



Components of Emotional Meaning: A sourcebook

Johnny J. R. Fontaine (ed.) et al.

<https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199592746.001.0001>

Published: 15 August 2013

Online ISBN: 9780191762765

Print ISBN: 9780199592746

Search in this book

CHAPTER

22 Types of anger in Spanish and Russian

Cristina Soriano, Johnny J. R. Fontaine, Anna Ogarkova, Claudia Mejía Quijano, Yana Volkova, Svetlana Ionova, Viktor Shakhovskyy

<https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199592746.003.0023> Pages 339–352

Published: August 2013

Abstract

This chapter investigates the internal structure of the category ‘anger’ in Spanish and Russian and its cross-cultural stability looking at the meaning of several anger lexemes in Spain, Colombia, Russia and Ukraine. The most salient terms in the lexicalization of anger experiences in Spanish and Russian do not form one single family, but split into two. The first and larger cluster (with words like *gnev*, *zlost*, *ira* or *rabia*, considered central to the category in their respective languages) refers to a high-power, expressive, confrontational form of anger. The second cluster (with words related to frustration and resentment/hurt) reflects a less expressive form of anger, with feelings of low-power, emotion-concealing behavior, and a preference for withdrawal. These two anger types can be provisionally labeled ‘high-power/ active’ and ‘low-power/ passive’ anger. Differences in the meaning of the Spanish word *molesto* are also observed between Spain and Colombia.

Keywords: anger lexicalization, category structure, Russian, Spanish, Russia, Ukraine, Spain, Colombia, power, cross-cultural differences

Subject: Developmental Psychology, Social Psychology

Collection: Oxford Scholarship Online

22.1 Introduction

In the study of emotions in communication and negotiation, anger stands as a particularly relevant category. It identifies contexts of conflict and influences judgment and decision making (Dunn & Schweitzer, 2005; Lerner & Tiedens, 2006; Litvak, Lerner, Tiedens, & Shonk, 2010; Small & Lerner, 2008; Renshon & Lerner, 2011). Its perception has also been shown to modulate negotiation outcomes and practices (Adler, Rosen, & Silverstein, 1998). The experience seems to be intelligible to members of any cultural group. Anger is always included in the list of alleged universal (Hupka et al., 1999), basic (Ekman, 1992, 1999; Ortony & Turner, 1990) or modal (Scherer, 1994, 2005a, 2009c) emotions. Its facial expression is one of the most thoroughly researched and, at least in the version that includes a frown, it appears to be consistently recognized across cultures (Ekman, 1992; Hejmati et al., 2000; Matsumoto et al., 2010).

Anger is also a salient category at the linguistic level. According to Wierzbicka (1999a: 276), all languages have an “anger-like” word. For instance, Chewong, the language with the smallest known emotion vocabulary, still has an “anger” label, *chan* (Howell, 1981: 133). Some cultures have been claimed not to have a word for this emotion (e.g., Briggs, 1970), but the statement should be interpreted as meaning that the concept typically referred to in English as “anger” is not lexically coded in them. It can still be the case that other experiences of a similar nature (e.g., animosity, reprehension) find their way into their languages. This view is supported by Anna Wierzbicka’s research (and that of her colleagues) on dozens of languages around the world, which suggests that two of the defining cognitive assessments for anger-like experiences, namely “I don’t want things like this to happen” and “I want to do something because of this,” are lexically coded in all languages and, therefore, constitute lexical universals in the emotion domain (Wierzbicka, 1999a: 287). Other anthropological research on emotion lexicons also suggests that anger (or an anger-like construct, to be more specific) is indeed a pervasive category around the world (e.g., Hupka et al., 1999, see also Chapter 3).

p. 340 In addition to being a type of emotional experience commonly coded in language, anger is a profusely coded one. In other words, anger tends to be extensively lexicalized compared to other emotional families, like pride (Ogarkova, Soriano, & Lehr, 2012). We find extreme examples of lexicalization in Tahitian, which distinguishes 46 varieties of anger (Levy, 1973), and in Shuswap, with over 30 anger-related words (Kuipers, 1974).

Broad emotion semantic categories are less likely to be internally homogenous, that is, the words in a rich lexical group are less likely to refer to one type of (or very similar subtypes of) emotional experience. Hence, one can expect to find quite some variation within the anger family of a given language compared to other families. Additionally, cross-linguistic variation is also to be expected. As many of the chapters in this volume attest (cf. Parts IV to VII), emotion words capture essential features of the emotional cultures of the speakers of those languages, which can vary considerably. In relation to anger specifically, how people act on their feeling constitutes one of the most important and recognized aspects of cross-cultural variance. For example, Woleanian *song*, Chinese *qi*, Malay *marah*, and Arrente *akiwarre* are all claimed to be prototypical anger-like concepts in their cultures that do not imply immediate retaliation against a wrongdoer (see Chapter 3 for more details and additional examples).

Given the relevance of anger for all cultural groups and the variability that is to be expected in its conceptualization, a linguistic analysis of the domain becomes particularly important. Both linguistics and psychology have addressed this issue. Within linguistics numerous studies have been conducted on anger words in the framework of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM), which strongly emphasizes the non-equivalence of emotion terms across languages (e.g., see Lorenzano, 2006 for an overview). However, we lack empirical evidence demonstrating that those are the most salient anger words in the respective cultural groups,² nor is it known if the native speakers of a language are aware of the proposed differences in meaning. Within psychology, in turn, ample empirical evidence is available about the structure of the anger domain in

different languages (e.g., Russell & Fehr, 1994; Shaver, Murdaya, & Fraley, 2001), but these studies present some limitations too. First, they frequently disregard potential *country* differences within a language. Second, they primarily employ similarity ratings as an analytic method, which allows them to see how native speakers group the words according to their semantic distance, but do not inform us about the *features* that differentiate the emergent word clusters in a language. For the same reason, when two languages are compared, one cannot know to what extent their respective clusters match.³

This limitation has practical consequences. A better understanding of what kind of information is coded in the meaning of emotion words is instrumental for the successful practice of translators and interpreters, for example. In this sense, one of the major contributions of the GRID project reported in this volume is the demonstration that emotion words across languages and cultures include information about the five domains that psychology often quotes as basic components of the emotional experience: appraisals about the causes and consequences of an emotion, the bodily reactions that accompany it, the typical expressive behaviors (e.g., vocal or facial), the behavioral impulses one experiences, and the general subjective feeling (e.g., good/ bad, aroused/relaxed) one composes on the grounds of this information. The GRID has shown that speakers of very different languages around the world reliably agree on what features from these components are contained in the meaning of a given word. Therefore, translators trying to find the closest $\hookrightarrow$ equivalent for an emotion word in a different language should take into account their componential semantic profile.

p. 341

In sum, previous linguistic studies in the NSM tradition on the lexical representation of anger across languages do not provide empirical evidence that the speakers of a language are aware of the described meaning differences between terms, or whether the analyzed words are the most representative in the language. Psychological studies on the contrary do provide empirical, speaker-driven results, but they lack enough detail about the features that distinguish broad groups of words in a given language and they tend to disregard potential country-specific effects. As we shall see in more detail in the following sections, our study tries to overcome these limitations. First, an emotion-situation free-labeling task was used to identify the most representative anger terms in each language investigated, thus guaranteeing that our target words would be both salient (i.e., easily accessible to speakers, frequent in recall) and comparable across languages (as the same set of emotion situations was used). Second, we employed the psycholinguistic GRID-based instrument, which allows us to identify not only clusters of similar terms, but also the componential features that differentiate them. Thirdly, our study was conducted in two separate countries for each language represented, so as to be able to identify potential country-specific differences.

The study reported in this chapter belongs to a larger research initiative on Emotion Language in International Negotiation (ELIN). The goal of the ELIN project was to investigate the conceptualization of conflict-relevant emotions across languages and cultures. One of the research lines was devoted to the semantic analysis of the lexicon of anger, shame, guilt, and pride in the official languages of the United Nations. The GRID methodology was chosen for this purpose and the original questionnaire was modified so as to be able to identify subtle differences between near-synonyms in those semantic domains. In this paper, we report results on anger for two of the most wide-spread languages in the world: Russian and Spanish. Given the relevance of these languages in international communication and the fact that all documents and official communications of the United Nations are either issued in or translated into these two languages, it was relevant to explore to what extent the lexicon of anger was organized around the same types of concepts, and to what extent country variation could make a difference. The specific objectives of the study were (1) to look at the internal organization of the domain in Russian and Spanish (based on salient anger words); (2) to identify the features underlying this structure; (3) to compare the two languages; and (4) to locate possible country differences within them. Due to space constraints, in this paper, we will not tackle cross-lingual differences at term level.

22.2 Method and instrument adaptation

The GRID methodology advocates a psycholinguistic approach to the study of meaning in which the native speakers of a language are directly inquired about the meaning of the words in their language (for more details on the GRID methodology, see Chapter 5). The 144 features (i.e., questions) in the original GRID instrument were derived from a broad range of emotion theories suitable to discriminate between a large and varied set of emotion categories representative of the whole emotion domain (Fontaine, Scherer, Roesch, & Ellsworth, 2007, see also Chapter 5). Despite this focus on broad emotion categories (e.g., anger, fear, joy), the GRID paradigm is also applicable to the study of subordinate-level terms, or “subtypes” of a given category, like *anger*, *rage*, and *indignation* in the English category ANGER.⁴

p. 342 Feature selection

In order to be able to capture more subtle differences within a domain, a revision of the set of GRID features was necessary. A review of the literature was undertaken to expand the range of potentially relevant semantic aspects to be reflected in the questionnaire. The review revealed that a substantial part of variation between emotion words taps on social aspects of meaning. Five aspects were identified that seemed particularly relevant in emotion term semantics (see Chapter 3 for a more detailed account and other examples of these aspects). The first one is the *social status* (superior, equal, or inferior) of the person who causes an emotional experience with respect to the experiencer. For example, the two prototypical anger words in Russian, *gnev* (justified anger) and *zlost'* (anger) differ with regards to the social status of the wrongdoer: whereas one can experience *zlost'* toward a person with either a lower or a higher social status, *gnev* is more typically experienced by a superior toward his/her inferior. A second important aspect is the *closeness* between the experiencer and the other people involved in the emotion (i.e., whether they belong to the same social group or not). For example, in Pintupi the social world is divided between “kin” and “not-kin” (Myers, 1979: 351) and this leads to different modes of emotional expression associated to the emotion words. A third important aspect is the *focus of the appraisal*, in other words, the specific aspect of the other person (e.g., their behavior, their personality, or their possessions) that elicits the emotional reaction. For example, while *gnev* is always experienced about people or their actions, *zlost'* can refer to being generally angry, not necessarily at a particular person (Pavlenko, 2008). *Social sharing* is another important factor. By social sharing in this context we refer to the likelihood that an emotion is felt by a single person in isolation or by a group of people simultaneously. For example, many Palauan emotion words are inherently about “mutual” feelings among people (e.g., *klsiberreng* “mutual bad or hurt feelings” – Smith & Tkel-Sbal, 1995: 91). The last relevant aspect was *attribution*, namely the likelihood that a given emotional experience is more readily attributed to others (i.e., said to happen to others) than to oneself, or is felt about others rather than about oneself. For example, whereas one can experience *zlost'* about one’s own actions or behavior (i.e., as a self-directed emotion), the use of *gnev* in such contexts is very rare.

The above-mentioned aspects (see summary in Table 22.1) were taken into account in the construction of a new GRID-based tool: the ELIN questionnaire (Table SM 1).⁵ A number of new features were thus added to tap on these aspects. Features pertinent for SHAME, PRIDE, and GUILT were also part of the questionnaire, as all four emotions were the object of study in the ELIN project. Given that it was uneconomical to add the new features to the already existing GRID instrument (as it would render the rating process too long), we selected the set of GRID features that best characterize the ANGER (and SHAME, PRIDE, and GUILT) prototypical labels in the overall sample of languages included in the GRID study. In order to select them, first an ANOVA analysis was executed on each of the GRID features using a randomized block design with the four emotion terms (anger, irritation, guilt, and shame) being the independent variable and the sample the block variable. If the difference between the emotion terms was significant, a post-hoc test (Sidak) was executed to identify which emotion terms were significantly different from one another on the respective feature. In its final version, the ELIN questionnaire

comprises 95 features (46 from GRID and 49 new) from several emotion components: 26 features related to appraisals of the event that caused the emotion, 11 to bodily reactions, 14 to expressions, 14 to action tendencies, 10 to subjective feelings, and 3 to emotion regulation strategies. In addition, 17 more features addressed general issues about emotion conceptualization, like social acceptability and frequency (see Table SM 1).

Table 22.1 Complementary aspects in the ELIN-GRID questionnaire encoding social nuances in the meaning of emotion terms across languages

SOCIAL ASPECTS	SPECIFICATION	
person causing an emotional experience	social status	superior
		equal
		inferior
	closeness	close person, in-group
		stranger, out-group
focus in appraising the wrongdoer	behavior (action)	
	intrinsic quality	
	possessions	
social sharing	experienced individually	
	experienced with others	
attribution	said of oneself	
	said of others	

Word selection

A crucial point in the study was the appropriate selection of emotion terms. For that reason a pre-study was carried out (Ogarkova, Soriano, & Lehr, 2012) to empirically identify the most central emotion terms per category. In the study, prototype scenarios or scripts were constructed using a facet approach (Borg & Shye, 1995) and given to participants, who had to free list the emotion labels (noun or adjective) that would best describe the way they would feel in those scenarios. The most salient Spanish and Russian terms (in descending order of frequency) are presented in Table 22.2.

Table 22.2 Spanish and Russian anger words

Spanish	Russian
<i>rabia</i> [anger]	<i>razdrazhenie</i> [irritation]
<i>enfado</i> [anger/ annoyance]	<i>obida</i> [resentment/ hurt]
<i>indignación</i> [indignation]	<i>zlost'</i> [anger]
<i>cabreo</i> [anger/ angry mood]	<i>gnev</i> [wrath, justified anger]
<i>ira</i> [anger/ wrath]	<i>dosada</i> [frustration/ vexation]
<i>moles to</i> [angry/ upset]	<i>vozmuschenie</i> [indignation]
<i>frustración</i> [frustration]	<i>negodovanie</i> [indignation]
<i>irritación</i> [irritation]	<i>jarost'</i> [fury]
	<i>serdityj</i> [cross]

Note: words in descending order of frequency of appearance in a situation free-labeling task (Ogarkova et al., 2012). For readability reasons, Russian words are transliterated from Cyrillic.

Datasets: languages and countries

The questionnaire was administered to each participant in their mother tongue. Each language was investigated in two countries, to assess the stability of the organization in the ANGER domain and the possible impact of the cultural background in communities with the same language. The two Spanish samples were collected in Spain and Colombia. A slight adaptation was required in the Spanish version of the questionnaire, as two of the words originally identified as central (*cabreo* and *enfado*) were not in common use in Colombia. Consequently, two close terms (*bravo* and *enojo*, respectively) were chosen through discussion by the two authors of this paper with native-speaker competence in Spanish, both of them linguists.⁶

p. 344 The Spain sample comprised university students from several regions in the country (N = 45; 39 females; mean age of 22.2, SD = 4.03). The Colombia sample was composed of university students from the University of Antioquía, in Medellín (N = 38; 19 females, mean age of 24.8, SD = 7.44). The two Russian samples were collected in Russia and Ukraine. The Ukrainian native speakers of Russian were recruited at the University Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in Kyiv (N = 41; 29 females; mean age of 26.1, SD = 4.43). The Russia sample was collected at the University of Volgograd (N = 40; 19 females; mean age of 21.2, SD = 2.99).

Procedure

The same procedure was used for the online administration of the ELIN questionnaire as for the administration of the GRID questionnaire (see Chapter 6). Participants were provided with a password and study code to log into the study and fill in the questionnaire at their own pace. Each participant was presented with four to five emotion terms and asked to rate how likely it was that the 95 features were part of the meaning of the words. Features were presented one at a time. The response scale was the same adopted in the original GRID study (1 = “extremely unlikely,” 5 = “neither likely, not unlikely,” 9 = “extremely likely”). Each lexeme was rated by at least 20 subjects.

22.3 Analyses and results

p. 345 The reliability of the semantic patterns per term across the 95 features was investigated by means of Cronbach's alpha with the participants being treated as variables and the features as observations.⁷ For the Spanish ANGER terms in Spain, the reliability ranged from 0.87 to 0.95, with an average of 0.92. For the Colombian Spanish terms, the reliability ranged from 0.87 to 0.94, with an average of 0.91. For the Russian terms in Russia, the reliability ranged from 0.82 to 0.92, with an average of 0.88. For the Ukrainian Russian terms, the reliability ranged from 0.88 to 0.94, with an average of 0.91.

To have a general idea of how well the ANGER domain in each of the four countries shared the same semantic profile across the 95 features, an average ANGER profile was computed per country across all terms evaluated in that country. These average profiles were then correlated. The correlations were found to be very high (between 0.82 and 0.86), suggesting a good match between the general ANGER category in Russian and Spanish. The highest correlations were found between the countries with the same language, (0.94 between the Spanish samples and 0.90 between the Russian ones).

Variation in the meaning of the ANGER emotion terms within and across countries was investigated in three ways. First, semantic profile similarities were computed between the ANGER terms (based on Pearson correlations). Hierarchical cluster analyses were executed per country and across countries on these profile similarities using average linkage. These analyses identify clusters of terms with comparable meaning. Second, non-metrical multidimensional scaling (MDS) was executed on the same profile similarities per country and across countries. MDS represents psychological (dis)similarities between stimuli (profile similarities between ANGER terms) as distances between points in a geometrical space, such that large similarities are represented by small distances in the spatial representation. The hierarchical cluster analysis and the MDS offer complementary representations of the same profile similarity data, as one offers a categorical representation and the other a dimensional representation. Finally, the identified clusters of the ANGER terms are further explored by investigating (with an analysis of variance) how the individual features differ between them.

For each of the four countries a similar two-cluster structure emerged in the hierarchical structure analysis at the highest level of the dendrogram, as represented in Table 22.3.

Table 22.3 Lexeme clusters per country

	Cluster 1	Cluster 2
<i>Sp</i>	rabia, irritación, ira, indignación, enfado, cabreo	frustración, molesto
<i>Co</i>	rabia, irritación, ira, indignación, enojo, bravo, molesto	frustración
<i>Ru</i>	zlost', gnev, razdrahenie, jarost', negodovanie, vozmuschenie, serdityj	obida, dosada
<i>Ukr</i>	zlost', gnev, razdrahenie, jarost', negodovanie, vozmuschenie, serdityj	obida, dosada

Note: *Sp* = Spain, *Co* = Colombia, *Ru* = Russia, *Ukr* = Ukraine.

The same structure was observed at the highest level of the dendrogram when all terms from all countries were analyzed together (Figure 22.1). The largest cluster contained the bulk of the ANGER terms representing a variety of intensities, from the “explosive” *zlost'*, *gniev*, *jarost'*, and *ira* to the milder *razdrahenie*, *enfado*, and

irritación. The other smaller cluster agglutinated lexemes related to FRUSTRATION and RESENTMENT (*obida*, *dosada*, and *frustración*).

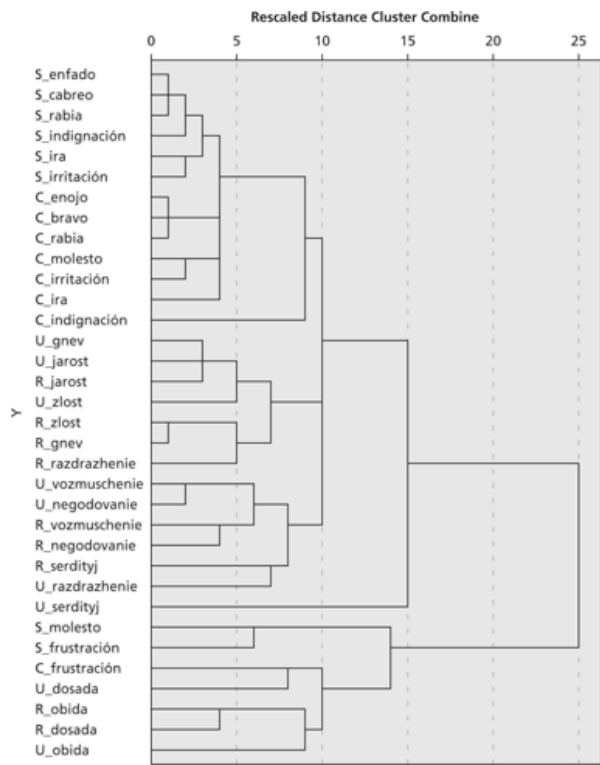


Figure 22.1 Dendrogram of a hierarchical cluster analysis on the profile similarities between anger words across languages and countries.

Note: C = Colombian, R = Russian, S = Spanish, U = Ukrainian.

Subsequently, non-metrical multidimensional scaling analyses were executed on the terms of each country separately and on all the terms across countries. Each of these analyses revealed comparable structures. One bipolar dimension represented the similarities between the semantic profiles very well (with a dispersion accounted for of more than 0.99). An opposition was observed between the FRUSTRATION and RESENTMENT terms, on the one hand, and all the other terms, on the other hand. This structure was confirmed by an MDS on all terms from all countries. In this case a one-dimensional solution also fitted well (with a dispersion accounted for of 0.98). The single bipolar dimension ranged from various forms of “hot” ANGER (*jarost*, *zlost*, *gnev*, *ira*) to FRUSTRATION/RESENTMENT terms (*frustración*, *obida*, *dosada*) (Table 22.4). This confirms the results of the cluster analysis, and additionally allows us to see that the ANGER terms within a language can gradually differ on this dimension. For instance, Colombian *indignación* and Spanish *molesto* are closer to the “frustration” end of the scale than Spanish *indignación* and Colombia *molesto*, respectively.

Table 22.4 Coordinates of Spanish and Russian anger words in a one-dimensional representation

Words	Dimension 1
R_jarost'	-0.690
R_gnev	-0.665
U_gnev	-0.612
U_jarost'	-0.587
R_zlost'	-0.566
S_ira	-0.522
C_ira	-0.505
U_zlost'	-0.458
C_bravo	-0.399
C_rabia	-0.378
C_enojo	-0.370
S_rabia	-0.361
S_cabreo	-0.340
C_irritación	-0.330
R_vozmuschenie	-0.310
R_negodovanie	-0.278
U_vozmuschenie	-0.278
U_negodovanie	-0.254
S_irritación	-0.239
S_enfado	-0.216
C_molesto	-0.200
S_indignación	-0.168
U_razdrazhenie	-0.144
R_razdrazhenie	-0.068
R_serdytyj	-0.051
C_indignación	0.112
U_serdytyj	0.223
S_molesto	0.354
S_frustración	0.928
U_obida	1.199

R_obida	1.404
U_dosada	1.437
C_frustración	1.614
R_dosada	1.719

Note: C = Colombian, R = Russian, S = Spanish, U = Ukrainian.

Both the categorical and the dimensional analyses of the profile similarities revealed two clear groups of terms both within and across countries: a group of general ANGER terms and another with FRUSTRATION/RESENTMENT terms. In order to investigate what specific features differentiate these two groups an analysis of variance was executed on each of the 95 features with the ANGER cluster as an independent variable. Because of the high number of statistical tests (the 95 features were individually tested), the results were Bonferroni corrected. Only those features for which the *p*-value was smaller than 0.0005 were retained (see Table 22.5).

Table 22.5 Mean centered scores of the significantly differentiating features between the two clusters of anger words

Components and features	Cluster 1	Cluster 2
Appraisal		
was caused by the behavior of a stranger (#65)	0.720	-0.743
affected others (#76)	1.010	-0.049
called for an immediate response or action (#69)	0.699	-0.629
affected the person only (#77)	0.591	1.546
was caused by an intrinsic quality of a stranger (#66)	-0.057	-0.958
involved (serious) damage to others (#73)	1.188	0.109
was caused by someone inferior in social status (#60)	0.608	-0.719
violated laws or socially accepted norms (#71)	0.940	-0.019
happens when other people are present (#92)	1.019	-0.316
Bodily reaction		
had a lump in the throat (#20)	0.488	2.219
felt her/his heartbeat getting faster (#17)	2.003	0.280
felt cold (#15)	-2.494	-0.229
felt hot (#14)	1.234	-0.779
felt her/his breathing getting faster (#18)	1.701	0.044
felt her/his muscles getting tense (#19)	1.618	-0.156
blushed (#11)	1.197	-0.392
Feeling		
felt strong (#3)	-0.028	-2.462
felt weak (#4)	-1.051	1.489
felt socially unworthy (#10)	-0.155	1.796
felt degraded (#9)	0.692	1.977
felt blameworthy (#8)	-1.108	0.331
felt calm (#5)	-3.720	-2.545
felt responsible for what had happened (#7)	-0.913	0.470
Expression		
spoke louder (#22)	2.173	-0.405
covered the face with her/his hands (#29)	-1.699	1.603
adopted a straighter body posture (#30)	0.733	-2.042

pushed her/his chest forward (#31)	0.752	-2.226
had a slumped bodily posture (#32)	-1.923	1.552
lifted the chin (#33)	1.012	-1.750
lowered her/his head (#34)	-1.948	2.046
closed her or his eyes so as to avoid eye contact (#28)	-0.732	1.627
spoke faster (#23)	1.476	-0.301
showed tears (#26)	-0.463	2.377
Action tendency		
wanted to escape from, or flee the situation (#41)	-0.407	1.889
wanted to apologize (#43)	-2.865	-0.839
wanted to repair the damage/harm s/he had done (#42)	-2.249	-0.290
wanted to be seen, to be in the center of attention (#47)	-0.272	-1.879
wanted to damage, hit, or say something that hurts to whoever was nearby (#38)	1.179	-0.364
wanted to withdraw from people or things (#40)	0.235	1.943
wanted to damage, hit, or say something that hurts to the person who had caused the emotion (#37)	2.120	0.829
Regulation		
hid the emotion from others by smiling (#50)	-1.572	0.681

Note: all $p < 0.0005$.

The features on which the lexemes in these clusters differ significantly tell us what the nature of the clusters is about. Relative differences emerge at each of the emotion components.

p. 347

↳

p. 348

p. 349

↳

With regards to **Appraisal**, the two clusters of words differ in the typical antecedent events. In cluster 1, the words refer to emotions aroused by the behavior of a stranger (#65), typically inferior in status (#60), who commits a norm violation (#71) causing some damage (#73) to others (#73, #76), all of which requires an immediate reaction (#69). None of those features apply to the words in cluster 2. More typically in the second cluster the antecedent event affects the person only (#77), rather than others (#76), and is caused neither by a stranger (#65), nor by the violation of a social norm (#71). The words in cluster 2, thus, focus more on an internal state of affairs, and do not involve immediate retaliation (#69).

Concerning **Bodily reactions**, the words in the first cluster depict an anger experience where the person experiences a high state of arousal characterized by faster heartbeat and breathing (#17, 18), tense muscles (#19), feeling hot (#14), and getting red (#11). The words in the second cluster denote emotional experiences where the arousal is lower, or less visible (significantly lower increase in heart and breathing rate, no blushing

or feeling hot, no tense muscles). The person just feels a lump in the throat (#20), ostensibly an invisible symptom of the emotion.

Coherent with the above are the typical **Feelings** associated with the emotions in the two clusters. The experiencer typically envisioned in cluster 2 feels weak (#4), socially damaged (#9, #10), and to a certain extent responsible for what has happened (#7, #8). By contrast, no feelings of weakness or responsibility apply to the words in cluster 1.

The ANGER concept in the first cluster is **expressive** – speaking louder (#22) and faster (#23) – and involves body behavior coherent with self-assured, high-power, confrontational emotions, namely a straight body posture (#30), chest pushed forward (#31), and a lifted chin (#33). By contrast, the behavior implied by the words in cluster 2 is avoidant (covering the face #29, avoiding eye contact #28), with expressions coherent with feelings of low-power, like a slumped body posture (#32), lowered head (#34), and tears (#26). The preference for **concealment** is also evidenced in the fact that the emotions in cluster 2 may be hidden behind a smile (#50) and are unlikely to happen when others are present (#92).

Concerning **Action tendencies**, cluster 2 is characterized by a desire to escape the situation (#41), and a comparatively greater inclination to withdraw from people and things (#40) and not to be the focus of attention (#47). By contrast, the reactions in cluster 1 are more likely to involve a desire to damage, hit, or say something that hurts to the person who caused the emotion (#37), or even to anybody else close by (#38). Such indiscriminate aggression tendency is not part of the meaning of the words in cluster 2. In sum, the lexemes of the first cluster refer to an ANGER concept where the prevailing action tendency is approach, and more concretely, aggression. On the contrary, the dominant action tendency in the second cluster is withdrawal.

Finally, although the various words in the domain vary from country to country in their relative positions within the FURY–FRUSTRATION continuum (see Table 22.4), there are no country differences in the clusters they form. The only exception is the word *molesto* (lit. “discomforted”), which belongs to cluster 1 in Colombia and cluster 2 in Spain. In other words, the term is closer to high-power prototypical anger in Colombia than in Spain. In Spain, the word refers to a low-power, more internal and concealed emotion concept, close in meaning to *frustración*. In Colombia, on the contrary, *molesto* is closer in meaning to Colombian *ira* (anger/wrath), than to *frustración*. An analysis of variance (ANOVA) was carried out for the word *molesto* in Spanish and Colombia to identify the features that were differentially rated in the two countries (see Table 22.6).

Table 22.6 Differentiating features between Spanish and Colombian *molesto*

Features	Mean Spain	Mean Colombia	Mean difference
lifted the chin (#33)	4.62	6.83	-2.21**
blushed (#11)	4.57	6.61	-2.04***
was caused by an intrinsic quality of a stranger (#66)	5.48	7.17	-1.69*
felt strong (#3)	3.67	5.33	-1.66*
pushed her/his chest forward (#31)	4.95	6.56	-1.61*
perspired (#12)	4.33	5.89	-1.56*
wanted to be seen, to be in the centre of attention (#47)	3.81	5.28	-1.47***
felt warm (#13)	5.43	6.83	-1.40***
was caused by someone superior, or higher in social status (#61)	5.86	7.17	-1.31***
is experienced by the person only about her/his actions (#81)	6.48	5.33	1.15**
showed tears (#26)	7.43	6.22	1.21*
wanted to apologize (#43)	5.14	3.44	1.70*
wanted to repair the damage/harm s/he had done (#42)	5.95	3.89	2.06*
lowered her/his head (#34)	6.10	3.56	2.54**
had a slumped bodily posture (#32)	5.95	3.33	2.62*

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

p. 351 The results indicate that Colombian *molesto* is characterized by perspiration (#12), redness in the face (#11), and a greater feeling of warmth (#13). The person feels strong (#3), and lifting the chin (#33) or pushing the chest forward (#31) are possible expressive behaviors involved in the experience. By contrast, Spanish *molesto* is rather characterized by a slumped body posture (#32), lowered head (#34), and a greater likelihood of tears (#26). The features pertaining to appraisal suggest why this may be the case. While Colombian *molesto* is comparatively more likely to be felt toward a superior (#61) or the annoying features of a stranger (#66), Spanish *molesto* is more likely to be caused by actions carried out by oneself (#81) (hence the more likely tendency to want to repair any caused damage (#42) or apologize (#43)). All in all, Spanish *molesto* seems more likely applicable to cases of self-directed ANGER.

22.4 Discussion and conclusions

Most languages of the world have at least one word referring to an experience comparable to what is denoted in English by the word *anger*. Given both the universality of ANGER codification in human natural languages and its profuse lexicalization, the main research question addressed in this paper was whether the ANGER words in two of the most widespread languages of the world (also official languages of the United Nations), Spanish and Russian, refer to one and the same concept, or whether the lexicon is rather organized around different types of it. We also wanted to explore the stability of this organization across languages and countries.

In the psychological and linguistic literature, anger is generally described as a high-power, expressive, and confrontational emotion triggered by a demeaning offense against the self or relevant others, leading to the experiencer's loss of control and the desire for retribution (Fontaine et al., 2007; Lakoff & Kovecses, 1987; Lazarus, 1991; Scherer, 1986; Scherer, Summerfield, & Wallbott, 1983; Scherer, Wallbott, Matsumoto, & Kudoh, 1988; Wierzbicka, 1999). This is probably true for the prototypical concept of ANGER as an overarching category in the general emotion domain (Shaver, Schwartz, Kirson, & O'Connor, 1987; Russell, 1991b; see also Chapter 28, this volume). However, a closer look at the internal structure of indigenous ANGER categories in Spanish and Russian reveals a more subtle picture. The terms empirically identified as the most salient in the lexicalization of anger experiences in Russian and Spanish do not form one single family, but split into two. The clusters formed by these lexemes are not arbitrary; the features that differentiate them reveal two distinct concepts, or types. On the one hand, the terms in the first and larger cluster refer to a form of ANGER characterized by a feeling of high-power, expressive behavior, and approach (confrontational) tendencies, easily recognizable from earlier descriptions of the ANGER prototype; in the second cluster, we find a less expressive form of ANGER, with feelings of low-power, emotion-concealing behavior, and a preference for withdrawal. Given their systematic differences across components, but especially on subjective feeling, expression and behavior, these two ANGER types can be provisionally labeled "high-power/ active" and "low-power/ passive" anger. The first type agglutinates most of the terms, including the ones typically considered central to the category (like Russian *zlost'* or *gnev* and Spanish *ira* and *rabia*). The second type includes words related to frustration (*frustración*, *dosada*) and resentment/hurt (*obida*). In future studies, it would be interesting to test if the semantic profiles of the words in the second cluster are closer than those in the first cluster to low-power words like "disappointment," "despair," or "hurt" (see Chapter 7, Table SM 2).

It is important to note that, contrary to what it may seem, the two clusters in Russian and Spanish do not represent "more intense" and "less intense" types of anger. A feature in the questionnaire explicitly asked about the intensity of the emotion (# 82 – "the emotional experience referred to by the word is an intense emotional state"), but the analysis of variance did not reveal this to be a differentiating feature between the two clusters.

p. 352 What the clusters reflect instead is a difference in the felt power and in the expressive/behavioral features of the emotions. These results are coherent with a previous study by Galati and collaborators (Galati, Sini, Trinti, & Testa, 2008), which identified potency as the second most important dimension (after valence) for the differentiation of the general affective space in Spanish, and they also cohere with the cross-cultural GRID results (see Chapter 7), in which POWER emerges as the second most salient dimension (after VALENCE) in 34 samples from 24 languages and 27 countries around the world. Our analyses further highlight the saliency of power for the specific internal organization of the ANGER domain.

The results have also revealed differences in the meaning of emotion words between speakers of the same language from different cultural groups (cf. also Chapters 20 and 24). The meaning of Colombian *molesto* was found to be closer than Spanish *molesto* to expressive and powerful forms of the emotion like *rabia* or *ira*. This has important consequences for international communication. For example, following his/her representation of the meaning of the word, a Colombian could mistakenly expect more confrontational behavior from a Spaniard describing himself as "molesto," or fail to believe those feelings in the absence of clearer signs of

arousal. Similarly, a Spaniard might confusedly wonder about the hidden motives of a red-in-the-face Colombian that “only” claims to be *molesto*.

The ELIN-GRID questionnaire has allowed us to identify a number of differences in the lexical representation of ANGER in Spanish and Russian, with potential consequences in international communication. Not all words in the Russian and Spanish lexicon point to the same underlying concept: two distinct types of ANGER can be identified. It matters which of the two types of word is used, as they convey different information about the various emotion components, notably concerning subjective feeling, expression, and behavior. Additionally, we have shown how the cultural background of the speaker matters as well, as the same word can refer to different concepts in two countries sharing the same language.

Acknowledgments

This research has been carried out with the support of the Swiss Network for International Studies (SNIS) in the framework of the ELIN project.

Notes

- 1 Corresponding author: Cristina Soriano. Swiss Center for Affective Sciences - University of Geneva. 7, Rue des Batoirs, CH-1205 Geneva, Switzerland. Cristina.Soriano@unige.ch
- 2 For instance, Goddard (1996) looks at Indonesian *marah* as a prototype anger word. However, in Shaver et al. (1992: 217), *marah* is only the 5th term with regards to prototypicality ratings.
- 3 For example, in Shaver et al. (1987), the English anger terms are found to fall into six clusters. In Shaver et al. (2001), the Indonesian anger terms fall into seven clusters. No direct comparison is provided of the content of these clusters in the two languages.
- 4 In the remainder of the paper, following the convention in cognitive linguistics (CL), small capitals are used for concepts or categories (“domains” in CL) and italics for specific words in a given language.
- 5 All supplementary materials (SM) are available at the GRID website: <http://www.affective-sciences.org/GRID>. See Appendix 1 (“Availability”) for further details.
- 6 Posterior analyses revealed a good semantic profile correlation between *enfado* and *enojo* (Pearson correlation at 0.761**), corroborating their presumed semantic similarity. The correlation between *cabreo* and *bravo*, on the contrary, was very low (0.204*), indicating that these terms are not good translation equivalents.
- 7 The data had first been centered per term per person in order to remove response biases. Centering involved the average score being computed across the 95 questions for each term and the mean score being subtracted from each observed score.