person because of this
- e) because of this X felt something bad
- f) like people feel when they think something like this

etymology

Anger

1150–1200; Middle English < Scandinavian; compare Old Norse *anгр* "distress, grief, sorrow, affliction, suffering, anguish, agony", also "hostile attitude, ill will, surliness,"

Icel. *angr*, grief; Dan. *anger*, Swed. *onger*, regret; akin to Old High German *angust* (German *Angst* "fear"), from Proto-Germanic **angus* (cf. Old English *enge* "narrow, painful," Latin *angere* to strangle, *angor* anguish).

Anger with the sense of "vexation, trouble, to irritate, annoy, provoke, excite to wrath, make angry" is from late 14c.

lexical meaning

noun: a feeling of great annoyance or antagonism as a result of some real or supposed grievance; rage, wrath; a strong feeling of displeasure and belligerence aroused by some wrong-doing

derivatives

angry (adj.)

- feeling anger, annoyance, animosity, or strong resentment; enraged: an angry parent. [be + ~ + *at/with*] She was angry at the dean. I was angry with the children that night. [be + ~ + *about*] I was angry about the insult.
- showing, expressing, caused by, or characterised by anger; wrathful: [usually before a noun] angry words.
- showing characteristics associated with anger; suggestive of anger or danger, as by colour, sound, force, etc.: an angry sea, angry clouds, the boom of angry guns
- severely inflamed: an angry sore

to anger: (tr. v.) to make angry; enrage

angrily (adv.)

combinatory possibilities

noun:

- to arouse, stir up, provoke, cause, risk considerable anger; to bring [by, on, around] the anger of the [gods, boss, administration]

- to express; feel; show anger
- to allay, appease, calm smb.'s anger; to repress, control, swallow one's anger
- her [pent-up, repressed, hidden] anger
- [carry, hold] too much anger
- let out all that [pent-up] anger
- don't hold your anger in
- don't bottle up your anger
- to vent one's anger
- take your anger out [during the game, at the gym]; (don't) take your anger out on her
- blind, burning, deep, profound, seething; righteous; unbridled, excessive, fierce, outright, furious anger
- a feeling, expression, shout, flash, burst, a blaze, outburst, fit of anger; to be prone to fits of anger
- anger with; towards [his enemies], at (he finally expressed his deep anger at being mistreated), for [his enemies, the system], over [the situation, what happened]
- in; with anger (she struck back in anger; flushed with anger; burning with anger)
- Anger contracted the face of
- anger and [frustration, resentment, fear, hatred, pain]
- has [a problem, issues] with anger

n as adj

- has an anger problem
- has anger issues
- anger management [classes, help]

v

- be [careful, cautious] not to anger him
- angered the [people, customers, government]
- angered many [people, Americans]

- angered me because
- it angered me (to learn) that they had not kept their promise
- what angers me (most) is
- anger the gods
- angered by [his actions, the situation]
- [shocked, saddened, frustrated, surprised, disappointed] and angered by
- angers [easily, quickly, over anything]

adj.

- to become, get angry
- to be angry about the [insult, news, snub]; at [her parents, his children, herself], with; for: e.g., he was angry at/with his neighbour about the noisy party; we were angry at being disturbed; she was angry at/with me for being late, etc.
- angry to + *inf.* (I was angry to learn of his refusal to help)
- angry that + clause (we were angry that our request had been rejected)
- an angry [customer, patient, teacher, dog, boss, parent, public], angry [words, faces, people]
- got an angry [reaction, response, look, stare, email]
- [wrote, received] an angry letter
- an angry-looking [customer]
- an angry [wound, sore, sea, ocean]; [the wound, he] looked angry
- gets angry easily
- [seemingly, visibly, really, very, extremely] angry
- their [behaviour, insolence, tardiness] made her angry
- Don't make me angry! You're making me angry! You'll make her angry (if you)...
- angry and [frustrated, hurt, wounded, upset]

synonyms

anger: resentment, displeasure, animosity, wrath, indignation, vexation, exasperation,

bitter resentment, wrathful indignation, irritation, rage, choler, fury; annoyance, ire, displeasure, acrimony, impatience, enmity, antagonism, violence, passion, temper, outrage, hatred

angry: wrathful, cross, offended, vexed, furious, hot, infuriated, irate, irritated, nettled, passionate, piqued, provoked, raging, resentful, tumultuous

to anger: inflame, irritate, annoy, provoke, pique, incense; enrage, infuriate; displease, exasperate, fret, irritate, madden, offend, vex, nettle

antonyms

calm, quiet, serene

5.3.1.2. Mad

etymology

The original sense seems to be 'severely injured'; Old Saxon *ge-med* "foolish"; Gothic *ga-maids* "maimed"

lexical meaning

- suffering from mental disease, foolish;
- enthusiastic (about); excited;
- furious

derivatives

to madden, maddeningly, madness

combinatory possibilities

adj.

infatuated (*colloq.*)

- (cannot stand alone) mad about (they are mad about each other)

angry (*colloq.*) (*esp. AE*)

- hopping mad
- to get mad
- mad at (she's mad at him; to get mad at smb.)

insane

- stark raving mad
- to go mad
- to drive smb. mad
- mad with (mad with pain)
- mad to + *inf.* (he was mad to try it)

adj.

- maddening to + *inf.* (it's maddening to have to wait here)
- maddening that + clause (it's maddening that they never answer the telephone)

synonyms

flaming, boiling, fuming, raging, wild, raving, frantic

antonyms

sensible, practical, sound, safe

5.3.1.3. Frustration

etymology

1425–75; late Middle English frustracioun < Latin *'frustrari'*, "to render vain", deception, disappointment. Allied to "fraud": < *frud-trus*.

lexical meaning

1. a feeling of dissatisfaction, often accompanied by anxiety or depression, resulting from unfulfilled needs or unresolved problems.
2. something that frustrates, as an unresolved problem

derivatives

frustrated, to frustrate

combinatory possibilities

adj.

frustrated to + int. (He was frustrated to find no support among his friends)

adj.

- frustrating to + *inf.* (It's frustrating for me to work in a place like that)
- frustrating that + clause (It is frustrating that so few people support this worthy cause)

n.

to vent one's frustration on

synonyms

annoyance, grievance, resentment, failure, irritation, dissatisfaction, blow, chagrin, disgruntlement, defeat, setback, contravention, letdown, obstruction, drag, circumvention, fizzle, bummer, hindrance, impediment

antonyms

success, triumph

5.3.1.4. *Fury*

etymology

1325–75; Middle English < French *furie* < Latin *furia* "rage"

lexical meaning

- wild rage, unrestrained or violent anger, passion, or the like: The gods unleashed their fury on the offending mortal.
- violence; vehemence; fierceness: the fury of a hurricane; a fury of creative energy.
- a fierce and violent person, especially a woman: She became a fury when she felt she was unjustly accused.

derivatives

furious, furiously

combinatory possibilities

fury

- to vent one's fury on, upon
- pent-up; savage, unbridled fury

furious

- furious about, at, over smt.
- furious at (*esp. AE*), with smb.
- furious to + *inf.* (he was furious to learn that his pay check had been lost)
- furious that + clause (she was furious that the information had been leaked)

synonyms

fury: burst, explosion, paroxysm, storm, turbulence, rage, madness, frenzy, desperation, violence, ire, wrath, indignation, savagery

furious: angry, wrath, irate, ireful, wrathful, cross, bitter, virulent, acrimonious; indignant, hurt, sore, peevish; fierce, wild, rageful, mad with rage, fiery, infuriate, rabid, savage; relentless

furiously: angrily

antonyms

furious: moderate, tranquil, quiet, serene

5.3.1.5. Rage

etymology

rage: 1250–1300; (noun) Middle English < Old French *rage* - Latin *rabiem*, madness, rage, derivative of *rabere* to rage;

outrage: 1250–1300; Middle English < Old French *outrage*, *ultrage*, equivalent to *outr(er)* "to push beyond bounds" (derivative of *outr* "beyond" < Latin *ultra*) + *-age* - "- age"

lexical meaning

rage:

- violent anger; fury; to proceed violently (as a storm)
- a fit of violent anger: Her rages usually don't last too long.
- fury or violence of wind, waves, fire, disease, etc.
- violence of feeling, desire, or appetite: the rage of thirst.

v

- to act or speak with fury; show or feel violent anger; fulminate.
- to move, rush, dash, or surge furiously.

outrage:

- violation of others' rights; shocking act; anger arising from this
- an act of wanton cruelty or violence; any gross violation of law or decency.
- anything that strongly offends, insults, or affronts the feelings.
- a powerful feeling of resentment or anger aroused by something perceived as an injury, insult, or injustice: Outrage seized the entire nation at the news of the attempted assassination.

to outrage:

- to anger or offend; make resentful; shock: I am outraged by his whole attitude.
- to offend against (right, decency, feelings, etc.) grossly or shamelessly: Such conduct outrages our normal sense of decency.

derivatives

to rage, outrage, outrageous

combinatory possibilities

Rage *n.*

anger

- to provoke, stir up smb.'s rage
- to express; feel rage
- to fly into a rage
- (a) blind, towering, ungovernable, violent; jealous; sudden rage
- a fit, outburst of rage
- a rage against
- in a rage
- to quiver with rage
- a speech full of rage;
- incidents of road rage

fashion (*colloq.*)

- the latest rage
- a rage for
- it's all the rage "very popular"

v.

- to rage against, at
- to rage out of control (the fire raged out of control)

synonyms

rage: anger, excitement, frenzy, fury, madness, mania, passion, raving, vehemence, wrath

outrage: abuse, affront, indignity, injury, insult, offence, shock, violation, violence;

to outrage: to abuse, injure, insult, maltreat, offend, shock, violate

outrageous: abominable, atrocious, excessive, exorbitant, extravagant, furious, immoderate, mad, nefarious, raging; scandalous, villainous, violent, wild; craze,

enthusiasm, fashion, mode, rapture, vogue

to rage: to chafe, fret, fume, rave, storm

antonyms

calm, indifference

5.3.1.6. Annoyance

etymology

to annoy: French *ennui* "vexation" < Latin *in odio*, lit. "in hatred"

lexical meaning

to annoy: to vex, irritate

annoyance: a person or thing that annoys; nuisance: Unwanted visitors are an annoyance.

an act or instance of annoying.

the feeling of being annoyed.

derivatives

annoyed, to annoy

combinatory possibilities

to annoy

- to annoy greatly, very much
- it annoyed me to be kept waiting so long; it annoyed us that they took so long to answer

annoyance

- to express; feel; show annoyance
- annoyance at, over, with
- annoyance that + clause (his annoyance that he had been awakened so early was evident)
- to one's annoyance (much to my annoyance, he was late)

annoying

- highly annoying
- annoying to (it was annoying to everyone)
- annoying to + *inf.* (it is annoying to read nothing but bad news)
- annoying that + clause (it's annoying that there is no hot water)

annoyed

- annoyed at, with (we were annoyed at losing the order; he was annoyed at/with the children)
- annoyed to + *inf.* (he was annoyed to find his door unlocked)
- annoyed that + clause (she was annoyed that the library was still closed)

synonyms

annoyance: vexation

to annoy: to vex, tease, harass, disturb, molest, trouble, bother, irritate, peeve (coll.)

antonyms

annoyance: pleasure, enjoyment

5.3.1.7. Irritation

etymology

First recorded in 1580–90, irritation is from the Latin word *irritare* "to snarl greatly (as a dog), to provoke, to tease". A frequentative of *irrire*, *hirrire*, "to snarl as a dog", which is probably an imitative word.

lexical meaning

annoyance

derivatives

irritated, irritably

combinatory possibilities

v.

- to irritate greatly, very much
- it irritated me (to learn) that she had been promoted

adj.

- irritated at (irritated at being awakened so early)
- irritated to + *inf.* (he was irritated to see her dancing with someone else)

adj.

- irritating to + *inf.* (it's irritating to see them waste so much time)
- irritating that + clause (it's irritating that he got off so easy)

n.

- to express; feel irritation
- irritation at, with
- irritation that + clause (he could not hide his irritation that he had not been invited)
- Rather, he dishes up a seemingly endless stream of examples of pettiness, irritation, hypocrisy and awkwardness.
- I adapted and my irritation turned into indifference, then strangely, acceptance.

- “Unhappy” about her wait on the tarmac, she took to Twitter to voice her irritation .

synonyms

irritation: anger, annoyance, exasperation, excitement, indignation, provocation, resentment, wrath, stress, vexation

to irritate: to anger, annoy, enrage, exasperate, fret, incense, inflame, infuriate, offend, provoke, vex

irritable: cantankerous, choleric, excitable, fiery, fretful, hasty, hot, irascible, passionate, peevish, petulant, testy, touchy

antonyms

pleasure, enjoyment

5.3.1.8. Indignation

etymology

c. 1200, from Old French indignacion "fury, rage; disrespect," or directly from Latin indignationem (nominative indignatio) "indignation, displeasure; a provocation, cause for indignation," noun of action from past participle stem of indignari "regard as unworthy, be angry or displeased at".

lexical meaning

strong displeasure at something considered unjust, offensive, insulting, or base; righteous anger. indignant: angered by injury or injustice

indignity: humiliation, insult, slight

derivatives

indignant, indignity

combinatory possibilities

adj.

- indignant about, at, over
- to wax indignant (over smth)

n.

- to arouse indignation
- to express; feel, show indignation
- burning; helpless; public; righteous indignation
- indignation about, at, over (to feel indignation at gross injustice)
- to smb's indignation
- It is set during the Irish Civil War, when the IRA stalked the Anglo-Irish, who responded with a mixture of fear and indignation .
- The United Nations reacted with indignation, calling the matter one of “deep concern,” and Hollywood has decided to follow suit.

synonyms

indignant: angry, annoyed, exasperated, furious, incensed, irate, provoked, wrathful

indignation: anger, exasperation, fury, ire, rage, resentment; displeasure, vexation; wrath

indignity: abuse, affront, dishonour, disrespect, humiliation, injury, insult, obloquy, opprobrium, outrage, reproach

antonyms

calm, gratitude, gratefulness

5.3.1.9. Difference between *anger*, *fury*, *indignation*, *rage*, *annoyance* and *irritation*

Anger, *fury*, *indignation*, *rage* imply deep and strong feelings aroused by injury, injustice, wrong, etc. *Anger* is the general term for a sudden violent displeasure: a burst of *anger*. *Indignation* implies deep and justified *anger*: *indignation* at cruelty or against corruption. *Rage* is vehement *anger*: *rage* at being frustrated. *Fury* is *rage* so great that it resembles insanity: the *fury* of an outraged lover.

In reference to the difference between '*annoyance*' and '*anger*', someone feels *annoyed* when something disturbs her or him or is against her or his wishes. For example, when a mosquito is buzzing around one's head all night, when one cannot find the coffee because someone put it in the wrong place, or when a colleague keeps talking to the person who is working on a deadline. The source of *annoyance* can be disturbing a number of things: one's peace and quiet (e.g., the mosquito), one's concentration (e.g., people talking when somebody is trying to work), one's comfort (e.g., a very uncomfortable airplane seat), or one's flow of activities (e.g., the misplaced coffee).

Unlike other terms of *other-directed discontent*, *annoyance* is a bit volatile: it can change depending on the experiencer's current mood or activities, and even on the time of day. For instance, the same talkative colleague may be a welcome guest when the experiencer has little work to do. What someone gets genuinely *angry* about, on the other hand, is relatively static.

As for the distinction between *annoyance*, *irritation* and *frustration*, *annoying* is a temporary nuisance, something done occasionally, whereas '*irritating*' is more constant and thus less tolerable. Something unpleasant that happens repeatedly or continuously over a long period of time tends to *irritate* people, especially because they know that they can do nothing to stop it. The difference between the emotions of *frustration* and *annoyance* / *irritation* is that *frustration* is always about a goal one is trying to reach, a focus that *annoyance* or *irritation* do not have. *Annoyance* or *irritation*, on the other hand, always need an object: one can only be *annoyed* or *irritated* with someone or something.

5.3.2. Translation equivalents of the Russian *obida*

5.3.2.1. *Resentment*

etymology

1610–20; < Middle French *resentiment*, equivalent to *resenti(r)* "to have a deep sense of", "to resent + -ment". Originally, from *sense* < Latin *sensum* "feeling", pp. of *sentire* "to feel, perceive".

lexical meaning

a feeling of anger, bitterness, ill will or displeasure about someone or something unfair or about having been treated unfairly: He expressed his resentment of the new policies. People who feel that life in general is treating them unfairly, because they don't have the material possessions, attention or influence they feel they deserve, can develop a kind of general resentment against the world. Thus, there is a sense of pettiness involved in resentment. While other emotions of discontent concern themselves with serious wrongdoings (e.g., anger), or moral injustices (e.g., indignation), resentment can be triggered by relatively benign and more selfish motives of entitlement. For this reason, resentment is often minimally expressed in public.

to resent: to show, feel indignation at smth / smb

derivatives

to resent, resentful, self-resentment

combinatory possibilities

v.

- to resent bitterly, strongly

- she resents having to wait
- we resent him being the centre of attraction
- we resented his being the centre of attraction

adj.

- bitterly resentful
- resentful about, at, of

n.

- to arouse, stir up resentment
- to bear, feel, harbour resentment
- to express, voice resentment
- bitter, deep, profound, sullen resentment
- resentment about; against; at (not) [being, having], towards: He still has a lot of resentment towards his mother.
- resentment that + clause (they felt resentment that nobody paid attention to their request)
- [seething, growing, increasing, public, widespread] resentment
- a [feeling, sense, pang] of resentment
- [a face, a look, an expression] of resentment
- [show, express, voice, harbor] resentment
- to have, show [no, some, a lot of] resentment towards
- [feel, cause, create, generate, breed] resentment
- was [treated, looked upon] with resentment
- couldn't [hide, suppress, restrain] her resentment
- his resentment was [clear, evident, obvious]
- resentment [showed, surfaced, appeared] (on)

synonyms

resentment: anger, fury, indignation, ire, irritation, rage, vexation, wrath, pique, annoyance, grudge, antagonism, bitterness, rancour, malice, acrimony, passion,

displeasure, outrage, animosity, exasperation, huff, envy, jealousy

to resent: begrudge, dislike, envy

resentful: angry, exasperated, incensed, indignant, irascible, irate, irritable, malicious, malignant, revengeful

antonyms

resentment: friendship, contentment, delight, gladness, glee, relish, cheer, joy, elation, pleasure, euphoria, calm, comfort

resentful: moderate, tranquil, quiet, serene

5.3.2.2. *Insulted*

etymology

(F.-L.) F. *insulter* - L. *insultare* "to leap upon, scoff at"

lexical meaning

to insult (verb, used with object):

- to behave rudely, offend; to treat or speak to insolently or with contemptuous rudeness; affront
- to affect as an affront; offend or demean.

an insult (noun):

- an insolent or contemptuously rude action or remark; affront.
- something having the effect of an affront: That book is an insult to one's intelligence.

derivatives

insult, to insult, insulting

combinatory possibilities

- *adj.* deeply insulted
- insulted his [boss, friend, teacher]
- insulted him with [remarks, her comments]
- insulted him by [saying, suggesting, mimicking]
- didn't [mean, want, intend] to insult you
- insulted by her [boss]
- insulted in front of his [boss]
- insulted for (not) [having, being, accepting, doing]
- insulted for their [comments, actions, attitude]
- (feel) insulted over the [comments]
- (don't) insult my [intelligence, integrity]
- insulted and [threatened, warned, abused, abandoned]

synonyms

an insult: abuse, affront, contumely, indignity, insolence, offence, outrage, slander

to insult: to abuse, affront, injure, offend, outrage, slander

insulted: offended, affronted, defamed, dishonoured, mocked, ridiculed, hurt, cut to the quick

antonyms

insulted: complimented, flattered, praised, honoured, respected

5.3.2.3. *Offended*

etymology

Middle English *offenden* 1275–1325, from Middle French *offendre*, originally from Latin *offendere* to strike against, displease

lexical meaning

to offend:

- to irritate, annoy, or anger; cause resentful displeasure in; insult: His impolite remarks offended the audience.
- to affect (the sense, taste, etc.) in an unpleasant or disagreeable way: That odor offends my nose.
- to violate (a criminal, religious, or moral law): The movie offends the morals of the community. The movie offends against our principles.
- to cause displeasure or resentment: words that offend.

derivatives

offence, offensive, offender

synonyms

offended: vexed, provoked, insulted

to offend: affront, insult, outrage, annoy, hurt, hurt one's feelings, anger, irritate, displease, aggrieve, chagrin, repel, disgust, sicken, revolt, shock

antonyms

offended: pleased

5.3.2.4. A grudge

etymology

15th century, probably of Germanic origin (compare Middle High German *grogezen* "to complain, cry out"); from Old French *gro(u)c(h)ier* grumble, in late Middle English *grudgen, gruggen*,. Its popularity decreased in the 20th century.

lexical meaning

a strong, persistent feeling of anger, ill-will and resentment toward someone resulting from a past insult or injury: He has nursed a grudge against his former boss for years.

derivatives

grudging, grudgingly, grudge-keeper

combinatory possibilities

to have, to harbour, to hold a grudge against someone
to bear a grudge against someone / to bear someone a grudge

synonyms

rancour, hard feelings, bitterness, enmity, hatred

antonyms

friendship, love, goodwill, sympathy

5.3.2.5. *Hurt feelings*

etymology

hurt (v.) - c. 1200, "to injure, wound" (the body, feelings, reputation, etc.), also "to stumble (into), bump into; charge against, rush, crash into; knock (things) together," from Old French *hurter* "to ram, strike, collide with" (Modern French *heurter*), a word of uncertain origin. Perhaps from Frankish *hurt* "ram" (source also of Middle High German *hurten* "run at, collide," Old Norse *hrutr* "ram," Middle Dutch *horten* "to knock, dash against"). Celtic origins also have been proposed. The English usage is as old as French, and perhaps there was a native Old English **hyrtan*, but it has not been recorded. 'To hurt (one's) feelings' attested by 1779.

lexical meaning

to hurt; hurting

(tr.)

- to inflict with physical pain : wound He hurt his back while moving some boxes. You're hurting my arm!
- to do substantial or material harm to : damage The dry summer has hurt the land.
- to cause emotional pain or anguish to : offend Never meant to hurt you, got her feelings hurt.
- to be detrimental to : hamper Charges of graft hurt his chances of being elected.

(intr.)

- to suffer pain or grief He says his tooth hurts. She has been hurting ever since learning of her friend's betrayal.
- to be in need —usually used with *for* hurting for money
- to cause damage or distress .. hit where it hurts

hurt (n.)

- a cause of injury or damage : blow This tower of granite, weathering the hurts of so many ages
- a bodily injury or wound
- mental or emotional distress or anguish : suffering Getting past the hurt of a bitter divorce
- wrong, harm Subordinating cosmic to moral considerations, to the hurt of both

combinatory possibilities

v.:

- doesn't hurt [at all, in the slightest, one bit]
- [really, hardly, barely] hurts
- hurt [a child, your lover, someone]
- hurt [those close to you, your family, your friends]
- hurt his [feelings, chances, reputation, business]

adj.:

- have hurt feelings
- had a hurt [look, expression] (on her face)
- said in a hurt voice
- was (deeply) hurt by [your words, the news]
- [trying to, could not] hide her hurt [pride]

n.:

- [suffered, experienced] a big hurt (when)
- could hear the hurt in her voice
- could see the hurt in his face
- [inflict, avoid, minimise] hurt
- caused so much hurt
- so much hurt and [suffering, pain]
- wish I could take away your hurt

synonyms

to hurt: worry, trouble, distress, affect

antonyms

to hurt: please, make happy, satisfy

Leary / Springer (2001) state that surprisingly little attention has been paid to the elicitors and outcomes of *hurt feelings*. The authors also claim that hurt is inherently relational in nature, with appraisals of others behaviour being central to *hurt feelings*.

The results of Leary / Springer's study (2001) showed the *hurt feelings* are precipitated by events that connote relational devaluation, and the victims' *distress* correlates strongly with feelings of rejection. Victims are typically *hurt* by people whom they know well, suggesting that familiarity or closeness plays a role. Therefore, one can say that *hurt feelings* are usually provoked by a partner, a friend or a close relative. If the feeling hurts, it is because the person has indicated to you that he / she does not care about his / her relationship with you as much as you would like. Our brain evolved when social rejection was literally a death sentence. So, our brain gives us signals not only of physical threats but also of threats to our social well-being.

Moreover, analyses of the subjective experience have revealed that *hurt feelings* are characterised by non-differentiated negative affect that is often accompanied by emotions such as *anxiety* and *hostility*.

Interestingly, *hurt feelings* really do '*hurt*' in English because of its literal meaning, e.g. "it felt like kick in the ass" or "a slap in the face" / "it was humiliating", i.e., with a reference to the physical pain.

5.3.2.6. Distinction between *resentment*, *insulted*, *offended*, a *grudge* and *hurt feelings*

Difference between '*offended*' and '*insulted*'

Insulting someone is often intentional, whereas offending someone is often unintentional. One can have an *offensive* smell, for instance, but not an *insulting* one.

Because of this, *offending* someone is more likely to have a basis in truth, whereas an *insult* is generally aimed at *hurting* the other person, so doesn't necessarily have a basis in truth. Moreover, "*insulting*" implies using words, rather than actions, to be disrespectful to someone. As it is deliberate, *insult* is generally more degrading than *offensive* words. One could also say that 'being *insulted*' refers to the action of *insulting* someone, taking *offence* is the reaction of the experiencer to the action.

Difference between 'offended' and 'hurt'

"*Hurt*" has a stronger, deeper emotional content than "*offend*." Furthermore, the latter contains a sense of *anger* or *annoyance*, whereas the former specifically describes an emotionally painful experience, an emotional or even physical pain, e.g. "hurt is a rot stomach and your heart falling to the floor" and might entail crying. In other words, being *offended* causes one to get *angry* whereas getting one's feelings *hurt* causes one to be sad.

Another difference is that an *offence* is more objective and more people can see it as such, i.e. being *offended* means being upset and disgusted by something that most people might also be *offended* by; and having someone's feelings *hurt* is more subjective, more personal.

Difference between a *grudge* and *resentment*

It is written very little about grudges in modern scientific literature. A *grudge* is a long-lasting feeling of *resentment*. It persists. In addition, when someone "holds a *grudge*" against someone, this implies not just the *resentment* itself, but also an attitude that goes with it - i.e., viewing all of that person's actions as *offensive*, being unwilling to be amicable towards him / her, possibly taking retaliatory actions, etc. Mostly in a passive aggressive way, otherwise it is a feud, which happens between two parties and is actively aggressive. Nevertheless, a *grudge* may be seen to be more active than *resentment*, i.e. generating hostile behavior. Apology can help to overcome a *grudge*.

Another distinction between a *grudge* and *resentment* is that *resentment* results from a

perceived unfairness. *Grudge*, on the other hand, need not be the result of (perceived) unfairness; it can just result from (violation of) the holder's vested interests irrespective of the fairness involved.

Also, a *grudge* is always directed towards people, whereas *resentment* can be directed towards concepts (like policies and laws) in addition to people. Moreover, *resentment* may spring from generalised causes (always being "less than" someone in academics or sports, not being part of an envied clique, being ignored or bypassed, and so forth); a "*grudge*" is the result of a specific incident or *offence* on the part of another person.

Difference between 'resentment' and 'indignation'

Resentment and *indignation* are both anger-type emotions that respond to injustice. The difference between the emotions is that *indignation* responds to social injustice, while *resentment* responds to personal injustice. A consequence is that people who feel *indignant* tend to speak out about the injustice, as it concerns everyone, whereas people who feel *resentful* tend to keep their feelings to themselves, as the injustice is strictly personal, and their concerns are perhaps more selfish.

5.3.3. Metaphors of *other-directed discontent* in English

Kövecses (2000:21) lists the main conceptual metaphors of *anger*, the basic term of *other-directed discontent* in English:

ANGER IS HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER: She is *boiling with* anger.

ANGER IS FIRE: He's doing a *slow burn*. His anger is *smouldering*.

ANGER IS INSANITY: The man was *insane with* rage.

ANGER IS AN OPPONENT IN A STRUGGLE: I was *struggling with* my anger.

ANGER IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL: He *unleashed* his anger.

ANGER IS A BURDEN: He *carries* his anger *around* with him.

THE CAUSE OF ANGER IS TRESPASSING: Here *I draw the line*.

THE CAUSE OF ANGER IS PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE: He's *a pain in the neck*.

ANGER IS A NATURAL FORCE: It was a *stormy* meeting.

ANGER IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR: His actions were completely *governed* by anger.

The author considers the metaphor "anger is hot fluid in a container" to be the central *anger* metaphor in English (ibid.:23). Truly, the container metaphor captures many aspects of the concept of *anger* and is highly elaborate in the English language in terms of conventionalised vocabulary.

5.3.4. Conclusions

Etymological study showed that only '*anger*' and '*mad*' (and probably '*grudge*' and '*hurt*') have Germanic roots. These are also the most common terms used. All the other '*discontent*'-related terms come from Latin via French. The leitmotif in the words of Germanic origin is *suffering, pain, distress, injury*, but also *sorrow, complaint*. In the terms of Latin origin the meaning of 'displeasure, hatred' as a feeling and 'disrespect, aggressive behaviour' as a reaction were already present from the onset.

According to their lexical meaning, the terms could be roughly divided into three groups:

- *discontent* and (violent) reaction of variable degree caused by some 'trespassing' (*anger, mad, rage, fury, indignation, insulted*, also '*offended*' when objectively / legally justified)
- *discontent* without violent reaction, as no actual trespassing has taken place (*annoyance, irritation, frustration*)
- *discontent* without (violent) reaction, as the actual or imagined trespassing cannot be classified as such by the official legal system (*resentment, a grudge*, also '*offended*' when legally unjustified)

The terms in these three groups could be further differentiated by their intensity and

semantic nuances, e.g. *indignation* (social injustice), *frustration* (unachieved goals), etc. There are 2-3 derivatives per term. This scarcity of derivatives can be attributed to the general tendency that derivation is not a preferred way of vocabulary replenishment in English.

After having observed the synonyms of the '*discontent*'-terms, one can conclude that English has a vast array of specific emotion words denoting '*discontent*'. Most of them are interchangeable terms, e.g. '*anger*' is considered to be a synonym of '*resentment*' and '*resentment*' is often listed as a synonym of '*anger*'. Synonyms can also reveal the semantic nuances of emotion terms. For instance, '*malice*' and '*jealousy*' are listed as synonyms of '*resentment*', '*madness*' can stand for '*rage*' and '*failure*' represents '*frustration*'. Common antonyms for most '*discontent*' terms are '*calm*' and '*pleased*'.

Anger collocations reflect the metaphorical conceptualisation of the *other-directed discontent*. They also show the depth of this emotion and its association with pain: 'deep / profound / fierce *anger*', '*angry* and wounded / *hurt*', etc. Combinatory possibilities of other emotion terms have similar characteristics, but their collocations also add specific connotations of meaning, e.g. 'bitter' or 'sullen' for *resentment*, 'savage, blind, violent, ungovernable' for *rage*; 'savage, unbridled' for *fury*; 'righteous, public' for *indignation*.

As for '*anger*' metaphors, they are interrelated with etymological and combinatory data. The metaphors of *anger* as 'pain, burden or fighting opponent' and the original meaning of '*anger*' as 'strangle', and later as 'pain and discomfort' are difficult to overlook. Similarly, the term '*mad*' is influenced by the metaphor 'anger is insanity'.

5.4. Usage-based discursive analysis of *other-directed discontent* in English

5.4.1. Social component

Analysis of the lexical definitions, presented above, shows the importance of the antecedents which lead to the *other-directed discontent*. The 'cause' being the decisive

factor in the lexical choice can have historical explanation. English-speaking cultures comprising the Anglosphere are claimed to share a common historical narrative in which the Magna Carta, the English and American Bills of Rights, and such Common Law principles as trial by jury, presumption of innocence, "a man's home is his castle", and "a man's word is his bond" are taken for granted (see Lotman / Uspenskij, 1984; Wierzbicka, 2006). This historical heritage has shaped the public discourse and has influenced conceptualisation of emotions and expression of *other-directed discontent* in particular.

5.4.2. Prototypical English scenario of *other-directed discontent*

Lakoff (1987:400) outlines the prototypical *anger* scenario, where *anger* acts as a basic representative of *other-directed discontent*:

Stage 1: Offending event

There is an offending event that displeases S. There is a wrongdoer who intentionally does something directly to S. The wrongdoer is at fault and S is innocent. The offending event constitutes an injustice and produces anger in S. The scales of justice can only be balanced by some act of retribution. That is, the intensity of retribution must be roughly equal to the intensity of offence. S has the responsibility to perform such an act of retribution.

Stage 2: Anger

Associated with the entity anger is a scale that measures its intensity. As the intensity of anger increases, S experiences physiological effects: increase in body heat, internal pressure, and physical agitation. As the anger gets very intense, it exerts a force upon S to perform an act of retribution. Because acts of retribution are dangerous and/or socially unacceptable, S has a responsibility to control his anger. Moreover, loss of control is damaging to S's own well-being, which is another motivation for controlling anger.

Stage 3: Attempt at control

S attempts to control his anger.

Stage 4: Loss of control

Each person has a certain tolerance for controlling anger. That tolerance can be viewed as the limit point on the anger scale. When the intensity of anger goes beyond that limit, S can no longer control his anger. S exhibits angry behaviour and his anger forces him to attempt an act of retribution. Since S is out of control and acting under coercion, he is not responsible for his actions.

Stage 5: Act of retribution

S performs the act of retribution. The wrongdoer is the target of the act. The intensity of retribution roughly equals the intensity of the offence and the scales are balanced again. The intensity of anger drops to zero.

- Someone who has no difficulty controlling his anger is especially praiseworthy.
- A "hothead" is someone who considers more events offensive than most people, who has a lower threshold for anger than the norm, who cannot control his anger, and whose acts of retribution are considered out of proportion to the offence. Someone who is extremely hotheaded is considered emotionally "unbalanced." On the other hand, someone who acts in the manner described in the prototypical scenario would not be considered abnormal at all.

In the prototypical case, the offending event is an action on the part of a wrongdoer against a victim. The retribution takes the form of an act by an agent against some target. The ontology of anger also includes a number of predicates: *displeasing, at fault, exert force on, cause, exist, control, dangerous, damaging, balance, and outweigh*. There are also some other kinds of events: the physiological effects; the angry behaviours; and the immediate cause of anger, in case it is not the same as the offending event.

Lakoff / Kövecses (1987:214-216) also describe non-prototypical *anger* scenarios: insatiable *anger*, frustrated *anger*, redirected *anger*, exaggerated response, controlled response, constructive use, terminating event, immediate explosion, slow burn, nursing *a grudge*, righteous *indignation*, *wrath*, "don't get *mad*, get even"-scenario, indirect cause, cool and cold *anger*, etc. Interestingly, the authors also mention the case of social hierarchy: "*anger with*", when e.g. parents get *angry with* their children. By contrasting

the prototypical scenario with the non-prototypical ones, the authors (originally in Lakoff 1987:409) show that the *anger* category - the category consisting of basic *anger* and its conventionalised variations - is a radial category with a centre and extensions, thus, confirming the prototype theory in the domain of conceptual structure.

5.4.3. Provisional referential profile of salient English terms of *other-directed discontent*

Based on the previously obtained information, referential profiles of the English *discontent*-related terms was created. Moreover, in the following tables, emotions are defined as primary, secondary or tertiary according to the traditional division in the English-speaking research on emotion. During the 1970s, psychologist Paul Ekman identified six basic emotions that he suggested were universally experienced in all human cultures. The emotions he identified were *happiness*, *sadness*, *disgust*, *fear*, *surprise*, and *anger*. He later expanded his list of basic emotions including such ones as *pride*, *shame*, *embarrassment*, and *excitement*. In 1980, psychologist Robert Plutchik put forth a "wheel of emotions" that worked something like the colour wheel. Emotions can be combined to form different feelings, much like colours can be mixed to create other shades. According to this theory, the more basic emotions act somewhat like building blocks. More complex ones, sometimes mixed emotions, are blendings of these more basic ones. For example, basic emotions such as *joy* and *trust* can be combined to create *love*. Guided by the same idea, Shaver et al. (1992) and Parrott (2001) made a list of primary, secondary and tertiary emotions.

Table 9: Provisional referential profile of salient English terms of *other-directed discontent*

emotion term	angry(42) / anger(33) / angrily(11) / to anger(8)
social context: gender, age, power relations	- "basic / primary" emotion - can be experienced by both animals and human beings of

	any social status, age and gender - socially acceptable in its' mild form
possible antecedents	some real or supposed grievance, offence, injury, injustice, wrong, socially unacceptable actions, done on purpose or at least it is someone's fault
intensity / objectivity	- a fairly objective emotion. It is usually plausible for an observer to understand why someone is angry. - a sudden, not long lasting but intense emotion. However, when one is angry, one may still keep one's temper in check.
possible (non)-verbal / bodily reactions	increase in body heat, internal pressure, and physical agitation, redness of face, shouting, (sometimes) predisposition to violence
possible action patterns (further actions)	- agitation, control of anger, verbal manifestation of anger, (rarely) violence as an act of retribution ideally equal to the intensity of offence - other people: excuse, negotiation, explanation, verbal contra-attack

emotion term	frustration(14) / to frustrate(8)
social context: gender, age, power relations	- "tertiary" emotion - can be experienced by human beings of any social status and gender - socially acceptable
possible antecedents	unobtainable goal, unfulfilled needs or unresolved problems
intensity / objectivity	a long lasting, sometimes intense emotion.
possible (non)-verbal / bodily reactions	increase in body heat, internal pressure, and physical agitation, redness of face, shouting, (sometimes) predisposition to violence
possible action patterns (further actions)	- agitation, repression of one's urge to violent behaviour, verbal manifestation of frustration, (rarely) violence or damage to inanimate objects - other people: comprehension,

emotion term	furious(13) / fury(11) / furiously(5)
social context: gender, age, power relations	- "tertiary" emotion - can be experienced by human beings of any social status

	and gender, by adults - socially tolerated in its' non-violent form, when well justified
possible antecedents	offence, insult, injury, injustice, wrong, socially unacceptable actions, done on purpose or at least it is someone's fault
intensity / objectivity	- a fairly objective emotion. It is usually plausible for an observer to understand why someone is furious. - a sudden, not long lasting but extremely intense emotion.
possible (non)-verbal / bodily reactions	increase in body heat, internal pressure, and physical agitation, redness of face, screaming, predisposition to violence, borderline to craziness
possible action patterns (further actions)	- agitation, verbal manifestation of fury, (most probably) loss of self-control, (possibly) unrestrained violence as an act of retribution - other people: excuse, explanation, avoidance

emotion term	rage(12) / outrage(6)
social context: gender, age, power relations	- “secondary” emotion - can be experienced by both animals and human beings of any social status and gender, adults - socially repressed for its' destructive / animalistic nature
possible antecedents	something perceived as a threat, an injury, insult, or injustice
intensity / objectivity	- a fairly objective emotion, as it is usually provoked - a sudden, not long lasting but extremely intense and instinctive / animalistic emotion
possible (non)-verbal / bodily reactions	increase in body heat, internal pressure, and physical agitation, redness of face, screaming, predisposition to violence, urge to harm
possible action patterns (further actions)	- agitation, verbal attack, loss of self-control, unrestrained verbal and physical violence as an act of retribution, (possibly) regret afterwards - other people: excuse, fear, avoidance, verbal contra-attack, violence

emotion term	to annoy(11) / annoyed(8)
social context: gender,	- “tertiary” emotion

age, power relations	- can be experienced by human beings of any social status and gender, adults - socially tolerated
possible antecedents	some temporary / occasional nuisance, e.g. disturbance of one's peace and quiet, concentration, comfort, typical flow of activities, etc.
intensity / objectivity	- a highly subjective and volatile emotion. It is usually plausible for an observer to understand why someone is angry. - extremely low intensity: the emotion can change depending on the experiencer's current mood or activities, and even on the time of day.
possible (non)-verbal / bodily reactions	frowning, tight lips, unfriendly face expression
possible action patterns (further actions)	- verbal or simply visual manifestation of annoyance; actions, when possible, to reduce or eliminate the source of annoyance and its' impact on the experiencer; possibly no actions - other people: typically no reaction

emotion term	resentment(10) / to resent(9)
social context: gender, age, power relations	- “tertiary” emotion - can be experienced by men and women of lower social status or power - socially unacceptable and discouraged, as it is legally unjustified
possible antecedents	a perceived unfairness, personal injustice: - someone's actions towards (or not) the experiencer - generalised causes (being "less than" someone in academics or sports, not being part of an envied clique, being ignored or bypassed, etc.), - concepts (like policies and laws)
intensity / objectivity	- an extremely subjective emotion - a relatively long lasting and sometimes intense emotion.
possible (non)-verbal / bodily reactions	unfriendly facial expression
possible action patterns	- no actions or possibly hostile attitude towards the source of

(further actions)	resentment - other people: no actions, disapproval
-------------------	-------------------------------------------------------

emotion term	irritated(4) / irritably(2)
social context: gender, age, power relations	- “secondary” emotion - can be experienced by both animals and human beings of any social status, age and gender - socially tolerated, when justified
possible antecedents	something unpleasant that happens repeatedly or continuously over a long period of time
intensity / objectivity	- a subjective emotion. - a long lasting emotion of low intensity
possible (non)-verbal / bodily reactions	- frowning, tight lips, unfriendly face expression - (in extreme cases) increase in body heat, internal pressure, and physical agitation, itching
possible action patterns (further actions)	- verbal or simply visual manifestation of irritation; actions, when possible, to reduce the source of irritation and / or its' impact on the experiencer; typically no actions - other people: typically no reaction

emotion term	indignation
social context: gender, age, power relations	- “tertiary” emotion - can be experienced by men and women of any social status - socially encouraged and labelled “justified”, as it fights social injustice
possible antecedents	something considered socially unjust, offensive, insulting, or base: cruelty, corruption, etc.
intensity / objectivity	- an objective emotion, as it is based on socially established norms - a sudden, not long lasting but intense emotion
possible (non)-verbal / bodily reactions	increase in body heat, internal pressure, and physical agitation, verbal activity
possible action patterns (further actions)	- agitation, verbal manifestation of indignation, encouraging the others to actively participate in the discussion - other people:

	<p>1) excuse, explanation, crying, denial, verbal confrontation(the offender)</p> <p>2) approval, sympathy, participation, indifference (general public)</p>
--	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

emotion term	insulted
social context: gender, age, power relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “tertiary” emotion - can be experienced by men and women of any social status - socially acceptable
possible antecedents	rude remark, deliberately aimed at hurting / degrading the experiencer
intensity / objectivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - a fairly objective emotion, as it is provoked - a sudden, not long lasting but moderately intense emotion
possible (non)-verbal / bodily reactions	increase in body heat, internal pressure, (sometimes) predisposition to violence
possible action patterns (further actions)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - verbal manifestation of being insulted, (rarely) violence as an act of retribution - other people: excuse, denial (the offender), comprehension

emotion term	offended
social context: gender, age, power relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “tertiary” emotion - can be experienced by men and women of any social status - socially only acceptable, when well justified
possible antecedents	some real or supposed grievance, offence, injury, some offensive action or remark, done on purpose or unintentionally
intensity / objectivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - a relatively objective emotion, in case there is a real ground for offence - a sudden, not long lasting but moderately intense emotion.
possible (non)-verbal / bodily reactions	increase in body heat, internal pressure, (sometimes) predisposition to violence
possible action patterns (further actions)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (sometimes) verbal manifestation of being offended - other people: excuse, negotiation (the offender), no reaction

emotion term	hurt
social context: gender, age, power relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “tertiary” emotion - can be experienced by men and women of any social status - socially not encouraged, as it implies high level of interdependence (one's dependence on the actions and remarks of other people)
possible antecedents	some real or supposed grievance, offence, injury, injustice on the part of a close person (a friend, a partner or a close relative)
intensity / objectivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - a subjective emotion. - a sudden (unexpected), sometimes long lasting and intense emotion
possible (non)-verbal / bodily reactions	increase in body heat, internal pressure, somatic symptoms, such as: chest pain, heart ache, stomach ache, crying, silence
possible action patterns (further actions)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - little or no verbal manifestation of hurt, crying, silence, walking away, being sad, disappointment - other people: excuse, explanation (the offender), empathy, no reaction

emotion term	a grudge
social context: gender, age, power relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “tertiary” emotion - can be experienced by men or women of any social status - socially highly disapproved and “out of fashion”, as it 1) fosters enmity towards the others 2) implies high level of interdependence (one's dependence on the actions and remarks of other people)
possible antecedents	a specific incident or offence on the part of another person in the past; violation of the holder's vested interests irrespective of the fairness involved
intensity / objectivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - a subjective emotion. - a very long lasting emotion of low intensity.
possible (non)-verbal / bodily reactions	hostile behaviour towards the offender (always a person)
possible action patterns (further actions)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - verbal and non-verbal manifestation of animosity, vengeance when possible - other people: apology, denial (the offender), disapproval,

	no reaction
--	-------------

5.4.3.1. Concluding remarks

Both the semasiological study and the prototypical *anger* scenario demonstrate the decisive role of the *offending* event / antecedents in the discourse structure of '*anger*'. Prototypically, there is always an *offender* and some type of trespassing. Moreover, the degree of objectivity and justification of *anger* from the legal point of view makes the open manifestation of *anger* socially acceptable, less acceptable or unacceptable.

As for intensity of *discontent* terms, only '*fury*' and '*rage*' implicate physical violence. Mostly, *anger* episodes involve verbal manifestation of *discontent*, when legally justified.

Finally, the social status has proved to be mostly irrelevant in the construction of referential profiles. Although, resentment does have a negative correlation with the social status and associated power of the experiencer.

5.4.4. Qualitative corpus study of salient English terms of *other-directed discontent*

5.4.4.1. Introductory comments

Based on a qualitative study of the BNC main corpus, in addition to the COCA in case of *mad*, a final referential profile of the selected emotion terms has been constructed. Aleatory examples for each emotion term (50 examples for every term) were analysed according to the following scheme:

- a) scenario, i.e. antecedents, place, possible actions and their result,
- b) people involved, i.e. subjects and objects of the emotional experience and their social roles, age, gender, number of people involved,
- c) visible and / or audible manifestation of emotional experience
- d) parallel thoughts, as they reveal the subtextual discourse of the concept

e) collocations with the term in question.

- The issue of polysemy of *mad* has been dealt with by selecting the items with the meaning “angry“ from the first one hundred examples of this lexeme. As a result, 40 items out of 100 have been selected.
- Collocations for each term were found using the corpus tools (4-word collocation search) in BNC and COCA.

5.4.4.2. Results

Results of the qualitative corpora study are presented in the table below.

Table 10: Referential profiles of salient English terms of *other-directed discontent*, based on the qualitative corpora study

emotion term		anger
scenarios	antecedents	1) any situation that privately disadvantages the experiencer 2) the situation / the course of events (initiated or influenced by the causer) is not as expected by the experiencer
	place	anywhere
	possible actions	observation of the situation, showing one's discontent, (if possible) manipulating the causer into rectifying the situation
	result /the end	none, deterioration of the relationship / punishment / vengeance
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	any
	age	adult
	gender	male, female
	number of people involved	2, unknown
visual/audio expression		tone of voice, facial expression, shouting, tears, trembling, aggression
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		unknown
collocations / associations		<u>angry</u> : very, frustrated, look, voice, face, man, upset, sound, hurt, bitter, crowd, suddenly, woman, furiously, response, father, word, mob,

	people, letter, red, confused, irritable, grow, flush, shout, fan, even, reaction <u>anger</u> : frustration, fear, express, voice, resentment, face, vent, eye, turn, pain, suppress, against, hurt, sadness, guilt, grief, sudden, despair, bitterness, surge, rise, flash, tear, sorrow, arouse, provoke, jealousy, tremble, seethe, anxiety, rage, grow, aggression, flush, amongst, flare, disgust, control, direct, outburst, towards, explode, subside, righteous, burst, cause, shame, hatred, expression
--	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

emotion term		mad
scenarios	antecedents	1) any situation that privately disadvantages the experiencer 2) the situation / the course of events (initiated or influenced by the causer) is not as expected by the experiencer
	place	anywhere
	possible actions	observation of the situation, showing one's discontent, (if possible) manipulating the causer into rectifying the situation
	result /the end	none, deterioration of the relationship / punishment / vengeance
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	any
	age	adult
	gender	male, female
	number of people involved	2, unknown
visual/audio expression		verbal manifestation, tone of voice, facial expression, trembling, aggression
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		unknown
collocations / associations		dog, hell, fury, sad, raving, hopping, drive, daddy, mommy, barking, frustrated, grief, boiling, scare, steaming, feminists, howling, ambition, fuming, housewife, jealousy

emotion term		annoyance
scenarios	antecedents	'wrong' ideas, 'wrong' values, private nuisance (rude remarks or gestures made by a stranger), a tune, use of a certain language in a politically sensitive environment, ad spots during a football match, political / ideological differences, calling someone sentimental,

		people telling the experiencer what (not) to do, unsolicited advise, partner's remarks
	place	at home, at the university, on a highway, a club, a stadium, visiting someone, public space
	possible actions	observing the situation, trying to understand the reasons and (possibly) trying to accept / tolerate it
	result /the end	failing to accept / tolerate the situation
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	partners, family members, drivers on a highway, football spectators and ad spots, a political activist and the media
	age	adults
	gender	male, female, unknown
	number of people involved	2, unknown
visual/audio expression		none, a smile, sharp remarks (counter attack)
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		Why is it happening? Why does (s)he have to do / say it? This is totally wrong from my correct point of view.
collocations / associations		begin, try, everybody, neighbour, people, anything, think

emotion term		irritation
scenarios	antecedents	other people ignoring instructions given by the experiencer, politically sensitive topics, someone's way of life, one's own unconscious fears or prejudices, a beautiful morning when the experiencer is in a bad mood
	place	unknown, public space, at home, in a forest
	possible actions	observing the situation, failing attempts to improve the situation / to change the other's behaviour
	result /the end	1) Improvement of the situation to the experiencer's satisfaction or 2) Tolerance / Repression / Open confrontation
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	a man and a woman, a politician and a journalist, some people and a celebrity, a mother and her daughter, a boss and an employee, a person and the nature
	age	adult
	gender	male, female, unknown
	number of people involved	2, unknown
visual/audio expression		manifestation in the experiencer's tone of voice and gestures, frowning
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		(s)he should obey me. I probably shouldn't

	think so but I do consider it bad.
collocations / associations	suppress, intense, constant, anger, express, impatience, surge, sigh, mixture, spurt, frustration, annoyance, frown, amusement, conceal, anxiety

emotion term		frustration
scenarios	antecedents	unable to do something / prevented from doing something, waiting in vain for something promised by other people (e.g. political actions)
	place	at home, at the border, public space, unknown
	possible actions	none, indirect expression of discontent
	result /the end	none
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	an artist and his/her creation, a person and a machine, people trying to cross a country frontier and the border control, citizens and the politicians
	age	adult
	gender	unknown, male
	number of people involved	1, 2
visual/audio expression		crying, screaming, tension
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		unknown
collocations / associations		anger, disappointment, feel, rage, boredom, despair, fury, bitterness, weep, resentment, fear, anxiety, sexual, unhappiness, misery, outlet, guilt, scream, tension, delay, annoyance, pent-up, grow, inadequacy, irritation, powerlessness, failure, angry, inability, disillusion, depress, impatient, opposition, expectation, unable, desire, law, political, supporter

emotion term		fury
scenarios	antecedents	any reason, e.g. someone's remark / behaviour, magnified by the circumstances and the experiencer's temper
	place	at home, in a restaurant, at work, public space, unknown
	possible actions	1) control, 2) fight / argument
	result /the end	unknown
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	partners
	age	adult
	gender	male, female
	number of people	2

	involved	
visual/audio expression		tone of voice, shaking, growling, bellowing, facial expression
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		This has to be stopped
collocations / associations		fury: rage, frustration, vent, cold, hell, shake, spark, impotent, roar, voice, suppress, pent-up, react, unleash, growl, anger, explode, frustrated, bellow, black, control, seethe, erupt, surge, white, furious: face, look, provoke, reaction, fight, argument, expression, mother, protest, speaker, debate, attack, demand

emotion term		rage
scenarios	antecedents	permanent injustice (e.g. beating, cheating) done to the experiencer, negative changes in the society, helplessness in other people, economical issues, insulting a family member
	place	socially deprived areas, the whole society, in a public place
	possible actions	verbal and / or physical violence
	result /the end	unknown
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	men in a socially deprived area, a book author and the society, a politician and the society, different political parties, a mother and an artist
	age	adult
	gender	male, female, unknown
	number of people involved	unknown
visual/audio expression		verbal manifestation, (possible) violent behaviour, screaming, bellowing, bristling, contorted face, tears, choking, trembling
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		
collocations / associations		frustration, scream, face, shake, tear, fly, anger, howl, roar, cry, choke, pain, tremble, jealousy, burst, impotent, incandescent, fury, bellow, boil, vent, humiliation, despair, eye, grief, drunken, suppress, blind, sudden, hatred, against, contorted, seethe, explode, speechless, murderous, jealous, beside, towering, surge, shout, bristle, dash, scarlet, shame, helpless, righteous, shock, mad, flash, storm, furious, weep

emotion term	indignation
--------------	--------------------

scenarios	antecedents	partner's desertion, painting as a moral affront, (political) crimes and social injustice
	place	at home, in an art gallery, war zone, public space
	possible actions	manifestation of discontent and demand for moral correction
	result /the end	none, causer's correction of the situation / legal actions
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	a wife and a husband, the whole society and a painting, concerned citizens and the criminals / the police / the authorities
	age	adult
	gender	female, male, unknown
	number of people involved	2, unknown
visual/audio expression		complaints, exclamations, threats
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		This is unfair
collocations / associations		righteous, express, quiver, voice, surprise, public, splutter, rouse, cause, anger, shudder, rise, flush, fear, mock, sudden, great, rage, provoke, face, burst, fuel, amongst, against, government, strong

Translation equivalents of *obida*

emotion term		offended
scenarios	antecedents	(usually not deliberately) offensive / hurting remark or behaviour
	place	any
	possible actions	none, verbal manifestation
	result /the end	none, rectification
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	a host and his guests
	age	adult
	gender	any
	number of people involved	2, collective
visual/audio expression		tone of voice, facial expression
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		This remark / behaviour threatens my dignity, self-esteem and self-respect.
collocations / associations		deeply, against, sensibility, mortally, easily, people, say, sorry, look, embarrass, upset, wonder, sound, seem, party, God,

emotion term	insulted
--------------	-----------------

scenarios	antecedents	an insult, (intentionally) insulting behaviour
	place	any
	possible actions	verbal self-defence
	result /the end	none, public rectification
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	strangers
	age	any
	gender	any
	number of people involved	any
visual/audio expression		verbal complaints
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		unspecified
collocations / associations		threaten, abuse, think, say

emotion term		resentment
scenarios	antecedents	the situation of others is better than mine, someone who has power over the experiencer does something unpleasant (not necessarily bad) to the experiencer
	place	at home, at work, public space
	possible actions	observing the situation, experiencing discontent but not expressing it openly for the fear of being punished
	result /the end	none, unfriendly attitude
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	citizens and the government, inhabitants of an unprivileged area and the authorities / inhabitants of a better-off area, a parent and a child, an employee and his more successful colleague
	age	adult
	gender	male, female
	number of people involved	2, unknown
visual/audio expression		unfriendly way of communicating
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		I hate the way things are but I can't change the situation because the causer has more power / I can be morally and legally punished
collocations / associations		anger, bitterness, against, amongst, arouse, harbour, grow, bitter, deep, frustration, express, envy, show, jealousy, widespread, towards, build, increase, hostility, create, smoulder, breed, popular, great, mixture, fester, voice, rise, anxiety, linger, sullen, deep-rooted, exploitation, angry, expression, simmer, fuel, mutual, shame, intense, gratitude, people, confusion

emotion term		a grudge
scenarios	antecedents	someone did not help when the help was needed, the lack of recognition / respect
	place	any
	possible actions	remembering the negative information, refusing to be cooperative with the causer
	result /the end	none, vengeance
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	partners, friends, an employee and the employer
	age	adult
	gender	female, male
	number of people involved	2
visual/audio expression		none
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		unspecified
collocations / associations		against, bear, have, harbour, hold, personal, world,

emotion term		hurt feelings
scenarios	antecedents	'undeserved' criticism, rejection, being ridiculed
	place	any
	possible actions	none
	result /the end	none
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	the whole nation, a public figure, a prospective partner, friends, family
	age	adult
	gender	male, female
	number of people involved	unknown
visual/audio expression		unspecified
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		This is an undeserved, ungrateful attitude
collocations / associations		feeling, pride, anger, angry

5.4.4.3. Interpretation of the data

Anger

Anger can be triggered either by a situation that privately disadvantages the experiencer or by the course of events (initiated or influenced by the causer) which is not as

expected by the experiencer. The typical scenario can start with observation of the situation, showing one's *discontent*, and then (if possible) manipulating the causer into rectifying the situation. It can have no result or it can result in deterioration of the relationship / punishment / vengeance. *Frustration, upset, hurt, bitterness, fury, fear, anxiety, rage, confusion, despair, sorrow, jealousy, resentment, disgust, sadness, guilt, shame, hatred and grief* can collocate with *anger*. It is also associated with irritability and aggression. *Anger* can manifest itself in the experiencer's tone of voice, his / her facial expression, shouting, tears, aggressive behaviour, etc.

Mad

Mad has exactly the same antecedents and scenario pattern as *anger*.

Fury, sadness, frustration, grief, fear, jealousy can collocate with *mad*.

Annoyance

'Wrong' ideas, 'wrong' values, private nuisance (rude remarks or gestures made by a stranger), a tune, use of a certain language in a politically sensitive environment, at sports events (e.g. during a football match), political / ideological differences, calling someone sentimental, people telling the experiencer what (not) to do, unsolicited advice, partner's remarks can cause *annoyance*. The typical scenario is first, observing the situation, trying to understand the reasons and then (possibly) trying to accept / tolerate it and finally, failing to accept / tolerate the situation. Parallel thoughts are "Why is it happening? Why does (s)he have to do / say it? This is totally wrong from my correct point of view". Therefore, the experiencer feels to be in the right.

Irritation

Irritation can be triggered by other people ignoring instructions given by the

experiencer, politically sensitive topics, someone's way of life, one's own unconscious fears or prejudices, a beautiful morning when the experiencer is in a bad mood, etc. *Irritation* manifests itself in the experiencer's tone of voice and gestures, frowning. The typical scenario is: first, observing the situation, then failing attempts to improve the situation / to change the other's behaviour. In the end, 1) improvement of the situation to the experiencer's satisfaction or 2) tolerance / repression / open confrontation. Parallel thought is "I probably shouldn't think so but I do consider it bad". Therefore, the experiencer feels to be in the wrong. *Anger, frustration, annoyance, anxiety, impatience* and *amusement* collocate with *irritation*.

Frustration

One feels *frustrated* when (s)he is unable to do something / prevented from doing something, or when (s)he is waiting in vain for something promised by other people (e.g. political actions). An artist and his / her creation, a person and a machine, people trying to cross a country frontier and the border control, citizens and the politicians are some typical examples of experiencer-causer pairs for *frustration*. *Anger, disappointment / disillusion, rage, fury, despair, bitterness, resentment, fear, anxiety, unhappiness, misery, boredom, annoyance, irritation, powerlessness, depression* and *guilt* can accompany *frustration*. Tears and general tension are associated with this emotion.

Fury

Fury can have practically any cause, e.g. someone's remark / behaviour, magnified by the circumstances and the experiencer's temper. The causer can be a family member, a colleague, a partner, a waiter, etc. The motivating idea is that what is happening has to be stopped at once. *Rage, frustration, impotence* and *anger* are associated with *fury*. Also *debate, argument, fight, attack* and *demand* are its collocates. One can be *furiously*

at home, in a restaurant, at work and in public space.

Rage

This is a very intense form of *discontent*. It can be caused by permanent injustice (e.g. beating, cheating) done to the experiencer, negative changes in the society, helplessness in other people, economic issues, insulting a family member. Violent behaviour, screaming, bellowing, bristling, contorted face, tears, choking, trembling are ways of expressing *rage*. *Frustration, anger, jealousy, fury, despair, grief, hatred, mad, shock, impotence / helplessness, humiliation and shame* collocate with *rage*. Public space is the usual place of action.

Indignation

The perception of unfairness lies behind *indignation*. Partner's desertion, a piece of art as a moral affront, (political) crimes and social injustice can provoke this emotion. An *indignant* reaction is always visible and audible to others, as the feeling is morally justified. *Anger, rage, fear and surprise* often accompany *indignation*.

Translation equivalents of *obida*

Offended and insulted

Both emotion words imply perception of threat to the experiencer's dignity, self-esteem and self-respect. The difference between the words lies in the cause, which is unintended in case of *offended* and intended in case of *insulted*. The collocations of *offended* stress the partial 'responsibility' of the experiencer in construction of this emotion by such words as *sensibility, easily (offended)*. One can also describe the visual part of this emotion: *to look, sound, seem (offended)*. Moreover, one can *offend* God. All

these collocations would be impossible with *insulted*. *Insulted*, in its turn, has collocates which imply the aggressive, intentionally cruel nature of the causer's actions and usually the verbal form of *insult*: threats, abuse, bad language.

Resentment

Resentment is a complex emotion. It can be caused by various mental conclusions of the experiencer, e.g. "The situation of others is better than mine". It can also occur when someone who has power over the experiencer does something unpleasant (not necessarily bad) to the experiencer.

It is never openly expressed for the fear of social disapproval / of being punished. Rarely it can be perceived through unfriendly attitude towards the causer. The trigger is mostly envy, but these are power relations in a society that shape *resentment*. The idea behind *resentment* is that one hates the way things are but (s)he can't change the situation because the causer has more power / the experiencer can be morally disapproved of or even legally punished. Typical experiencer-causer pairs are citizens and the government, inhabitants of an unprivileged area and the authorities / inhabitants of a better-off area, an employee and his more successful colleague, etc. Accompanying emotions are *anger*, *bitterness*, *frustration*, *jealousy*, *hostility*, *anxiety*, *shame* and *confusion*.

A grudge

It is caused by some failed expectations directed at others (usually close people or someone important in one's life, e.g. one's employer). The experiencer's feelings change from benevolent attitude to hostility and thoughts of vengeance. As for its collocates, *a grudge* is metaphorically conceptualised as an object that one can have, hold, bear and harbour. It also collocates with the preposition *against*, which emphasises its hostile nature.

Hurt feelings

It can be caused by 'undeserved' criticism, rejection and being ridiculed in public. The experiencer perceives the situation as (personally, not generally) undeserved, the attitude of others as ungrateful. Causers of *hurt feelings* are usually close people (friends, family, somebody whose opinion or attention is important to the experiencer). *Hurt* is a very corporal emotion, i.e. many negative physical connotations are involved in the concept. Therefore, it can be difficult to distinguish being physically *hurt* from being psychologically *hurt*. Usually adults of both sexes experience this feeling. It collocates with *pride* and *anger*.

5.4.4.4. Discussion of the results

Antecedents and place

Private disadvantage, social injustice, 'wrong' ideas or values of others' and an undesired course of events usually cause *other-directed discontent* in English.

People involved

There are no restraints in experiencing certain subtypes of discontent, although *rage*, *resentment* and, to some extent, *frustration*, can be associated with low power status, and *fury* presupposes at least equality or a slight superiority in power. *Anger*, *rage*, *fury*, *frustration* and *resentment* can be experienced collectively.

Possible scenario and visual/audio expression

The following actions are featured in most possible scenarios: trying to rectify the situation or expecting the situation to be rectified by the causer, controlling one's emotions or losing control, tolerating the outcome or punishing the causer.

Only *rage* is associated with unrestrained physical violence, whereas *fury*, and to some extent *indignation*, presuppose unrestrained verbal violence. Still, *anger* and *mad* also have a visible violent component. Other subtypes of *discontent* manifest themselves rarely verbally, mostly in the tone of voice and facial expression.

Collocations

The most frequent collocations with other emotion terms of discontent are *anger* (6), *frustration* (6), *rage* (5) and *fury* (4). Other frequent emotions are *fear* (4), *anxiety* (4), *jealousy* (4), followed by *shame* (3), *hatred / hostility* (3), *grief* (3), *bitterness* (3) and *powerlessness / impotence* (3). Thus, they can be considered the neighbouring concepts of *other-directed discontent* in English. These results also show that perception of personal threat, i.e. *fear / anxiety*, and unfavourable comparison of oneself with others, i.e. *jealousy*, coincide the most with *other-directed discontent* in English.

When looking at emotion terms one by one, one can see that *anger*, *frustration* and *rage* have the most collocates, especially *anger*. *Frustration*, *fury* and *rage* collocate with *impotence / powerlessness*. *Rage* and *indignation*, in their turn, collocate with *shock* and *surprise*. *Irritation* collocates with *anxiety* and *impatience*. *Frustration* collocates with *guilt*, whereas *rage* collocates with *shame*. Interestingly, *anger* can collocate both with *guilt* and *shame*.

Thoughts involved, subtextual discourse

The subtextual discourse that shapes *other-directed discontent* in English is inspired by the Anglo-Saxon tradition of the rule of law. There are some fundamental beliefs at the core of the narrative. First, life is supposed to be fair. Second, people are supposed to

obey the rules / the laws . Third, one's personal interests are valid and have to be respected by others. Most of all, one wishes to be in control of any situation and of one's own life in general. Everybody has the right to openly confront the causer (not exceeding the legal limits) if one's interests or basic rights have been violated. Thus, openly expressed *discontent* is seen as a tool to (re)gain control, to achieve a higher power status when the present status is unacceptably low. Following this logic, *discontent* is generally tolerated and even expected on the premise of the basic human rights (dignity and freedom, i.e. control of one's own life / territory). If one already has power, (s)he tends to rarely use violence because one's rights or interests are not threatened any more. Therefore, high power status is associated with absence of *discontent* and low power status is related to being and openly expressing *discontent*. Nevertheless, if one's interests or views are not reinforced by (or even contradict) the law, (s)he can't openly express *discontent* because his / her actions can have moral or legal repercussions. This idea is reflected in *irritation*, *resentment* and, to some extent, in *frustration*.

If others' opinion is not reinforced by the law and, in addition, is different from one's own, their opinion is wrong and causes *discontent*. In this case, the experiencer can either tolerate the situation (e.g. *annoyance*) or openly confront the causer (e.g. *fury*, *indignation*, *rage*). Interestingly, the theme of control as a sign of power, i.e. having one's emotions under control or out of control, is recurrent in the discourse.

Translation equivalents of *obida*

All of the *obida*'s equivalents, even *hurt*, have to do with the lack of power or with the threat of losing power. *Hurt*, *resentment* and *a grudge* could be placed in the 'lack of power' group, whereas *offended* and *insulted* belong to 'the threat of losing power' section. Although *resentment* is mostly triggered by envy and *a grudge* is typically motivated by shortcomings of others, they both result in *dislike* and even *hatred*. *Hurt*, in its turn, is caused by the lack of affection and results in physical pain, thus

resignation. As for the second group, *offended* is rather subjective and is sometimes caused by unintended actions, whereas *insulted* is objective and is always caused intentionally. They both result in moral *indignation*.

Schematic representation of *other-directed discontent*

To sum up, the lexis can be organised according to the results of the analysis. Schematically, the conceptual organisation is represented in the table below. It is important to mention though that “legal” in the table refers not to any existing legal system but to *law* as a key concept in the English naïve picture of the world.

Table 11. Usage-based classification of salient English terms of *other-directed discontent*

	legally justified (in the right)	legally unjustified (unauthorised)**	illegal/socially disapproved (in the wrong)***
low intensity		annoyance	irritation
medium intensity	anger, mad offended, insulted	frustration, hurt	resentment, a grudge
high intensity	indignation	rage	
disproportional*	fury		
	empowerment	powerlessness	

*“Disproportional” refers not to a higher level of intensity but to inadequacy in antecedent-reaction relation. Thus, fury is not more intense than rage but simply inadequately strong from the legal point of view.

** “Legally unjustified” means that it is not supported by law, although subjectively the experiencer can be in the right.

*** “Illegal / socially disapproved” means that the experiencer is objectively in the wrong and (s)he admits it.

5.4.5. Russian-English / English-Russian parallel corpus study

5.4.5.1. Introductory comments

The Russian-English / English-Russian parallel corpus of the RNC consists of literary texts and newspaper articles dating from the 19th, 20th and the 21st centuries. First, in the Russian-English parallel corpus, all the possible English translations were found for the chosen items, i.e. for the most frequent Russian lexemes of *other-directed discontent*.

Then, in the English-Russian parallel corpus, the most frequent English lexemes of *other-directed discontent* and presumable equivalents of *obida* (*offended, insulted, resentment* and *a grudge*) were matched with their Russian translations.

Finally, the matches from both corpora were analysed and compared, using the previously created referential profiles.

The search results were limited by 1950 as the earliest year of text creation, in order to see the modern use of emotive vocabulary.

5.4.5.2. Results

Here is the list of the studied emotion words and their most frequent translation equivalents found in the Russian-English / English-Russian parallel corpus:

Table 12: The most frequent translation equivalents of discontent-related terms in the Russian-English / English-Russian parallel corpus

emotion word	the most frequent translation equivalent
<i>razdrazhenie</i>	<i>irritation, annoyance, exasperation</i>
<i>irritation</i>	<i>razdrazhenie</i>
<i>annoyance</i>	<i>razdrazhenie</i>
<i>dosada</i>	<i>annoyance, frustration</i>
<i>frustration</i>	<i>otchayanie, less razocharovanie</i>
<i>serdit'sya</i>	<i>to be angry</i>
<i>anger</i>	<i>gnev, much less zlost', yarost'</i>
<i>angry</i>	<i>serdit'sya/serdityj, less zloj/zlit'sya, gnev/gnevnyj, much less yarost'</i>

<i>zlost'</i>	<i>anger</i>
<i>mad</i>	<i>skhodit's uma, sumasshedshij, bezumnyj, serdit'sya</i>
<i>besit'</i>	<i>to hate, to drive smb crazy / mad</i>
<i>yarost'</i>	<i>fury, rage</i>
<i>fury</i>	<i>yarost'</i>
<i>rage</i>	<i>yarost', less gnev</i>
<i>gnev</i>	<i>anger, wrath</i>
<i>vozmushchenie</i>	<i>indignation, shock,, protest</i>
<i>indignation</i>	<i>vozmushchenie</i>
<i>obida</i>	<i>hurt, less offence</i>
<i>oskorblenie</i>	<i>insult, less offence</i>
<i>offence</i>	<i>obida, oskorblenie</i>
<i>insult</i>	<i>oskorblenie</i>
<i>hurt</i>	<i>obida, bol'no, zadet'</i>
<i>resentment</i>	<i>vozmushchenie, nenavist', obida</i>
<i>a grudge</i>	<i>obida, zloba, nedovol'stvo</i>
<i>rancour</i>	<i>zloba</i>
<i>nedovol'stvo</i>	<i>discontent, to scowl, annoyance, displeasure</i>
<i>discontent</i>	<i>nedovol'stvo</i>
<i>displeasure</i>	<i>nedovol'stvo, neudovol'stvie</i>
<i>nenavist'</i>	<i>hatred</i>

Moreover, other frequent translations of the terms were also registered and are presented in continuation.

Table 13: Other frequent translation equivalents of discontent-related terms in the Russian-English / English-Russian parallel corpus

emotion word	frequent translation equivalents
<i>razdrazhenie</i>	<i>resentment, displeasure, impatience, anger</i>
<i>irritation</i>	<i>zlost', gnev, serdit'sya, dosada, nedovol'stvo</i> <i>general dislike: nepriyatnyj, merzkij, nudnyj, tyagotit'</i>
<i>annoyance</i>	<i>obida, dosada, zlost', serdit'sya, nervnichat'</i>
<i>dosada</i>	<i>shame, embarrassment, disappointment, anger, sadness, irritation, dismay</i>
<i>frustration</i>	<i>dosada, obida, krushenie nadezhd "bad luck", bezyshodnost' / beznadyozhnost' "hopelessness", ispytyvat' nelovkost' "to feel uneasy", smutit'sya "to get embarrassed / shy", rasstrojstvo "being upset", stradat' "to suffer", neschastnyj "unhappy / unlucky"</i>
<i>serdit'sya</i>	<i>to be mad / cross, to blame, annoyance, irritation, fury, to glower, grumpily, gruffly, to glare</i>

<i>anger</i>	<i>zloba, razdrazhenie, obida, vozmushchenie, negodovanie, nedovol'stvo, nenavist', beshenstvo, svarlivyj</i>
<i>zlost'</i>	<i>livid, fury, mad / crazy, rage, annoyance, pissed off</i>
<i>besit'</i>	<i>Fury, anger</i>
<i>mad</i>	<i>zlost', obida, beshenstvo, yarost'</i>
<i>yarost'</i>	<i>anger, wrath, wild / savage / violent</i>
<i>fury</i>	<i>zlost', beshenstvo, vozmushchenie, serdit'sya, nenavist', rassvirepet', ozveret', dikiy "wild", zloba, obida</i>
<i>rage</i>	<i>beshenstvo, besnovanie, zloba, zlost', nenavist', vozmushchenie marginally, styd, bol', dosada, alcohol theme</i>
<i>gnev</i>	<i>rage, fury, indignation, temper</i>
<i>vozmushchenie</i>	<i>resentment, outrage, anger, fury</i>
<i>indignation</i>	<i>negodovanie, gnev, oskorblenie, razdrazhenie, serdit'sya, obida an active side of indignation: protest, vskrichat', orat', otrezat'</i>
<i>obida</i>	Russian-English: <i>anger, fury, to go round with a chip on one's shoulder, offence, insult</i> English-Russian: <i>anger, humiliation, frustration, a grudge, resentment, grievance, to mind, to be / get sore, insult, annoyance, huffily</i>
<i>oskorblenie</i>	<i>humiliation, angry, pissed off</i>
<i>offence</i>	<i>uyazvit', zadet', unizhenie, smushchenie, vozmushchenie, beshenstvo</i> general dislike: <i>nepriyatnyj, vyzyvat'otvrashchenie, shokirovat'</i> legal matters: <i>pogreshit' protiv, narushit' zaprety</i>
<i>insult</i>	<i>obida, zlost', nepriyatnyj</i> threatening element: <i>zapugat', osazhivat', razrugat'</i>
<i>hurt</i>	<i>uyazvlyonnyj, zadet', oskorblyat', ogorchenie, nepriyatno, bol', stradanie</i>
<i>resentment</i>	<i>nedovol'stvo, negodovanie, nepriyazn', razdrazhenie, zloba, besit', zlit', razlad</i>
<i>a grudge</i>	<i>nenavist', zloba, zavist', nepriyazn', nedovol'stvo</i>
<i>rancour</i>	<i>nenavist', gnev, vrazhdebnost'</i>
<i>nenavist'</i>	<i>loathing, fury, rage, resentment, anger, feud</i>

The parallel corpus study gave the following results. According to the number of entries in the parallel corpus, the most frequent emotion words of *other-directed discontent* in Russian are *obida* (322 entries), *razdrazhenie* (303) and *serdit'sya* (282). The most frequent emotion word of *other-directed discontent* in English, according to the number of entries in the parallel corpus, is *anger* (444). With a big numerical difference, *fury* (175), *mad* (166) and *annoyance* (160) continue the frequency list.

The most salient Russian emotion words of *other-directed discontent*, according to the

number of different lexemes translated by these words, are *zlost'* (7), *serdit'sya* (6), *vozmushchenie* (6) and *obida* (6). One can observe an almost equal distribution between the words. Moreover, *razdrazhenie* (5), *beshenstvo* (5) and *zloba* (5) are almost as salient as the words mentioned above. By contrast, *anger* (12) is the most salient emotion word of other-directed discontent in English, leaving *fury* (7), *annoyance* (6) and *rage* (5) far behind.

As for other frequent translation equivalents, one can observe the theme of shame both in Russian *dosada* (“shame”, “embarrassment”), *obida* (“humiliation”) and in English *rage* (*styd* “shame”), *frustration* (*nelovkost'* “uneasiness / shyness / embarrassment”, *smutit'sya* “to be embarrassed”).

General *dislike*, even *hatred*, plays an important part in conceptualisation of *other-directed discontent* in English and is practically absent in the Russian concept of *discontent*, except for *yarost'*. *Zloba*, *nenavist'*, *nepriyazn'* are frequent translation equivalents of English words of *other-directed discontent*. For instance, *nenavist'* “hatred” can relate to *fury*, *rage*, *resentment*, *anger*. *Hatred* presupposes a war, an open confrontation, separation from others, disintegration of a group. This idea does not fit into the Russian naïve picture of the world how a society should function, and is thus omitted from the concept of *other-directed discontent*. Interestingly, *resentment* is once translated as *razlad*. The notion of *razlad* comes from *lad* “social harmony”, associated with the patriarchal *domostroj*, and literally means disfunction of an organism, of a system, its disintegration, disharmony. This lexical choice reflects the cause of *resentment* (the experiencer's dissatisfaction with his / her position in some social group) and emphasises the negative social impact of the emotion.

Just like general *dislike* is more present in the English concept of *other-directed discontent*, blaming others, expecting something from others and impatience is more characteristic of the Russian *other-directed discontent* (e.g. *serdit'sya* “to blame”, *obida* “to mind”, *razdrazhenie* “impatience”).

The results also show the conceptualisation of *other-directed discontent* in Russian as an interactive process, as actions. For instance, indignation is several times translated as “*protest*”, “*vskrichat*”, “*orat*”, “*otrezat'*”, emphasizing its active nature and focusing more on the actions provoked by the emotion.

Russian and English share the same metaphor which refers to intense forms of *other-directed discontent*, i.e. 'active *discontent* is craziness'. *Besit'*, *yarost'*, *mad*, *fury*, *rage* share similar allusions to craziness. Another shared metaphor is "active expression of *discontent* is animalistic". In addition, both *yarost'* and *rage* can be alcohol induced. Nevertheless, there are fewer 'dictionary' options for expressing extremely intense active *discontent* in Russian, only *yarost'*, compared to *rage* and *fury*. Therefore, motivated by cultural restraints, extremely intense *discontent*, i.e. *rage* and *fury*, can be redirected and translated either by the socially approved "vozmushchenie" or by the judgemental and socially disapproved "nenavist'". *Rage* and *fury* can also be downshifted in their intensity and translated either by the socially disapproved "zlost'" or, *fury* exclusively, by the socially justified "serdit'sya" and "obida". At this point, it is worthwhile mentioning that *obida* is three times used as Russian translation equivalent for *anger* and also three times for *annoyance*, meanwhile the Russian *obida* is twice translated as *fury* and twice as *anger* in English. *Frustration* can also 'mean' *obida*. It could be explained by the social constraints which allow only certain emotion words of *discontent* in certain situations. For instance, in the second case, the cultural scripts to be translated can be interpreted by an English-speaking person only as *discontent*-eliciting, thus the standard translation of *obida*, which is "hurt" or "offence" would be inadequate in such situations.

As for the dictionary translation equivalents of *obida*, they all show some differences in mapping. *Hurt* is the closest translation equivalent of *obida*, although it implies a more internalised and corporal experiencing (pain and suffering) whereas *obida* is a more visible, mental and interactive emotion. *Offence* is closer to *oskorblenie*, as it is more concerned with human dignity from the legal point of view, other legal matters ("pogreshit' protiv", "narushit' zaprety") and general dislike ("nepriyatnyj", "vyzyvat' otrashchenie", "shokirovat"). *Insult* is always intentional, it contains a threatening element ("zapugat'", "osazhivat'", "razrugat"). Both *resentment* and *a grudge / rancour* are closer to *razdrashenie*, *zloba* and *nenavist'*.

Frustration, apart from the loan term *frustratsiya* used in psychology, has no translation equivalent in everyday Russian. Therefore, the meaning of this emotion word is difficult to render into Russian and is typically translated as *otchayan'ye* "despondency",

razocharovanie "disappointment" and less often *dosada* "annoyance". Frequently, not the feeling but the circumstances are described, which shift the weight of responsibility from the experiencer to some higher forces, e.g. *krushenie nadezhd* "bad luck", *bezyskhnodnost' / beznadyozhnost'* "hopelessness". Other equivalents found in the corpus, apart from already mentioned *ispytyvat' nelovkost'* "to feel uneasy" and *smutit'sya* "to get embarrassed / shy", are *rasstrojstvo* "being upset", *stradat'* "to suffer", *neschastnyj* "unhappy / unlucky" and *obida* "offence".

As for *annoyance*, although *razdrazhenie* "irritation" is its main translation equivalent, *obida*, *dosada*, *zlost'*, *serdit'sya*, *nervnichat'* and general *discontent* are also present.

English *anger* is definitely a vast concept which encompasses many shades of *discontent*. It can be translated into Russian in many different ways, as there is no comparable concept of a similar scope. It expands from *obida* "offence" and *razdrazhenie* "irritation" to *zloba* "malice", *beshenstvo* "madness" and *agressiya* "aggression" in its intensity and semantic connotations; from actions provoked by emotions *nakinut'sya* "start shouting at someone / scolding", *proklinat'* "curse at someone" to attributes containing the notion of 'anger': *strashnyj* "scary / terrible", *surovyj* "strict / merciless", *zhestokij* "cruel".

Angry is sometimes translated as *nedovol'stvo* "discontent" and *nedovol'nyj* "displeased" is sometimes translated as "angry". It confirms the previous statement that Russian speakers tend to use milder expressions of *discontent* in *discontent*-eliciting situations than English speakers do. It can be also interpreted in the way that standard Russian equivalents of *anger* are too intense for some English mappings of *anger*.

In some cases, English *anger* trespasses the borders of the Russian concept of *other-directed discontent* and is translated as *nenavist'* "hatred", *uzhas* "horror", etc.

Nevertheless, most commonly *anger* is translated as *gnev* "wrath": 57 times, followed by *zlost'* "anger / malice" 12 times, and *yarost'* "ire / fury" 10 times. "Angry" is most commonly translated as *serdityj* "cross / angry" 27 times, *rasserdit'sya* "to get cross / angry" 25 times, followed by *zloj* "angry / mean" 17 times, and *zlit'sya* "to get angry" 15 times, and *gnev* "wrath" 13 times. "Angrily" is most commonly translated as *gnevno* "in wrath" 10 times, followed by *zlobno* "maliciously". Interestingly, one can observe here the switching between parts of speech mostly in case of the adjective "angry": it is

translated into Russian as both adjectives and verbs, nouns, etc.

Another interesting point is the 'no translation' phenomenon. The data on this phenomenon is presented in the table below.

Table 14: Cases of 'no translation' in Russian-English / English-Russian parallel corpus

emotion word	number of entries	number of 'no translation' examples	percentage
<i>vozmushchenie</i>	147	34	23,1%
<i>yarost'</i>	216	36	16,6%
<i>nedovol'stvo</i>	128	19	14,8%
<i>rage</i>	138	19	13,7%
<i>dosada</i>	111	13	11,7%
<i>frustration</i>	84	9	10,7%
<i>rancour</i>	19	2	10,5%
<i>resentment</i>	59	6	10,1%
<i>fury</i>	175	17	9,7%
<i>obida</i>	322	30	9,3%
<i>mad</i>	166	14	8,4%
<i>gnev</i>	238	18	7,5%
<i>insult</i>	100	7	7%
<i>zlost'</i>	261	18	6,8%
<i>a grudge</i>	30	2	6,6%
<i>hurt</i>	63	4	6,3%
<i>annoy</i>	160	10	6,2%
<i>anger</i>	444	26	5,8%
<i>oskorblyat'</i>	145	8	5,5%
<i>serdit'sya</i>	282	11	3,9%
<i>razdrazhenie</i>	303	12	3,9%
<i>indignation</i>	81	2	2,4%
<i>nenavist'</i>	266	6	2,2%
<i>irritation</i>	127	2	1,6%
<i>offend</i>	98	0	0%
<i>displeasure</i>	32	0	0%
<i>discontent</i>	5	0	0%

One can see that it occurs in culturally inadequate situations for possible readers of the translated text, i.e. when none of the translation equivalents can adequately convey the meaning of the (sub)concept in question. For instance, *vozmushchenie* exceeds the 'borders' of *indignation* and has many culturally untranslatable or simply subjectively 'unimportant' connotations, which often leads to its complete omission in English

(23%). Similar observations can be made about *yarost'* (16,6%), *nedovol'stvo* (14,8%) and the English *rage* (13,7%), *fury* (9,7%) with no translation in Russian, respectively. Moreover, as all these words are high-intensity words, it is also the intensity inadequacy that motivates their complete omission. On the other hand, complete omission of the Russian *dosada* (11,7%) and *obida* (9,3%) and of the English *frustration* (10,7%) and *resentment* (10,1%) could be explained by their cultural specificity. Interestingly, *dosada* and *frustration*, as well as *obida* and *resentment*, are considered to be translation equivalents. Nevertheless, in practice, it is often impossible to adequately map them to similar situations, due to differences in the Russian and English naïve pictures of the world and the resulting collective (Russian) and individualistic (English) discourses. For instance, *dosada*, apart from being less salient in Russian than *frustration* in English, implies shame and fear of social (collective) contempt, whereas *frustration* entails *guilt* and individual *powerlessness*. *Obida* is mostly motivated by the need of *affection* and collective recognition / approval without questioning one's own (probably low) power position, whereas *resentment* is more related to *dissatisfaction* with one's own power status, to *envy* and *animosity*.

5.4.5.3. Discussion of the results

In conclusion, the following observations can be made. Most translation equivalents are standard dictionary translations of the lexemes, except for the Russian lexeme *obida* and English lexemes *frustration* and *resentment*. *Obida* is such a vast and specific Russian subconcept of *discontent* that it is not easy to translate it into English without using idiomatic expressions or describing the behaviour of the experiencer (conceptualisation of emotions as actions is actually more common in Russian than in English). Also *frustration* and *resentment* are specific English terms which are difficult for rendering in Russian. Cases of 'no translation' are common for these emotion words.

High intensity discontent, although similarly conceptualised in both languages as craziness and animalistic, shows some mismatches in real situations. Redirecting, i.e. using another (sub)concept, or downshifting, i.e. choosing lexemes with lower intensity,

are typical English - Russian translation strategies. As for *anger*, its translation equivalents are all the frequent words of *other-directed discontent* in Russian, *gnev* "wrath / intense anger" being the most numerous entries. For *angry*, it is *serdit'sya* "to be mildly angry / to be cross" that dominates the translation equivalents. Therefore, from the Russian point of view, the justified, high-power status type of *other-directed discontent* prevails in translation equivalents. It confirms the previous information on *anger* being conceptualised as a valid means of personal assertion in the society.

Frequency and salience data confirm previous findings. First of all, *obida*, *razdrazhenie*, *serdit'sya* in Russian and *anger* in English are the most frequent emotion words of *other-directed discontent*. Second, *anger* is the most salient emotion word of *other-directed discontent* in English, whereas Russian shows no particular salience pattern, i.e. all the frequent emotion words of *discontent* are also equally salient. It means that there are no generic, basic words inside the Russian concept of *discontent* that would map most situations, as compared to English, where '*anger*' is definitely a basic, all-encompassing word inside the *discontent*-concept.

5.5. Summary

According to the results of the onomasiological analysis, the most frequent emotion words in English are : *to love, to enjoy, love, happy, to suffer, sorry, fear, hope, to worry, to hate*. The most frequent words of *other-directed discontent* are *angry* and *anger*, followed by *mad*. The following *other-directed discontent* words were included in our study: *anger, mad, frustration, fury, rage, annoyance, irritation, indignation* and *resentment*. In addition, English translation equivalents of Russian *obida* (roughly, "offence") were also included in the study, as this term is one of the most salient terms of *other-directed discontent* in Russian.

Then, we conducted a semasiological study with the selected lexical items, based on lexicographical data. For every emotion word the following information was searched: its etymology, its lexical meaning, its derivatives, its combinatory options, its

metaphorical meaning, its synonyms and antonyms. Etymological study showed differences in terms of Germanic and of Latin origin. The former ones used to signify 'sorrow', 'complaint' whereas the latter ones contained the element of 'hatred' and 'aggressive behaviour'. According to their lexical meaning, the terms of *other-directed discontent* could be roughly divided into three groups, i.e. 1) *discontent* caused by some objective trespassing, 2) *discontent* caused by some subjective trespassing, and 3) when no actual trespassing takes place. The terms in these three groups could be further differentiated by their intensity and semantic nuances, e.g. *indignation* (social injustice), *frustration* (unachieved goals), etc. As for synonyms, English has a vast array of specific emotion words denoting *discontent*. Common antonyms for most *discontent* terms are *calm* and *pleased*. *Anger* is the most salient representative of *other-directed discontent* in English. *Anger* collocations reflect the depth of this emotion and its association with pain: 'deep / profound / fierce *anger*', '*angry* and *wounded* / *hurt*', etc. As for *discontent* metaphors, they are interrelated with etymological and combinatory data. The metaphors of *anger* as 'pain, burden or fighting the opponent' and the original meaning of *anger* as 'strangle', and later as 'pain and discomfort' are difficult to overlook. Similarly, the term *mad* is influenced by the metaphor 'anger is insanity'.

After concluding the meaning-based analysis of the *other-directed discontent* in English, we continued with the usage-based analysis of the lexical items. The 'social context' criterion has proved to be mostly irrelevant in the construction of referential profiles in English. Although, *resentment* does have a negative correlation with the social status and associated power of the experiencer. The results also demonstrate the decisive role of the offending event / antecedents in the discourse structure of *other-directed discontent* in English. Moreover, the degree of objectivity and justification of *other-directed discontent* from the 'legal' point of view (based on the naïve picture of the world) makes its open manifestation socially acceptable or unacceptable.

According to the results of the qualitative corpus study, private disadvantage, social injustice, 'wrong' ideas or values of others' and an undesired course of events usually cause *other-directed discontent* in English. In reference to collocations, the results also show that perception of personal threat, i.e. *fear/anxiety*, and unfavourable comparison of one self with others, i.e. *jealousy*, coincide most of all with *other-directed discontent*

in English. Subtextual discourse that shapes *other-directed discontent* in English is inspired by the Anglo-Saxon tradition of the rule of law. Thus, *anger* is generally tolerated and even expected on the premise of the basic human rights (dignity and freedom, i.e. control of one's own life / territory). Therefore, high power status is associated with absence of *discontent* and low power status is related to being *discontented* and openly expressing *discontent*. Interestingly, the theme of control as a sign of power, i.e. having one's emotions under control or out of control, is recurrent in the discourse.

Most translation equivalents are standard dictionary translations of the lexemes, except for the Russian lexeme *obida* and English lexemes *frustration* and *resentment*. Cases of 'no translation' are common for these emotion words. The most frequent translation equivalents of *anger* and *angry* are high-power status *gnev* "wrath, intense anger" and *serdit'sya* "to be mildly angry, to be cross", respectively. It confirms the previous information on *anger* being conceptualised as a valid means of personal assertion in English. Moreover, the study confirmed previous findings that there are no generic, basic words inside the Russian concept of *discontent* that would map most situations, compared to English, where *anger* is definitely a basic, all-encompassing word inside the *discontent*-concept (see Gevaert, 2007, on the historical reasons of *anger*'s salience).

6. CONCEPTUALISATION OF *OTHER-DIRECTED DISCONTENT* IN SPANISH

6.1. Introduction

Chapter 6 aims at examining the concept of *other-directed discontent* in Spanish. Sections 6.2 and 6.3 are dedicated to semantic representation of the concept, i.e. they list the most salient Spanish words of *other-directed discontent* and the main semantic characteristics of these words. Section 6.4 depicts the discursive structure of *other-directed discontent* in Spanish, i.e. the social component, the prototypical scenario of *other-directed discontent* and the subtextual narrative that shapes the concept. Furthermore, the qualitative corpus study of salient *discontent*-related terms and the Russian-Spanish/Spanish-Russian parallel corpus study of these terms are presented in subsections 6.4.4 and 6.4.5.

6.2. Onomasiological semantic analysis of the Spanish concept *other-directed discontent*

6.2.1. Research on *other-directed discontent* in Spanish. Literature overview

Fischer et al. (1999), studied the role of individualistic vs. honour-related values in conceptualisation of *anger*, alongside with *shame* and *pride*, in Dutch and Spanish culture. As for *anger* conceptualisation, some differences were found only with respect to *anger* consequences. Spanish respondents more often described general changes in beliefs / attitudes as possible consequences of an *anger* episode, whereas the Dutch more often mentioned positive effects on others or relationships, such as being reconciled with someone. Spanish respondents mentioned negative effects on themselves and affirmed more often than their Dutch counterparts *feeling bad* while

angry. Nevertheless, study results show that there are more dissimilarities between the two cultures in how they describe typical *pride* and *shame* episodes, as compared with how they describe typical *discontent* episodes.

Another effect for language was found by Soriano (2013:421) for the feature “felt an urge to be active, to do something”, more salient in English. Spanish, on the other hand, showed comparatively higher ratings for features related to the semantic focus on *harm* (“wanted to do damage, hit, or say something that hurts”, “wanted to destroy whatever was close” and “moved against people or things”). Thus, a salient feature of the English *anger* concept is a generic desire to react, while in Spanish greater importance is given to the aggressive tendencies of this reaction and the *harm* they cause. Notably, in Corral's (2015) proposed vocabulary list for Spanish as a foreign language, the topic *Ira* "anger" includes the following items:

Table 15: The topic *Ira* “anger” in the vocabulary list for Spanish as a Foreign Language (Corral, 2015:168)

<p><i>abofetear</i> “to slap”, <i>pegar</i> “to beat”, <i>golpear</i> “to hit”, <i>empujar</i> “to push”, <i>patear</i> “to kick”</p>	<p><i>la ira</i> “anger / wrath”, <i>la furia</i> “fury”, <i>la violencia</i> “violence”, <i>la rabia</i> “anger / rage” <i>la bofetada</i> “slap”, <i>el golpe</i> “blow”, <i>la patada</i> “kick”, <i>el puñetazo</i> “punch”, <i>el</i> <i>codazo</i> “nudge”, <i>el</i> <i>empujón</i> “shove”</p>	<p><i>la violencia verbal</i> “verbal violence” <i>ponerse furioso / histérico</i> “to become furious / hysterical” <i>estar furioso, rabioso,</i> <i>violento, iracundo</i> “to be furious, raging, violent, irascible”</p>
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Soriano (2013) also states in her study that Spanish respondents rated the semantic feature “event was pleasant for somebody else” as unlikely whereas their English-speaking counterparts did rate this feature as likely. Moreover, Spanish *ira* "anger" was rated as involving a feeling of powerlessness, while English *anger* did not entail such a feeling. Therefore, the feeling of *powerlessness* is associated in Spanish with the concept of *discontent*. “Feeling out of control” is also more salient in Spanish than in

English, when speaking about *ira* and *anger* respectively. In Ogarkova et al. (2012), the word *impotencia* "impotence" was as frequently quoted as the most frequent Spanish *discontent* word in the study of *rabia*. By contrast, *impotence* was hardly ever used in English. Additionally, "feeling in control" is more likely for Spanish *irritación* than for the English *irritation*, but less likely for *ira* than for *anger*. Another difference which was observed by Soriano (ibid.), was the saliency of "others" in Spanish, i.e. of events and consequences that affect others (rather than the person only). The author attributes this feature to the characterisation of Spain as a relatively collectivist culture.

Interestingly, Corral (ibid.) includes *enfado* "annoyance" and *indignación* "indignation" not in the *discontent*-group but in the *bad mood*-group. In this group, the only violent behaviour listed is verbal violence: *insultar* "to insult", *gritar* "to shout" and *chillar* "to scream". Moreover, the author puts *dolido* "hurt" and *disgustado* "annoyed" in the *sadness*-group, which does not fully coincide with the English conceptual groupings. Neither *resentimiento* nor *rencor* appear in any of the above mentioned groups.

On the other hand, the metaphor systems in English and Spanish for the conceptualisation of *discontent* are roughly equivalent (Soriano, 2003).

Casado Velarde (2016) also explores emotions in the lexicon and phraseology of Spanish, in particular, the representation of emotions offered by the Spanish metalinguistic proverbs.

Bizquerra / Filella (2018) study the use of emotional vocabulary by secondary school language teachers. The following frequency list of the emotion terms used by the 276 language teachers and 244 undergraduate students is the result of the study: *tristeza* 234; *alegria* 193; *miedo* 182; *amor* 148; *felicidad* 133; *ira* 128; *sorpresa* 107; *rabia* 104; *odio* 93; *enfado* 86. Three terms of *other-directed discontent* are present here (*ira* "wrath", *rabia* "anger" and *enfado* "annoyance / irritation").

Interestingly, in the same study but conditioned by time restraint the same respondents mentioned most frequently the following emotion terms: *tristeza* 165, *rabia* 153, *alegria* 148, *miedo* 147, *felicidad* 97, *amor* 90, *enfado* 71, *frustración* 64, *empatia* 50, *ánimo* 49. In this case, *rabia* "rage / fury", *enfado* "annoyance / irritation" and *frustración* "frustration" are the most frequently mentioned terms of *other-directed discontent*.

According to Ogarkova et al. (2012), who study labelling of *discontent*-eliciting situations in different languages, the most salient *discontent* emotion terms in Spanish are: *rabia* "anger", *molesta* "mild anger", *indignación* "indignation", *enfado* "mild anger", *impotencia* "powerlessness". In their later research, Ogarkova et al. (2016:80) present the following frequency list:

1. *rabia* "anger", 2. *enfado* "anger / annoyance", 3. *indignación* "indignation", 4. *cabreo* "anger" (colloquial), 5. *ira* "anger / wrath", 6. *molesto* "annoyed", 7. *frustración* "frustration", 8. *irritación* "irritation", 9. *furia* "fury".

6.2.2. The presence of *other-directed discontent* in the lexical syllabi of Spanish as a foreign language textbooks

Textbooks of Spanish as a foreign language A1-B1 include *enfadado* "angry / annoyed" (A1-A2), *enfadarse* "to become angry / annoyed" and *enfado* "anger / annoyance" (B1) as the only *discontent*-related terms. The following emotion terms are also included: adjectives: *preocupado*, *nervioso*, *triste*, *alegre*, *tranquilo* (A1-A2), nouns: *miedo*, *nervios*, *enfado*, *alegria*, *sorpresa*, *aburrimiento*, *preocupación*, *tristeza* (B1).

The salience of *enfadado* in the teaching curriculum and its much lower frequency in Spanish corpora, compared to e.g. *rabia* or *ira*, could be partly explained by the complex social attitude to the expression of *other-directed discontent* publicly. It could also be explained by the existing lexical and speech act choices: 1) *rabia* is more intense than *enfado*, therefore, from the social point of view, a milder version of negative affect is always preferable, and 2) *estar enfadado* "to be angry" is interchangeable with other emotional states, e.g. *estar alegre / triste / preocupado*, etc., which makes it easier for students of Spanish to use.

6.2.3. Frequency chart of Spanish words of *other-directed discontent*. Search results from the Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual (CREA) de la Real Academia Española (The Royal Spanish Academy's reference corpus of Modern Spanish)

In order to obtain frequency data for Spanish words of other-directed discontent, the full frequency list of the Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual (CREA) de la Real Academia Española (The reference corpus of the modern Spanish of the Royal Spanish Academy) was used. The following information has been found. The most frequent emotion words in Spanish are *amor* “love”, *querer* “to love / to want”, *miedo* “fear”, *esperanza* “hope”, *sorpresa* “surprise”, *culpa* “guilt”, *preocupación* “worry”, *alegría* “joy”, *temor* “fear / awe” (see Appendix 6). The most frequent words of *other-directed discontent* are presented in the table 16.

Table 16: Frequency chart of Spanish words of *other-directed discontent*

order	emotion word	part of speech	absolute frequency	normalised frequency
4670	<i>rabia</i> “rage / anger”	n	2,969	19.46
4950	<i>ira</i> “fury / anger”	n	2,785	18.25
6356	<i>furia</i> “fury”	n	2,086	13.67
6564	<i>frustración</i> “frustration”	n	2,009	13.16
6671	<i>molesta</i> “annoys / bothers”	v	1,969	12.90
6678	<i>impotencia</i> “impotence”	n	1,966	12.88
6823	<i>cólera</i> “anger / fury”	n	1,918	12.57
7493	<i>indignación</i> “indignation”	n	1,708	11.19
7900	<i>rencor</i> “a grudge, rancour”	n	1,594	10.44
8385	<i>molesto</i> “annoyed / annoying”	adj	1,473	9.65
9429	<i>descontento</i> “discontented”	adj	1,274	8.35
10783	<i>furioso</i> “furious”	adj	1,070	7.01
11097	<i>irritación</i> “irritation”	n	1,034	6.77
11103	<i>molestia</i> “annoyance”	n	1,033	6.77
11373	<i>resentimiento</i> “resentment”	n	999	6.54
13348	<i>ofensivo</i> “offensive”	adj	809	5.30
16699	<i>enojo</i> “anger / annoyance”	n	594	3.89
16787	<i>ofendido</i> “offended”	adj	590	3.86
18546	<i>enfado</i> “annoyance”	n	514	3.36

18764	<i>irritado</i> “irritated”	adj	507	3.32
21700	<i>ofender</i> “to offend”	v	412	2.70
21790	<i>enojado</i> “angry”	adj	409	2.68
21907	<i>enfadado</i> “annoyed”	adj	406	2.60
23302	<i>dolido</i> “hurt”	adj	371	2.43
23784	<i>resentido</i> “resentful”	adj	360	2.35
24337	<i>rencores</i> “grudges”	n	349	2.28
34765	<i>enojada</i> “angry”	adj	203	1.33
37479	<i>dolida</i> “hurt”	adj	180	1.17
39400	<i>cabreo</i> “anger / bad temper”	n	166	1.08
40156	<i>enfadada</i> “annoyed”	adj	161	1.05

After having obtained the frequency data for the selected lexis, various observations can be made. First of all, the most frequent anger related word, which is *rabia*, has this high ranking both in the previous research and in the CREA frequency list. Surprisingly, *enfado* has a relatively low frequency rate in the CREA frequency list. It could probably be explained by its colloquiality and thus low presence in the written language in general and in certain stylistic registers in particular. *Cólera*, on the other hand, has a relatively high ranking in the CREA frequency list, but is not even mentioned in other sources. Probably, this term is not in much use in modern everyday Spanish. Further investigation for both *enfado* and *cólera* cases is needed.

6.2.3.1. The list of the selected lexical items

Thus, after having studied relevant research papers (Bisquerra / Filella 2018, Casado Velarde 2016, Corral 2015, Ogarkova et al. 2012 / 2016, Soriano 2003 / 2013, etc.), the lexicographical data, the RAE frequency data and the syllabi of various Spanish as a Second Language textbooks, the following *other-directed discontent* words could be included in our study:

rabia "anger"

ira "anger / wrath"

enfado "anger / annoyance"

indignación "indignation"
cabreo "anger" (colloquial)
molesto "annoyed"
frustración "frustration"
irritación "irritation"
furia "fury"
impotencia "powerlessness"

6.2.3.2. Additional lexis

Resentimiento "resentment" and *rencor* "rancour / a grudge" were also included as translation equivalents of the Russian *obida* "offence".

6.3. Semasiological semantic analysis of the Spanish concept *other-directed discontent*

6.3.1. Words of *other-directed discontent* in Spanish

6.3.1.1. *Rabia* "anger"

etymology

From Lat. *rabies*.

lexical meaning

- Illness which originates in some animals and is transmitted to other animals or humans through biting, due to the inoculation of the virus through saliva or

mucus of the rabid animal.

- Rust of chickpea which usually appears after rain or dew heated up by the sun rays.
- Ire, anger, annoyance, vexation, great irritation.

derivatives

rabiar "to be in great pain"

- intr. To suffer or to have rabies (illness).
- intr. To desire something vehemently. *Rabiar por una distinción*. "To long for being distinguished".
- intr. To be exasperated or lose one's temper showing signs of anger and irritation.
- intr. To exceed greatly from what is usual and ordinary. *Pica que rabia*. "It stings like the devil". *Rabiaba de tonto*. "He was appallingly stupid".
- *a rabiar* "a lot, excessively"
- *estar a rabiar con alguien* "to be angry at somebody"
- *rabiar de verse juntos* "to have opposition or disagreement"
- *rabiar de dolor* "to suffer, to cry or moan from pain"
- *rabieta* "a whim, tantrum" - diminutive of *rabia*. (colloq.) Impatience, anger or annoyance, especially when it is for trivial reasons and lasts briefly.

combinatory possibilities

- **rabia:** *ciego (de), enorme, exacerbado, incontenible, lleno (de), preso (de), soterrado, acceso (de), arranque (de), arrebatado (de), ataque (de); apagar(se), aplacar(se), apoderar(se), atemperar, calmar, contener, corroer, dar, descargar, despertar, entrar, estallar (de/en), inocular, llenar(se)(de), producir (a alguien), reprimir, retorcerse (de), reventar (de), sentir, soltar, tener, traslucir(se)* "blind

with, enormous, aggravated, unrestrained, full of, seized by, hidden, a fit of, an outburst of, a rapture, an attack of, to calm down, to get hold of, to moderate, to quieten down, to keep in check, to corrode, to give, to give vent to, to wake up, to enter, to flare up, to corrupt, to get cross, to cause, to suppress, to twist from, to burst from, to feel, to unfasten, to have got, to be plain to see"

- *con rabia* "lit. with anger", especially said about negative features. "quite a lot, excessively". *Es feo con rabia*. "He is extremely ugly".
- *de rabia mató la perra* "lit. because of anger (s)he killed the dog". The colloquial expression used to denote somebody unable to express his / her anger to the proper offender and assaulting the first person (s)he meets.
- *tener rabia a alguien* "to be angry at / with, to hate somebody"
- *tomar rabia* "to become angry"
- **rabieta:** *coger, dar (a alguien), disimular, pillar* "to seize, to give to (somebody), to hide, to catch"

synonyms

rabia: *cólera, coraje, enfado, enojo, ira, furia, furor, exasperación, irritación, odio, resentimiento, rencor, inquina* "anger, temper, annoyance, vexation, rage, fury, frenzy, exasperation, irritation, hate, resentment, rancour, ill will"

rabiar: *encolerizarse, irritarse, enfurecerse, enojarse, exasperarse, impacientarse* "to get angry / irritated / infuriated / annoyed / exasperated; to fret"

antonyms

rabia: *tranquilidad, serenidad, calma, paciencia, tolerancia* "tranquility, serenity, calmness, patience, tolerance"

rabiar: *tranquilizarse, apaciguarse* "to calm down, to quieten down"

6.3.1.2. *Enfado* "anger / annoyance"

etymology

From Lat. prefix *in* for *en*, Lat. *fatum* "calamity, misfortune" for *fado*. Originally, the word meant "resignation to fate caused by boredom with life". Later the meaning changed to "tiredness, boredom" which lead to "something causing annoyance".

lexical meaning

enfado "annoyance, irritation, vexation"

derivatives

enfadar "to annoy"

enfadoso, sa "annoying, vexatious"

enfadosamente "annoyingly"

enfadamiento "annoyance"

enfadadizo, za "irritable"

combinatory possibilities

enfado: *comprensible, descomunal, intenso, largo, malhumorado, mayúsculo, monumental, ostensible, pasajero, profundo, supino, tremendo, virulento, visible; reacción (de); apaciguar, aplacar(se), atemperar, causar, desencadenar(se), dirigir (contra alguien), entrar(le) (a alguien), expresar, exteriorizar, hacer notar, irse(le) (a alguien), manifestar, mostrar, ocasionar, pasarse(le) (a alguien), provocar, reprimir, sentir, sufrir, tener* "understandable, huge, intense, sharp, bad-tempered, pretty big, monumental, seeming, fleeting, profound, oppressed, tremendous, virulent, visible; reaction of; to mollify, to appease, to moderate, to cause, to unleash, to direct against somebody, to fly into, to express, to reveal, to make noticed, to ooze out at somebody, to

manifest, to show, to produce, to pass on to somebody, to provoke, to curb, to feel, to suffer, to have"

enfadar(se): *considerablemente, ostensiblemente, visiblemente* "considerably, seemingly, evidently"

synonyms

enfado: *enojo, fastidio, disgusto, cabreo, cólera, desagrado, indignación, exacerbación, hastío, irritación, molestia, furia, arrebató* "vexation, annoyance, displeasure, anger, anger, dissatisfaction, indignation, aggravation, disgust, irritation, nuisance, fury, ecstasy"

enfadar: *disgustar, enojar, cabrear, enfurecer, encolerizar, encorajinar, encrespar, enervar, exaltar, exasperar, irritar, excitar, exacerbar, contrariar, molestar, indignar, fastidiar, incomodar, desagradar, cansar, provocar, desazonar, enconar, enemistarse, enfrentarse, picarse, pelearse, indisponerse, romper* "to displease, to annoy, to go mad, to enrage, to anger, to infuriate, to make somebody angry, to enervate, to work up, to exasperate, to irritate, to excite, to exacerbate, to be opposed to, to bother, to make indignant, to vex, to inconvenience, to dissatisfy, to bore with, to provoke, to upset, to fester, to fall out with, to face up to, to take offence, to come to blows, to fall out with, to break off"

antonyms

enfado: *diversión, placer* "fun, pleasure"

enfadarse: *contentar, aplacar, reconciliarse, avenirse* "to satisfy, to calm down, to reconcile, to get on well together"

6.3.1.3. *Ira* "anger / wrath"

etymology

From Lat. *ira*.

lexical meaning

- Sense of indignation which causes wrath.
- Longing for or desire of vengeance.
- Fury or violence of the natural elements.
- pl. Repetition of furious acts, rancour or vengeance.

derivatives

irado, da "angry"

From the participle of *irarse* 'irritarse, airarse', derivative of *ira* "anger, wrath".

airar "to anger, to irritate, to worry, to upset"

iracundia "irascibility"

iracundo, da "irascible, irate"

combinatory possibilities

ira: *ciego (de), ciego, desatado, desenfrenado, exacerbado, explosivo, furibundo, implacable, incontenible, insaciable, irrefrenable, irreprimible, largado, preso (de), propenso (a), soterrado; acceso (de), arranque (de), arrebatado (de), ataque (de), objeto (de), ráfaga (de), rapto (de); adueñarse (de alguien), aflorar, amainar, amortiguar, apaciguar, apagar(se), aplacar(se), apoderarse (de alguien), atemperar, calmar, ceder (a), concitar, corroer, dar rienda suelta (a), dejarse llevar (por), derramar, desahogar, desatar(se), descargar, desfogar, despertar, disipar(se), domar, encender, enrojecer (de), estallar (de/en), henchir(se), irradiar, lanzar, reprimir, retorcerse (de), sembrar, sofocar,*

suscitar, templar "blind of, blind, violent, wild, exacerbated, explosive, frantic, relentless, uncurbed, insatiable, unrestrained, uncontrollable, loose, possessed by, inclined to, hidden away; a fit of, an outburst of, fury, an attack of, object of, a squall of, ecstasy of; to take possession of, to crop up, to calm, to muffle, to pacify, to soothe, to calm down, to take hold of, to moderate, to calm down, to yield to, to incite, to corrode, without the least restraint, to let oneself being carried away with, to spill out, to ease, to burst out, to vent, to blow off steam, to wake up, to evaporate, to control, to kindle, to turn red from, to explode, to fill up with, to radiate, to fling, to suppress, to writhe, to scatter, to stifle, to provoke, to control"

ira de Dios "the wrath of Gods"

synonyms

ira: *cólera, enojo, furor, furia, indignación, rabia, irritación, vesania, cabreo* "rage, vexation, frenzy, fury, indignation, anger, irritation, anger"

antonyms

ira: *calma, serenidad, paciencia, tolerancia* "calmness, serenity, patience, tolerance"

airado: *apacible, pacífico, plácido, sereno, tranquilo* "even-tempered, peaceable, placid, serene, tranquil"

6.3.1.4. Indignación "indignation"

etymology

From Lat. *indignatio, -ōnis*.

lexical meaning

indignación "indignation" - annoyance, anger or vehement irritation at a person or at her actions.

derivatives

indignar "to make somebody indignant"

indignarse "to get indignant"

indignante "indignant"

combinatory possibilities

indignarse la llaga "to rankle"

indignación: *absoluto, ciego, ciego (de), ciudadano, colectivo, contenido, exacerbado, general, incontenible, injustificado, irrefrenable, justificado, justo, lleno (de), mayúsculo, patente, personal, preso (de), profundo, santo, total, visible; en medio (de); arrebatado (de), brote (de), expresión (de), gesto (de), grito (de), marea (de), muestra (de), ola (de); aflorar, amortiguar, apaciguar, aplacar(se), causar, colmar (algo), contagiar, contener, cundir, dar rienda suelta (a), desatar(se), descargar, desencadenar(se), despertar, destilar, estallar (de/en), exacerbar, expresar, extender(se), generar, inundar (algo/a alguien), llenar(se) (de), manifestar, mostrar, provocar, reprimir, suscitar, traslucir(se)* "absolute, blind, blind of, civic, collective, restrained, exacerbated, general, unrestrained, unjustified, uncurbed, justified, fair, full of, tremendous, obvious, personal, seized by, profound, holy, total, evident; in the middle of; fury of, outbreak of, expression of, expression of one's face, cry of, tide of, sign of, wave of; to crop up, to muffle, to calm down, to appease, to cause, to overwhelm with, to infect, to hold in check, to spread, without the least restraint, to get worked up, to release, to unleash, to wake up, to ooze, to burst out, to exacerbate, to express, to amount to, to generate, to flood, to get cross, to manifest, to show, to provoke, to curb, to stir up, to be plain to see"

indignado: *absolutamente, injustamente, justamente, justificadamente, notoriamente,*

ostensiblemente, totalmente, visiblemente "absolutely, unjustly, justly, righteously, notoriously, seemingly, totally, evidently"

synonyms

indignación: *ira, enfado, irritación, cabreo, enojo, furia, rabia* "wrath, annoyance, irritation, anger, vexation, fury, rage"

antonyms

indignación: *calma, paciencia, tolerancia* "calmness, patience, tolerance"

indignado: *contento* "contented"

6.3.1.5. Cabreo "anger"

etymology

From Lat. *capibrevium* < Lat. *caput* "head" and Lat. *brevis* "short, small"

lexical meaning

anger, annoyance, bad mood, irritability (colloq.)

derivatives

cabrear

- tr. To put the livestock in the terrain.
- tr. colloq. To anger, annoy or inflict ill-humour on somebody.
- tr. colloq. Chile. To annoy, to bore.
- tr. Perú. To be evasive and deceitful in all sport or children's games.

combinatory possibilities

cabreo: *de campeonato, de mucho cuidado, integral, mayúsculo, monumental, supino; agarrar(se), aplacar(se), coger(se), entrar, llevar (encima), pillar* "of the championship, of great care, integral, tremendous, monumental, suppressed; to seize, to calm down, to take hold of, to influence, to have with one, to plunder"

synonyms

cabreo: *enfado, enojo, malhumor; irritación, rebote, mosqueo, disgusto* "annoyance, anger, ill-humour, irritation, upset / disgust / displeasure / annoyance"

cabrear: *enfadar, irritar, disgustar, enojar, rebotar, mosquear, recelar* "to annoy, to irritate, to upset, to anger, to offend, to mistrust"

antonyms

cabreo: *alegría, calma, tranquilidad* "joy, calmness, tranquillity"

cabrear: *calmar, tranquilizar* "to calm down, to tranquillise"

6.3.1.6. *Molesto* "annoyed"

etymology

From Lat. *molestus* "painful, distressing, disagreeable, troublesome"

lexical meaning

molesto, ta "annoying"

- adj. That which causes *molestia* "annoyance, nuisance", action and effect.
- adj. The one who feels bothered, annoyed, offended, upset

- f. Discomfort originated from a slight physical damage or health injury.
- f. Lack of convenience or an impediment for body movement because of something which oppresses or hurts.

derivatives

molestar "to annoy, to bother"

- tr. To cause annoyance or bother somebody.
- tr. To prevent or obstruct something.
- To take offence or get angry slightly. *Se molestó con él por lo que le dijo.* "He took offence at what was said to him".
- Said about a person: to make something which can suppose an effort, nuisance or discomfort. Used with negative constructions: *Ni siquiera se molestó en contestarme.* "He did not even bother to answer me".

molestamente - adv. Of an annoying manner.

molestador, ra - adj. The one who bothers, molests.

combinatory possibilities

molestia: *fuerte, grave, leve, ligero, llevadero, pasajero, pequeño, persistente, serio; alcance (de); acusar, aguantar, ahorrarse, aliviar, atenuar, causar, disculpar, disminuir, evitar, notar, ocasionar, padecer, paliar, perdonar, quitar, remitir, reparar, sentir, solventar, soportar, subsanar, sufrir, suponer (a alguien), tomarse* "hard, severe, slight, bearable, fleeting, small, persistent, serious; range of; to reveal, to restrain, to save, to alleviate, to minimise, to cause, to excuse, to diminish, to avoid, to notice, to produce, to endure, to conceal, to forgive, to remove, to slacken, to make amends to, to feel, to resolve, to support, to repair, to suffer, to assume, to take"

molestar: *enormemente, extraordinariamente, intensamente, profundamente* "enormously, extraordinarily, intensively, profoundly"

molesto: *considerablemente, francamente, notablemente, ostensiblemente, visiblemente* "considerably, fully, notably, seemingly, evidently"

synonyms

molestia: *achaque, agobio, contrariedad, daño, desazón, dolencia, dolor, enfado, engorro, estorbo, fastidio, fatiga, gaita, incomodidad, inconveniente, incordio, inquietud, lata, malestar, perjuicio, preocupación, rollo, trastorno* "ailment, oppression, obstacle, damage, discomfort, annoyance, pain, ache, irritation, bother, obstruction, nuisance, hardship, inconvenience, obstacle, bore, anxiety, nuisance, uneasiness, harm, worry, awful bore, disorder"

antonyms

molestia: *comodidad, bienestar, conveniencia, facilidad* "comfort, well-being, convenience, ease"

6.3.1.7. Frustración "frustration"

etymology

From Lat. *frustratio, -ōnis*.

lexical meaning

failure, unfulfillment of some hope or desire; powerlessness to do something

derivatives

frustrar

- tr. To deprive somebody of what was expected.
- tr. To leave without effect, to waste an intended attempt.
- tr. To leave without effect a proposition against an intention of a person who

endeavours to implement it. *Frustrar un delito*. "To baffle a delict".

frustrante - adj. "frustrating"

frustráneo, a - adj. Something that does not produce a desired effect

combinatory possibilities

frustración: *absoluto, amargo, angustioso, ciego (de), doloroso, enorme, hondo, inmenso, penoso, profundo, serio, tremendo; anidar, caer (en), causar, colmar (de), conjurar, crear, dejar salir, deparar, descargar, engendrar, entrar (a alguien), experimentar, hundir(se) (en), invadir (a alguien), ocasionar, padecer, producir, sentir, soltar, sufrir, superar, tener, tralucir(se), vencer* "absolute, bitter, distressed, blind of, painful, enormous, heartfelt, immense, distressing, profound, serious, tremendous; to take in, to fall into, to cause, to overwhelm with, to beseech, to originate, to let appear, to present, to vent, to generate, to fit into, to experience, to plunge into, to overrun, to cause, to suffer from, to produce, to feel, to let go, to suffer, to overcome, to have, to be plain to see, to get over"

frustrar(se): *acción, actuación, asalto, asesinato, cambio, conquista, contacto, delito, deseo, empeño, esperanza, evasión, expectativa, fichaje, fuga, fusión, huida, ilusión, intenta, intentona, labor, novela, obra, operación, película, plan, posibilidad, proceso, propósito, proyecto, reforma, relación, renovación, reunión, revolución, robo, sueño, tentativa, transformación, venta, viaje, victoria, vida, vocación* "action, performance, assault, murder, change, conquest, contact, offence, wish, endeavour, hope, evasion, expectation, sign, escape, fusion, flight, (unfounded) hope, intention, wild attempt, work, novel, piece of work, operation, motion picture, plan, possibility, process, aim, project, reform, relation, renovation, reunion, revolution, robbery, dream, attempt, transformation, selling, voyage, life, vocation"

synonyms

frustración: *desengaño, revés, error, fallo, malogro, chasco, fiasco, fracaso, desilusión, decepción, desánimo* "disappointment, setback, fallacy, failure, waste, deception, fiasco,

failure, disillusionment, disappointment, discouragement"

antonyms

frustración: *éxito, triunfo, victoria* "success, triumph, victory"

6.3.1.8. *Irritación* "irritation"

etymology

From Lat. *irritatio, -ōnis*.

lexical meaning

- a feeling of annoyance, anger, or impatience
- a feeling of scratchiness, itchiness, or other discomfort on the skin or some part of the body
- an area of soreness or inflammation

derivatives

irritar

- tr. To make somebody feel angry.
- tr. To excite vividly natural reactions or inclinations. To irritate jealousy, hatred, avarice, appetite.
- tr. To cause morbid excitement in some organ or part of the body.

irritante - adj. "irritating"

irritabilidad - n. "irritability"

irritable - adj. capable of irritation or inclined to irritability.

irritador, ra - the one who irritates (excites vividly).

irritamiento - n. Action and effect of *irritar* "to irritate"

irritativo, va - adj. the one who irritates or implies irritation.

combinatory possibilities

irritación: *considerable, incontenible, irrefrenable, nervioso, preso (de), sumo; atemperar, calmar, causar, contener, crecer, mostrar, producir, provocar, templar*
"considerable, unrestrained, uncurbed, nervous, possessed by, extreme; to moderate, to calm down, to cause, to keep in check, to grow, to show, to produce, to provoke, to temper"

synonyms

furia, ira, rabia, enojo, cabreo, enfado, cólera, arrebató, berrinche, picor, picazón, escozor, prurito, sarpullido, escocedura, inflamación, excoriación "fury, anger, rage, annoyance, anger, irritation, anger, ecstasy, rage, itching, annoyance, grief, itch, scabies, annoyance, inflammation, flaying"

antonyms

irritación: calma, paciencia, tolerancia, tranquilidad, serenidad "tranquility, serenity, calmness, patience, tolerance"

6.3.1.9. Furia "fury"

etymology

From Lat. *furia*.

lexical meaning

- f. Intense anger.
- f. Fit of insanity.
- f. A very irritated and angry person.
- f. Violence or aggressiveness. (Used figuratively). *La furia del viento, del mar.* "The fury of the wind, of the sea".
- f. The speed and vehemence with which somebody does something.
- f. The moment of the greatest intensity of some fashion or custom.
- f. In the Roman mythology, one of the three infernal divinities who torment with pangs of conscience the perpetrators of evil acts, especially of crimes.

derivatives

enfurecer

- tr. To irritate somebody, to make furious.
- tr. To get rough (to cause anger).
- Said about the wind and the sea: *Alborotarse, alterarse.* "To get rough, to become upset".

enfurecimiento - n. action and effect of *enfurecer* or *enfurecerse* "to enrage, to get infuriated"

furibundo, da

- adj. Angry, irascible, very much inclined to getting infuriated.
- adj. The one who reveals fury or anger.
- adj. Vehement or enthusiastic.

furiente - adj. possessed by fury.

furioso, sa

- adj. Possessed by fury.
- adj. Mad
- adj. Violent, terrible.

- adj. Very big and excessive.

furiosamente - adv. furiously

combinatory possibilities

furia: *animal, arrebatado, arrebatador, arrollador, bravo, ciego, contenido, demoledor, desatado, desenfrenado, desmedido, imparable, implacable, incontenible, irrefrenable, preso (de), violento; acceso (de), arranque (de), arrebatado (de), ataque (de); apaciguar, apagar(se), aplacar, atemperar, calmar, dar rienda suelta (a), derramar, desatar(se), descargar, detener, entrar (a alguien), liberar, poseer (a alguien), sentir, sosegar(se)*
 "bestly, violent, furious, overwhelming, fierce, blind, hidden, demolishing, wild, uncurbed, excessive, unparalleled, relentless, unrestrained, uncurbed, possessed by, violent; fit of, outburst of, rapture of, attack of; to calm down, to soothe, to appease, to moderate, to calm down, to overflow, to get worked up, to vent on, to check, to fly into, to release, to possess, to feel, to calm down"

synonyms

furia: *cólera, coraje, denuedo, fiereza, furor, impetuosidad, indignación, ira, irritación, pasión, rabia, saña, vehemencia, violencia* "anger, anger, daring, fierceness, frenzy, impetuosity, indignation, wrath, irritation, passion, rage, fury, vehemence, violence" al

antonyms

furia: *serenidad, mansedumbre, calma* "serenity, mildness, calmness"

furioso: *apacible, pacífico, plácido, sereno, tranquilo* "even-tempered, peaceable, placid, serene, tranquil"

6.3.1.10. *Impotencia* "powerlessness"

etymology

From Lat. *impotentia*.

lexical meaning

Lack of power to do something.

derivatives

impotente - adj. the one who does not have power

combinatory possibilities

synonyms

impotencia: *imposibilidad, inutilidad, incapacidad, minusvalía, ineptitud, insuficiencia, deficiencia, falta, carencia, defecto, esterilidad, agotamiento, debilidad, frialdad, indiferencia,* "impossibility, uselessness, incapacity, worthlessness, incompetence, insufficiency, deficiency, lack of, need for, flaw, sterility, exhaustion, weakness, coldness, indifference"

antonyms

capacidad, facultad, potencia "capacity, faculty, power"

6.3.1.11. Distinction between *enfado* "annoyance", *irritación* "irritation", *frustración* "frustration", *rabia* "anger, rage", *indignación* "indignation", *ira* "anger, wrath" and *furia* "fury, rage"

Enfado "annoyance, irritation" is mild anger and also a disagreeable or fastidious impression caused by something. *Enfadoso* "annoying, vexatious" is what causes a disagreeable impression, annoyance, nuisance or dissatisfaction.

Irritación "irritation" is the result of violent excitation. *Irritation* is the state of being exasperated. *Irritado* "irritated" denotes a person who is exasperated or annoyed both physically and morally; in the latter meaning, the most authentic, it is referred to the state of the soul, to the character, etc.

Frustración "frustration" is equivalent to deprivation of something expected, and is synonymous to an ill-fated intention with the corresponding disappointment which dispirits, depresses the person. If the deception implies a shade of cheating and falseness, the frustration reflects this very sensation of being fooled and unable to achieve the desired.

Rabia "anger, rage, fury" expresses a vehement sentiment of *irritation* or violent *annoyance* which causes yelling. The adjective *rabioso* "furious, raging, violent", in the moral sense, is applied to a person violently *vexed* and *resentful* about something. *Rabieta* "paddy, tantrum" is a mild version of *rabia*.

Indignación "indignation" is righteous *discontent* at something or someone unjust.

Ira "anger, wrath, rage, fury" designates a passion of the soul when *indignation* arises, which leads to committing violent acts against persons or things. It is also a wish to avenge. The adjective *airado* "angry, furious" is applied to a person who is *discontented* by something.

Furia "fury, rage" is said about a violent exaltation. *Furia* and *rabia* "rage, fury" describe the passionate heat, manifested by convulsions and general agitation due to some unpleasant and offensive action by another person. *Furia* is manifested by promptness and an *angry* attitude with which something is performed or executed. *Furioso* is applied to a person possessed by *rage*; it is said about humans, animals and things. In the figurative sense, it is equivalent to *violent*.

6.3.2. Spanish translation equivalents of the Russian *obida*

6.3.2.1. *Ofensa* "offence"

etymology

from Lat. *offendĕre*.

lexical meaning

- action of degrading or humiliating someone with words or actions
- resulting emotion

derivatives

ofender "to offend"

- tr. To humiliate or hurt one's self-esteem or dignity
- tr. To be against the things which are generally considered good, correct or pleasant: e.g. to offend one's good taste / common sense

ofenderse "to get offended" – to feel humiliated or hurt in one's self-esteem or one's dignity

ofendido "offended"

ofensor "offender"

ofensivo "offensive"

combinatory possibilities

ofenderse del aire - to be very susceptible

infligir una ofensa – to offend

synonyms

ofensa: afrenta “affront”, agravio “grievance”, escarnio “ridicule”, injuria “insult”, insulto “insult”, menosprecio “scorn”, oprobio “disgrace”, ultraje “insult / outrage”, vituperio “insult”, burla “mockery”

ofenderse: molestarse “to get offended / upset”, resentirse “to resent”, picarse “get annoyed / cross”, amoscarse “to get cross”, incomodarse “to become uneasy”, mosquearse “get agry / upset / annoyed”, disgustarse “get annoyed / get upset”, enfadarse “to get annoyed / angry”

antonyms

congraciarse “win over”, avenirse “get on well with”

6.3.2.2. Resentimiento "resentment"

etymology

From Lat. prefix *re-* "repetition, intensity", *sentire* "to feel".

lexical meaning

The persistent feeling of displeasure or irritation towards somebody close, whose words or actions are considered to be offensive or damaging.

derivatives

resentirse con...por algo “to resent smth/ to be resentful about smth”

resentirse de “to suffer / to be weakened by”

resentido “resentful”

combinatory possibilities

Sus palabras de venganza sonaban a resentimiento; en su adolescencia, rebota en él un cierto resentimiento contra los padres, que se pone de manifiesto mediante accesos de rabia, de agresividad y de rebeldía. "His words about vengeance sounded of resentment; in his adolescence, he felt a certain resentment against his parents, which manifested in fits of rage, aggressiveness and rebelliousness".

synonyms

queja, escozor, resquemor, rencor "complaint, grief, bitterness, rancour"

antonyms

simpatía, cariño "sympathy / liking, affection"

6.3.2.3. Rencor "rancour / a grudge"

etymology

from Lat. *rancere* "to go sour, musty, rancid"; substantive *rancor* "a disagreeable smell, stink from rancid food"

lexical meaning

the feeling of hostility or great resentment towards a person because of offence or some damage.

derivatives

rencoroso "rancorous / resentful"

combinatory possibilities

No le guardo ningún rencor: hay que aprender a perdonarlo todo; en sus labios se había marcado un gesto de rencor y amargura, y quizás estaba murmurando alguna cosa entre dientes. "I don't feel any rancour: it is necessary to learn to forgive everything; on his lips there was an expression of rancour and bitterness, and perhaps he was murmuring something through his teeth".

synonyms

enemistad, resentimiento, aborrecimiento, odio "enmity, resentment, abhorrence, hatred"

antonyms

amor, perdon, afecto, simpatía "love, forgiveness, affection, sympathy / liking"

6.3.2.4. Distinction between *ofensa* "offence", *resentimiento* "resentment" and *rencor* "rancour / a grudge"

Ofensa is a direct reaction to subjectively offensive words or actions of other people, whereas *resentimiento* and *rencor* can be considered derivatives of *ofensa*, the result of a persistent *ofensa*'s mutation.

Both *resentimiento* and *rencor* can be manifested in hostile words or actions, they are both associated with *vengefulness*. Nevertheless, the purpose of the vengeance or other harmful actions in case of *resentimiento* is not to seriously damage or destroy, but to get even in emotional sufferance or to prove the other's affection. Thus, *resentimiento* is motivated by affection and in this sense is more akin to *sadness* than to *anger*. On the other hand, deeply ingrained *resentment* turns into *rencor*. Consequently, *rencor* is more akin to *anger* and *hatred*.

6.3.3. Metaphors of *other-directed discontent* in Spanish

As already mentioned in chapter 4, *other-directed discontent* traditionally equals to the English term *anger* in comparative studies. For instance, Kövecses' (2015:349) corpus study of *anger* metaphors in Spanish reveals the three most salient conceptual metaphors of *anger* in Spanish: the possessed object, the opponent, and the substance in a container metaphors.

With regard to *anger* is a possessed object, the emotion is depicted as an object possessed by a person who is affected by the emotion. It is based only on a single mapping: “having *anger* →an object possessed by the person,”which may be linguistically expressed in three ways: “X’s *anger*,” “the *anger* of X,” and “X has *anger*.” The most profiled aspect of the concept of *anger* in this metaphor is existence.

The second most salient conceptual metaphor is: '*anger* is an opponent'. In Spanish, the '*anger* is an opponent' idea takes the form of the weapon metaphor in the majority of the examples. It is a highly elaborate metaphor with three conceptual correspondences in the corpus:

- emotion is the weapon in the fight between two opponents (e.g., *Un enemigo sobre el que desviar las iras* “An enemy over whom to divert one’s *anger*”; *Esgrimir contra ella su ira* “Brandish his *anger* against her”; *Le espetaron con cierta ira* “ They skewered him with *anger*”; *Carga su ira con Adrián* “She loaded her *anger* against Adrián”; *Desplegué mi ira* “I displayed / deployed my *anger*”).
- the cause of *anger* is the target of the firing (e.g., *Arrojó su ira sobre ella* “He threw his *anger* on her”; *La ira de los puristas le alcanzó* “He was hit by the purists’ *anger*”; *Le escupía en la cara su ira* “She spit her *anger* on his face”).
- shooting more is increasing intensity (e.g., *Ha disparado las iras aún más* “It has shot *anger* up even more”). The most frequently used mapping is the second one: the cause of *anger* is the target of the firing. The most profiled aspect of the concept of *anger* in this metaphor is “losing control”.

The third most salient conceptual metaphor is '*anger* is a substance in a container'. It has 9 different mappings in the corpus:

1. *anger* is a substance in a container.

2. level of intensity is the depth of the container / 'intensity' equals 'amount'.
3. growing intensity is the rising of the liquid.
4. level of intensity is the level of pressure in the container.
5. keeping control is keeping the liquid in a container.
6. losing control is the substance going out.
7. losing control causes the container to explode.
8. losing control causes the container to break.
9. losing the energy to feel *angry* is running out of liquid.

6.3.4. Conclusions

All the *discontent* terms in Spanish are of Latin origin. The prevailing theme is illness, misfortune, pain, trouble, something unpleasant. Many terms had already in Latin their present-day meaning.

As for the lexical meaning, there are five aspects that drew our attention. First, several emotion terms are polysemic, mostly defining a disease or some general health condition (e.g. *rabia*, *cólera*, *irritación*, *molesto*, *resentimiento*). Second, some emotion terms are rather vague, e.g. *molesto* can mean "angry, annoyed, bothered, uneasy, uncomfortable", and also "offended". Third, there is a visible connection between emotional and physical pain, e.g. *rabiar de dolor*, *molestar*, *resentir*, *irritar*, *dolido*, *resquemor*, etc. Another interesting point is the element of *boredom* in the semantics of such words as *enfado*, *molesto*, *cabreo*. The theme of *powerlessness* is also present in some lexical definitions, e.g. *frustración*.

All of the terms have derivatives, but some terms are more productive than the others. For instance, *irritación* has the highest number of derivatives (7), followed by *furia* (6) and *enfado* (5).

On the other hand, *rabia*, *ira* and *frustración* have many combinatory possibilities. Therefore, one should have both derivative and combinatory tendencies in mind when judging the salience of emotion terms. Another important evidence that collocations provide is the metaphorical conceptualisation of emotions. One can notice the metaphor

“*anger* is a container” (e.g. *contenir la rabia*), “*anger* is a burden” (e.g. *descargar la rabia*), “*anger* is an opponent” (e.g. *ataque de rabia*) or “*anger* is possession” (e.g. *tener la rabia*). In addition, general tendency to magnify emotions can be observed in collocations: *enorme*, *descomunal*, *mayúsculo*, *monumental*, etc.

In reference to synonyms of the *discontent*-like terms, one can state their interchangeability. The only nuance is the presence of *odio* among synonyms of *rabia* and *rencor*, and of *boredom*-like words among synonyms of *enfado*, *molesto* and *cabreo*. There are clearly three main antonyms for almost all the analysed *discontent* terms: calmness, patience and tolerance. Interestingly, *enfado* "annoyance", the basic *discontent* term, is opposed to *diversión* "fun" and *placer* "pleasure". As was to expect, *frustración* "frustration" is opposed to *triumfo* "triumph".

6.4. Usage-based, discursive analysis of *other-directed discontent* in Spanish

6.4.1. Social component

According to Goddard (2018), the Spanish language and culture are often called “expressive”. He proposes a Spanish cultural script for showing one's feelings when speaking.

[people think like this]:

often when someone says something to someone else,

it is good if he/she thinks like this:

“I want this someone else to know how I feel when I say this”.

The author claims that “along with other related scripts it helps explain Spanish “prosody”, incl. [...] using intensifiers, e.g. *muy*, *súper*, and superlative suffix (*-issimo*, *-issima*) [...]” (ibid.:292).

6.4.2. Prototypical Spanish scenario of *other-directed discontent*

Paez / Vergara (1991:37-38) propose a prototypical scenario of *other-directed discontent* in Spanish. The authors use the term *cólera* “anger” in their study, referring to it as a generic term for *other-directed discontent*. According to the authors, this emotion prototypically includes:

Antecedents

- predisposition to feeling *cólera* due to previous negative experiences related to *discontent*-eliciting situations: stress, tiredness, etc.
- loss of power
- plans fall through
- real or imagined physical / psychological pain
- injustice

Physical reaction

- redness
- body heat
- muscular symptoms (more often mentioned by the male respondents than by the female ones)

Interpersonal factor

- physical attack causes *cólera*
- physical attack on the offender / the cause of *cólera* or some other object
- loss of control , special emotional conditions
- non-verbal communication
- abandon of social contact
- verbal attack causes *cólera*

Expression

- crying
- shouting
- quarrelling

- insulting / cursing
- tight fists
- aggressive, threatening gestures
- not smiling, frowning
- stamping one's feet
- showing teeth, clenched teeth

Mental reaction

- imagining a counter-attack
- assuming to be in the right

Self-control

- redefining / rectifying the situation

In general, more traits are attributed to *cólera* "anger" (31 in total) than to *alegria* "joy" (28) and *tristeza* "sadness" (26), which could imply the higher level of social recognition of *cólera*, probably due to its possible disruptive power.

Paez / Vergara (ibid.:42-43) also specify the scenario with its 6 subtypes:

1. Mild *enojo* "anger":

Antecedents

- predisposition to feeling *cólera* due to previous negative experiences related to *discontent*-eliciting situations: stress, tiredness, etc.
- real or imaginary physical / psychological pain

Reaction

- cursing
- tight fists
- verbal attack
- showing teeth, clenched teeth

2. Failure:

Antecedents

- plans fall through
- Reaction
- cursing
 - focusing on the situation without noticing anything else
 - aggressive, threatening gestures
 - physical attack on the cause of *cólera* or some other object

3. Predisposition

Antecedents

- predisposition to feeling *cólera* due to previous negative experiences related to anger-eliciting situations

Reaction

- shouting
- insulting / cursing
- tight fists
- stamping one's feet
- showing teeth, clenched teeth

4.Lack of respect, nervousness

Antecedents

- constant loss of power, status, respect

Reaction

- tight fists
- nervousness
- focusing on the situation without noticing anything else
- muscular symptoms

5. Injustice (1)

Antecedents

- erroneous or unjust situation

Reaction

- body tension
- assuming to be in the right
- body heat and redness

6. Injustice (2)

Antecedents

- erroneous or unjust situation
- predisposition due to previous negative experiences related to anger-eliciting situations

Reaction

- abandon of social contact
- imagining attacking the offender
- assuming to be in the right

The loss of power, lack of respect and predisposition to experiencing *discontent* play an important role in characterisation of *discontent* in Spanish.

6.4.3. Provisional referential profile of salient Spanish terms of *other-directed discontent*

Based on the previously obtained information, referential profiles of Spanish emotion terms of *other-directed discontent* have been created. General classification of emotions is based on their either active / external or passive / internal nature.

Table 17: Provisional referential profile of salient *discontent*-like words in Spanish

emotion term	<i>rabia</i> (19) "anger"
social context: gender, age, power relations	- 'active'-anger emotion - can be experienced by animals and human beings of any social status, age and gender. 'Rabieta' is an infantile form of 'rabia'
possible antecedents	- some unpleasant and offensive action, some obstacle

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - predisposition to feeling 'rabia' due to previous negative experiences related to anger-eliciting situations, stress, tiredness - loss of power
intensity / objectivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a fairly objective emotion. It is usually plausible for an observer to understand why someone is angry. • a sudden, not long lasting but intense emotion. However, when one experiences 'rabia', one may still keep one's temper in check.
possible (non)-verbal / bodily reactions	increase in body heat → 'passionate heat, internal pressure, convulsions and general physical agitation, redness of face, (possibly) shouting
possible action patterns (further actions)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - agitation, control of anger, verbal manifestation of anger, yelling - other people: excuse, negotiation, explanation, verbal contra-attack

emotion term	<i>ira</i> (18) "anger, wrath"
social context: gender, age, power relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 'active'-anger emotion - can be experienced by human beings of any social status, age and gender
possible antecedents	some unpleasant and offensive action by another person
intensity / objectivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • an objective emotion. It is usually plausible for an observer to understand why someone experiences <i>ira</i>. • a sudden, not long lasting but extremely intense emotion. •
possible (non)-verbal / bodily reactions	increase in body heat, internal pressure, high blood pressure and physical agitation, redness of face, passionate state of mind, shouting, predisposition to violence, wish to avenge
possible action patterns (further actions)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - agitation, manifestation of animosity, complete loss of control, vengeance, unrestrained public violence as an act of retribution - other people: excuse, (verbal) contra-attack, fear, avoidance

emotion term	<i>furia</i> (13) "fury" / <i>furioso</i> (7) "furious"
social context: gender, age, power relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 'active'-anger emotion - can be experienced by both animals and human beings of any social status and gender
possible antecedents	some unpleasant and offensive action by another person
intensity / objectivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a fairly objective emotion. It is usually plausible for an observer to understand why someone is angry. • a sudden, not long lasting but extremely intense emotion. •

possible (non)-verbal / bodily reactions	increase in body heat → 'passionate' heat, internal pressure, convulsions and general physical agitation, redness of face, shouting, urge to destruct
possible action patterns (further actions)	- agitation, angry attitude, verbal manifestation of discontent, promptness, complete loss of control, unrestrained violence as an act of retribution - other people: excuse, explanation, fear, avoidance

emotion term	frustración (13) "frustration"
social context: gender, age, power relations	- 'passive'-anger emotion - can be experienced by human beings of any social status, age and gender
possible antecedents	deprivation of something expected, an ill-fated intention, deception
intensity / objectivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a fairly objective emotion. It is usually plausible for an observer to understand why someone is frustrated. • a relatively long lasting and intense emotion •
possible (non)-verbal / bodily reactions	increase in body heat, internal pressure, and physical agitation, (sometimes) predisposition to undirected or self-directed violence
possible action patterns (further actions)	- focusing on the situation without noticing anything else - verbal manifestation of frustration, depression, (rarely) undirected or self-directed violence - other people: sympathy, assistance

emotion term	molesta (12) / molesto (9) "annoyed, offended" / molestia (6) "annoyance"
social context: gender, age, power relations	- 'passive'-anger emotion - can be experienced by adult human beings of any social status and gender
possible antecedents	some unpleasant and / or offensive action, some obstacle
intensity / objectivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a subjective emotion. • a sudden, not long lasting emotion of very low intensity.
possible (non)-verbal / bodily reactions	frowning, probably no visible reaction
possible action patterns (further actions)	- probably no actions - other people: excuse, no actions

emotion term	impotencia (12) "powerlessness"
social context: gender, age, power relations	- 'passive'-anger emotion - can be experienced by adult human beings of any social status and gender
possible antecedents	- injustice, socially unacceptable actions, undesirable course

	of events <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - loss of power
intensity / objectivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a subjective emotion a very intense emotion of variable (usually short) duration .
possible (non)-verbal / bodily reactions	increase in body heat, internal pressure, tight fists, (sometimes) predisposition to undirected or self-directed violence
possible action patterns (further actions)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> agitation, control of anger, possible (verbal) manifestation of discontent other people: sympathy, no involvement

emotion term	enfado (12) "annoyance / anger"
social context: gender, age, power relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 'active'-anger emotion can be experienced by human beings of any social status, age and gender
possible antecedents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> some grievance, offence, injury, injustice, wrong, socially unacceptable actions, done on purpose or at least it is someone's fault predisposition to negative inferences based on previous negative experience
intensity / objectivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a fairly objective emotion. It is usually plausible for an observer to understand why someone is 'enfadado'. a sudden, not long lasting and moderately intense emotion. .
possible (non)-verbal / bodily reactions	increase in body heat, internal pressure, and physical agitation, frowning
possible action patterns (further actions)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> agitation, control of anger, verbal manifestation of anger other people: excuse, explanation, negotiation

emotion term	indignación (11) "indignation"
social context: gender, age, power relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 'active'-anger emotion can be experienced by adult human beings of any social status and gender
possible antecedents	social injustice, wrong, socially unacceptable actions
intensity / objectivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> an objective emotion a sudden, not long lasting but intense emotion.
possible (non)-verbal / bodily reactions	increase in body heat, internal pressure, and physical agitation
possible action patterns (further actions)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> agitation, relative control of anger, verbal manifestation of indignation other people: excuse, explanation (the offender), solidarity

emotion term	<i>rencor</i> (10) "rancour, a grudge" / <i>rencores</i> (2) "hard feelings, grudges"
social context: gender, age, power relations	- 'passive'-anger emotion - can be experienced by adult human beings of any social status and gender
possible antecedents	some real or supposed grievance, offence, injury, injustice, done long time ago
intensity / objectivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a subjective emotion • a very long lasting emotion of moderate intensity •
possible (non)-verbal / bodily reactions	no visible reaction
possible action patterns (further actions)	- hostile behaviour, vengeance, avoidance - other people: excuse, reconciliation, no reaction

emotion term	<i>irritación</i> (6) "irritation" / <i>irritado</i> (3) "irritated"
social context: gender, age, power relations	- 'active'-anger emotion - can be experienced by both animals and human beings of any social status, age and gender
possible antecedents	- something unpleasant - predisposition to feeling irritated due to previous negative experiences related to anger-eliciting situations, stress, tiredness
intensity / objectivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a subjective emotion • emotion of low intensity and variable duration •
possible (non)-verbal / bodily reactions	(possibly) increase in body heat, internal pressure, facial expression of discontent
possible action patterns (further actions)	- agitation, self-control, (verbal) manifestation of irritation, actions to improve the situation - other people: excuse, no reaction

emotion term	<i>resentimiento</i> (6) "resentment" / <i>resentido</i> (2) "resentful"
social context: gender, age, power relations	- 'passive'-anger emotion - can be experienced by adult human beings of any social status and gender
possible antecedents	- some real or supposed grievance, words or offensive actions, usually done by a close friend or relative - predisposition to negative inferences based on previous negative experience
intensity / objectivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • - a highly subjective emotion • - a long lasting emotion, which profoundness and intensity degree can vary from low to high •

possible (non)-verbal / bodily reactions	possible somatic reaction, e.g. stomach-ache or heartache, tears
possible action patterns (further actions)	- usually no actions - other people: excuse, reconciliation, no actions

6.4.3.1. Concluding remarks

Both 'active / external' and 'passive / internal' types of *discontent* are present, with prevalence of the 'active' *discontent*.

All the most frequent emotion terms of *discontent* imply violence (verbal or physical), even *frustration*. The violent acts can be either *other-directed* or *self-directed*.

The social parameter, in this case whether the offender is a close friend / relative or not, plays an important role in intensity and the type of emotion (*enfado* “annoyance”, *resentimiento* “resentment” or *molesto* “annoyed / offended”). In addition, loss of power and predisposition to experiencing *discontent* influence considerably the possible reaction and future actions. On the other hand, the cause, i.e. the antecedents, structure the scenario and the intensity of emotion only to some extent.

6.4.4. Qualitative corpus study of salient Spanish terms of *other-directed discontent*

6.4.4.1. Introductory comments

Based on a qualitative study of the CREA main corpus, a final referential profile of the selected emotion terms has been constructed. Aleatory examples for each emotion term (50 examples for every term) were analysed according to the following scheme:

- a) scenario, i.e. antecedents, place, possible actions and their result,
- b) people involved, i.e. subjects and objects of the emotional experience and their social roles, age, gender, number of people involved,
- c) visible and / or audible manifestation of emotional experience

d) parallel thoughts, as they reveal the subtextual discourse of the concept

In addition, collocations for each term were found using the corpus tools (4-word collocation search).

6.4.4.2. Results

Results of the qualitative corpus study are presented in table 18.

Table 18: Referential profiles of salient Spanish terms of *other-directed discontent*, based on the qualitative corpora study

emotion word		rabia
scenarios	antecedents	meanness of the human nature, its' capability of crime, changes in the traditional agriculture and village life
	place	public space, a village
	possible actions	none, (possibly) verbal and / or physical violence
	result /the end	none, satisfaction
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	a writer / a citizen and the society where (s)he lives, a farmer and the new legislation
	age	adult
	gender	male, female
	number of people involved	2, unknown
visual/audio expression		shouting, crying, insulting, beating
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		There is nothing one can do about it
collocations / associations		con, que, dolor, dar, desesperación, impotencia, tristeza, ira, frustración, indignación, perro, odiar, miedo, contra, mucho, contener, tener, canino, amor, rencor, lleno, celo, furia, grito, llanto, sentir, vergüenza, acumular, mezcla, alegría, expresar, temor, depresión, llorar, calmar, ataque, inmortal, enfado, ansiedad, insulto, furioso, abatimiento, asco, deseo, golpear, cólera, pena, hacia, narcisista, humor, insultar

emotion word		ira
scenarios	antecedents	unsatisfactory work of a mayor, a plane accident, political scandals, crimes, social injustice
	place	a village, a place of the tragedy, public space, in the street
	possible actions	observation of a situation, sudden surge of discontent, violent actions
	result /the end	pacifying intent on the part of the causer, punishment of the experiencer (e.g. prison)
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	village inhabitants and the mayor, victims' relatives and an unknown target, politicians and their rivals, Islamic radicals and Israel, a citizen / demonstrators and the criminals
	age	adult
	gender	unknown
	number of people involved	unknown
visual/audio expression		violence, burning down a house, tears
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		enough is enough, this is terrible, fear, the government is too weak
collocations / associations		Dios, contra, miedo, tristeza, odiar, rabia, aplacar, lleno, provocar, dolor, enfado, furor, ataque, temor, cólera, frustración, hacia, resentimiento, venganza, depresión, rencor, descargar, furia, arranque, lento, irritabilidad, grande, cáliz, expresar, enojo, divino, desatar, desesperacion, concupiscencia, celo, momento, justo, llenar, arrebató, hombre, llanto, controlar, amor, despertar, todopoderoso, cegar, amargura, atormentar, tener, pasión, santa

emotion word		enfado
scenarios	antecedents	losing positions in a sport competition, being portrayed as an Easter cake figure, criticising one's work, not obtaining the deserved prize while the others do, no good theatre plays in the city while the neighbouring cities do have them
	place	tennis tournament, Easter celebration in a city, public space, a sport competition
	possible actions	observing the situation, doing nothing or trying to rectify the situation
	result /the end	none, deterioration of a relationship, avoiding any contact, legal actions
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	a sportswoman and the judges, a celebrity and a baker, a film director and a composer (two

		friends), a sportsman and the judges, a theatre goer and the responsible authorities
	age	adult
	gender	female, male
	number of people involved	unknown, 2
visual/audio expression		accusations, facial expression
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		This is unfair, this is humiliating / offensive, this is terrible
collocations / associations		frustración, tristeza, resentimiento, mostrar, pasar, rabia, alegría, provocar, decepción, manifestar, cara, miedo, expresar, culpar, mucho, expresión, entender, grande

emotion word		frustración
scenarios	antecedents	exodus of European scientists to the USA, impossibility to fully organise one's children's future, an injury, a bad quality theatre play, film goers only know one film by the film director, UNO's inactivity in the Bosnian war, unhappily married, existential emptiness
	place	public space, football stadium, a theatre, at the cinema, at home
	possible actions	unspecified
	result /the end	none
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	a scientist, parents, a football player, a theatre goer, a film director, Muslim countries, a married woman, a young man
	age	adult
	gender	unknown, male, female
	number of people involved	unknown, 1, 2 (abstract groups)
visual/audio expression		none, violence, apathy, accusations
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		I wish it could be different, If you don't act we will act, the reality is very complex / complicated
collocations / associations		generar, impotencia, rabia, depresión, tolerancia a, grande, decepción, provocar, insatisfacción, ansiedad, ira, desesperanza, desilusión, producir, fracaso, dolor, miedo, desesperación, expresar, enfado, expectativa, experimentar, desencanto, tristeza, enojo, odiar, deseo, vergüenza, resistencia, angustia, intolerancia, sexual, confusión, acumular, resentimiento, descontento, cólera, violencia, rechazo, descargar, apatía, mucho, constante,

	culpar, canalizar, causa, satisfacción, nivel, envidia
--	--------------------------------------------------------

emotion word		impotencia
scenarios	antecedents	terrorist attacks, wars, other crimes, political injustice, nuclear testing, school rules prohibiting a pupil to resit a course, insufficient economical help from the local administration to integrate children with special needs at school
	place	in a town, public space, at school
	possible actions	acknowledging the facts, not trying to change the situation, because it is impossible
	result /the end	pleading for the society to act
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	the citizens of the town and the terrorist act, a citizen and other crimes / political injustice, a parent and the school administration
	age	unknown, adult
	gender	unknown, female
	number of people involved	unknown
visual/audio expression		unspecified, tears, crying
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		Something should be done
collocations / associations		sentimiento, sensación, rabia, frustración, sexual, dolor, debilidad, desesperación, frente, provocar, hombre, causa, miedo, reducir, indignación, incapacidad, sentir, tristeza, angustia, desamparo "helplessness", contra, resignación, deseo, resentimiento, masculino, estado, soledad, producir, temor, llorar, sentido, psíquica, inutilidad, omnipotencia, grande, problema, falta, odiar, fracaso, dios, condenar, burguesía, desgracia, funcional, esterilidad, potencia, cobardía, reconocer, fuerza, generar, lágrimas, inferioridad, decepción, política, hablar

emotion word		indignación
scenarios	antecedents	no right to vote, conservative legislation in family matters, political crimes, cruel criminal acts, social problems in a town
	place	the Basque Parliament, the Congress, public space
	possible actions	acknowledging the facts, vehement verbal reaction
	result /the end	none / some actions by the responsible

		authorities
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	a Parliament member and the president, progressive part of the society and the new law, the whole society and the politicians
	age	adult
	gender	female, unknown
	number of people involved	2, unknown
visual/audio expression		shouting, laughing
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		This is morally wrong
collocations / associations		mostrar, provocar, dolor, intención, rabia, expresar, contra, tristeza, impotencia, popular, manifestar, pública, asombro "astonishment", injusticia, perplejidad, grande, ola, causar, grito, desprecio, sorpresa, producir, profundo, miedo, crecer, estupor "amazement", despertar, vergüenza, suscitar, risa, general, odiar, mucho, internacional, rechazar, frente, hacia, angustia, ciudadano, levantar, entre

emotion word		furia
scenarios	antecedents	an accident at a factory, a critical article in a newspaper, 'indecent' TV content, political / ideological differences, spending too much money, a war conflict, loneliness
	place	an affected village, Barcelona, the UK Parliament, Basque country, at home, occupied Palestine territories
	possible actions	acknowledgement of the facts, vehement reaction
	result /the end	fear /concern on the part of the causer, none
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	village inhabitants and the authorities, a politician and a newspaper journalist / his article, members of the Parliament and a programme of a private TV channel / its owner, a representative of a party and an adversary party, a husband and his wife, Palestine citizens and Israel, a lonely person and her/his destiny
	age	adult
	gender	unknown, male
	number of people involved	unknown, 2
visual/audio expression		aggressive behaviour, homicide, beating, attacking, shouting, facial expression, red face
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		They are lying to us, how dare (s)he!, this is

	unfair
collocations / associations	desatar, ruido, contra, homicida, ira, rabia, ataque, golpear, espantable, odiar, atacar, incontenible, torrente, provocar, grito, dolor, destructivo, descargar, lleno, rostro, enojo, pasión, resentimiento, ciego, grande, amor, ansiedad, ola, terror, detener, episodio, miedo, temer, dios, terrible, despertar, expresar, rojo, causar

emotion word		cabreo
scenarios	antecedents	no economical agreement between the workers and the management of an enterprise, bad film quality, the need to give explanations by the Supreme Court, closing of a factory, difficult political situation, a recording of a politician's private conversation, various unspecified reasons, favouring one museum instead of some 'better' ones
	place	at workplace, at the cinema, public space
	possible actions	expecting some solution to the problem, not seeing one
	result /the end	none
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	employees and employers, film goers and a film producer, the Supreme Court and the whole society, a representative of the factory and responsible authorities, voting population and politicians, a politician and the government, sportsmen and their trainer, an art specialist and the government
	age	adult
	gender	unknown
	number of people involved	unknown
visual/audio expression		complaints, exclamations, arguing, telling off
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		Things could be done better, other people are wrong
collocations / associations		monumental, enfados, bronca, amigo, el derecho, asco

emotion word		irritación
scenarios	antecedents	unnecessary discussions, bad service, low quality film, having to wait in a queue, minor political differences, unfair portrayal in a TV programme / in a biography, disregard of the royal protocol

	place	a museum, an airline company, at the cinema, public space, a palace
	possible actions	observation of the situation, gradual loss of patience
	result /the end	none
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	a citizen and staff members of an airline company, a spectator and the film, political rivals, celebrities, representatives of an ethnic minority and a TV station, a queen and a princess
	age	adult
	gender	unknown
	number of people involved	unknown
visual/audio expression		nervousness
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		Bad management is to blame
collocations / associations		causar, producir, provocar, nervioso

emotion word		molestarse / molesto
scenarios	antecedents	low quality TV programme, people's stupidity, political remarks (ideological differences), one actress compared to another one, accusations of cheating
	place	at home, head-quarters of a political party, public space, a prestigious academy
	possible actions	unspecified
	result /the end	none
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	citizens, politicians, an actress, a president of an academy
	age	adult
	gender	male, female, unknown
	number of people involved	unknown
visual/audio expression		tone of voice, face expression
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		This is nonsense.
collocations / associations		muy, tono, considerar

Translation equivalents of *obida*

emotion word		ofensa
scenarios	antecedents	non-acceptance of one's hospitality, doubt about one's professional capacities, unacceptable content of the media (humiliating or degrading)
	place	in the street, at school, public space
	possible actions	observing the situation or acknowledging the facts, spontaneous negative reaction, usually

		verbal
	result /the end	rectification or deterioration of the relationship
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	some men and the tourists, a pupil and school staff, a citizen and the media
	age	adult, teenager
	gender	male, female
	number of people involved	unknown
visual/audio expression		exclamations, facial expression, tone of voice
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		1) They violate social norms 2) They don't respect me / put me in a lower (social) position, It makes me feel less than others
collocations / associations		molestarse, invocar, manía, manchar, excitar, rascista, persona, reaccionar, aludir, fino, masculino, respetar, muy, hombre

emotion word		dolido
scenarios	antecedents	getting fired, no gratitude, not mentioned in a book, not enough respect
	place	unknown
	possible actions	unspecified
	result /the end	none
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	friends, colleagues, a sportsman and his/her trainer / team, an employee and his/her employer, political partners
	age	adult
	gender	male, female
	number of people involved	2, unknown
visual/audio expression		sad facial expression, tears
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		They don't love me, I'm alone /lonely, That is sad.
collocations / associations		el corazon, falta de un cariño, confuso, espantado, solo, afecto, sinceramente, golpeado, notas, melancolía, lloroso, triste

emotion word		resentimiento
scenarios	antecedents	husband's unfair portrayal in media, criticism, suspect of corruption, no theatre play success, not mentioning something important to the experiencer, one's expulsion from the army, made redundant at work
	place	public space, a theatre, in court, at workplace
	possible actions	unspecified, possibly hostile behaviour
	result /the end	none / vengeance

people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	a famous writer's wife and journalists, a famous actor and the media, a political party and its investigators, an actor and the theatre management, a critic and an author, a criminal and the government, a worker and his boss
	age	adult
	gender	female, male
	number of people involved	unknown
visual/audio expression		none or unfriendly, hostile behaviour, accusations
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		That is unfair
collocations / associations		odiar, contra, hacia, rencor, envidia, moral, venganza, ira, haber, enfado, impotencia, profundo, frustración, cólera, hostilidad, culpar, celo, causar, descontento, rabia, acumular, social, albergar, temor, enojo, provocar, creer, amargura, malo, furia, generar, cargar, desprecio, consciencia, corazon, experimentar, creciente, surgir, consecuencia, fuerte, semejante, pareja, guardar, externo, lleno, mucho, superar, debido, crear, aumentar, expresión

emotion word		rencor
scenarios	antecedents	recent historical / political events, long lived family problems, partners' betrayal
	place	a TV programme
	possible actions	none / hostile behaviour
	result /the end	none / vengeance
people involved	subjects and objects (their social roles)	a citizen and the society, a daughter and her mother, a woman and her ex-partners
	age	adult
	gender	male, female
	number of people involved	2, unknown
visual/audio expression		accusations, yelling
thoughts involved (parallel thoughts)		This is unfair and I hate this.
collocations / associations		odiar, guardar, hacia, tener, resentimiento, contra, envidia, venganza, rabia, ladrar "to yell", enojo, ira, lleno, albergar, corazon, esquina, cólera, vivo, sordo, fantasía, olvidar, perdonar, padre, acumular, alimentar, deseo, generar, mirar, dentro, malo, dolor, años, mucho, pasar, grande, dar

6.4.4.3. Interpretation of the data

Rabia

Some shocking revelations or shocking events can evoke *rabia*. For instance, meanness of the human nature, its capability of crime, changes in the traditional agriculture and village life, etc. It is an individual emotion directed at someone or something bigger, stronger and more powerful than the experiencer, e.g. a citizen vs. the society where (s)he lives, a farmer vs. the new agricultural legislation, etc. The thought implied in many corpus examples is “There is nothing one can do about it”. There is sometimes no visible reaction as it is, just like *frustración*, a 'pure' individual sensation which is not interactively constructed. There can be also verbal and / or physical violence, e.g. shouting, crying, insulting, beating. It is a very corporal, even animalistic, emotion: it collocates with *dolor* “pain”, *calmar* “to sooth”, *deseo* “desire”, *perro* “dog” and *canino* “canine”. Metaphorically, *rabia* is conceptualised as an object that can be given, possessed and accumulated (*dar*, *tener*, *contener*, *acumular*), also as an opponent or an illness (*ataque* “attack”, *abatimiento* “dejection, depression”).

Many different emotion words collocate with *rabia*: *desesperación* “desperation”, *impotencia* “powerlessness”, *tristeza* “sadness”, *ira* “rage”, *frustración* “frustration”, *indignación* “indignation”, *odio* “hatred”, *miedo / temor* “fear”, *amor* “love”, *rencor* “a grudge, rancour”, *furia* “fury”, *vergüenza* “shame”, *alegría* “joy”, *depresión* “depression”, *enfado* “annoyance”, *ansiedad* “anxiety”, *asco* “disgust”, *cólera* “rage” and *pena* “pity”.

Ira

Ira is evoked by weighty reasons, e.g. by political scandals, crimes, social injustice, a plane accident, unsatisfactory work of a mayor or any other official, etc. The following experiencer-causer pairs were found in the corpus: village inhabitants and the mayor,

victims' relatives and an unknown target, politicians and their rivals, Islamic radicals and Israel, demonstrators and criminals. Experiencers of *ira* can have such parallel thoughts as “Enough is enough”, “This is terrible / scary”, “The authorities are too weak, we have to act”. *Ira* can be experienced individually and collectively. The typical scenario includes the following steps: observation of a situation, sudden surge of *discontent*, violent actions (e.g. burning down a house of the causer), in some cases pacifying intent on the part of the causer, in some cases punishment of the experiencer (e.g. imprisonment).

When analysing the collocations of *ira*, one can see religious influence: *Dios* “God”, *divina* “divine”, *todopoderosa* “allmighty”, *santa* “saint”, *justa* “just”, *cáliz (de la ira)* “chalice of wrath”. In continuation of the religious influence, patriarchal mentality is visible in a frequent collocate *hombre* “a man”, *venganza* “vengeance”, and in negative references to corporeality: *concupiscencia* “concupiscence”, *pasión* “passion”.

Some collocates imply tremendous use of energy and also its short duration: *descargar* “to discharge”, *un arranque* “a fit”, *momento* “a moment”, *arrebato* “an outburst”. Metaphorically, *ira* can be compared to an animal who can be woken up, controlled, unleashed, and who can attack (*despertar, controlar, desatar, ataque*). It can be also compared to an illness or general physical pain, as an abstract opponent, that can be provoked, calmed and that can blind and torment the experiencer (*dolor, provocar, cegar, atormentar, aplacar*). The verb *tener* “to have” alludes both to possession of an object / an animal and to having a disease.

Emotion words that collocate with *ira* are *irritabilidad* “irritability”, *miedo /temor* “fear”, *tristeza* “sadness”, *odio* “hatred”, *rabia* “anger”, *enfado* “annoyance”, *enojo* “mild anger”, *furia* “fury”, *furor* “a furor”, *cólera* “rage”, *frustración* “frustration”, *resentimiento* “resentment”, *depresión* “depression”, *rencor* “a grudge / rancour”, *desesperación* “desperation”, *amargura* “bitterness”, but also *amor* “love”.

Enfado

Not very important reasons are associated with *enfado*, e.g. losing positions in a sport competition, being portrayed as an Easter cake figure, criticising one's work, not obtaining the deserved prize while the others do, an absence of good theatre plays in the city while the neighbouring cities do have them, etc. The experiencer and the causer usually know each other personally. It can be, e.g. sportsmen and judges, a celebrity and a baker, a film director and a composer (two friends), a theatre goer and responsible officials, family members, etc. “This is unfair”, “This is humiliating / offensive”, “This is terrible” are typical thoughts of the experiencer that motivate *enfado*.

The scenario includes observing the situation, doing nothing or trying to rectify the situation (e.g. by accusations). Then, deterioration of a relationship, avoiding any contact, legal actions can follow. Still, no specific outcome is also very common.

Frustración “frustration”, *tristeza* “sadness”, *resentimiento* “resentment”, *rabia* “anger”, *alegría* “joy”, *decepción* “disappointment” and *miedo* “fear” collocate with *enfado*.

Frustración

Exodus of European scientists to the USA, impossibility to fully organise one's children's future, an injury, a low quality theatre play, film goers who know only one film by the film director, UNO's inactivity in the Bosnian war, being unhappily married, existential emptiness, absence of sexual activity, rejection, are just some examples of *frustración* antecedents.

The actions, if any, are mostly unspecified. Therefore, it is the feeling itself and not its social impact that matters. There is mostly no outcome, although apathy or violence are also associated with *frustración*. Thoughts that accompany *frustración* are “I wish it could be different”, “The reality is very complex / complicated” and, in case of more active collective experiencers, “If you don't act we will act”.

Many collocates of *frustración* show an active individual who lives in a competitive society, focused on achievement: *expectativa* “expectation”, *fracaso* “failure”, *causa* “a cause”, *culpar* “to blame”.

Metaphorically, the experiencer is pictured as a power plant and *frustración* is pictured

as energy which can be generated, produced, accumulated, channelled, discharged and it can reach a certain level (*generar, producir, acumular, canalizar, descargar, nivel*). In medical terms, *frustración* is presented as an opponent that can be constantly tolerated or resisted (*constante, tolerancia a, intolerancia, resistencia*) and is also associated with *dolor* “pain”.

Emotion words that collocate with *frustración* are *impotencia* “impotence”, *rabia* “anger”, *depresión* “depression”, *decepción* “disappointment”, *insatisfacción* “dissatisfaction”, *ansiedad* “anxiety”, *ira* “rage”, *desesperanza* “hopelessness”, *desilusión* “disillusionment”, *miedo* “fear”, *desesperación* “desperation”, *enfado* “annoyance”, *desencanto* “disenchantment”, *tristeza* “sadness”, *enojo* “mild anger”, *odio* “hatred”, *deseo* “desire”, *vergüenza* “shame”, *angustia* “anguish”, *confusión* “confusion”, *resentimiento* “resentment”, *descontento* “discontent”, *cólera* “rage”, *satisfacción* “satisfaction”, *envidia* “envy”.

Impotencia

Terrorist attacks, wars, other crimes, political injustice, nuclear weapon tests, school rules prohibiting a pupil to resit a course, insufficient economic help from the local authorities to integrate children with special needs at school, and many other similar reasons can evoke *impotencia*.

The *impotencia* scenario includes acknowledging the facts, not trying to change the situation, because it appears impossible, and finally, pleading the society to act. *Impotencia* has a civic nature, as the experiencer acts as a citizen and speaks for a representative group of people in most corpus examples. The main implicit idea in the experiencers' utterances is that “something should be done” in order to resolve the issue. No visible actions, apart from crying and shouting, can be taken on the part of the experiencer, as the causer is difficult to fight / is more powerful: terrorists, political leaders, school administration, etc.

As the analysis of *impotencia* collocations shows, the term itself and the ideas connected with it are deeply rooted in the patriarchal conceptualisation of both private

and public spheres. As a medical term, *impotence* is associated with male insecurity and collocates with *hombre* “a man”, *masculino* “masculine”, *problema* “a problem”, *falta* “lack”, *causa* “a cause”, *desgracia* “disgrace / misfortune”, *funcional* “functional”, *esterilidad* “sterility”, *sexual* “sexual”, *deseo* “desire”, *dolor* “pain”, *psíquica* “psychic / mental”, *fracaso* “failure”, *incapacidad* “incapacity”, *inutilidad* “uselessness”, *debilidad* “weakness”, *inferioridad* “inferiority”, *miedo* “fear”, *soledad* “loneliness”. Apart from strictly medical definitions, all the words mentioned above can be also attributed to *impotencia* as an emotion word and thus projected onto the public sphere. The discourse of power / powerlessness is omnipresent in religion and politics (*Dios* “God”, *fuerza* “strength”, *potencia* “power / potency”, *omnipotencia* “omnipotence”, *política* “politics”, *burguesía* “bourgeoisie”, *cobardía* “cowardness”, *condenar* “to condemn / to convict”).

In addition, the following emotion words also collocate with *impotencia*: *rabia* “anger”, *frustración* “frustration”, *desesperación* “desperation”, *indignación* “indignation”, *tristeza* “sadness”, *angustia* “anguish”, *desamparo* “helplessness”, *resignación* “resignation”, *resentimiento* “resentment”, *temor* “fear”, *decepción* “disappointment” and *odio* “hatred”.

Indignación

Indignación always has socially weighty reasons, e.g. no right to vote, the conservative legislation on family matters, political crimes, cruel criminal acts, social problems in a town, etc. The scenario entails acknowledgement of the facts that cause violent *discontent*, followed by a vehement verbal reaction. In many cases, there is a shock / surprise factor related to this emotion. *Indignación* can be experienced individually or collectively. In any case, the feeling is motivated by the thought / reaction “This is morally wrong”. The active stance of *indignación* can be seen in such collocates as *mostrar* “to show”, *expresar* “to express”, *manifestar* “to demonstrate”, *rechazar* “to refuse / to reject”. Its civic and, in many cases, collective nature is detectable in the collocates *injusticia* “injustice”, *ciudadano* “a citizen”, *pública* “public”, *general*

“general”, *popular* “people's”, *internacional* “international”, *entre* “among”. Metaphorically, *indignación* is conceptualised as a living thing / an organism that can be woken up, raised / lifted and that can grow (*despertar; levantar; crecer*). This emotion word also collocates with *dolor* “pain” and emotion words *rabia* “anger”, *tristeza* “sadness”, *impotencia* “powerlessness”, *asombro* “astonishment”, *perplejidad* “perplexity”, *sorpresa* “surprise”, *miedo* “fear”, *estupor* “amazement”, *vergüenza* “shame”, *desprecio* “contempt”, *odio* “hatred” and *angustia* “anguish”.

Furia

Furia has weighty reasons: an accident at a factory, a critical article in a newspaper, 'indecent' TV content, political / ideological differences, spending too much money, a war conflict, etc.

It can be a collective feeling, e.g. village inhabitants vs. the authorities, members of the Parliament vs. a programme of a private TV channel / its owner, Palestine citizens vs. Israel. It can also be experienced individually, especially when the experiencer has a certain power status, e.g. a politician vs. a newspaper journalist / his article, a representative of a party vs. an adversary party, a husband vs. his wife. Thoughts articulated in examples were “They are lying to us”, “How dares (s)he!”, “This is unfair”. The typical scenario entails acknowledgement of the facts that cause violent *discontent*, followed by a vehement reaction (aggressive behaviour, shouting, attacking, beating and, in the worst case, homicide). The actions can result in fear /concern on the part of the causer.

Metaphorically, *furia* is conceptualised as an animal who can be *ciego* “blind”, *despertado* “woken up”, *desatado* “unleashed” and *detenido* “stopped”. *Furia* is associated with unrestrained violence and intimidation: *ruido* “noise”, *contra* “against”, *homicida* “murderer”, *ataque* “attack”, *golpear* “to beat”, *espantable* “scary”, *incontenible* “unstoppable”, *provocar* “to provoke”, *grito* “cry”, *dolor* “pain”, *destrutivo* “destructive”, *descargar* “to discharge”, *terror* “terror”, *temer* “to fear”, *terrible* “terrible”. Moreover, *furia* collocates with *dios* “god”.

Ira “rage”, *rabia* “anger”, *odio* “hatred”, *enojo* “mild anger”, *resentimiento* “resentment”, *ansiedad* “anxiety”, *miedo* “fear”, but also *pasión* “passion” and *amor* “love” are collocates of *furia*.

Cabreo

Cabreo's characteristic trait is its expressiveness. It can be *monumental* "enourmous" and it entails complaints, exclamations and *bronca* "reprimands". A failure to conclude an economic agreement between the workers and the management of an enterprise, poor film quality, the need to give explanations to the Supreme Court, closing of a factory, a difficult political situation, a politician's private conversation recording made public, favouring one museum instead of some 'better' ones, are just some of the antecedents of *cabreo*, found in the corpus. Violation of the experiencer's right to do or to have something and the thoughts “Things could be done better”, “Other people are wrong” lie at the core of the emotion. In the *cabreo's* scenario the experiencer expects some solution to the problem but can't see one.

Irritación

Irritación can be evoked by trivial events, e.g. by unnecessary discussions, poor service, low quality film, having to wait in a queue, minor political differences, unfair portrayal in a TV programme / in a biography, disregard of the royal protocol, etc. The typical scenario of *irritación* entails observation of the situation, gradual loss of patience and, as a consequence, nervousness.

Molestarse / molesto

Low quality TV programmes, people's stupidity, political remarks (because of some ideological differences), two actresses compared with one another, accusations of

cheating, can make somebody feel *molesto*. Usually, the tone of voice and the experiencer's facial expression convey this emotion and the parallel thought "This is nonsense".

Translation equivalents of *obida* "offence"

Ofensa

Any violation of social norms or personal disrespect can cause *ofensa*, e.g. non-acceptance of one's hospitality, others' doubts about one's professional capacities or unacceptable content of the media (humiliating or degrading). The experiencer can think: "They violate social norms" or "They don't respect me / put me in a lower (social) position; It makes me feel belittled as compared to the others". *Ofensa* collocates with *masculino* "masculine", *hombre* "man", *respetar* "to respect", *rascista* "racist", *manía* "strong antipathy" and *molestarse* "to get annoyed / offended". *Ofensa* manifests itself in spontaneous verbal reaction. Otherwise, one can also recognise *ofensa* by the experiencer's tone of voice and facial expression.

Dolido

Getting fired, no gratitude, not enough attention, not enough respect can cause this emotion. The experiencer can think: "They don't love me, I'm alone / lonely, That is sad". The *sad* facial expression and tears are typical signs of *dolido*. The word collocates with *corazon* "heart", *falta de un cariño* "lack of affection", *soledad* "loneliness", *sinceramente* "sincerely", *golpeado* "beaten up", *confusión* "confusion", *miedo* "fear", *afecto* "affection", *tristeza* "sadness" and *melancolía* "melancholy".

Resentimiento

Partner's unfair portrayal in media, criticism, suspect of corruption, a failure of a theatre play instead of its success, not mentioning something important to the experiencer, one's expulsion from the army, made redundant at work, provoke *resentimiento*. The main idea is that what is happening is subjectively unfair and is interpreted by the experiencer as a sign of disrespect. No visible reaction, apart from an unfriendly attitude, can be observed. *Odio* “hate”, *enfado* “annoyance”, *envidia* “envy”, *rabia* “anger”, *enojo* “mild anger”, *ira* “rage”, *rencor* “a grudge / rancour”, *impotencia* “powerlessness”, *frustración* “frustration”, *furia* “fury” and *cólera* “rage” collocate with *resentimiento*. Hostility, blaming others, and general *discontent* also constitute *resentimiento*.

Rencor

Recent historic / political events, long standing family problems, the partner's betrayal, and other negative life episodes can cause *rencor*. It can be experienced in an unexpressed or expressed way, through a hostile behaviour and accusations. It can have no outcome or it can lead to vengeance on the part of the experiencer. The main idea behind *rencor* is “That is unfair, and I hate this”. *Odio* “hate”, *resentimiento* “resentment”, *envidia* “envy”, *rabia* “anger”, *enojo* “mild anger”, *ira* “fury” and *cólera* “rage” collocate with *rencor*. The themes of pain and forgiveness are present. Plus, it is metaphorically conceptualised as goods that can be obtained, kept and accumulated.

6.4.4.4. Discussion of the results

Antecedents and place

All the salient emotion words in Spanish, apart from *enfado*, *cabreo* and *irritación*, refer to emotional states evoked by objectively negative events. The experiencing of the

emotions can take place both in private and in public space. The notion of unfairness, humiliation, weakness, losing patience and simultaneously one's own *impotence* dominate the antecedents.

People involved

Irritación and *molesto* occupy a neutral power position. *Enfado*, *cabreo* and *indignación* presuppose an equal power status. *Rabia*, *frustración* and *impotencia*, on the other hand, indicate a lower power status of the experiencer, whereas *ira* and *furia* imply a higher power status of the experiencer. Most emotions, except *rabia*, *enfado* and *irritación*, can be experienced collectively.

Possible scenario and visual/audio expression

Only *ira* and *furia* presuppose unrestrained violent actions. *Indignación*, in its turn, involves vehement verbal reaction. Waiting for the situation to be rectified and gradually losing patience are common scenario stages for the less expressive emotions. *Enfado*, *cabreo* and *molesto* are expressed through the tone of voice, facial expression and verbal expression of *discontent*.

Collocations and associations

Most salient Spanish emotion words of *other-directed discontent* collocate with *contra*, *ola*, *descargar*, *provocar*, *lleno*, *profundo*, *grande* and *mucho*. *Decepción* “disappointment” collocates with low or equal status emotion words, i.e. *enfado*, *frustración*, *impotencia*. *Odio* “hatred”, *amor* “love”/ *deseo* “desire”, *vergüenza* “shame”, *miedo* “fear” and *dolor* “pain” collocate with intense emotions, such as *rabia*, *ira*, *furia*, *frustración*, *impotencia*, *indignación* (although *indignación* lacks an *amor* collocation). Animal traits can be observed in *rabia*, whereas religious / patriarchal

influence can be detected in *ira*, *fury* and *impotencia*.

In general, the most frequent collocations with other emotions include terms of *desperation* / *powerlessness* (10), *miedo* / *temor* “fear” (7), *odio* “hatred” (6), *amor* “love” / *deseo* “desire” (6), *tristeza* “sadness” (6), *dolor* “pain (5)” and *angustia* “anguish” (4). As for *other-directed discontent*, its internalised forms, i.e. *rabia* “anger” (6), *resentimiento* “resentment” (5) and *frustración* “frustration” (4), are the prevalent ones in collocations.

Thoughts involved, subtextual discourse

After having analysed antecedents, collocations and parallel thoughts involved in construction of the emotive events, one can observe two main subtextual discourses. The first one is influenced by Christian values and morality. Patience is one of its pillars and propagates that one should endure unpleasant things / hardships, although only to some extent. There is a certain (time or quantity) limit, when *dolor* “pain” becomes unbearable. In addition, people are expected to be good, fair, respectful and to tell the truth. If someone thinks differently, (s)he is wrong. Moral justification gives 'licence' to a violently expressed *discontent*, especially if the experiencers are representatives of a large group of people or are otherwise authorised (e.g. *ira/furia popular* “people's fury/rage”, *santa ira* “holy wrath”, *furia divina* “divine wrath”).

The second discourse is rooted in the patriarchal order. It conceptualises (masculine) strength as good and superior and weakness as bad and inferior. Action is seen as expression of strength and power, whereas no action is considered to be a sign of weakness. Therefore, active position in life is the best position. Plus, the more and better actions one makes, the more power and the higher social status one obtains. This logic of high expectations for one's own actions / performance and for the actions of others, leads to perfectionism and often to disappointment. Life complexity is bad, as it makes acting more complicated. Moreover, when someone or something blocks one's actions, it is unbearable. *Frustración* “frustration” and *impotencia* “powerlessness” are motivated by this subtext.

Translation equivalents of *obida*

Ofensa is caused by objectively offensive actions (e.g. racist remarks or any other form of personal disrespect and dislike), whereas *resentimiento* and *rencor* are evoked by perceived, subjective unfairness and result in hatred and thirst for vengeance. *Dolido*, on the other hand, is triggered by the lack of *affection* and results in *sadness*. It is a very physical experience.

All the words are motivated by the logic that showing disrespect means lowering the social / power position of the experiencer and, thus, making him / her feel belittled as compared to the others. Experiencing *ofensa*, *resentimiento* and *rencor* presupposes seeing the causer as an opponent who needs to be punished, whereas *dolido* implies the wish of being reconciled with the causer.

Schematic representation of *other-directed discontent*

To sum up, the lexis can be organised schematically, according to the results of the analysis. It is represented in the table below.

Table 19: Usage-based classification of the Spanish emotion words of *other-directed discontent*

	patience limit not reached	patience limit reached	
	no need to act (neutral power position)	impossible to act (powerless position)	possible to act (empowerment)
low intensity	molesto, irritación		enfado
medium intensity	dolido	frustración, resentimiento	cabreo, ofensa
high intensity		rabia, impotencia, rencor	ira, furia, indignación

6.4.5. Russian-Spanish/Spanish-Russian parallel corpus study

6.4.5.1. Introductory comments

The Russian-Spanish / Spanish-Russian parallel corpus of the RNC consists of literary texts and newspaper articles dating from the 19th, 20th and the 21st centuries. The corpus contains fewer examples (entries) than the Russian-English / English-Russian parallel corpus. Nevertheless, the examples provide sufficient comparative information on the mapping tendencies of *other-directed discontent* in Russian and Spanish. The only specific search parameter was the date of text edition (1950), although earlier entries were also accepted when the number of examples was not representative enough. First, Spanish translation for the salient Russian words of *discontent* was found. Then, Russian translation for the salient Spanish words of *discontent* was found, respectively. Moreover, the Spanish translation equivalents of *obida* (*ofensa*, *rencor* and *resentimiento*) and *obida*'s close synonyms (*oskorblenie* and *dosada*) were taken through the same process. Finally, after extracting all the translation equivalents from the search results, the collected data was organised in tables, counted and analysed.

6.4.5.2. Results

The general tendency in Russian expression of emotions is describing the actions which are caused by emotions. Verbs and adverbs of manner used with verbs of action are preferable parts of speech. It is also common to use emotion verbs as locutionary verbs. For instance, the following translation equivalents show the active / observable part of the Russian emotions: *zlit'sya* “*gritar venenosamente*”, *serdit'sya* “*exclamar disgustado*” / “*responder furioso*”, *vzbesit'* “*provocar una reacción violentísima*”, *vozmushchat'sya* “*tratar de impedir algo*”, *gnev* “*las represalias*”. The tendency to express visible signs / external manifestation of emotional experience can also be seen in an example, when *rencor* “*rancour*” is translated as *razdrazhenie* “*irritation*”, as *irritation* is an observable state, and *rencor* is a more abstract emotion word. The most

frequent translation equivalents are listed in table 20.

Table 20: The most frequent translation equivalents of discontent-related terms in the Russian-Spanish / Spanish-Russian parallel corpus

emotion word	the most frequent translation equivalents
<i>razdrazhenie</i>	<i>irritación</i>
<i>besit'</i>	<i>dar rabia</i>
<i>zlost'</i>	<i>rabia</i>
<i>zloy</i>	<i>enfadarse</i>
<i>serdit'sya</i>	<i>estar furioso</i>
<i>gnev</i>	<i>furia, rabia, ira, cólera</i>
<i>vozmushchenie</i>	<i>indignación</i>
<i>yarost'</i>	<i>rabia, furia</i>
<i>nenavist'</i>	<i>odio</i>
<i>obida</i>	<i>ofensa</i>
<i>ofensa</i>	<i>oskorblenie, obida</i>
<i>oskorblenie</i>	<i>un insulto, ofensa</i>
<i>resentimiento</i>	<i>obida</i>
<i>rencor</i>	<i>zloba</i>
<i>dosada</i>	<i>disgusto, irritación</i>
<i>disgusto</i>	<i>ssora, ogorchenie</i>
<i>nedovol'stvo</i>	<i>disgusto, displicente, quejoso</i>
<i>descontento</i>	<i>nedovol'nyj</i>
<i>molestarse / molesto</i>	<i>razdrazhenie</i>
<i>rabia</i>	<i>beshenstvo, zlost', yarost'</i>
<i>ira</i>	<i>yarost'</i>
<i>enfadarse</i>	<i>serdit'sya, obidet'sya</i>
<i>enfado</i>	<i>gnev, razdrazhenie</i>
<i>irritación</i>	<i>razdrazhenie</i>
<i>indignación</i>	<i>negodovanie, vozmushchenie</i>
<i>impotencia</i>	<i>bessilie</i>
<i>furia</i>	<i>yarost'</i>
<i>frustración</i>	<i>razocharovanie</i>

Most examples were found for *obida* (48), *zlost'* (30) and *yarost'* (26), fewer for *razdrazhenie* (20) and *vozmushchenie* (20). As for Spanish emotion words of *discontent*, *furia* (52), *irritación* (37) , *indignación* (33) and *rabia* (32) occupy the leading positions.

6.4.5.3. Discussion of the results

One can see that *yarost'* is the most frequent Russian translation equivalent for Spanish high intensity emotion words of *discontent*. *Razdrazhenie* is used three times for low-intensity emotion words. As for Spanish, *rabia* and *furia* are the most frequent translation equivalents of Russian words of *discontent*. Interestingly, *rabia* and *furia* are mapped not only to high-intensity emotional situations but also to the Russian words which are considered medium-intensity emotion words. This could mean either that in a similar situation a Spanish speaking person would use a high-intensity emotion word or that the medium intensity level which is predominant in Russian (*serdit'sya*, *zlost'*, *obida*), does not have an exact equivalent in the Spanish conceptualisation of *discontent*.

As for *obida's* translation equivalents (*ofensa*, *resentimiento*, *rencor*, *molesto* and *tomar a mal*), the following conclusions can be made: 1) *ofensa* is the most frequent translation equivalent of *obida*, but in reverse translation it is more comparable to *oskorblenie* and *zadevat'* “to touch to the quick” than to *obida*.

- *resentimiento* can be both translated as *obida* and as *zloba*,
- *rencor* is equivalent to the Russian *zloba* and even *nenavist'*
- *molesto* can be translated as *obidet'sya* but it can also mean general *discontent*
- *tomar a mal* can also be translated as *obidet'sya* and to be generally displeased, not accepting the situation

Obida is also present in translation examples of *enfadarse*, *rabia* and *furia*. And, respectively, the latter words are possible translations for *obida*.

Translation examples of *enfadarse* demonstrate, apart from the word's high salience in

Spanish, the Russian hierarchical system in conceptualization of *discontent*. *Enfadarse* can be translated as *obidet'sya* when speaking about a friend, an acquaintance. *Serdit'sya* is used only when the person is higher in social hierarchy and/or the reason is justified, a mild version of *gnev*. When the reason is trivial, *razdrazhenie* is used. When the experiencer has power, *gnev* is the best option. *Zlit'* as a more intensive form of *razdrazhat'* (physical irritation), is typically attributed to a male person. For instance, *stat' zlym*, when speaking about a boss, renders to him some animalistic features and thus implies feelings of *fear* and *hostility*. Moreover, *enfadarse* also has the additional meaning of *boredom*, which is not included in the Russian conceptualization of *discontent*.

Similarly, there is a mismatch between Spanish translation equivalents of *gnev* (*furia*, *rabia*, *ira*, *cólera*) and the Spanish emotion words translated as *gnev* (*enfado*). Its archaic and high power status connotations, its moral stance make *gnev* unpopular as a translation equivalent.

There is no exact equivalent for *frustration* in Russian. This emotion is very difficult to render into Russian. It is dispersed and only alluded to in such emotion words as *nervnyj* “nervous”, *perezhivat'* “to worry”, *zlit'sya na sebya* “to be angry with oneself”, *dosadnyj* “vexing”, *obidno* “such a pity / it is hurting”, etc. or such expressions as *chuvstvovat' sebya neudachnikom* “to consider oneself a loser”, *terpet' neudachu* “to suffer a set-back”, *Ne povezlo!* “(lit.) bad luck, That is tough!”

Zlost' and *obida* are very prolific. Russian emotion words have more derivatives, Spanish emotion words have more synonyms.

In conclusion, the following observations can be made. Emotions are conceptualised mostly as actions in Russian and slightly more as states in Spanish. Although most emotion words have standard translation equivalents that can be found in a dictionary, there are some mismatches caused by contextual inadequacy. For instance, mapping emotion words to specific situations can lead to shifts in intensity (e.g. *serdit'sya* translated as *estar furioso*) and semantic shifts (e.g. *enfadarse* translated as *obida*). This fact shows the differences between Russian and Spanish emotional intensity (low or high intensity words prevailing in Spanish and medium-intensity emotion words dominating in Russian emotional utterances), and the cultural differences in lexical

choices (motivated by social hierarchy in Russian and by emotional adequacy, importance of the situation in Spanish). As was expected, *obida* (and also *zlost'*) are such a vast and salient subconcept of *discontent* in Russian that it can be translated not only by its dictionary equivalents but also as *rabia* or *furia* in order to adequately map the described situations in Spanish.

6.5. Summary

According to the results of the onomasiological analysis, the most frequent emotion words in Spanish are *amor* “love”, *querer* “to love / to want”, *miedo* “fear”, *esperanza* “hope”, *sorpresa* “surprise”, *culpa* “guilt”, *preocupación* “worry”, *alegría* “joy”, *temor* “fear / awe”. The most frequent words of *other-directed discontent* are *rabia* “anger”, “rage” and *ira* “anger / fury”. The following *other-directed discontent* words were included in our study: *rabia* “anger”, *enfado* “annoyance”, *ira* “anger / wrath”, *indignación* “indignation”, *cabreo* “anger”, *molesta* “annoyance”, *frustración* “frustration”, *irritación* “irritation”, *furia* “fury / rage” and *impotencia* “powerlessness”. In addition, Spanish translation equivalents of Russian *obida* “roughly, offence” were also included in the study, because of *obida*'s salience in Russian.

Then, we conducted a semasiological study with the selected lexical items, based on lexicographical data. For every emotion word the following information was searched: its etymology, its lexical meaning, its derivatives, its speech act combinatory options, its metaphorical meaning and phraseological expressions related to the word, its synonyms and antonyms. All the selected terms are of Latin origin. The prevailing theme is illness, misfortune, pain, trouble, something unpleasant.

As for the lexical meaning, there are five aspects that drew our attention: polysemy (e.g. *rabia*, *cólera*, *irritación*, *molesto*, *resentimiento*), vagueness (e.g. *molesto*), connection between emotional and physical pain (e.g. *rabiarse de dolor*, *molestar*, *resentir*, *irritar*, *dolido*, *resquemor*, etc.), the element of *boredom* in the semantics of such words as *enfado*, *molesto*, *cabreo*, and the theme of *powerlessness* (e.g. *frustración*). One can notice the metaphor “anger is a container” (e.g. *contener la rabia*), “anger is a burden”

(e.g. *descargar la rabia*), “anger is an opponent” (e.g. *ataque de rabia*) or “anger is possession” (e.g. *tener la rabia*). In addition, general tendency to magnify emotions can be observed in collocations: *enorme*, *descomunal*, *mayúsculo*, *monumental*, etc. In reference to synonyms of the *discontent*-like terms, one should mention the presence of *odio* among synonyms of *rabia* and *rencor*, and of *boredom*-like words among synonyms of *enfado*, *molesto* and *cabreo*. There are clearly three main antonyms for almost all the analysed *discontent* terms: calmness, patience and tolerance, although, *enfado* "annoyance" is opposed to *diversión* "fun" and *placer* "pleasure", and *frustración* "frustration" is opposed to *triumfo* "triumph".

After concluding the meaning-based analysis of the *other-directed discontent* in Spanish, we continued with the usage-based analysis of the lexical items. Both 'active / external' and 'passive / internal' types of *discontent* are present, with prevalence of the 'active' *discontent*. All the most frequent emotion terms of *discontent* imply either *other-directed* or *self-directed* violence (verbal or physical). The social parameter, in this case whether the offender is a close friend / relative or not, plays an important role in intensity and the type of emotion (*enfado* “annoyance”, *resentimiento* “resentment” or *molesto* “annoyed / offended”). In addition, loss of power and predisposition to experiencing *discontent* influence considerably the possible reaction.

As the results of the detailed corpus study have shown, the notion of unfairness, humiliation, weakness, losing patience and simultaneously one's own *impotence* dominate the antecedents of *other-directed discontent*. Only *ira* and *furia* presuppose unrestrained violent actions, apart from *indignación* which involves vehement verbal reaction. Waiting for the situation to be rectified and gradually losing patience are common scenario stages for the less expressive emotions.

In general, the most frequent collocations with other emotions include terms of *desesperación* "desperation /powerlessness" (10), *miedo* / *temor* "fear" (7), *odio* "hatred" (6), *amor* "love" / *deseo* "desire" (6), *tristeza* "sadness" (6), *dolor* "pain" (5) and *angustia* "anguish" (4).

After having analysed antecedents, collocations and parallel thoughts involved in construction of the emotive events, one can observe two main subtextual discourses. The first one is influenced by Christian values and morality, such as patience and

goodness, and propagates that one should endure unpleasant things / hardships, although only to some extent. The second discourse, rooted in patriarchal order, postulates action as expression of strength and power, whereas no action is considered to be a sign of weakness. Therefore, when someone or something blocks one's actions, it is unbearable. *Frustración* “frustration” and *impotencia* “powerlessness” are motivated by this subtext.

Although most emotion words have standard translation equivalents, mapping emotion words to specific situations can lead to shifts in intensity (e.g. *serdit'sya* translated as “estar furioso”) and to semantic shifts (e.g. *rabia*, *furia* and *enfadarse* translated as “obida”).

7. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE DATA: SIMILARITIES AND MISMATCHES IN RUSSIAN, ENGLISH AND SPANISH DISCONTENT

7.1. Introduction

The objective of chapter 7 is to compare the results obtained in our separate studies of Russian, English and Spanish *other-directed discontent*. In particular, the results of the onomasiological, semasiological and discursive analyses in three languages are summarised and contrasted.

7.2. Onomasiological semantic analysis of *other-directed discontent* in Russian, English and Spanish

7.2.1. Terms of *other-directed discontent* in lexical syllabi

In the Russian syllabus, the adjective *zloi* is present at the level A2. This word is translated in the syllabus as “angry/evil” in English, and “malo” (“bad / evil”) in Spanish. Verbs *obizhat'* “to offend” and *obizhat'sya* “to take offence” are included in the syllabus for the B1-level.

In the English syllabus, the adjective “angry” is included at the level A2.

Textbooks of Spanish as a foreign language A1-B1 include *enfadado* “angry/annoyed” (A1-A2), *enfadarse* “to become angry/annoyed” and *enfado* “anger/annoyance” (B1) as the only discontent-related terms.

Thus, there are different salient words of other-directed discontent in all three languages.

7.2.2. Frequency charts of emotion words

The most frequent emotion words in Russian are *lyubit'* “to love”, *lyubov'* “love”, *boyat'sya* “to be afraid”, *interes* “interest”, *chuvstvovat'* “to feel”, *chuvstvo* “feeling”, *nravit'sya* “to like”, *nadezhda* “hope”, *schast'ye* “happiness”, *radost'* “joy”. The most frequent discontent-related concepts are *obida* “offence”, *gnev* “wrath/anger” and *razdrazhenie* “irritation”.

The most frequent emotion words in English are: *to love, to enjoy, love, happy, to suffer, sorry, fear, hope, to worry, to hate*. The most frequent words of *other-directed discontent* are *angry* and *anger*, followed by *mad*.

The most frequent emotion words in Spanish are *amor* “love”, *querer* “to love / to want”, *miedo* “fear”, *esperanza* “hope”, *sorpresa* “surprise”, *culpa* “guilt”, *preocupación* “worry”, *alegría* “joy”, *temor* “fear / awe”. The most frequent words of *other-directed discontent* are *rabia* “anger / rage” and *ira* “anger / fury”.

Therefore, one can conclude that the lists of most frequent emotion words in all three languages are similar, although *fear* is missing from the English list, *pleasure, happy, hate* from the Spanish one, *worry* and *surprise* are not on the Russian list. *Sadness, loneliness* and *guilt* are specific for Spanish. Moreover, the most frequent words of *other-directed discontent* are different in all three languages.

7.2.2.1. Lists of the selected lexical items

Selected words of *other-directed discontent* in Russian are *razdrazhenie* “irritation”, *zlost'* “anger”, *obida* “resentment”, *serdit'sya* “to be angry”, *nervnichat'* “to get nervous / irritated”, *gnev* “justified anger / wrath”, *dosada* “vexation”, *oskorblenie* “offence”, *yarost'* “fury”, *beshenstvo* “fury, rage”, *vozmushchenie* “indignation”.

Selected words of *other-directed discontent* in English are *anger, mad, frustration, fury, rage, annoyance, irritation, indignation*.

Selected words of *other-directed discontent* in Spanish are *rabia* “anger”, *enfado* “annoyance”, *ira* “anger / wrath”, *indignación* “indignation”, *cabreo* “anger”, *molesta*

“annoyance”, *frustración* “frustration”, *irritación* “irritation”, *furia* “fury / rage” and *impotencia* “powerlessness”.

Additionally, English and Spanish translation equivalents of 'обида' *obida* have been chosen. English equivalents are *resentment*, *insulted*, *offended*, *a grudge* and *hurt feelings*. Spanish equivalents are *resentimiento* “resentment” *rencor* “rancour / a grudge” and *ofensa* “offence”.

The lists are quite similar, although *obida* is a specific term of Russian other-directed discontent and *impotencia* is a specific term of Spanish *other-directed discontent*.

7.3. Semasiological semantic analysis of *other-directed discontent* in Russian, English and Spanish

7.3.1. Etymology

All the studied Russian terms of discontent are of Slavic origin. Originally, many terms used to mean "rotten, demolish, ill luck, sin, bad, mean, low, heart as a place of feelings, to disturb, to bother, hot, fiery, violent, to tease, demon, causing fear, frightful, not looking".

Etymological study of English terms showed that only '*anger*' and '*mad*' (and probably '*grudge*' and '*hurt*') have Germanic roots. These are also the most common terms used. All the other *discontent*-related terms come from Latin via French. The leitmotif in the words of Germanic origin is 'suffering, pain, distress, injury', and also 'sorrow, complaint'. In the terms of Latin origin the meaning of 'displeasure, hatred' as a feeling, and 'disrespect, aggressive behaviour' as a reaction, were already present from the onset. All Spanish terms are of Latin origin. The prevailing theme is 'illness, misfortune, pain, trouble, something unpleasant'. Many terms already in Latin had their present-day meaning.

All three languages have the theme of “something negative, something bad for one's health”. Interestingly, words of Germanic origin do not historically include the theme of

“violence”. This can explain to some extent the popularity of '*anger*' in English, as compared to '*wrath*'. Finally, only Russian has no loan words among the most frequent terms of *other-directed discontent*. The fact that one can still trace back the origin of some word's meaning can play a role in the modern day perception of the word and in the lexical choices that people make.

7.3.2. Lexical meaning

According to the lexical meaning, one can observe the following characteristics of *discontent* in all three languages:

- There is an external (*yarost'*, *vozmuschenie*, *gnev*, *rage*, *ira*) and internal (*obizhat'sya*, *zlit'sya*, *frustration*, *resentment*, *molesto*) form of discontent.
- There are semantic nuances which dictate the lexical choice, e.g. whether there is social or personal injustice taking place (*indignación* vs. *resentimiento*), or some goals cannot be achieved (*frustration*), etc. However, some Spanish emotion terms are polysemic, mostly defining a disease or some general health condition (e.g. *rabia*, *cólera*, *irritación*, *molesto*, *resentimiento*), or simply rather vague, e.g. *molesto* can mean “angry”, “annoyed”, “bothered”, “uneasy”, “uncomfortable” and also “offended”. There is a visible connection between emotional and physical pain in Spanish, e.g. *rabiar de dolor*, *molestar*, *resentir*, *irritar*, *dolido*, *resquemor*, etc. The same can be said about *hurt*, the English translation equivalent of *obida*.
- The intensity of discontent can vary in all three languages: 1) the low degree of intensity (*dosadovat'*, *razdrazhat'sya*, *to be annoyed*, *enfadarse*), 2) the medium degree (*serdit'sya*, *zlit'sya*, *get angry*, *enfadarse*), 3) high intensity (*vozmushchat'sya*, *negodovat'*, *gnevat'sya*, *rage*, *fury*, *rabia*, *ira*), 4) the most intensive (*besit'sya*, *prihodit' v yarost'*, *fury*, *ira*). In English, though, the type of reaction and to some extent its intensity depends on the 'legal' right of the experiencer to be discontented. In Russian, a slightly comparable logic can be observed in the distinction between a significant cause of *discontent* (*gnevat'sya*,

negodovat', vozmushchat'sya), an insignificant cause (*dosadovat', razdrazhat'sya*) or both (*serdit'sya, zlit'sya, obizhat'sya*).

Specific characteristics of discontent are:

- In English, *discontent* can be divided into basic, secondary and tertiary terms. This distinction is based on the complexity of the terms in question. In Russian, on the other hand, *discontent* can be divided into primary, animalistic *discontent* (*zlost', razdrazhenie, beshenstvo*) and cultural, rational type of *discontent* (*gnev, vozmushchenie, nedovol'stvo* etc.). This division is based on the distinction between high cognitive and low cognitive appraisal (see Izard, 1991; Apresjan, 2000; Ortony, 1995). Therefore, the form of expression also depends on the complexity and the level of cognitivity of the discontent, e.g. *beshenstvo, zlost', razdrazhenie, serdit'sya, yarost'* are possible without words, whereas *vozmushchenie, gnev, negodovanie* require a compulsory verbal expression.
- Moreover, one can divide Russian *discontent*-words into high, spiritual ones and low, profane ones, depending on their relation to the notion of *dusha* “soul”.
- The distinction between interpersonal *discontent* (*gnev, obida*) and general *discontent* (*zlit'sya, estar enfadado*) has been observed only in Russian and Spanish.
- Finally, one encounters the element of 'boredom' in the semantics of such Spanish words as *enfado, molesto, cabreo*. The theme of 'powerlessness' is also present in some Spanish lexical definitions, e.g. *frustración*.

7.3.3. Derivatives and combinatory possibilities

As was expected, the salient terms of Russian discontent, i.e. *obida*, have many derivatives.

In English, however, there are only 2-3 derivatives per term. This scarcity of derivatives can be attributed to the general tendency that derivation is not a preferred way of vocabulary replenishment in English.

In Spanish, all the terms have derivatives, but some terms are more productive than the others. For instance, *irritación* has the highest number of derivatives (7), followed by *furia* (6) and *enfado* (5).

On the other hand, *rabia*, *ira* and *frustración* have many combinatory possibilities. Therefore, one should have both derivative and combinatory tendencies in mind when judging the salience of emotion terms.

Another important evidence that collocations provide is the metaphorical conceptualisation of emotions. *Anger* collocations both in Russian, English and Spanish reflect the metaphorical conceptualisation of the *other-directed discontent*. In Russian, e.g. "anger is a container, anger is fire, anger is insanity, anger is a place / a destination". In Spanish, one can notice the metaphor "anger is a container" (e.g. *contenir la rabia*), "anger is a burden" (e.g. *descargar la rabia*), "anger is an opponent" (e.g. *ataque de rabia*) or "anger is possession" (e.g. *tener la rabia*).

In addition, general tendency to magnify emotions can be observed in Spanish collocations: *enorme*, *descomunal*, *mayúsculo*, *monumental*, etc. In English, collocations also show the depth of the emotion and its association with pain: '*deep / profound / fierce anger*', '*angry and wounded / hurt*', etc. Combinatory possibilities of other emotion terms have similar characteristics, but their collocations also add specific connotations of meaning, e.g. 'bitter' or 'sullen' for *resentment*, 'savage, blind, violent, ungovernable' for *rage*; 'savage, unbridled' for *fury*; 'righteous, public' for *indignation*. Also the durability of the emotion, its intensity is expressed through different collocations not only in Russian, but also in English and Spanish.

A specific feature of the Russian language is the fusion of emotion terms with action verbs, which renders more dynamism to emotional experience, represents emotions as actions. e.g. *hodit' zlym / obizhennym* "to go angry / offended". *Vozmushchenie* "indignation" is typically combined with the reason of the emotion. Especially *obida* has many combinatory possibilities: it can be weighed, measured, quantified, etc.

7.3.4. Synonyms and antonyms

After having observed the synonyms of the '*discontent*'-terms, one can conclude that English and Spanish have a vast array of specific emotion words denoting '*discontent*'. Most of the synonyms are interchangeable, which is true for all three languages, e.g. '*anger*' is considered to be a synonym of '*resentment*' and '*resentment*' is often listed as a synonym of '*anger*'.

At the same time, synonyms can also reveal semantic nuances of emotion terms. For instance, '*malice*' and '*jealousy*' are listed as synonyms of '*resentment*', '*madness*' can stand for '*rage*', and '*failure*' represents '*frustration*'. In Spanish, '*odio*' is listed among synonyms of *rabia* and *rencor*, and *boredom*-like words can be found among synonyms of *enfado*, *molesto* and *cabreo*.

The most common antonyms of *discontent*-related lexis in Russian are *spokoystvie* "tranquility", *mir* "peace" and slightly less *radost'* "joy". Common antonyms for most '*discontent*' terms in English are '*calm*' and '*pleased*'. As for Spanish, there are three main antonyms for almost all analysed *anger* terms: '*calmness*', '*patience*' and '*tolerance*'. Interestingly, *enfado* "annoyance", the basic *anger* term, is opposed to *diversión* "fun" and *placer* "pleasure". As was expected, *frustración* "frustration" is opposed to *triunfo* "triumph".

Observing the Russian and Spanish antonyms, one can see that the main stress is put on the damage to external (and internal) peace and order, as well as to interpersonal relations. Interestingly, the antonym *mir* "peace" implies friendly relationship and thus sharing similar values with others, whereas *tolerancia* implies being patient with others but not necessarily accepting their life views. In English, as compared, only personal well-being (*calm* or *pleased*) is implied.

7.3.5. Translation equivalents of *obida*

Obida is often claimed to be a unique, culture-specific Russian concept. Nevertheless, the general conclusion can be made that translation equivalents of Russian *obida* not

only exist in both English and Spanish, but that there are much more numerous specific terms denoting this emotion in English and Spanish, as compared to Russian. Still, the uniqueness of *obida* can be explained by its extremely high frequency and salience in Russian discourse and the relatively low frequency of its English and Spanish translation equivalents. Moreover, none of the translation equivalents coincide completely with *obida* at the semantic level.

7.3.6. Metaphors of *other-directed discontent*

Most metaphors coincide in Russian, English and Spanish. The only difference is the salience of certain metaphors. For instance, fire and other elements are very prominent in Russian metaphorical conceptualisation of *other-directed discontent*. The metaphor 'anger is hot fluid in a container' is the central *anger* metaphor in English. As for Spanish, the three most salient conceptual metaphors of discontent are 'the possessed object', 'the opponent', and 'the substance in a container'.

7.4. Usage-based discursive analysis of *other-directed discontent*

7.4.1. Social component and prototypical scenarios of *other-directed discontent*

The social status is crucial for choosing an adequate *discontent*-like word in Russian. The 'cause', i.e. the antecedent that leads to *other-directed discontent*, is very important in English. In Spanish, the social role of the offender, say if it is a family member or a friend, plays a certain role when choosing a word of *discontent*. But generally, it is the feature of the Spanish language expressivity which influences the manifestation of *discontent*.

The prototypical scenarios in all three languages are similar.

7.4.2. Provisional referential profiles of salient terms of *other-directed discontent*

After having analysed the data and created the provisional referential profiles for Russian, English and Spanish terms of *other-directed discontent*, the following comparative remarks can be made:

First of all, the results show that power relations are crucial for the lexical choice when expressing *other-directed discontent* in Russian, i.e. *discontent*-like words are chosen according to the age and the social status of both the experiencer and the wrong-doer. In English, on the contrary, the social status has proved to be mostly irrelevant in the construction of referential profiles. Although, *resentment* and *rage* do have a negative correlation with the social status and associated lack of power of the experiencer. The social parameter in this case depends on whether the offender is a close friend / relative or not, plays an important role in intensity and the type of emotion in Spanish (*enfado* “annoyance”, *resentimiento* “resentment” or *molesto* “annoyed / offended”). In addition, not the lack but the loss of power and predisposition to experiencing *discontent* considerably affect a possible reaction and future actions.

Second, the results show the decisive role of the offending event / antecedents in the English discourse structure of '*discontent*'. Prototypically, there is always an offender and some type of trespassing. Moreover, the degree of objectivity and justification of *discontent* from the legal point of view makes it socially acceptable, less acceptable or unacceptable. As for Russian and Spanish, the cause, i.e. the antecedent, structures the scenario and the intensity of emotion only to some extent.

Third, all the most frequent Spanish emotion terms of *discontent* imply some sort of violence, even '*frustration*'. The violent acts can be either other-directed or self-directed. As for intensity of English *discontent* terms, only '*fury*' and '*rage*' imply physical violence. As is often the case, *anger* episodes mostly involve verbal manifestation of *discontent*, when legally justified.

Finally, there are three different classifications of *discontent*-like words in Russian: 'rational' vs. 'irrational', 'expressive' vs. 'inexpressive', and 'high', i.e. connected to the

'soul', and 'low', i.e. connected to the 'body'. All three classifications can be applied simultaneously, e.g. *obida* can exemplify a 'high', 'rational' and 'inexpressive' emotion, while *yarost'* stands for a 'low', 'irrational' and 'expressive' emotion. English emotion terms are classified by their basic character: primary, secondary and tertiary emotion terms. Spanish terms of *discontent* are divided into 'active / external' and 'passive / internal' ones. Both 'active / external' and 'passive / internal' types of *discontent* are present in the referential profiles, with prevalence of the 'active' *discontent*.

7.4.3. Qualitative corpus studies of salient terms of *other-directed discontent*

Corpus research of *other-directed discontent* in Russian, English and Spanish has shown that antecedents are universal, but mapping of specific emotion words to them depends on conceptual restraints in respective languages. In other words, position in the social hierarchy of experiencers and causers in Russian and empowerment / powerlessness in English and Spanish postulate which subconcept of *other-directed discontent* is appropriate in a given situation. Empowerment is sanctioned by legal matters in English and by social norms of adequacy in Spanish. Both men and women can experience all types of discontent, although intense emotions, such as *yarost'*, *gnev*, *rage*, *rabia*, *ira* are more associated with men.

Prototypically, Russian *other-directed discontent* is constructed as an interactive activity, and its outcome, i.e. rectification or no rectification of the situation, very much depends on the causer. In English, the experiencer is focused on active rectification of the situation and on controlling his/her emotions. Gradual loss of patience and one's inability to rectify the situation are emphasised in the Spanish prototypical scenario. Unrestrained violence is discouraged in all three languages and is expressed only by one high-frequency lexeme in Russian (*yarost'*) and by two frequent lexemes in English (*rage* and *fury*) and Spanish (*ira* and *furia*).

Collocations can reveal many conceptual nuances of *discontent* in respective languages. First of all, there are many body language collocations in Russian, which fact proves the

social, demonstrative character of *discontent* in this language. Most Spanish emotion words collocate with *ola* “wave”, *descargar* “to discharge”, *provocar* “to provoke”, *lleno* “full”, *profundo* “deep”, that confirms the previous data on metaphorical conceptualisation of *discontent* in Spanish as an opponent and fluid in a vessel. Moreover, Spanish terms of *discontent* can collocate with *pasión* “passion”, *deseo* “desire” and *amor* “love”. Animalistic traits can be observed in all three languages, but religious / patriarchal influence can be detected only in Russian and Spanish. In general, metaphorical conceptualisation of *other-directed discontent* is similar in all three languages, i.e. one can observe the presence of such metaphors as 'an animal', 'a living thing', 'an opponent', 'an illness', 'fluid in a vessel'. Spanish, though, has one peculiar metaphor, i.e. 'a possessed object'.

Collocations with other emotion words shed light on the borders of an emotion concept and its position within the metaconcept EMOTION. As the study results show (see Appendix 7), all three languages generally coincide in their collocations. *Shame, fear, sadness, disappointment, desperation, confusion / surprise* factor and terms of *other-directed discontent* are present in Russian, English and Spanish collocations. Nevertheless, in the '*fear*' section, *anxiety* is also very frequent in English and Spanish, but completely absent in Russian. One can also notice that Spanish has more varieties of negative surprise, disappointment and despair. In addition, *pain*, although present in all three languages, is also more prominent in Spanish. As for *other-directed discontent*, its mild form is more salient in English, and its more intense form, although equally present in all three languages, is more elaborate in Russian and Spanish. The main difference between the languages lies in the absence of *guilt* in both Russian and Spanish (and its presence in English), the absence of *envy* and *joy* in Russian, the absence of *contempt* in English and the presence of *love/desire* in Spanish. *Guilt* is considered to be an individualistic emotion and is, therefore, not very prominent in collectivistic societies. *Contempt* is experienced towards 'weaker' individuals. Thus, according to the English conceptualisation of *discontent* as a means of power negotiation, it makes no sense to be angry at the objects which one despises. *Envy* relates to *dislike*, and *dislike*, although marginally present in the Russian concept of *other-directed discontent*, is not an eminent part of it.

Differences in conceptualisation of *other-directed discontent* and resulting lexical choices come primarily from the subtextual discourses in Russian, English and Spanish. First, one should mention the similarities between the narratives. All three subtexts value *fairness* above all. *Vozmushchenie*, *indignation* and *indignación* share, therefore, most similarities: all of them are caused by the social injustice, include the factor of surprise and shock, which implies the idea of *fairness* being expected. In addition, all three discourses share the 'powerful vs. powerless' dichotomy. However, every language in question accentuates different aspects of power regulation. In Russian, it is the patriarchal social structure and the social status of an individual that gives licence to experiencing *other-directed discontent*. Legal restraints regulate power relations in English. In Spanish, however, ethical norms and the rule of social harmony dictate what type of discontent is appropriate in every situation. Both English and Spanish favour an active life position. Hence, the salience of *obida* in Russian, *anger* in English, *enfado*, *rabia* in Spanish, and *frustration* and *frustración* in English and Spanish, respectively. When looking at the most frequent words in the tables, one can see the general preferences: Russian 'morally justified' *discontent* of the surrounding (*obida*) and 'high intensity' *discontent* (*vozmushchenie*), English 'medium intensity' *discontent* of 'legally justified' cases (*anger*) and 'low intensity' *discontent* of 'legally unjustified' cases (*annoyance*), and Spanish 'low intensity' in 'active' *discontent* (*enfado*) and 'high intensity' in 'internalised' *discontent* (*rabia*).

In reference to the peculiarities of some analysed concepts, the following observations can be made.

First, the salience of *vozmushchenie* has been noted, which surpasses that of *indignation* and *indignación*. In some cases *vozmushchenie* could be compared to *anger*, *rage* and *fury*. The lexical choice is motivated by the need to justify the experiencer, by the positive connotation of *vozmushchenie*, as compared to *yarost'*. *Yarost'* and *zlost'* are 'stigmatised' in Russian for their animalistic and hostile nature. *Vozmushchenie* is not so politicised as *indignation*, but it is the only way to express active *anger* in Russian from the non-power position without being 'an animal'. It is also important to stress the interactive and constructive nature of *vozmushchenie*, its expectation of apology from the causer. It is a form of social negotiation without *hatred*.

Second, there is one main concept ANGER in English, and other words of discontent are subconcepts of the main concept. Therefore, 'anger' can refer both to the concept and to its subconcept.

Third, both *frustration* and *frustración* collocate with *failure / fracas* and *expectations / expectativas*. Nevertheless, *frustration* and *frustración* are not identical. *Frustración* collocates with collectivistic *vergüenza* "shame", whereas *frustration* collocates with individualistic "guilt". Moreover, the subconcept is missing from the Russian naïve picture of the world, as it has a different cultural background. *Failure / fracaso* is a personal unsuccessful venture, there is a verb *to fail / fracasar*, so it's an active intent to do something and it is the person who is 'to blame'. Precisely, that is why it feels so bad. In Russian, however, *neudacha* is an abstract unhappy coincidence, about which the person can be upset but he does not feel responsible for it. Some abstract destiny forces that decide whether the person is lucky or not, are to blame. There is no exact equivalent of *to fail / fracasar*, only *ne smoch'* "not to be able" or even a less personal *ne udat'sya* "to fail". *Ne udat'sya* cannot be used with the Nominative case pronoun *ya* "I", only with its Dative case version *mne* "to me", which again indicates a passive, fatalist, non-agentive perspective.

Notwithstanding, *zlit'sya* can be mapped to many *frustration* situations, as it can also be self-directed (*zlit'sya na samogo sebya* "to be angry at oneself"). Apart from *zlit'sya*, only *dosada*, which is not a very salient emotion, and, to a lesser extent, *serdit'sya* can be self-directed in Russian *discontent* expression. *Zlit'sya* can also be mapped to *impotencia* situations, as it implies impossibility to affect one's feelings but, most importantly, impossibility (because of lack of power) to change the frustrating situation. Here one should mention that the Russian words of *other-directed discontent* which collocate with *bessilie* "impotence" are *zlit'sya*, *obida* and *yarost'* (*bessil'naya yarost'* "impotent rage"). Still, the Russian concept of *discontent* is generally extremely interactive. It is conceived as a dialogue between the experiencer and the causer / interlocutor, as an action in making. The preference for verbs intensifies this impression. As for translation equivalents of *obida* in English and Spanish, they show some semantic parallels. *Hurt* is definitely similar to *dolido*, as they both convey an important trait of *obida*, which is focused on being affected by others. Still, both *hurt* and *dolido*

are very corporal, whereas *obida* is more spiritual and the pain, an essential feature of all three terms, is located in the soul. *A grudge*, in its turn, has similarities in mapping with *rencor*. *Resentimiento*, though, is slightly closer to *offended* than to *resentment*, and *ofensa* can be placed between *offended* and *insulted*. An important difference between these words and *obida* is their implication of animosity and dislike which is absent in *obida*. Therefore, they all only partially coincide with *obida* and, moreover, lack its salience, according to the low number of corpus examples in respective languages.

7.4.4. Parallel corpora studies of *other-directed discontent*

Comparing the results of both studies, it is possible to conclude the following. First of all, mostly standard translation equivalents are predominant in both corpora. It is an expected result, as the prototypical scenarios are similar in Russian, English and Spanish. Nevertheless, there are some mapping peculiarities in both corpora. For example, *obida*, *frustración*, *frustration* and *resentment* are culturally specific subconcepts of *other-directed discontent* that are difficult to convey and to adequately map, as they are shaped and reinforced by the Russian, Spanish and English naïve pictures of the world, respectively. Another culturally determined specificity is mapping of emotion words to certain situations according to the power status of the experiencer in Russian, by their legal justification in English and by their emotional adequacy (type of situation and its importance) in Spanish. For instance, *anger*, *fury*, *enfadarse*, *rabia* and many other words of *other-directed discontent* can be translated as *obida* when the power status of the experiencer is lower than that of the causer. *Resentment* is an example of legally unjustified *discontent* in English. *Enfadarse*, usually translated as “annoyance”, is a preferable emotion word in most everyday situations, as it is the least intense type of discontent and thus, the least socially disruptive. In general, shifts in emotional intensity are very common in both corpora. Although the most frequent Russian emotion words of *other-directed discontent* are medium intensity words (*serdit'sya*, *zlost'*, *obida*), they are frequently downshifted either to the low-intensity *enfadarse*, or upshifted to the high-intensity *rabia*, *furia*, *rage* and *fury*.

The parallel corpora study also showed that *anger* is a socially more 'valid' emotion than *rabia*, its Spanish counterpart. *Anger* is an empowering word, which is reflected in the choice of its Russian translation equivalents: the extremely high-power status *gnev* and the high-power status *serdit'sya*. *Rabia*, on the contrary, is usually translated as the animalistic and low-power status *beshenstvo*, *yarost'* and *zlost'*. Moreover, *anger* is a basic emotion word in English, applicable to most situations eliciting *other-directed discontent*. Such basic words of *other-directed discontent* can be found neither in Russian nor in Spanish.

Words that are considered to be translation equivalents of *obida* are similar in English and Spanish. The best options are the English *hurt* and the Spanish collocation *tomar a mal*, whereas *insulted*, *offended*, *ofendido* are related to the human dignity from the legal point of view, and *resentment*, *resentimiento*, *a grudge*, *rencor* are more akin to *hatred*.

In general, presence of *hatred* in the concepts of *other-directed discontent* in English and Spanish differentiates these concepts from their Russian counterpart, with the exception for the subconcepts *zlost'* and *yarost'*.

Finally, Russian emotions are represented more often as actions and have more derivatives, compared to both English and Spanish.

7.5. Summary

As the comparative analysis of Russian, English and Spanish *other-directed discontent* showed, there are both similarities and differences in the respective versions of the concept.

According to the onomasiological study, exposed in section 7.2, most frequent general emotion words coincide, words of *discontent* do not completely coincide. It means that the lists of selected items generally coincide (except for *obida*, *frustration* / *frustración* and *impotencia*), but salient words of *other-directed discontent*, i.e. their frequency rates, differ (*obida* in Russian vs. *anger* in English vs. *rabia* in Spanish).

The semasiological study in section 7.3 revealed that all three languages have 'low vs.

high intensity', 'external vs. internal' and 'significant vs. insignificant' dichotomies. Also metaphorical conceptualisation is similar, mostly as a substance in a container, although the theme of 'elements' prevails in Russian, 'hot fluid in a container' in English and 'possessed object' in Spanish. Etymology plays a certain role in conceptualisation in all three languages, especially in English *anger* and Russian *obida*. The fact that semantic nuances dictate lexical choices unifies *discontent* in these three languages (e.g. *vozmuschenie*, *indignation* and *indignación* are all invoked by social injustice). However, lexical classifications (primary, secondary, tertiary in English, high/low in Russian, interpersonal vs. general in Russian and Spanish) are different. Moreover, physicality (Spanish and English), general expressiveness, *boredom*, violence (*other-directed* and *self-directed*) and *powerlessness* in Spanish (all of this does exist in every language but some features are salient in one language and other features in another one. This specificity shapes the concept). In addition, differences in synonymic rows and the most recurrent antonyms (*mir* "peace" in Russian, *paciencia* "patience" in Spanish, and *pleasure* in English) reflect differences in respective naïve pictures of the world. On the morphosyntactic level, specific traits of Russian are 1) fusion with active verbs caused by conceptualisation of emotions as actions, and 2) derivation as the main means of lexical replenishment and the main salience indicator of a term.

In reference to the discursive representation of *other-directed discontent* in section 7.4, the outline of the social component in the conceptual structure revealed the main conceptual differences in Russian, English and Spanish (e.g. the importance of the social status in Russian vs. 'cause' in English vs. expressivity rules in Spanish). However, the structure of the prototypical scenarios as the visible part of the concept, is similar in all three languages. This peculiarity could be explained by scenarios' reference to the general embodied emotional experience which is universal.

The qualitative Russian, English and Spanish corpora studies resulted in the following findings, which are presented in subsection 7.4.3. Antecedents and people involved are similar in all three languages. All languages in question discourage unrestrained violence. The course of events, although similar, puts more emphasis on the causer's rectification in Russian, more active stance in English and one's inability to rectify the situation in Spanish. Collocations define concept borders, i.e. position the concepts in

relation to other emotion concepts. Moreover, some peculiarities of the subconcepts *obida* "offence", *vozmuschenie* "indignation", *zlit'sya* "to be angry" (in reference to *frustration* and *impotence*) were discussed. Finally, the reconstruction of the subtextual discourse, based on the implicit and/or explicit inferences of the experiencer, contrasted its main features and its motivation: archaic/religious morality in Russian vs. patriarchal/religious morality in Spanish vs. the rule of law in English.

The comparison of the parallel corpora studies in subsection 7.4.4 showed that standard translations are similar in both Russian-English / English-Russian and Russian-Spanish / Spanish-Russian corpora. Nevertheless, some differences were detected which are due to different naïve pictures of the world in these three languages. First of all, some differences in mapping exist in both corpora, no translation as a sign of lexical gaps, shifts in intensity, presence of *hatred* in semantics of English and Spanish *discontent*-related terms, incomplete coincidence of *obida* equivalents. On the morphosyntactic level, similarly for both corpora, Russian emotions are perceived as actions compared to English and Spanish emotions perceived as states. Plus, there are more derivatives in Russian than in English and Spanish whereas English and Spanish possess larger synonymic groups. In other words, lexical items are more unified inside Russian emotion concepts whereas lexemes are more diversified inside English and Spanish emotion concepts.

8. CONCLUSIONS

The present dissertation is a study on the conceptualisation of *other-directed discontent* in Russian, compared to English and Spanish. The objectives of the study were to examine the concept of *other-directed discontent* in Russian, to investigate conceptualisation of *other-directed discontent* in English and Spanish as complementary reference points of comparison, and to compare the Russian concept of *other-directed discontent* with its English and Spanish counterparts.

Synthesis of relevant research papers helped us to highlight scientific perspectives on emotions and linguistic approaches to emotions. In linguistics, the nativist, universalist and relativist perspectives on emotions can be distinguished. The approach, chosen for our research, is a cognitive linguistic one which positions itself between universalists and relativists. In addition, using previous research on emotions, we clarified the main theoretical positions: basic emotion terms (prototypicality), self-conscious and other-directed emotions, difference between the terms 'emotional', 'emotive', 'evaluative', and 'expressive', emotive semantics: denotation vs. connotation, the concept of 'emoseme', types of emotive vocabulary (expressive and descriptive), metaphor vs. meaning-based approach to emotional meaning, morphosyntactic ways of emotional expression, cognitive concepts. As the synthesis of relevant research papers showed, the concept of 'emotivity', 'expressiveness' and 'evaluation' are not identical terms. An 'emoseme', a seme which can be either denotative or connotative, defines which words can be called 'emotive'. On the lexical level, descriptive and expressive types of emotive vocabulary, plus figurative terms and expressions, can be distinguished. The 'prototype' view on emotions was contrasted with the 'metaphorical' view. Other-directed emotions are of special social interest, as they occur between people and in social contexts. Cultural background of a person and her or his social position in terms of power and status play a crucial role in the choice of a certain emotional response to a given situation, as other-directed emotions (as well as self-directed ones to some extent) depend on such notions as 'morality', 'values', 'causality', 'expectations', 'control' and 'power/status'. One of the most controversial and culturally dependent concepts, and therefore of high importance to comparative linguistics, is the concept of *other-directed*

discontent, traditionally referred to as *anger* in English language and international research. Further on, we applied the findings to the Russian language. Main tendencies in Russian emotional expression were exposed (starting from the notion of 'emoseme', observing the morphosyntactical salient traits of Russian emotive words and finally reviewing the general conceptualisation of emotions in Russian, i.e. presenting the metaconcept EMOTION in Russian). Descriptive emotive lexis represents the largest group in the Russian language. As for parts of speech, verbs and 'emotive words of the category of state', i.e. predicatives, are by far the preferred means of denoting emotions in Russian. On the conceptual level, they designate 'passive' and 'active' emotions respectively. Russian emotional discourse is organised in several conceptual cloisters, i.e. *sud'ba* "fate", *obida* "offence / resentment", *dushevnost'* "understanding cordiality", *druzhba* "friendship", *schast'e* "happiness". As for conceptual categories proposed by Wierzbicka (1992) and later modified by Levontina & Zalizniak, (2001), *ljubov* "love" and *strakh* "fear" have clear structure and show similarities in different languages. On the other hand, many other emotions, including *other-directed discontent*, manifest cultural peculiarities.

In continuation, we observed the subordinate concept *other-directed discontent* in Russian and compared it to its counterparts in English and Spanish.

According to the objectives of the present study, the following research questions had to be answered:

1. How is the concept of *other-directed discontent* semantically represented in Russian, compared to English and Spanish?
2. What is the narrative structure of *other-directed discontent* in Russian, compared to English and Spanish?

In reference to the first research question, we conducted an onomasiological study and a semasiological analysis of the selected lexemes. According to the results of the onomasiological analysis, *obida* "offence/resentment" is extremely frequent in Russian. Furthermore, the noun *razdrazhenie* "irritation" and the verb *razdrazhat'* "to irritate" are more frequent than the verb *serdit'sya* "to be angry/cross", which signals the preference

for less intense expression of *discontent* in Russian. As the comparative analysis of Russian, English and Spanish *other-directed discontent* showed, there are both similarities and differences in the respective versions of the concept. The most frequent general emotion words coincide (lyubov' / love / amor, boyat'sya / fear / miedo, nadezhda / hope / esperanza), words of *discontent* do not completely coincide. It means that lists of selected items generally coincide (except for *obida*, *frustration* / *frustración* and *impotencia*), but salient words of *other-directed discontent*, i.e. their frequency rates, differ (*obida* in Russian vs. *anger* in English vs. *rabia* in Spanish).

According to the Russian semantic classification, *discontent* can be divided into primary, animalistic *discontent* (*zlost'*, *yarost'*) and secondary, cultural type of *discontent* (*serdit'sya*, *gnev*). Moreover, there is one more classifying category of discontent-related words in Russian, which plays an important role in conceptualisation of Russian emotions in general: 'high', i.e. connected to the 'soul' (*obida*, *vozmushchenie*), and 'low', i.e. connected to the 'body' (*zlost'*, *serdit'sya*). In regard to the words' etymology, the Slavic origin of most words makes their original lexical meaning more traceable for a Russian speaker. The unifying function of derivation, the interchangeability of synonyms inside the concept, shape the perception of *other-directed discontent* in Russian. The common antonyms are *spokoystvie* "tranquility", *radost'* "joy", *umirotvoryonnost'* "peacefulness" and *mirit'sya* "to reconcile" (for *obizhat'sya*). Recurrent themes of the common discontent-related metaphors are 'the elements', 'the fluid in a container', 'an opponent', 'an illness' and 'insanity'.

The comparative semasiological study of Russian, English and Spanish revealed that all three languages have 'low vs. high intensity', 'external vs. internal' and 'significant vs. insignificant' dichotomies. Also metaphorical conceptualisation is similar, mostly as a substance in a container, although the theme of 'elements' prevails in Russian, 'hot fluid in a container' in English and 'possessed object' in Spanish. Etymology plays a certain role in conceptualisation in all three languages, especially in English *anger* and Russian *obida*. The fact that semantic nuances dictate lexical choices unifies *discontent* in these three languages (e.g. *vozmushchenie*, *indignation* and *indignación* are all invoked by social injustice). However, lexical classifications (primary, secondary, tertiary in English, high/low in Russian, interpersonal vs. general in Russian and Spanish) are

different. Moreover, physicality (in Spanish and in English), general expressiveness, *boredom*, violence (other-directed and self-directed) and *powerlessness* in Spanish (all of this does exist in every language but some features are salient in one language and other features in another one. This specificity shapes the concept). In addition, differences in synonymic groups and recurrent antonyms (*mir* “peace” in Russian, *paciencia* “patience” in Spanish, and *pleasure* in English) reflect differences in respective naïve pictures of the world: reconciliation in Russian, self-fulfillment in English and tolerance in Spanish. On the morphosyntactic level, specific traits of Russian are 1) fusion with active verbs caused by conceptualisation of emotions as actions, and 2) derivation as the main means of lexical replenishment and the main salience indicator of a term.

In reference to the first research question, three hypotheses were tested:

Hypothesis 1: The salient other-directed emotions of discontent in Russian differ from both English and Spanish, e.g. *obida* is a specific Russian reaction to discontent-eliciting situations, compared to English and Spanish.

This hypothesis was confirmed by the data. All studies proved that *obida* not only pertains to the concept of *other-directed discontent*, together with more traditionally included *zlost'*, *gnev* and *serdit'sya*, but is the most salient representative of the concept.

Hypothesis 2: 'Culturally specific' emotion terms are in fact 'salient terms in the given language and non-salient in other languages', as 1) it is always possible to find an approximate translation equivalent, and 2) following the logic, no word has exact translation equivalents in other languages.

This hypothesis was also confirmed by the data. Both English and Spanish have approximate translation equivalents of *obida* which lack *obida*'s salience inside the respective discontent-concepts. Similarly, other terms of *other-directed discontent* which are traditionally considered to be mutual translation equivalents, e.g. *zlost'*, *anger* and *rabia*, do not fully coincide in their semantic representation.

Hypothesis 3: Semantic representation of *other-directed discontent* is similar in all three languages, due to universality of human emotional experience (see Kövecses, 2003). However, certain semantic characteristics of emotion words, e.g. their etymological and morphosyntactic profiles, can influence the preference for certain terms in a given language.

This hypothesis was only partially confirmed by the data. There are indeed some universal features, i.e. the cause, the notion of justice and injustice, right and wrong, high intensity vs. low intensity, etc. Etymology and morphosyntax do influence lexical preferences in Russian (e.g. the verb *serdit'sya* instead of the noun *gnev*, related to the general preference for verbs in Russian emotional expression), English (*anger* instead of *wrath* for historical reasons, see Gevaert, 2007) and Spanish (the metaphor 'other-directed discontent is a possession' and a related preference for nouns, e.g. "Me da rabia"). Nevertheless, hierarchisation of Russian *other-directed discontent* and its further division into high and low subconcepts, make its semantic representation unique, compared to both English and Spanish. Thus, human emotional experience may be objectively universal but its perception and interpretation are specific in different languages.

With respect to the second research question, discursive representation of *other-directed discontent* was analysed: the social component in the conceptual structure was detected, the structure of the prototypical scenarios as the visible part of the concept was outlined, the subtextual discourse was reconstructed, the inner structure of the concept was schematically represented.

According to the qualitative corpus study results, moral justification of *discontent* and the right to openly express *discontent* are central to its narrative structure in Russian. In general, social hierarchy dictates lexical choices and open expression of *discontent* is considered to be a status privilege. Therefore, the status neutrality and low intensity of *razdrazhenie* explain the popularity of this subconcept in the modern Russian discourse. *Discontent* is constructed as an interactive process with the outcome, except for *gnev* and *yarost'*, dependent on the causer who is expected to recompense or to rectify the situation. As corpus study of collocations showed, *fear*, *shame*, *(self-)pity* and *impotence*

are prominent neighbouring emotions of *other-directed discontent*. Finally, there are two parallel discourses which motivate the conceptualisation of *other-directed discontent* in Russian. The first one constructs the world as a common house with certain hierarchical system and with certain rules of living in it. The contrasting discourse postulates aggressiveness as a sign of strength and as the best way to reach one's personal goals.

In reference to the discursive representation of *other-directed discontent*, the outline of the social component in the conceptual structure revealed the main conceptual differences in Russian, English and Spanish (e.g. the importance of the social status in Russian vs. 'cause' in English vs. expressivity rules in Spanish).

The qualitative Russian, English and Spanish corpora studies resulted in the following findings. First, antecedents are similar in Russian, English and Spanish. Second, all the languages in question discourage unrestrained violence. Third, the course of events, although exhibiting similarities, puts more emphasis on the rectification by the causer in Russian, foregrounds an active stance in English and thematises one's inability to rectify the situation in Spanish. Collocations define concept borders, i.e. position the concepts in relation to other emotion concepts. Finally, the reconstruction of the subtextual discourse, based on the implicit and/or explicit inferences of the experiencer, contrasted its main features and its motivation: archaic, religious morality in Russian vs. patriarchal, religious morality in Spanish vs. the rule of law in English.

The comparison of the parallel corpora studies showed that standard translations are similar in both Russian-English/English-Russian and Russian-Spanish/Spanish-Russian corpora. Nevertheless, some differences in mapping exist in both corpora, no translation as a sign of lexical gaps, shifts in intensity, presence of *hatred* in semantics of English and Spanish *discontent*-related terms, incomplete coincidence of *obida* equivalents. Thus, the parallel corpora studies also confirmed the previous data on the semantic representation of *other-directed discontent*. For instance, on the morphosyntactic level, similarly for both corpora, Russian emotions are perceived as actions compared to English and Spanish emotions perceived as states. Plus, there are more derivatives in Russian than in English and Spanish whereas English and Spanish possess larger synonymic groups. In other words, lexical items are more unified inside Russian emotion concepts whereas lexemes are more diversified inside English and Spanish

concepts.

As for the second research question, the following hypotheses were tested:

Hypothesis 1: The salience of particular emotion words is motivated not only by their semantic representation but also by the social component of the concept in respective languages.

This hypothesis was confirmed by the data. The salience of a certain emotion term in Russian, English and Spanish is determined by the social factor, by the emotional discourse dominating the language in question. For instance, social factor explains the reasons of *obida*'s salience inside the concept.

Hypothesis 2: Prototypical scenarios are similar in all three languages, due to universality of human emotional experience.

This hypothesis was partially confirmed by the data. The structure of the prototypical scenarios as the visible part of the concept, is similar in Russian, English and Spanish. This peculiarity could be explained by scenarios' reference to the general embodied emotional experience which is universal. Nevertheless, the more specific scenarios (*obida*, *frustration* / *frustración*, *impotencia*) differ in all three languages.

Hypothesis 3: Emotional mapping, i.e. specific lexical choices, in Russian differs from English but is similar to Spanish, due to the 'collectivist vs. individualist societies' division and the resulting differences in subtextual discourses.

This hypothesis, based on the suggestions of Ogarkova et al. (2012), was only partially confirmed. Although, there is similarity in the preference for milder expression of *discontent* in both Russian and Spanish (e.g. *razdrazhenie* in Russian and *enfado* in Spanish) which could be motivated by the wish for social cohesion, the motivation for such salient subconcepts as *obida* and *frustración* lays elsewhere: *obida* is motivated by status hierarchy limitations and by the specific notion of 'closeness' in Russian whereas *frustración* and *impotencia* are triggered by the subtextual discourse propagating action as a sign of power.

One could therefore conclude, on the basis of our study, that the religious, moral conceptualisation of *other-directed discontent* is predominant in Russian. Social hierarchy is also crucial in structuring the Russian concept of discontent and in consequent lexical choices. In English, in its turn, the concept of *other-directed discontent* is concentrated around the basic word *anger* and is influenced by the legal system. As for Spanish, social factor plays some role in the conceptualisation of *discontent* but general expressivity, the notions of 'violence' and 'powerlessness' are very much involved in the construction of the concept. In addition, one can also conclude that the salient Russian term of discontent *obida* has various translation equivalents in both English and Spanish, but none of them coincides completely at the semantic level with *obida* and, moreover, they all lack the salience of *obida*.

REFERENCES

Abu-Lungold, L. / Lutz, C. (1990). *Language and the Politics of Emotion*. Cambridge University Press.

Altarriba, J. (2003). Does *cariño* equal 'liking'? a theoretical approach to conceptual nonequivalence between languages. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 7, 3, pp. 305-322.

Altarriba, J. (2006). Cognitive approaches to the study of emotion-laden and emotion words in monolingual and bilingual memory. In: Pavlenko, Aneta. *Bilingual Minds: emotional experience, expression and representation*. Clevedon.

Andrews, E. (2014). *Neuroscience and Multilingualism*. Cambridge University Press.

Apresjan, J. D. (1992). Serdit' 'to anger' and its Synonyms: towards a New Type of Synonym Dictionary. In: Clas, A. et al. (Eds.). *Le mot, les mots, les bons mots. Word, Words, Witty Words*. Montreal: Les presses de l'Université de Montreal, pp. 149-167.

Apresjan, J.D. (2000). *Systematic Lexicography*. Oxford University Press.

Arnold, I.V. (Ed.) (1959). *Leksikologija anglijskogo yazyka*. [Lexicology of English]. Moscow, Literature in foreign languages.

Arutyunova, N.D. *Tipy yazykovyh znachenij (Otsenka. Sobytie. Fakt)*. [Types of linguistic meanings (Estimation. Event. Fact)]. Moscow, 1988

Athanasiadou, A. / Tabakowska, E. (Eds.) (1998). *Speaking of emotions: Conceptualization and expression*. Berlin/ New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Averill, J. (1982). *Anger and Aggression: An Essay on Emotion*. New York, Springer Verlag.

Babenko, L. G. (1989). *Leksicheskie sredstva oboznacheniya emotsij v russkom yazyke*. [Lexical means of emotion designation in Russian]. Sverdlovsk, Ural University Press.

Babushkin, A.P. (1997). *Tipy kontseptov v leksikofrazeologicheskoj semantike yazyka, ih lichnostnaya i natsional'naya spetsifika* [Types of concepts in the lexis and phraseology semantics of the language, their personal-national peculiarities]. Philology Doctoral thesis, Voronezh.

Bagdasarova, N.A. (2004). *Leksicheskoe vyrazhenie emotsij v kontekste raznyh kul'tur* [Lexical expression of emotions in the context of different cultures]. Candidate of Philology Doctoral thesis, Moscow State Institute of International Relations.

Baider, F. / Constantinou, M. (2014). Scénario cognitif et 'mises en scène' des émotions: étude contrastive des concepts de *colère* et de *rage* en grec et en français. In: Blumenthal, Peter et al. (Eds.). Les émotions dans le discours. Emotions in discourse. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp.55-68.

Baker, Paul (2006). Using corpora in discourse analysis. Continuum: London.

Bakhtin, M.M. (1981). The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays. Austin, University of Texas Press.

Bally, C. (1961). Francuzskaya stilistika. [French Stylistics]. Moscow.

Bamberg, M. (1997). Language, concepts, and emotions: The role of language in the construction of emotions. In: Language Sciences, 19, 4, pp. 309-340.

Barcelona, A. / Soriano, C. (2004). Metaphorical conceptualization in English and Spanish. In: European Journal of English Studies, vol. 8, no. 3, pp. 295-307

Barykina, A.N. / Dobrovolskaya, V.V. / Merzon, S.N. (1989). Izuchenie glagol'nyh prstavok [A study of verbal prefixes]. Moscow, Russkij yazyk.

Bayer, L. (2009). Expressing emotions in English and Russian. Norderstedt: Grin Verlag.

Bazylev, V.N. (1999). Fenomenologija emotsij: gnev. [Phenomenology of emotions: wrath]. In: Krasnyh, V.V. / Izotov, A.I. (Eds.). Yazyk, soznanie, kommunikaciya. Moscow, Dialog-MGU, pp.71-84.

Bednarek, M. (2008). Emotion Talk Across Corpora. NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bisquerra Alzina, R. / Filella Guiu, G. (2018). Analisis del vocabulario emocional en el profesorado de lengua. In: Revista Electrónica Interuniversitaria de Formación del Profesorado, 21(1), pp.161-172.

Block, D. (2003). The Social Turn in Second Language Acquisition. Edinburgh University Press.

Blumenthal, P. (2014). Caractéristiques et effets de la complexité sémantique de noms d'affect. In: Blumenthal, Peter et al. (Eds.). Les émotions dans le discours. Emotions in discourse. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 175-185.

Boguslavsky, I. (2014). SynTagRus – a Deeply Annotated Corpus of Russian. In: Blumenthal, P. et al. (Eds.). Les émotions dans le discours. Emotions in discourse. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 367-379.

Bolonkin, A. (2012). *Universe, Human Immortality and Future Human Evaluation*. Elsevier

Buyanova, O.N. (2003). *Yazykovaya kontseptualizatsiya lyubvi: lingvokul'turnyj aspekt [Linguistic conceptualization of love: linguo-cultural aspect]*. Self-précis of Candidate Philology Doctoral thesis, Kubanskij State University, Krasnodar

Bybee, J. / Beckner, C. (2009). *Usage-Based Theory*. Oxford University Press.

Casado Velarde, M. (2016). *La lengua española y las emociones: notas preliminares*. In: Bañón Hernández, A. M. et al. (Eds.), *Oralidad y análisis del discurso. Homenaje a Luis Cortés Rodríguez*. Almería, Editorial Universidad de Almería, pp. 161-176.

Cislaru, G. (2014). *Émotions et scénarios: questionnements méthodologiques pour une approche discursive*. In: Blumenthal, P. et al. (Eds.). *Les émotions dans le discours. Emotions in discourse*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 199-209.

Corral Hernández, J. (2015). *Elaboración de un corpus léxico para el nivel intermedio – avanzado en ele. Propuesta didáctica*. Tesis doctoral. Universidad Complutense de Madrid.

Damasio, A. (1999). *The feeling of what happens: body and emotion in the making of consciousness*. New York.

Damasio, A. (2003). *Looking for Spinoza: Joy, sorrow, and the feeling brain*. New York

Danaher, D. (2002). *The semantics of pity and zhalost' in a literary context*. In: *Glossos*, Issue 3.

Deffenbacher, J. L., & McKay, M. (2000). *Overcoming situational and general anger: A protocol for the treatment of anger based on relaxation, cognitive restructuring, and coping skills training*. New Harbinger Publications.

Dewaele, J.-M. (2004). *Individual differences in the use of colloquial vocabulary: The effects of sociobiographical and psychological factors*. In: Bogaards, Paul/ Laufer, Batia (Eds.). *Vocabulary in a Second Language*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia, pp. 127-153.

Dewaele, J.-M. (2008). *Dynamic emotion concepts of L2 learners and L2 users: A second language acquisition perspective*. In: *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, vol.11, n°2, pp.173-175.

Dewaele, J.-M. (2010). *Emotions in Multiple Languages*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Dewaele, J.-M./ Pavlenko, A. (2002). *Emotion vocabulary in interlanguage*. In: *Language Learning* 52, 2, pp. 26-324.

Diller, H-J. 1994. Emotions in the English lexicon: A historical study of a lexical field. In: Fernandez, F. Et al. (Eds.). *English Historical Linguistics* , pp. 219-234. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Dodonov, B. (1978). I. Emotsiya kak tsennost' [Emotions as Value]. Moscow, Politizdat.

Dziwirek, K. / Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, B. (2010). *Complex Emotions and Grammatical Mismatches. A Contrastive Corpus-based Study*. Walter de Gruyter: Berlin.

Edwards, D. (1997). *Discourse and Cognition*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ekman, P. (1992). An argument for basic emotions. In: *Cognition and Emotion*, 6(3/4), pp.169-200.

Ekman, P. (2003). *Emotions revealed: Recognizing faces and feelings to improve communication and emotional life*. New York, Times Books.

Elison, J., Garofalo, C., / Velotti, P. (2014). Shame and aggression: Theoretical considerations. *Aggression and Violent Behaviour*, 19(4), pp. 447-453.

Emikh, T.A. (2005). Kontsept «obida» v lingvokul'turologicheskom aspekte [The concept of OFFENCE in the linguo-cultural aspect]. Self-précis of Candidate Philology Doctoral thesis, Saint-Petersburg State University

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.

Fernandez, E. (2008). The angry personality: A representation on six dimensions of anger expression. *International Handbook of Personality Theory and Testing*, 1, pp. 402-419.

Fesenko, S. (2004). *Lingvokognitivnye modeli emotsij v kontekste natsional'nyh kul'tur*. [Linguocognitive models in the context of national cultures.] Doctoral thesis, Moscow.

Filimonova, O. (2001). *Language and Emotions in the English Text. The Cognitive and Communicative Aspects: a Monograph*. St.Petersburg.

Finkel, A. / Bazhenov, N. (1951). *Sovremennyy russkij literaturnyj yazyk*. [Modern Russian Literary Language]. Moscow.

Fischer, A. / Manstead, A. / Rodriguez, P. (1999). The role of honour-related vs. individualistic values in conceptualising pride, shame, and anger: Spanish and Dutch cultural prototypes. In: *Cognition and Emotion*, 1999, 13 (2), pp. 149 – 179.

Fodor, J. (1998). *Concepts: Where cognitive science went wrong*. Oxford, UK:

Clarendon Press.

Fontaine, J. et al. (eds.) (2013). *Components of Emotional Meaning. A Sourcebook*. Oxford University Press.

Galkina-Fedoruk, E. (1958). *Bezlichnye predlozheniya v sovremennom russkom yazyke*. [Impersonal sentences in Modern Russian]. Moscow University Press.

Gee, J. P. (1999). *An introduction to discourse analysis: theory and method*. London Routledge.

Gevaert, C. (2007). *The history of ANGER. The lexical field of ANGER from Old to Early Modern English*. Doctoral thesis. Katholieke Universiteit Leuven.

Giorgi, K. (2014). *Emotions, Language and Identity on the Margins of Europe*.

Gladkova, A. (2008). *Tolerance: New and traditional values in Russian in comparison with English*. In: Goddard, Cliff (Ed.). *Cross-Linguistic Semantics*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 301-329.

Glynn, D. (2014). *The Social Nature of ANGER: Multivariate Corpus Evidence for Context Effects upon Conceptual Structure*, pp. 69-81.

Goddard, C. (2018). *Ten Lectures on Natural Semantic Metalanguage. Exploring Language, Thought and Culture Using Simple, Translatable Words*. Leiden.

Graham, S. / Taylor, A. Z. (2014). *An Attributional Approach to Emotional Life in the Classroom*. In: Pekrun, Reinhard / Linnenbrinck-Garcia, Lisa (Eds.). *International Handbook of Emotions in Education*. Routledge New York, pp. 96-119.

Hareli, Sh. / Parkinson, B. (2008). *What's Social About Social Emotions?* In: *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 38(2), pp.131-156.

Harkins, J. / Wierzbicka, A. (2001). *Emotions in Crosslinguistic Perspective*. Berlin/ New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Harré, R. (2009). *Emotions as cognitive-affective-somatic hybrids*. In: *Emotion Review*, 1 (4), pp. 294-301.

Iordanskaja, L. (1974). *Tentative lexicographic definitions for a group of Russian words denoting emotions*. In: Rozenvejk J. *Machine Translation and Applied Linguistics*. Frankfurt: Athenäum, v.2, 1974, v.2, pp. 88-117.

Iordanskaja, L./ Mel'chuk, I. (1990). *Semantics of two emotion verbs in Russian: *bojat'sja* 'to be afraid' and *nadejat'sja* 'to hope'*. In: *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 10(2), pp. 305-357.

Ivanova, E.S. (2010). Psychosemantichesky analiz emotivov *radost'*, *gnev*, *strakh*. [Psychosemantic analysis of emotives *radost'* "joy", *gnev* "anger", *strakh* "fear"]. In: The Russian Language: historic fates and modern times: IV International Congress of the Russian Language Researchers (Moscow, the Lomonosov Moscow State University, Philology Department, March 20-23, 2010): Proceedings / Compilers Remnyova, M.L. / Polikarpov, A.A.), pp. 292 - 293.

Izard, C. (1991). The Psychology of Emotions. New York, Plenum.

Jacobson, R. (1960). Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics. In: Sebeok, T. (Ed.) Style in Language. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp.350-377.

Jang, S. J. (2007). Gender Differences in Strain, Negative Emotions, and Coping Behaviors: A General Strain Theory Approach. In: Justice Quarterly Vol. 24 Num. 3 (September 2007), pp.523-553.

Johnson-Laird, P. / Oatley, K. (1989). The Language of Emotions: An analysis of a semantic field. In: Cognition and Emotion, 3, 2, pp. 81-123.

Jäger, S. (2004). Kritische Diskursanalyse. Eine Einführung. (Critical Discourse Analysis. An Introduction). 4th ed., Münster: UNRAST-Verlag.

Kalimullina, L.A. (1999). Emotivnaya leksika i frazeologiya russkogo literaturnogo yazyka: sinhronicheskij i diahronicheskij aspekty. [Emotive vocabulary and phraseology of Russian literary language: synchronic and diachronic aspects.] Candidate Philology Doctoral thesis, Ufa State Institute.

Kalzhanova, A.K. (2004). Psiholingvisticheskie aspekty sootnesyonnosti emotivnoj i koloristicheskoy leksiki: na materiale kazahskogo i russkogo yazykov. [Psycholinguistic aspects of correspondence between emotive and colour vocabulary: Kazakh and Russian languages compared.] Candidate Philology Doctoral thesis, Moscow State University.

Klyuchnikova, L.V. (2010). Kontsept «proyavleniya lyubvi» [The concept of "manifesting LOVE"]. Proceedings of the Moscow State Regional University, 2010. - №1, pp. 78-81.

Kotov, A. (2011). Types of simulated emotional expressive states in the Russian emotional corpus. Moscow: National Research Center "Kurchatov Institute".

Kövecses, Z. (1990). Emotion Concepts. New York/ Berlin: Springer-Verlag.

Kövecses, Z. (2003). Metaphor and Emotion: Language, Culture and Body in Human Feeling. Cambridge University Press.

Kövecses, Z. / Palmer, G.B./ Dirven, R. (2003). Language and emotion: The interplay of

conceptualisation with physiology and culture. In: Dirven, René/ Pörings, Ralf (Eds.). *Metaphor and Metonymy in Comparison and Contrast*. Berlin/ New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Kövecses, Z. et al. (2015). *Anger Metaphors across Languages. A Cognitive Linguistic Perspective*. In: Roberto Heredia / Anna B. Cieślicka (Eds.): *Bilingual Figurative Language Processing*. Cambridge University Press, pp.341-367.

Kraif, O. / Diwersy, S. (2014). *Exploring Combinatorial Profiles Using Lexicograms on a Parsed Corpus: a Case Study in the Lexical Field of Emotions*. In: Blumenthal, Peter et al. (Eds.). *Les émotions dans le discours. Emotions in discourse*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 381-393.

Krawczak, K. (2014). *Shame and its Near-synonyms in English: a Multivariate Corpus-driven Approach to Social Emotions*. In: Blumenthal, Peter et al. (Eds.). *Les émotions dans le discours. Emotions in discourse*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 83-94.

Kreidlin, G.E. (1999). *Natsional'noe i universal'noe v semantike zhesta. // Obraz cheloveka v yazyke*. [The national and universal in the semantics of gesture // the Human Image in the Language]. Moscow.

Krylov, Yu.V. (2007). *Emotivnyj kontsept "zlost" v russkoj yazykovej kartine mira: identifikatsiya i razgranichenie mental'nyh i yazykovyh struktur* [The emotive concept of "ANGER" in the Russian linguistic picture of the world: identifying and distinguishing mental and linguistic structures]. Candidate Philology Doctoral thesis, Novosibirsk.

Külmoja, I. (2008). *Ob odnom aktual'nom aspekte issledovanija vida glagola*. [On a topical aspect of verb study]. *Humaniora: Lingua Russica. Trudy po russkoi i slavianskoi filologii. Lingvistika. XI. Jazyk v funkcionalno-pragmaticheskom aspekte*. Tartu University, pp.137–146.

Kumar, R. (2004). *Culture and Emotions in Intercultural Negotiations: an Overview*. In: Gelfand, Michele / Brett, Jeanne (Ed.). *The Handbook of Negotiation and Culture*. Stanford University Press, pp. 95-113.

Kusov, G.V. (2004). *Oskorblenie kak illokutivnyj lingvokul'turnyj kontsept* [INSULT as an illocutive linguo-cultural concept]. Self-précis of Candidate Philology Doctoral thesis, the Volgograd State Teacher Training University, Volgograd

Lakoff, G. (1987). *Women, fire, and dangerous things: What categories reveal about the mind*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, G. (2004). *Don't think of an elephant! Know your values and frame the debate; the essential guide for progressives*. White River Junction, VT Chelsea Green Publ.

- Lakoff, G. / Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G. / Kövecses, Z. (1987). The cognitive model of anger inherent in American English. In: Holland, D. / Quinn, N. (Eds.). *Cultural models in language and thought*. New York, Cambridge University Press, pp. 195-221.
- Leary, M. R., / Springer, C. (2001). Hurt feelings: The neglected emotion. In: Kowalski, R.M. (Ed.). *Aversive behaviors and relational transgressions*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- LeDoux, J. (2002). *The Emotional Brain: The mysterious underpinning of Emotional Life*. New York, Touchstone.
- Lee, Y. (2009). *The Effects of Values-Affirmation on Charity Support Behavior: The Mediating Role of Positive Other-Directed Feelings*. Doctoral Thesis. University of Iowa.
- Levontina, I.B. (2008). Are Russian “Dialogue” Particles Purely Pragmatic? <https://www.aatseel.org>
- Levontina, I.B. / Zalizniak, A.A. (2001). Human emotions viewed through the Russian language. In Jean Harkins and Anna Wierzbicka (Eds.), *Emotions in Crosslinguistic Perspective*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 291-336.
- Levy, R. (1984). Emotion, knowing, and culture. In: Schweder et. al (Ed.). *Culture Theory: Essays on mind, self, and emotion*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 214-237.
- Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, B. / Wilson, P.A. (2014). Self-Conscious Emotions in Collectivistic and Individualistic Cultures: A Contrastive Linguistic Perspective. In: Romero-Trillo, Jesús (Ed.). *Yearbook of Corpus Linguistics and Pragmatics 2014*. New empirical and theoretical paradigms. Springer: Cham, pp. 123-148.
- Linden, D. (2007). *The Accidental Mind: How Brain Evolution Has Given Us Love, Memory, Dreams, and God*. Harvard University Press.
- Lotman, Yu.M. (2002). *Istoriya i tipologiya russkoy kul'tury*. Spb Iskusstvo. [History and typology of Russian culture]. St.Petersburg, Iskusstvo.
- Lotman, Yu.M. / Uspenskij, B.A. (1984). Rol' dual'nyh modelej v dinamike russkoj kul'tury. In: B.A. Uspenskij. *Izbrannye trudy t. 1*. [The role of dual models in the dynamics of Russian culture. In: Uspenskij, Boris. *Selected works. Part 1*. Moscow: Škola "Jazyki Russkoj Kul'tury", pp. 338-380]
- Lüdtke, U.M. / Polzin, Ch. (2015). Research on the relationship between language and emotion: A descriptive overview. In: Lüdtke, Ulrike M. (Ed.). *Emotion in Language: Theory – Research - Application*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company,

pp. 211-240.

Luke, G. (2004). "State-Sponsored Advocacy? The Case of Florida's Students Working Against Tobacco." Doctoral Dissertation, Florida State University.

Lukyanova, N.A. (1986). Razgovornaya ekspressivnaya leksika (problemy semantiki) [The expressive Lexis of Colloquial Use (the problems of semantics)]. Novosibirsk

Lutz, C. (1986). Emotion, thought and estrangement: emotion as a cultural category". In: Cultural Anthropology, 1 (3), pp. 287-309.

Lyons, J. (1981). Language, meaning, and context. Bungay, Suffolk: Fontana.

Makarova, V. / Petrushin, V. (2012). Emotions in Russian Vowels. In: Russian Language Studies in North America: New Perspectives from Theoretical and Applied Linguistics. London: Anthem Press, pp. 3-42.

Makshantseva, N.V. (2008). Kontsept «lyubov'» v russkom yazyke [The concept of "LOVE" in Russian]. Proceedings of the Russian Educational Academy. Moscow, 2008, №1, pp. 112-116.

Mamayewa, S.V./ Shmul'skaya. L.S. (2012). Emotive Concept "Insult" in Art Space. In: Advances in Current Natural Sciences. №7, pp.118-121.

Markus, H. / Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. In: Psychological Review, №98, pp. 224-253.

Maslova, V.A. (1991). Parametry ekspressivnosti teksta. [Parameters of text expressivity]. In: Chelovecheskij faktor v yazyke: yazykovye mehanizmy ekspressivnosti. Moscow, Nauka, pp. 179 - 205.

Mesquita, B. / Frijda, N. (1992). Cultural variations in emotions: A review. In: Psychological Bulletin, 112 (2), pp. 179-204.

Mikulincer, M. / Shaver, P. R. (2011). Attachment, anger, and aggression. Human Aggression and Violence: Causes, Manifestations, and Consequences, pp. 241-257.

Myers, David G. (2004). "Theories of Emotion." Psychology: Seventh Edition, New York, NY: Worth Publishers, p. 500.

Myhill, J. (1997). What is universal and what is language-specific in emotion words? Evidence from Biblical Hebrew. In: Pragmatics and Cognition, 5(1), pp. 79-129.

Ogarkova, A. / Soriano, C. / Lehr, C. (2012). Naming Feeling: Exploring the Equivalence of Emotion Terms in Five European Languages. In: P. Wilson. Dynamicity

in *Emotion Concepts*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp.253-284.

Ogarkova, A. / Soriano, C. (2014a). Variation within Universals: The “Metaphorical profile” Approach To the Study of ANGER Concepts in English, Russian and Spanish. In: Musolff, Andreas et al (Eds.). *Metaphor and Intercultural Communication*, pp. 93-116.

Ogarkova, A., / Soriano C. (2014b). Emotion and the body: a corpus-based investigation of metaphorical containers of anger across languages. *International Journal of Cognitive Linguistics*. 5(2), pp. 147-179.

Ogarkova, A. / Soriano, C. / Gladkova, A. (2016). Methodological triangulation in the study of emotion: The case of ‘anger’ in three language groups. *Review of Cognitive Linguistics*. 14(1), pp. 73-101.

Ortony, A. (1995). *Metaphor and Thought*. Cambridge University Press.

Paez, D. / Vergara, A. (1991). Factores psicosociales en la construcción del conocimiento prototípico de las emociones. [Psychosocial factors in creating prototypical emotional knowledge]. In: *Aprendizaje. Revista de Psicología Social*, 6 (1), pp.23-45.

Panksepp, J. (2003). At the interface of the affective, behavioral, and cognitive neurosciences. In: *Brain and Cognition*, 52, 1, pp. 4-14.

Parrott, W. G. (Ed.). (2001). *Emotions in social psychology: Essential readings*. New York, Psychology Press.

Parsieva, L.K. (2009). Emotivnaya leksika: sopostavitel'nyj aspekt [Emotive vocabulary: comparative aspect]. In: *Vestnik Novgorodskogo universiteta*. Series: History. Philology. Art Study. N° 51, pp. 84-86.

Pavlenko, A. (2002). Emotions and the body in Russian and English. In: *Pragmatics and Cognition*, 10, 1-2, pp. 201-236.

Pavlenko, A. (2003). ‘I Feel Clumsy Speaking Russian’: L2 Influence on L1 in Narratives of Russian L2 Users of English. In: Cook, Vivian (Ed.). *Effects of the Second Language on the First*. Clevedon, pp. 32-61.

Pavlenko, A. (2005). *Emotions and Multilingualism*. Cambridge University Press.

Pavlenko, A. (2008a). Emotion and emotion-laden words in the bilingual lexicon. In: *Bilingualism: language and Cognition*, 11, p. 147-164.

Pavlenko, A. (2008b). Narrative Analysis. In: Li Wei/ Moyer, Melissa G. (Eds.). *The Blackwell Guide to Research Methods in Bilingualism and Multilingualism*. Blackwell Publishing, pp. 311-325.

Pavlenko, A. / Driagina, V. (2007). Russian Emotion Vocabulary in American Learners' Narratives. In: *The Modern Language Journal* 91, pp. 213-234.

Pinker, S. (1997). *How the mind works*. New York: W.W.Norton.

Plutchik, R. (1980), *Emotion: Theory, research, and experience: Vol. 1. Theories of emotion*, 1, New York: Academic

Ponsonnet, M. (2014). *The Language of Emotions: the case of Dalabon (Australia)*. John Benjamin's Publishing Company: Amsterdam.

Reddy, W. M. 1999. "Emotional Liberty: Politics and History in the Anthropology of Emotions." *Cultural Anthropology* 14, pp. 256-288.

Rimé, B. (2009). More on the social sharing of emotion. *Emotion Review*, 1(1), pp. 94-96.

Rintell, E. (1990). That's incredible: Stories of emotion told by second language learners and native speakers. In: Scarella, R./ Andersen, E./ Krashen, S. (Eds.). *Developing communicative competence in a second language*. Boston, MA: Heinle & Heinle, pp. 75-94.

Robinson, D. L. (2009). "Brain function, mental experience and personality". *The Netherlands Journal of Psychology*, pp. 152–167.

Rosaldo, M. (1984). Toward an anthropology of self and feeling. In: Shweder, R. & LeVine, R. (Eds.). *Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self, and Emotion*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 137-157.

Rosch, E. (1978). Principles of categorization. In: Rosch, E. / Lloyd, B.B. (Eds.). *Cognition and categorization*. Hillsdale, NJ Erlbaum, pp. 28-49.

Rosenthal, N. (2002). *The Emotional Revolution*. New York, Citadel Press.

Rosenwein, B. H. 2002. "Worrying about Emotions in History." *The American Historical Review*.

Rozental', D.E. / Golub, I.B. / Telenkova, M.A. (2010). *Sovremennyj russkij yazyk [Modern Russian]*. Moscow, Airis Press.

Rusch, C. (2004). Cross-cultural variability of the semantic domain of emotion terms: An examination of English shame and embarrassment with Japanese hazukashii. In: *Cross-Cultural Research*, 38, 3, pp. 236-248.

Russell, J. (1991a). Culture and the categorization of emotions. In: *Psychological Bulletin*, 110(3), pp. 426-450.

Russell, James (1991b). In defense of a prototype approach to emotion concepts. In: *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 60, pp. 37-47.

Sánchez, J. / Blanco-Carrión, O. (2007). Frames and critical discourse analysis in violence-related emotive event analysis. In Hart, C. / Luke,š D. (Eds.). *Cognitive linguistics in critical discourse analysis: Application and theory*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp. 232–254.

Schmid, M. (2011). *Language Attrition*. Cambridge University Press, New York.

Searle, J. (1990). Collective Intentions and Actions. In: Morgan, P. / Pollack, M. (Eds.). *Intentions in Communication*. MIT Press, pp. 401-415.

Semin, G. / Görts, C. et al. (2002). Cultural perspectives on the linguistic representation of emotion and emotion events. In: *Cognition and Emotion*, 16, 1, pp. 11-28.

Schachter, S. / Singer, J. (1962). Cognitive, social, and physiological determinants of emotional state. In: *Psychological Review*, 69(5), pp. 379-399.

Schwarz-Friesel, M. (2015). Emotion in Language: The cognitive linguistic perspective. In: Lüdtke, Ulrike M. (Ed.). *Emotion in Language: Theory – Research - Application*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 157-174.

Shakhovskiy, V.I. (2008). *Lingvisticheskaya teoriya emotsij [A Linguistic Theory of Emotions]*. Moscow: Gnozis.

Shakhovskiy, V.I. (2009). *Kategorizatsiya emotsij v leksiko-semanticheskoy sisteme yazyka [Categorization of Emotions in the Lexico-semantic Language System]*. 3-rd ed., Moscow

Shakhovskiy, V.I. (2010). *Emotsii: Dolingvistika, lingvistika, lingvokul'turologiya [Emotions: Pre-Linguistics, Linguistics, Linguo-Culturology]*. Moscow: Publishing House " Librocom".

Sharoff, S. (2006). *Meaning as Use: a communication-centered approach to lexical meanings*. University of Leeds.

Shaver, P. / Wu, S. / Schwartz, J. (1992). Cross-cultural similarities and differences in emotions and its representation: A prototype approach. In: Clark, M. S. (Ed.). *Review of Personality and Social Psychology: Emotion*, 13. Newbury Park: Sage, pp.175-212.

Shmelev, A. (2005a). Terpimost' v russkoj jazykovej kartine mira [Tolerance in the Russian linguistic picture of the world], in: Zalizniak, A. / Levontina, I. / Shmelev, A. (Eds.). *Ključevye idei russkoj jazykovej kartiny mira [Key ideas of the Russian linguistic picture of the world]*, Moscow: Yazyki russkoy kultury, pp.110-130.

Shmelev, A. (2005b). V poiskah mira i lada. [Searching for peace and concordance]. In : Zalizniak, A. / Levontina, I. / Shmelev, A. (Eds.). Ključevye idei ruskoj jazykovoj kartiny mira [The key ideas of the Russian linguistic picture of the world]. Moscow: Yazyki ruskoj kultury, pp.110-130.

Shweder, R. A. (1991). Thinking through cultures: Expeditions in cultural psychology. Harvard University Press.

Shweder, R.A. (1994). "You're not sick, you're just in love": Emotion as an interpretive system. In: Ekman, P./ Davidson, R. (Eds.). The nature of emotion: Fundamental questions. Oxford University Press, pp. 32-44.

Siepmann, D. (2014). Extent of Collocational Distance between Languages: a Corpus-based Study of Emotion Nouns. In: Blumenthal, Peter et al. (Eds.). Les émotions dans le discours. Emotions in discourse. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 39-53.

Slyusareva, N.A. (1981). Problemy funktsional'nogo sintaksisa sovremennogo russkogo yazyka [Problems of the functional syntax of Modern Russian]. Moscow

Sokolova, S. (2008). Semantic Enrichment of Pronouns in Russian. Cognitive and Functional Perspectives on Dynamic Tendencies in Language. University of Tromsø, SCLC, pp.188-190.

Soriano, C. (2013). Conceptual Metaphor Theory and the GRID paradigm in the study of anger in English and Spanish. In: Fontaine, J. et al. (Eds.). Components of emotional meaning: A sourcebook. Oxford University Press, pp. 46-62.

Soriano, C. (2015). Emotion and conceptual metaphor. In: Flam, H. / Kleres, J. (Eds.). Methods of Exploring Emotions, pp. 206-214.

Soriano, C. et al. (2013). Types of Anger in Spanish and Russian. In: Fontaine, Johnny et al. (Ed.). Components of Emotional Meaning. A Sourcebook. Oxford University Press, pp.339-352.

Stacenko, A. (2006). Osobnosti illokutivnoj funktsii emotsional'no-otsenочноj leksiki v anglijskom i ruskom yazykah [Features of the illocutive function of emotion and evaluation vocabulary in English and Russian]. In: Pedagogicheskie Nauki, vol.2.

Stepanova, O. / Coley, J. (2002). The Green Eyed Monster: Linguistic influences on concepts of envy and jealousy in Russian and English. In: Journal of Cognition and Culture, 2, 4, pp. 235-262.

Stets, J. E. / Turner, J. H. Moral Emotions. In: Stets, Jan E. / Turner, Jonathan H. (Eds.). Handbook of the Sociology of Emotions. Springer 2007, pp.544-567.

Tarone, E. (2008). Sociolinguistic Approaches to Second Language Acquisition

Research: 1997-2007. In: *The Modern Language Journal* 91, 5, pp. 837-848.

Titscher, S. / Jenner, B. et al. (2000). *Methods of text and discourse analysis*. SAGE Publications London.

Ufimtseva, A.A. (1986). *Leksicheskoe znachenie. (Printsiipy semiologicheskogo opisaniya leksiki) [The Lexical Meaning. (Principles of Semiological Description of Lexis)]*. Moscow

Ufimtseva, A.A. (1988). *Rol' leksiki v poznanii chelovekom okruzhayushchej dejstvitel'nosti i formirovanii yazykovoj kartiny mira [The Role of Lexis in Human Cognition of the Surrounding Reality and Shaping a Linguistic Picture of the World]*. Moscow

Uryson, E.V. (1995). *Fundamental'nye sposobnosti cheloveka i naivnaya "anatomy"*. [Basic human abilities and "naïve" anatomy]. In: *Voprosy yazykoznanija* 3, pp.3-16.

Uspensky, V.A. (1979). *O veshchnykh konnotacijakh abstraktnykh sushchestvitel'nykh*. In: *Venoler, Z. Semiotika i Informatika*. Moscow

Vinogradov, V.V. (1947). *Russkij yazyk (Grammaticheskoe izuchenie slova) [The Russian Language (The Grammatical Study of the Word)]*. Moscow-Leningrad

Volek, B. (1987). *Emotive signs in language and semantic functioning of derived nouns in Russian*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Volf, E.M (1985). *Funktsional'naya semantika otsenki [The Functional Semantics of Estimation]*. Moscow

Volkova, N. (2005). *Russkaya emotivnaya frazeologiya v yazyke i tekste [Russian emotive phraseology in language and text]*. Candidate Philology Doctoral thesis, Voronezh State University.

Vorkachyov, S.G. (1998). *Zavist' i revnost': k semanticheskomu predstavleniyu moral'nyh chuvstv v estestvennom yazyke [ENVY and JEALOUSY: about the semantic presentation of moral feelings in the natural language]*. *Proceedings of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Series: Literature and Language*. Moscow, 1998, Vol. 57, №3, pp. 39-45.

Vygotsky, L. (1978). *Mind in Society. The Development of Higher Psychological Processes*. Harvard University Press.

Wierzbicka, A. (1991). *Cross-cultural pragmatics: the semantics of social interaction*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Wierzbicka, A. (1992). *Semantics, Culture, and Cognition. Universal Human Concepts*

in Culture-Specific Configurations. New York, Oxford University Press.

Wierzbicka, A. (1995). Everyday Conception of Emotion. A Semantic Perspective. In: Russell et al. (Eds.): Everyday Conceptions of Emotion. An Introduction to the Psychology, Anthropology and Linguistics of Emotion. Dordrecht: Kluwer, pp. 17-48.

Wierzbicka, A. (1997). Understanding cultures through their key words. English, Russian, Polish, German, and Japanese. Oxford University Press.

Wierzbicka, A. (1998a). Russian emotional expression. *Ethos*, 26, 4, pp. 456-483.

Wierzbicka, A. (1998b). *Sadness and anger* in Russian. In: Athanasiadou, Angeliki/Tabakowska, Elzbieta (Eds.). *Speaking of emotions: Conceptualization and expression*. Berlin/ New York: Mouton de Gruyter. Pp. 3-28.

Wierzbicka, A. (1999). *Emotions across languages and cultures: Diversity and universals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wierzbicka, A. (2002). Russian Cultural Scripts: The Theory of Cultural Scripts and its Applications. In: *Ethos* 30(4), pp. 401-432.

Wierzbicka, A. (2003). *Cross-Cultural Pragmatics. The Semantics of Human Interaction*. Mouton de Gruyter Berlin New York.

Wierzbicka, A. (2006). *The English Language: Meaning and Culture*. Oxford University Press.

Zainouldinov, A. (2005). *Léxico con valoración emocional positiva en ruso*. Doctoral Thesis. Barcelona University.

Textbooks and syllabi

Akishina, A.A. / Akishina, T.E. (2009). *Emotsii i mneniya. Vyrazhenie chuvstv v russkom yazyke*. [Emotions and Opinions. Expression of emotions in Russian]. Moscow, Russian language. Kursy.

Andryushina, N.P. / Kozlova, T.V. (2012). *Leksicheskiy minimum po russkomu yazyku kak inostrannomu. Elementarnyj uroven'. Obshchee vladenie*. [Lexical Syllabus for Russian as a foreign language. Level A1. Common Language]. 4-th ed., corrected and expanded. St.Petersburg, Zlatoust

Andryushina, N.P. / Kozlova, T.V. (2013). *Leksicheskiy minimum po russkomu yazyku kak inostrannomu. Bazovyj uroven'. Obshchee vladenie*. [Lexical Syllabus for Russian as a foreign language. Level B1. Common Language]. 5-th ed. St.Petersburg, Zlatoust

Andryushina, N.P. et al. (2013). Programma po russkomu yazyku dlya inostrannyh grazhdan. Pervyj sertifikatsionnyj uroven'. Obshchee vladenie. [Russian language programme for foreign citizens. Level B1. Common language]. 6-th ed. St.Petersburg: Zlatoust

Ballestar Bielsa, Maria et al. (2018). Mucho más que palabras: Español para extranjeros B1.2. Universitat de Barcelona

Barykina, A.N. / Dobrovolskaya, V.V. / Merzon, S.N. (1989). Izuchenie glagol'nyh pristavok [A study of verbal prefixes]. Moscow, Russkij yazyk.

Hamann, C. / Augustin, I. (2014). Otlitschno! B1: Der Russischkurs. Hueber

Neufeld, Steve / Eldridge, John (2009). LexiCLIL: A Lexical Syllabus for the Common European Framework for English. Retrieved from: <http://lexitronics.org>

Nogueira, V. / Gorbatkina, M. / Mercader, C. / Oganissian, M. (2003). Russkij yazyk. Ruso para hispanohablantes. Levels A1, A2, B1. Barcelona, Herder.

Miller, L.V. / Politova, L.V. / Rybakova, I.Y. (2016). Zhili-byli. 28 urokov russkogo yazyka dlya nachinayushchih [Zhili-Byli. 28 lessons of Russian for beginners]. St.Petersburg, Zlatoust.

Sánchez Lobato, Jesus / Acquaroni, Rosana (2014). Vocabulario ELE B2: Léxico fundamental de español de los niveles A1 a B2. SGEL.

Lexicographical sources

Abramov, N. (1994). Slovar' russkih sinonimov i skhodnyh po smyslu vyrazhenij [A Dictionary of Russian Synonyms and Similar Expressions]. Moscow, Russian Dictionaries

Akhmanova, O.S. et al. (Eds.) (1961). Russko - anglijskij slovar'. [Russian - English dictionary]. Moscow, State Publishing House of foreign and national dictionaries.

Aleksandrova, Z.E. (1993). Slovar' sinonimov russkogo yazyka. Okolo 11000 sinonimicheskikh grupp [A Dictionary of Synonyms of the Russian Language. About 11000 synonymic entries]. Moscow, Russkij Yazyk

Apresjan, Y.D. / Boguslavskaya, O.Y. et al. (Eds.) (2000). Novyj obyasnitel'nyj slovar' sinonimov russkogo yazyka. [A New Explanatory Dictionary of Synonyms of the Russian Language]. Moscow, Languages of the Russian Culture.

Babenko, L.G. (2017). In: Babenko, L.G. (Ed.). Konzeptosfera russkogo yazyka:

klyuchevye koncepty i ih reprezentacii v yazyke i rechi (na materiale leksiki, frezeologii i paremiologii) : slovar'. [Conceptosphere of the Russian language: key concepts and their representation in language and speech (based on lexical, phraseological and paremiological material): a dictionary]. Moscow, Azbukovnik.

Bosque, I. (Ed.) (2010). REDES. Diccionario combinatorio del español contemporáneo. Ediciones SM, Madrid.

Chernyh, P.A. (1994). Istoriko-etimologicheskij slovar' sovremennogo russkogo yazyka: 13 560 slov. [A Historical Etymological Dictionary of Modern Russian: 13560 words]. In 2 volumes. Volumes 1-2. Moscow, Russkij Yazyk.

Collins English Dictionary and Thesaurus (1992). Harper Collins Publishers.

Cruzate, M. R.-Z. / Comas, S.V. (2005). Diccionario pocket. Rusko-ispanskij. Español-Ruso. Barcelona, Herder.

Dal', V.I. Slovar' zhivogo velikoruskogo yazyka (1909). [A Dictionary of the Live Great Russian Language]. In 4 volumes. Vol.1.

Denisov, P.N. / Morkovkin V.V. (Eds.) (1983). Slovar' sochetaemosti slov russkogo yazyka. [Combinatory Dictionary of Russian]. Moscow, Russkij Yazyk.

Eckert, R. / Günther, K. (1992). Die Phraseologie der russischen Sprache. Langenscheidt Leipzig.

Fasmer, M. (2006). Etimologicheskij slovar' russkogo yazyka. [An Etymology Dictionary of Russian]. In 4 volumes. Vol.1.

Fateeva, L.I. (Ed.) (2008). Etimologicheskij slovar' russkogo yazyka. Okolo 2000 slov sovremennogo russkogo yazyka [An Etymology Dictionary of Russian. App. 2000 words of Modern Russian]. Moscow, AST / Vostok-Zapad

Gorbachevich, K.S. (Ed.) (1994). Slovar' sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo yazyka. [A Dictionary of Modern Literary Russian]. Moscow, Russkij Yazyk.

Iordanskaya, L.N. (1984). GNEV [ANGER]. In: Mel'chuk, I.A. / Zholkovskij, A.K. (Eds.). Tolkovo-kombinatornyj slovar' russkogo yazyka. Opyty semantiko-sintaksicheskogo opisaniya russkoj leksiki [An Explanatory Combinatory Dictionary of Russian. Essays on semantic-syntactic description of the Russian vocabulary]. Wiener Slawistischer Almanach. Sonderband 14. Wien, pp. 248-251.

Krasnyh, V.I. (2001). Slovar' sochetaemosti: glagoly, predikativy i prilagatel'nye v russkom yazyke [A Dictionary of Combinability: Verbs, Predicatives and Adjectives in Russian].

Lebedeva, M.H. (2000). Slovar'-spravochnik sintaksicheskoj sochetaemosti glagolov [A Reference Dictionary of Verbal Syntactic Combinability].

Lyashevskaya, O.N. / Sharov, S.A. (2009). Chastotnyj slovar' sovremennogo russkogo yazyka (na materialah Natsional'nogo korpusa russkogo yazyka) [A Frequency Dictionary of the Modern Russian language (based on the Russian National Corpus)]. Moscow, Azbukovnik.

Marzischevskaya, K.A. / Sordo Peña, B.J. / Marinero, C. (1985). Pequeño Diccionario Español-Ruso y Ruso-Español. Moscú, Idioma Ruso

Molotkov, A.I. (Ed.) (1986). Frazeologicheskij slovar' russkogo yazyka. Svyshe 4 000 slovarnyh statej [A Phraseology Dictionary of Russian. Over 4000 dictionary entries]. Moscow, Russkij Yazyk

Nogueira, V. (1992). Russko-ispanskij slovar'. Diccionario Ruso- Español. Madrid, Rubiños 1860.

Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2005). Oxford University Press.

Oxford Dictionary of English (2010). Oxford University Press.

Ozhegov, S.I. (1973). Slovar' russkogo yazyka. [A Dictionary of Russian]. Moscow, Sovetskaja enciklopedija.

Orel, V. (2007). Russian Etymological Dictionary. 4 vols. Shevoroshkin, V. / Drover-Davidson, C. (Eds.). Calgary, Canada: Octavia Press (vols. 1-3) & Theophania Publishing (vol. 4), 2007-2011.

Patterson, R.F. / Litt, D. (1980). The University English Dictionary. London, University Books.

Roget, P.M. (1972). Roget's Thesaurus of Synonyms and Antonyms. Framingham, Mas., USA.

Rozanova, V.V. (Ed.) (1990). Kratkij tolkovyj slovar' russkogo yazyka (s perevodom). [A Concise Explanatory Dictionary of Russian (translated)]. Moscow, Russkij jazyk.

Rozental', D.E. / Golub, I.B. / Telenkova, M.A. (2002). Sovremennyj russkij yazyk [Modern Russian Language]. Moscow, Airis-Press.

Shansky, N. / Bystrova, E. (1975). 700 Russian idioms and set phrases. Russian language publishers, Moscow.

Skeat, W.W. (1998). The Concise Dictionary of English Etymology (1998). . Wordsworth Editions Ltd.

Smith, C.C. / Davies, G.A. / Hall, H.B. (1988). Langenscheidt Diccionario internacional. Español - Inglés / Inglés - Español Revised and updated edition. New York - Berlin - Munich.

The New American Roget's College Thesaurus in Dictionary Form (1978). New American Library. Times Mirror.

Wade, T. (1996). Russian Etymological Dictionary. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press

Wheeler, M. (1985). The Oxford Russian-English Dictionary. Oxford University Press

Zainqui, J.M. (1997). Diccionario razonado de sinónimos y contrarios. Nueva edición actualizada. Editorial de Vecchi, S.A.

Zasorina, L.N. (Ed.) (1977). Chastotnyj slovar' russkogo yazyka: okolo 40 tysyach slov [Frequency Dictionary of Russian: appr. 40 thousand entries]. Moscow, Russkij Yazyk.

Lexicographical sources on-line:

Collins Concise English Dictionary. HarperCollins Publishers. In: Online Language Dictionaries. Retrieved from:

<http://www.diclib.com/cgi-bin/d1.cgi?l=en&base=bbicombinatory&page=showindex>

Common European Framework of Reference for Languages Retrieved 13/09/2019

<https://www.coe.int/en/web/common-european-framework-reference-languages>

Diccionario de colocaciones del Español (DiCE). Retrieved from:

<http://www.dicesp.com/consultageneral/lemas>

Diccionario de Sinónimos de la Universidad de Oviedo. Retrieved from:

<http://www6.uniovi.es/dic/sinon.html>

Diccionario de sinónimos y antónimos. Diccionario de la lengua española de la Real Academia Española. Retrieved from:

https://www.diccionarios.com/detalle.php?dicc_100=onHYPERLINK

Longman Dictionary of Common Errors, WordReference English Thesaurus, WordReference Random House Learner's Dictionary of American English, WordReference Random House Unabridged Dictionary of American English. Retrieved from <http://www.wordreference.com>

Psylist.net. Frazelogicheskij slovar' vyrazheniya chuvstv i emotsij [Psylist.net. Phraseological dictionary of emotional expression]. Retrieved from: <https://psylist.net/slovar/aaa.htm>

WordReference Spanish-English Dictionary. Retrieved from:
<http://www.wordreference.com/sinonimos/enfado>

Corpora and word frequency lists on-line:

A Collection of English Corpora. BNC. Retrieved from:
<http://corpus.leeds.ac.uk/protected/query.html>

BNC word frequency lists. Retrieved from:
<http://www.kilgarriff.co.uk/BNClists/lemma.num>

British National Corpus. Retrieved from: <http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/>

Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual (CREA). Retrieved from:
<http://corpus.rae.es/creanet.html>

Corpus del Español del Siglo XXI (CORPES). Retrieved from:
<http://web.frl.es/CORPES/view/inicioExterno.view;jsessionid=564781E4E7CBA240664FCED843322BA3>

Corpus del Español Now. Retrieved from: <https://www.corpusdelespanol.org/now/>

Corpus of Contemporary American English. Retrieved from:
<http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/>

CREA word frequency list. Retrieved from: <http://corpus.rae.es/lfrecuencias.html>

Frequency list of the Corpus del Español del Siglo XXI (CORPES). Retrieved from:
<http://web.frl.es/CORPES/view/inicioExterno.view;jsessionid=D91EF145E23E7B2D029AD2408A023506>

Real Academia Española. (n.d). Corpus de la Referencia del Español Actual (CREA). Retrieved from <http://corpus.rae.es/creanet.html>

Russian National Corpus (RNC). Retrieved from: <http://www.ruscorpora.ru/en/>

Spanish Internet Corpus INTERNET-ES. Retrieved from:
<http://corpus.leeds.ac.uk/internet.html>

The Helsinki Annotated Corpus of Russian Texts (HANCO). Retrieved from:
http://www.ling.helsinki.fi/projects/hanco/index_e.html

Uppsala Corpus of Modern Russian Texts. Retrieved from:
<http://www.slaviska.uu.se/ryska/index.html>

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Lexical Syllabus for Russian as a Foreign Language. Emotive Lexis

Emotion words	Phonetic transcription	Spanish translation	English translation
Elementary level (A1)			
весело	veselo	alegremente	merrily
весёлый	vesyolyi	alegre	merry
внимательно	vnimatel'no	atentamente	attentively
жаль	zhal'	es una lástima	What a pity!
желать (кому? чего?)	zhelat' (komu? Chego?)	desear	to wish (smb smth)
интересно	interesno	esto es muy interesante	it is interesting
любимый	lyubimyi	querido, amado,	favourite
любить	lyubit'	amar, querer	to love
любовь	lyubov'	amor, afecto, pasión	love
нравиться	nraivit'sya	gustar	to appeal, to like
осторожно	ostorozhno	con cuidado	cautiously
плохо	ploho	mal	badly
плохой	plohoi	malo	bad
приятно	priyatno	es muy agradable	it is pleasant
рад, -а, -ы	rad, -a, -y	contento, encantado	to be glad
сильный	sil'nyi	fuerte, vigoroso,	strong
смелый	smelyi	audaz, osado	brave
спокойно	spokoino	tranquilamente,	calmly
счастливый	schastlivyi	feliz	happy
счастье	schastye	felicidad, fortuna	happiness
удовольствие	udovol'stvie	placer, gusto	pleasure, delight,
хороший	horoshii	bueno	good
хорошо	horosho	bien	well
хотеть	hotet'	querer, tener ganas	to wish, to desire
чувствовать	chuvstvovat'	sentir	to feel
Basic level (A2)			
волноваться	volnovat'sya	conmoverse,	to worry, to be

<p>грустно грустный добрый доволен, -а, -ы (чем?) дружба дружный жалко замечательный злой легко молодец надеяться несчастье ничего нормально отлично прекрасно прекрасный радость скучно смеяться спокойный трудно уважать улыбаться целовать честный</p>	<p>grustno grustnyi dobryi dovolen, -a, -y (chem?) druzhba druzhnyi zhalko zamechatel'nyi zloi legko molodets nadeyat'sya neschastye nichego normal'no otlichno prekrasno prekrasnyi radost' skuchno smeyat'sya spokoinyi trudno uvazhat' ulybat'sya tselovat' chestnyi</p>	<p>inquietarse tristamente triste, melancólico bueno contento, satisfecho amistad unánime, unido es una pena/lástima admirable, magnífico malo facilmente gallardo, bravo, buen mozo esperar, confiar desgracia no mal, no importa, no es nada normalmente perfectamente excelentamente admirable alegría aburridamente reírse tranquilo, sereno difícilmente respetar, estimar sonreír besar honrado</p>	<p>anxious it is sad sad, melancholy kind to be content, to be pleased friendship friendly What a pity! Remarkable angry, evil it is easy There's a good lad! to hope bad luck, misfortune not badly, so-so quite normal, passable excellent it is wonderful fine, wonderful joy it is boring to laugh calm, serene, quiet it is difficult to respect to smile to kiss honest</p>
<p>Intermediate level(B1)</p> <p>глупо глупый гордиться гордый горе грубый доброта добрый же желание (за)плакать</p>	<p>glupo glupyi gordit'sya gordyi gore grubyi dobrota dobryi zhelanie (za)plakat'</p>	<p>estupidamente tonto, estúpido, estar orgulloso orgulloso, soberbio pena, dolor grosero, insolente bondad bueno deseo llorar</p>	<p>It is stupid stupid, silly to feel proud of proud woe, grief rude, harsh kindness kind desire, wish to start weeping</p>

милый	milyi	simpático, agradable	nice, darling
надежда	nadezhda	esperanza	hope
надеяться	nadeyat'sya	esperar, confiar	to hope
настроение	nastroenie	estado de ánimo	mood, humour
необыкновенный	neobyknovennyi	extraordinario	unusual, special
неожиданно	neozhidanno	inesperadamente	unexpectedly,
неприятность	nepriyatnost'	disgusto, desagrado	mishap,
нервный	nervnyi	nervioso	nervous, excited
несчастный	neschastnyi	desgraciado, infeliz	unhappy
обижать	obizhat'	ofender	to offend
обижаться	obizhat'sya	ofenderse	to take offence
(об)радовать	(ob)radovat'	alegrar	to make smb happy
(об)радоваться	(ob)radovat'sya	alegrarse	to be glad
полюбить	polyubit'	enamorarse	to fall in love
смешной	smeshnoi	cómico, ridículo	funny
сожаление (к сожалению)	sozhalenie (k sozhaleniyu)	por desgracia, sentimiento	pity (to smb's regret)
сомневаться	somnevat'sya	dudar	to doubt
страдать	stradat'	sufrir	to suffer
странный	strannyi	extraño, raro	strange, weird
страшный	strashnyi	terrible, espantoso	awful, frightening
строго	strogo	severamente	strictly
стыдно	styдно	avergonzarse	it is a shame
увлекаться	uvlekat'sya	aficionarse	to go in for
увлечение	uvlechenie	animación,	enthusiasm, passion
удивиться	udivit'sya	asombrarse	to be surprised
ужасно	uzhasno	horriblemente	awfully
ужасный	uzhasnyi	horrible, espantoso,	awful
успокоиться	uspokoit'sya	tranquilizarse,	to calm down
целоваться	tselovat'sya	besarse	to kiss

Appendix 2

Emotive vocabulary in textbooks. Tendencies in Russia and in some European countries

Russia

Emotion words mentioned in the textbook „Жили-Были. 28 уроков русского языка для начинающих“ [Zhili-Byli. 28 lessons of Russian for beginners], ed. Zlatoust.

Emotion words	Phonetic transcription	English translation
Level A1		
влюбиться	vlyubit'sya	to fall in love
грустный	grustnyi	sad, melancholy
грусть	grust'	grief, sorrow
добрый	dobryi	kind
дорогой	dorogoi	dear, darling
комплимент	kompliment	compliment
ленивый	lenivyi	lazy
любить	lyubit'	to love
любовь	lyubov'	love
любопытный	lyubopytnyi	curious
любопытство	lyubopytstvo	curiosity
молчаливый	molchalivyi	silent
нравиться	nraivit'sya	to appeal, to like
отлично	otlichno	excellent
пугаться	pugat'sya	to get frightened
рад	rad	to be glad
радость	radost'	joy
свидание	svidanie	date
смеяться	smeyat'sya	to laugh
странно	stranno	it is strange
счастье	schastye	happiness
удивлять	udivlyat'	to surprise
удовольствие	udovol'stvie	pleasure, delight, relish
улыбаться	ulybat'sya	to smile
умирать	umirat'	to die
хорошо	horosho	well
хотеть	hotet'	to wish, to desire
целовать	tselovat'	to kiss

чувствовать себя чудесный	chuvstvovat' sebya chudesnyi	to feel fine, wonderful
------------------------------	---------------------------------	----------------------------

Spain

Emotion words and expressions mentioned in the textbook 'Ruso para hispanohablantes (level A1, A2, B1)', ed. Herder

Emotion words	Phonetic transcription	Spanish translation	English translation
Level A1			
любимый любить нравиться улыбаться устать	"lubimyi" "lubit" "nraivit'sya" "ulybat'sya" "ustavat"	preferido amar, gustar agradar, gustar sonreír cansarse	favorite to love, to like to appeal to smile to get tired
Level A2			
беспокоиться больно бояться весело внимательно дружить желать, пожелать захотеть, хотеть интересоваться мечтать наконец-то настроение неважно поцеловать, целовать почувствовать, чувствовать праздновать приятно скучно	"bespokoit'sya" "bol'no" "boyat'sya" "veselo" "vnimatel'no" "druzhit" "zhelat'", "pozhelat" "interesovat'sya" "mechtat" "nakonets-to!" "nastroenie" "nevazhno" "potselovat'", "tselovat" "pochuvstvovat" "prazdnovat" "priyatno" "skuchno"	inquietarse, preocuparse tener miedo con alegría atentamente tener amistad desear querer hacer algo interesarse soñar, ilusionarse ¡por fin! estado de ánimo bastante mal besar sentir(se) celebrar es agradable aburrido	to worry it hurts to be scared merrily attentively to make friends to desire, to wish to want to be interested to dream of at last! mood pretty bad to kiss to feel to celebrate it is pleasant it is boring

смешно смеяться страшно тяжелый улыбнуться, улыбаться умереть	“smeshno” “smeyat'sya” “strashno” “tyazhelyi” “ulybnut'sya”, “ulybat'sya” “umeret'”	da risa reirse da miedo pesado sonreír(se) morir	it is funny to laugh it is scary it is hard to give a smile to die
Level B1 впечатление жадный замечательный замкнутый заплакать, плакать заслужить извинить ленивый любопытный миленький надеяться немедленно ненавидеть обнимать обождать обрадоваться, радоваться ошибаться, ошибиться (по)везёт потрясающий представить себе привлекать привыкать привычка равнодушен развлечение ревнивый сбываться скромный скучать сладко спорить, поспорить стараться	vpechatlenie zhadnyi zamechatel'nyi zamknutyi zaplakat', plakat' zasluzhit' izvinit' lenivyi lyuboznatel'nyi milen'kii nadeyat'sya nemedlenno nenavidet' obnimat' obozhat' obradovat'sya, radovat'sya oshibat'sya, oshibit'sya (po)vezyot potryasayuscshii predstavit' sebe privlekat' privykat' privychka ravnodushen raqzvlechenie revnivyi sbyvat'sya skromnyi skuchat' sladko sporit', posporit' starat'sya	impresión, efecto ávido, codicioso admirable, reservado llorar merecer perdonar, excusar perezoso, holgazán curioso simpático, tener esperanza inmediatamente odiar abrazar adorar alegrarse equivocarse tiene suerte estupendo imaginarse atraer acostumbrarse, costumbre indiferente diversión celoso realizarse modesto echar de menos a, dulcemente discutir, disputar intentar, esforzarse destino, suerte	impression greedy remarkable reserved to cry, to weep to deserve to excuse lazy curious nice, sweetheart to hope at once to hate to hug to adore to be delighted to make a mistake to be lucky tremendous to imagine to attract to get used to habit indifferent entertainment jealous to come true modest, humble to miss sweetly to dispute to try fate, destiny

судьба терпеть торопиться трудолюбивый тяжёлый характер уверен увлекаться, увлечься увы удивить, удивлять удивиться ужас ужасно уютно честный	sud'ba terpet' toropit'sya trudolyubivyi tyazholyi harakter uveren uvlekat'sya, uvlech'sya uvy udivit', udivlyat' udivit'sya uzhas uzhasno uyutno chestnyi	aguantar tener prisa laborioso difícil carácter estar seguro apasionarse, aficionarse ay sorprender sorprenderse horror horriblemente, cómodo, acogedor honrado	to suffer, to endure industrious hard to deal with to be sure to go in for alas! to surprise to get surprised horror horrible cozy honest
(Level B1). Выражения и словосочетания			
Вам не мешает , что я курю? Вам повезло! Вы уже привыкли к жизни за границей? Извини меня за то , что ... К счастью ... Как поживаешь? Меня удивляет современная мода.	Vam ne meshaet, chto ya kuryu? Vam povezlo! Vy uzhe privykli k zhizni za granitsej? Izvini menya za to, chto... K schastyu... Kak pozhivaesh? Menya udivlyaet sovremennaya moda	¿No le molesto si fumo? ¿Ha tenido suerte! ¿Se ha acostumbrado a vivir en el extranjero? Disculpa por lo que... Por suerte ¿Como te va? Me sorprende la moda de hoy.	Do you mind my smoking? You are lucky! Have you already got used to living abroad? I apologize for... Fortunately... How are you? I am surprised at the modern fashion. I am in bad luck today. I feel like... We always dreamed of visiting... There's not a drop of colour in your face! I hope that... Because of excitement... Perhaps. I have no idea!
Мне сегодня не везёт! Мне хочется ... Мы всегда мечтали побывать ... На тебе лица нет!	Mne segodnya ne vezgot! Mne hochetsya... My vseгда mechtali pobyvat'... Na tebe litsa net!	Hoy no tengo suerte. Me apetece... Siempre hemos soñado con ir a... ¿Tienes mal aspecto!	
Надеюсь, что ... От волнения ...	Nadeyus', chto... Ot volneniya...	Espero que... De nervios Quizás, tal vez ¿No tengo ni idea!	

Пожалуй. Понятия не имею! Представь себе! Производить впечатление. Терпеть не могу мыть посуду! Хватит! Хорошо тебе! Что мне делать? Что случилось? Я не обязана мыть квартиру! Я очень по тебе скучаю. Я равнодушен к футболу. Я удивляюсь тебе!	Pozhalui... Ponyatiya ne imeyu! Predstav' sebe! Proizvodit' vpechatlenie. Terpet' ne mogu myt' posudu! Hvatit! Horosho tebe! Chto mne delat'? Chto sluchilos'? Ya ne obyazana myt' kvartiru! Ya ochen' po tebe skuchayu. Ya ravnodushen k futbolu. Ya udivlyayus' tebe!	¡Imagínate! Causar la impresión. ¡Odio lavar los platos! ¡Suficiente! ¡Basta! ¡Que suerte tienes! ¿Qué puedo hacer? ¿Qué ha pasado? ¡No estoy obligada de limpiar el piso! Te echo mucho de menos. El fútbol me deja indiferente. ¡Me sorprendes!	Just imagine! To make an impression. I hate washing dishes! That's the limit! Lucky you! What am I to do? What's happened? I am not obliged to clean the flat! I miss you badly. I am indifferent to football. I am amazed at you!
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Germany

Emotive words mentioned in the textbook “Otlitschno! (Level B1)”, ed. Hueber

Emotion words	Phonetic transcription	English translation
беспокоить(ся)	bespokoit'sya	to worry, to be anxious
бояться	boyat'sya	to be afraid
великолепный	velikolepnyi	magnificent
вера	vera	faith
верить	verit'	to believe
верность	vernost'	loyalty, fidelity, faithfulness
вешать нос	veshat' nos	to hang one's nose/head
взволновать	vzvolnovat'	to excite
взволноваться	vzvolnovat'sya	to get excited
виноват	vinovat	to be sorry, guilty
влюбиться / влюбляться	vlyubit'sya/vlyublyat'sya	to fall in love
волновать	volnovat'	to upset, to worry
волноваться	volnovat'sya	to be/get upset, agitated
восхититься	voskhilit'sya/	to admire
/восхищаться	voskhischat'sya	

выдержать / выдерживать вызвать (у кого? что?) гордиться грубый душа доброта доволен как слон дружить жестокий завидовать злой (böse, boshaft) импонировать к лучшему к худшему капризничать кошмар кричать любопытный мужественный мужество Мурашки по спине побежали. надежда надоедать / надоесть Нам повезло. неудача настроение не верить своим глазам негативный ненавидеть необыкновенный обеспокоить(ся) обидеть(ся) / обижать(ся) обидно несчастный нетактичный обрадоваться ощущение падать духом паника переживать / пережить плакать побеспокоить(ся) поверить	vyderzhat'/vyderzhivat' vyzvat' (u kogo? Chto?) gordit'sya grubyi dusha dobrota dovolen kak slon druzhit' zhestokii zavidovat' zloi imponirovat' k luchshemu k hudshemu kapriznichat' koshmar krichat' lyubopytnyi muzhestvennyi muzhestvo Murashki po spine pobezhali nadezhda nadoedat'/nadoest' Nam povezlo neudacha nastroenie ne verit' svoim glazam negativnyi nenavidet' neobyknovennyi obespokoit'(sya) obidet'(sya)/ obizhat'(sya) obidno neschastnyi netaktichnyi obradovat'sya oschuschenie padat' duhom panika perezhivat'/perezhit' plakat' pobespokoit'(sya) poverit'	to bear, to stand to cause, to bring about to be proud rude soul kindness satisfied/pleased to make friends hard-hearted, cruel, brutal to envy angry to impress, for the better for the worse to be wayward/fretful nightmare to shout/cry curious brave, courageous, manly courage It gives me the shivers/creeps. hope to bother, to pester We had a piece of luck. failure mood not to believe one's eyes negative to hate unusual, special to trouble, to bother to offend – to take offence offensively, insultingly unhappy tactless to be delighted/pleased feeling/sentiment to to become despondent panic to experience, to cry/weep to disturb/bother to believe to envy
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

позавидовать	pozavidovat'	positive
позитивный	pozitivnyi	to fall in love
полюбить	polyubit'	I have no idea.
Понятия не имею.	Ponyatiya ne imeyu.	kiss
поцелуй	potselui	to forgive
простить / прощать	prostit'/proschat'	to be delighted/pleased
радоваться	radovat'sya	glad
радостный	radostnyi	heart-to-heart talks
разговоры по душам	razgovory po dusham	to become angry
рассердиться	rasserdit'sya	to scold/swear at, to curse
ругать(ся)	rugat'(sya)	brave
смелый	smelyi	to doubt
сомневаться	somnevat'sya	doubt
сомнение	sommenie	spontaneous
спонтанный	spontannyi	to argue/dispute
спорить	sporit'	justice
справедливость	spravedlivost'	just
справедливый	spravedlivyi	to kneel down
становиться / стать на колени	stanovit'sya/stat' na koleni	fear of the future
страх перед будущим	strah pered buduschim	to suffer, to put up with smth
терпеть	terpet'	to go in for
увлекать(ся) / увлечь(ся)	uvlekat'(sya)/uvlech'(sya)	to be surprised
удивиться / удивляться	udivit'sya/udivlyat'sya	surprise
удивление	udivlenie	Hurrah!
Ура!	Ura!	to calm down
успокаивать / успокоить	uspokaivat'/uspokoit'	fantastic
фантастический	fantasticheskii	to value
ценить	tsemit'	honesty
честность	chestnost'	honour
честь	chest'	feeling/sentiment
чувство	chuvstvo	shock
шок	shok	emotional
эмоциональной	emotsional'nyi	enthusiasm
энтузиазм	entuziazm	

Appendix 3

Frequency chart of Russian emotion words. The data from the New Frequency Dictionary of Russian (Lyashevskaya & Sharov, 2009), based on the Russian National Corpus

order	emotion word	part of speech	frequency
181	любить <i>lyubit'</i> "to love"	v	503.1
307	любовь <i>lyubov'</i> "love"	n	323.9
392	бояться <i>boyat'sya</i> "to be afraid"	v	266.5
403	интерес <i>interes</i> "interest"	n	260.6
428	чувствовать <i>chuvstvovat'</i> "to feel"	v	246.9
437	чувство <i>chuvstvo</i> "feeling"	n	242.2
711	нравиться <i>nравit'sya</i> "to please"	v	160.6
753	надежда <i>nadezhda</i> "hope"	n	154.5
784	счастье <i>schastye</i> "happiness"	n	149.2
874	радость <i>radost'</i> "joy"	n	137.2
876	надеяться <i>nadeyat'sya</i> "to hope"	v	137.1
961	почувствовать <i>pochuvstvovat'</i> "to feel"	v	124.2
972	желать <i>zhelat'</i> "to desire, to wish"	v	123.1
992	любимый <i>lyubimyj</i> "beloved, sweetheart"	adj	120.4
1023	счастливый <i>schastlivyj</i> "happy"	adj	117.2
1054	удовольствие <i>udovol'stvie</i> "pleasure"	n	114.5
1065	боль <i>bol'</i> "pain"	n	113.3
1078	спокойно <i>spokojno</i> "calmly"	adv	112.1
1210	сожаление <i>sozhalenie</i> "regret"	n	99.4
1266	интересно <i>interesno</i> "interestingly"	adv	96.4
1307	ужас <i>uzhas</i> "horror"	n	93.8
1316	понравиться <i>ponravit'sya</i> "to appeal"	v	93.1
1418	страшно <i>strashno</i> "awfully"	adv	87.2
1472	удивиться <i>udivit'sya</i> "to be surprised"	v	84.3
1488	спокойный <i>spokojnyj</i> "calm"	adj	83.4
1659	виноватый <i>vinovatyj</i> "guilty, to blame"	adj	73.0
1811	страсть <i>strast'</i> "passion"	n	66.5

1957	злой <i>zloj</i> "wicked, angry"	adj	61.5
1976	рад <i>rad</i> "glad"	adj	61.0
1999	страдать <i>stradat'</i> "to suffer"	v	59.8
2017	весело <i>veselo</i> "joyfully, merrily"	adv	59.2
2057	радоваться <i>radovat'sya</i> "to be glad"	v	57.8
2085	интересовать <i>interesovat'</i> "to interest"	v	57.0
2094	зло <i>zlo</i> "evil, malice"	n	56.7
2111	восторг <i>vostorg</i> "rapture"	n	56.2
2140	больно <i>bol'no</i> "painfully"	adv	55.6
2146	удивление <i>udivlenie</i> "surprise"	n	55.5
2165	несчастный <i>neschastnyj</i> "unhappy"	adj	54.9
2176	вина <i>vina</i> "guilt"	n	54.6
2180	жалко <i>zhalko</i> "most regrettable"	adv	54.4
2212	довольный <i>dovol'nyj</i> "contented"	adj	53.4
2268	жаль <i>zhal'</i> "it's a pity!"	adv	52.0
2272	переживать <i>perezhivat'</i> "to feel anxious"	v	51.6
2277	жалеть <i>zhalet'</i> "to regret"	v	51.4
2307	тревога <i>trevoga</i> "anxiety"	n	50.8
2309	напряжение <i>napryazhenie</i> "tention"	n	50.7
2334	волноваться <i>volnovat'sya</i> "to worry"	v	49.9
2336	поразить <i>porazit'</i> "to strike"	v	49.9
2350	уважение <i>uvazhenie</i> "respect"	n	49.7
2367	удивляться <i>udivlyat'sya</i> "to be surprised"	v	49.4
2396	пережить <i>perezhit'</i> "to experience smth"	v	48.9
2418	тоска <i>toska</i> "anguish, distress, grief"	n	48.5
2423	горе <i>gore</i> "grief, sorrow"	n	48.3
2441	испугаться <i>ispugat'sya</i> "to get frightened"	v	47.8
2511	жаловаться <i>zhalovat'sya</i> "to complain"	v	46.1
2514	успокоиться <i>uspokoit'sya</i> "to calm down"	v	46.1
2553	нервный <i>nervnyj</i> "nervous"	adj	45.0
2570	одинокий <i>odinokij</i> "lonely"	adj	44.5
2581	ненавидеть <i>nenavidet'</i> "to hate"	v	44.1
2608	стыдно <i>styдно</i> "it's a shame!"	adv	43.5

2612	воспринимать <i>vosprinimat'</i> "to perceive"	v	43.4
2614	обида <i>obida</i> "offence"	n	43.4
2619	ненависть <i>nenavist'</i> "hatred"	n	43.3

Appendix 4

Frequency list of emotion words based on the British National Corpus' frequency list. Retrieved from BNC database and word frequency lists
[<http://www.kilgarriff.co.uk/BNClists/lemma.num>]

order of appearance	emotion word	part of speech	frequency
666	love	v	15398
709	enjoy	v	14527
741	love	n	13921
792	happy	a	12854
812	suffer	v	12584
886	sorry	a	11453
1127	fear	n	8934
1209	hope	n	8369
1340	worry	v	7224
1739	fear	v	5453
1934	hate	v	4752
2007	shock	n	4502
2095	angry	a	4282
2179	glad	a	4075
2188	bother	v	4048
2191	surprised	a	4042
2340	please	v	3689
2389	sad	a	3588
2391	emotional	a	3583
2411	surprising	a	3540
2469	emotion	n	3418
2515	exciting	a	3323
2530	anger	n	3291
2566	mad	a	3210
2645	anxious	a	3088
2652	nervous	a	3079
2655	pleased	a	3076

2697	worried	a	3005
2820	spite	n	2802
2839	violent	a	2775
2847	pleasant	a	2766
2856	upset	v	2754
2910	excitement	n	2675
2951	desperate	a	2608
2976	frighten	v	2551
3001	passion	n	2516
3121	disappoint	v	2368
3303	satisfactory	a	2179
3312	admire	v	2168
3440	surprise	v	2043
3576	unhappy	a	1928
3581	aggressive	a	1925
3608	sadly	adv	1902
3795	worry	n	1782
3809	happily	adv	1775
3826	crazy	a	1766
4429	delight	v	1425
4456	excite	v	1414
4679	unpleasant	a	1306
4723	calm	v	1288
4801	terribly	adv	1258
4905	cheer	v	1224

Appendix 5

LexiCLIL: A Lexical Syllabus for the Common European Framework for English (Neufeld & Eldridge, 2009)

In designing The Common English Lexical Framework (CELF), the prime objective was to produce a lexical syllabus describing the words that a learner should be able to use productively according to their language proficiency as described by the Common European Framework for Languages (CEF). Only emotive lexis was extracted from the syllabus.

A1	A2	B1	B2	C1 / C2
awful bad, badly	angry	amusement anxious awfully worst beam	angered	anger, angrily annoyed, annoying, annoy (C2), annoyance (C2)
believe	believed	belief, beliefs, believing blame burst calm		
cried, cries, cry	crying	cruel		
dead, death	dear died, dying disappointed	deadly delight dies		discontent (C2) displeased dissatisfied downhearted (C2)
die	doubt			
	enjoy, enjoyed	enjoyable, enjoying excellent		
fair	exciting	excited express fairly faith, faithful favourite feared, fears		
feel, feeling, felt	fear feels			
fine	fierce	finely, finer fool, foolish		

friend, friends	friendly, friendship	forgive fortune, unfortunate unfriendly		
fun, funny	frightened funniest	frighten		
glad		gladly grateful		
great happy	greatly happily, happiness, unhappy	greater, greatest happier, happiest		
hard	hardest			
heart, hearts	hate	harden, hardened, harder, hardness, hardship		
hope	honest hopes, hoped, hoping	hated hearted		
hurt, hurts	imagine			
interesting	interested joy	hurting imagination	insult, insulted	
kind	kindness	interest, interests		
laugh, laughed like, liked, likes	laughing, laughs	keen kinder, kindly, unkind		
love, loved, lovely, loves	lazy loving, lovingly	kiss, kissed, kisses laughter dislike, liking	longing	
miss, missed	mad missing			
nice, nicely oh	nicest	lovers	offend	
please	pain perfectly pleasant, pleased	nervous nicer		offence, offended (C2)

sad	proud	pains perfect pleasing, pleasure, pleasures, unpleasant		rage, raged, raging (C2)
smile	scare, scared	respect, respected, respectfully rough		
sorry	sincerely smiled, smiles, smiling	satisfactory, satisfied scary shame silly		
surprise, surprised				
sweet	sweetest, sweetly	spoil strain, strained struck		
thank, thankful, thanks	temper terrible thanked, thanking	suffering tease, teased		
trouble true		tender		
want, wanted, wants warm well wish	troubles truly wanting	thrill, thrilling, thrills treat, treated troubled truthful trust		
worry	wished, wishes, wishing wonderful			
wrong	worried			

75 words -9	70 words -6	worries, worrying yell, yelled 106 words -12	4 words	15 words
-------------	-------------	---------------------------------------------------------------	---------	----------

Words of other-directed discontent in the syllabus:

worry (A1), hurt (A1), sad (A1), angry (A2), hate (A2), mad (A2), disappointed (A2), temper (A2), pain (A2), nervous (B1), yell (B1), insulted (B2), annoyed (C1), rage (C1), displeased (C1), dissatisfied (C1), discontent (C2), offended (C2)

Appendix 6

Frequency list of Spanish emotion words. Search results of the Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual (CREA)

order	emotion word	part of speech	absolute frequency	normalised frequency
372	<i>amor</i> “love”	n	31690	207.72
537	<i>quiero</i> “I love / want”	v	24054	157.67
743	<i>miedo</i> “fear”	n	18049	118.30
1085	<i>gusta</i> “(s)he likes”	v	12748	83.56
1260	<i>esperanza</i> “hope”	n	11062	72.50
1628	<i>sorpresa</i> “surprise”	n	8834	57.90
1682	<i>culpa</i> “fault / guilt”	n	8580	56.24
1737	<i>preocupación</i> “worry”	n	8360	54.79
1820	<i>alegría</i> “joy”	n	8010	52.50
1882	<i>temor</i> “fear / awe”	n	7743	50.75
1935	<i>tensión</i> “tension”	n	7564	49.58
2020	<i>soledad</i> “loneliness”	n	7287	47.76
2067	<i>sentimientos</i> “feelings”	n	7124	46.69
2142	<i>triste</i> “sad”	adj	6855	44.93
2148	<i>placer</i> “pleasure”	n	6836	44.80
2158	<i>ganas</i> “feeling like doing smth”	n	6820	44.70
2167	<i>depresión</i> “depression”	n	6802	44.58
2465	<i>consideración</i> “consideration”	n	5876	38.51
2518	<i>desea</i> “(s)he wishes /desires”	v	5754	37.71
2571	<i>satisfacción</i> “satisfaction”	n	5645	37.00
2711	<i>entusiasmo</i> “enthusiasm”	n	5318	34.85
2720	<i>sensibilidad</i> “sensitivity”	n	5305	34.77
2914	<i>angustia</i> “anguish”	n	4905	32.15
2992	<i>sufrido</i> “suffered”	v	4802	31.47
2997	<i>nervioso</i> “nervous”	adj	4794	31.42
3012	<i>confusión</i> “confusion”	n	4774	31.29
3013	<i>sufrir</i> “to suffer”	v	4774	31.29
3068	<i>emoción</i> “emotion”	n	4679	30.67
3134	<i>tranquilo</i> “calm”	adj	4581	30.02
3142	<i>odio</i> “hatred”	n	4568	29.94
3160	<i>sentirse</i> “to feel”	v	4537	29.73
3322	<i>sentí</i> “I felt”	v	4275	28.02
3337	<i>sufrió</i> “(s)he suffered”	v	4243	27.81
3409	<i>sufre</i> “(s)he suffers”	v	4148	27.18
3410	<i>tristeza</i> “sadness”	n	4148	27.18
3472	<i>tranquilidad</i> “calmness”	n	4053	26.56
3489	<i>vergüenza</i> “shame”	n	4039	26.47
3500	<i>ansiedad</i> “anxiety”	n	4027	26.39
3546	<i>cariño</i> “affection”	n	3976	26.06

3566	<i>sienta</i> “you / (s)he feel(s)”	v	3954	25.91
3749	<i>alegre</i> “happy, joyful, glad”	adj	3772	24.72
3784	<i>locura</i> “madness, lunacy”	n	3739	24.50
4081	<i>culpable</i> “to blame, at fault”	adj	3446	22.58
4153	<i>sensible</i> “sensible, regrettable”	adj	3375	22.12
4242	<i>sienten</i> “they feel”	v	3292	21.57
4262	<i>solitario</i> “solitary”	adj	3273	21.45
4292	<i>interesado</i> “interested”	adj	3247	21.28
4406	<i>inquietud</i> “anxiety, worry”	n	3148	20.63
4485	<i>nervios</i> “nerves”	n	3091	20.26
4528	<i>emocional</i> “emotional”	adj	3054	20.01
4572	<i>emociones</i> “emotions”	n	3030	19.86
4581	<i>admiración</i> “admiration”	n	3025	19.82
4626	<i>loca</i> “crazy”	adj	2994	19.62
4670	<i>rabia</i> “rage / anger”	n	2969	19.46
4721	<i>sufren</i> “they suffer”	v	2929	19.19

Appendix 7

Collocations with *discontent*-related words and neighbouring concepts. Search results from RNC, BNC and CREA

emotion words		Russian	English	Spanish
other-directed discontent	general /mild /medium intensity discontent	<i>razdrazhenie</i> “irritation” (2), <i>dosada</i> “vexation”, <i>zlost'</i> “anger” (2), <i>obida</i> “offence” (2)	<i>unhappiness, upset, boredom, impatience, irritation, annoyance</i> (2), <i>anger</i> (6), <i>mad, resentment</i> (2), <i>frustration</i> (6)	<i>descontento</i> “discontent”, <i>(in)satisfacción</i> “(dis)satisfaction” (2), <i>irritabilidad</i> “irritability”, <i>enfado</i> “annoyance” (3), <i>enojo</i> “mild anger” (3), <i>resentimiento</i> “resentment” (5), <i>frustración</i> “frustration” (4)
	intense form of discontent	<i>psihovat'</i> “get insane / furious”, <i>isterit'</i> “get hysterical”, <i>yarit'sya</i> “be in rage”, <i>vozmushchenie</i> “indignation”, <i>gnev</i> “wrath” (2)	<i>rage</i> (5), <i>fury</i> (4)	<i>ira</i> “rage” (3), <i>furor</i> “a furor”, <i>rabia</i> “anger” (6), <i>indignación</i> “indignation” (2), <i>furia</i> “fury” (2), <i>cólera</i> “rage” (3)
sadness		<i>pechal'</i> “sadness/sorrow”	<i>sadness</i> (2), <i>sorrow</i>	<i>tristeza</i> “sadness” (6)
pain		<i>bol'</i> “pain”, <i>zhalost'</i> “pity” (2), <i>perezhivat'</i> “to be concerned/to suffer” <i>ugnetat'</i> “to dispirit/to oppress”, <i>muchit'</i> “to torment”	<i>hurt, grief</i> (3), <i>misery</i>	<i>dolor</i> “pain (5)”, <i>pena</i> “pity”, <i>angustia</i> “anguish” (4)
fear		<i>strah</i> “fear” (3)	<i>fear</i> (4), <i>anxiety</i> (4)	<i>ansiedad</i> “anxiety” (3), <i>miedo / temor</i> “fear” (7)
confusion/surprise		<i>porazhyon</i> “shocked”	<i>shock, surprise, confusion</i> (2)	<i>perplejidad</i> “perplexity”, <i>confusión</i> “confusion”, <i>sorpresa</i> “surprise”,

			<i>estupor</i> "amazement", <i>asombro</i> "astonishment"
disappointment	<i>gorech'</i> "bitterness", <i>razogorchit'sya</i> "to get upset/disillusioned"	<i>disappointment / disillusion,</i> <i>bitterness (3)</i>	desilusión "disillusionment", desencanto "disenchantment", <i>decepción</i> "disappointment" (3), <i>amargura</i> "bitterness"
desperation	<i>otchayanye</i> "desperation", <i>bessilie</i> "impotence" (3)	<i>powerlessness / impotence (3),</i> <i>helplessness, depression, despair (3)</i>	<i>desesperanza</i> "hopelessness", <i>desesperación</i> "desperation" (4), <i>impotencia</i> "powerlessness" (3), <i>desamparo</i> "helplessness", <i>resignación</i> "resignation", <i>depresión</i> "depression"(3)
shame	<i>styd</i> "shame" (2)	<i>shame (3), humiliation</i>	<i>vergüenza</i> "shame" (3)
guilt		<i>guilt (2)</i>	
contempt/disgust	<i>prezrenie</i> "contempt/disdain", <i>otvrashchenie</i> "disgust", <i>uzhas</i> "horror"	<i>disgust</i>	<i>desprecio</i> "contempt", <i>asco</i> "disgust"
hatred	<i>nenavist'</i> "hatred", <i>zloba</i> "malice / animosity"	<i>hatred (2), hostility</i>	<i>odio</i> "hatred" (6), <i>rencor</i> "a grudge, rancour" (2)
envy		<i>jealousy (4)</i>	<i>envidia</i> "envy"
desire			<i>pasión</i> "passion", <i>deseo</i> "desire" (3), <i>amor</i> "love" (3)
joy		<i>amusement</i>	<i>alegría</i> "joy" (2)