Russian Emotion Vocabulary in American Learners' Narratives

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This study compared the uses of emotion vocabulary in narratives elicited from monolingual speakers of Russian and English and advanced American learners of Russian. Monolingual speakers differed significantly in the distribution of emotion terms across morphosyntactic categories: English speakers favored an adjectival pattern of emotion description, and Russian speakers a verbal one. Advanced American learners of Russian shifted from the adjectival to the verbal pattern in Russian and thus began approximating the usage of native speakers of Russian. At the same time, the data revealed 6 areas where learner usage differed from the monolingual Russian corpus: morphosyntactic transfer from the first language (L1), semantic transfer from the L1, greater use of adverbial constructions, absence of a language-specific verb frequently used by native Russian speakers, violations of appropriateness of sociolinguistic register, and a significantly lower proportion of emotion word tokens.

ALL OF OUR CONVERSATIONS, SHORT OR long, superficial or heart-to-heart, involve some form of emotion talk. "*How are you today? Is everything okay? You look sad.*" "*I am okay, just stressed out.*" "*How is she doing? This must be very frustrating for her.*" We are always engaged in attempts to express—or, for that matter, hide—our own feelings and to evaluate and describe the emotions of others. At times, we come up short, failing to explain adequately how we feel, or to understand whether our interlocutor is upset, frustrated, or simply tired. The task of interpreting, communicating, and describing emotions in a second language (L2) is even harder because different languages have distinct emotion vocabularies and ways of expressing emotions.

Dewaele (2005) called for closer investigation of emotion expression in instructed language learning. The goal of the study reported here was to examine how advanced American learners of Russian use Russian emotion vocabulary to describe others' feelings. Our discussion begins with an overview of previous studies of the emotion vocabulary of L2 learners. We subsequently discuss similarities and differences between Russian and English emotion lexicons and introduce a study in which we compared lexical choices of American learners of Russian to ones made by native speakers of Russian and English in the context of the same task. We end by discussing the implications of our findings for the structure of the bilingual mental lexicon and for foreign language (FL) instruction.

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EMOTION VOCABULARY IN LEARNER LANGUAGE

Emotions can undoubtedly be expressed through a variety of verbal and nonverbal channels, including body language, facial expressions, and intonation. Here, however, we focus on lexicon, a key area in FL instruction. Linguists, psychologists, and anthropologists studying the emotion lexicon are commonly concerned with one of four areas: (a) emotion words, (b) emotion-laden words, (c) emotion expressions and metaphors, or (d) emotion discourse.

The majority of the studies focus on emotion words, such as *anger*, *joy*, or *sadness*, that refer directly to particular feelings (Apresjan, 1997; Johnson-Laird & Oatley, 1989; Levontina &

Zalizniak, 2001; Stepanova & Coley, 2002; Wierzbicka, 1999; Zalizniak, Levontina, & Shmelev, 2005). These words are relatively easy to single out and study because they constitute a more or less defined category, or at least a category with clear prototypes.

Recently, scholars have begun considering emotion-laden words, that is, words such as endearments or taboo and swear words, that index or elicit speakers' emotions from interlocutors without necessarily naming them (Altarriba & Canary, 2004; Harris, 2004). At present, research on emotion-laden words is in its beginning stages because this category is more fluid and open-ended than that of emotion words, with words gaining different emotion connotations and affective functions depending on the context (e.g., *Democrats* or *Republicans* may function as abstract words in some contexts and as positively or negatively charged words in others). The boundary between the two categories is not clear-cut either, and in some instances, emotion words may serve both referential and affective functions (e.g., *What a joy!*, *What a horror!*).

The third area of study involves emotion expressions and metaphors and examines them from semantic, lexicographic, and cognitive standpoints (Apresjan & Apresjan, 2000; Kövecses, 2000). The fourth area involves emotion discourse, that is, ways in which speakers deploy emotion and emotion-laden words, expressions, and metaphors in various forms of discourse, including personal narratives, oral interaction, and written texts (Bloch, 1996; Kyratzis, 2001; Lutz, 1996; Pavlenko, 2002a, 2002b; Ries, 1997; Rintell, 1990; Sharonov, 2005; Shimanoff, 1983).

For this study, we combined the first and the fourth approaches to examine the uses of emotion words in narratives by advanced FL learners; we also considered the uses of emotion expressions and metaphors in their narratives. Before discussing the study, however, we briefly review the few other investigations that have addressed the uses of emotion vocabulary by FL and L2 learners. (For a review of research on identification of emotions by FL and L2 learners, see Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002.)

Rintell (1990) was among the first scholars to examine the emotion talk of L2 learners. She compared the uses of emotion vocabulary in personal narratives of 6 native speakers of English and 8 intermediate L2 learners of English. Rintell found that the learners' stories were less elaborate than those told by the native speakers of English, and that they lacked several features, such as figurative language, reported speech, epithets, and depersonalization, that made the native speakers' stories vivid and engaging.

Toya and Kodis (1996) compared the responses of 10 native speakers of English and 10 Japanese learners of English to five scenarios that could potentially elicit anger. The researchers detected both similarities and differences in the participants' responses. For example, in a scenario in which a vending machine "ate" one's lunch money, the native speakers of English said that they would react verbally (curse) and physically (perhaps kick or punch the machine). The L2 learners stated that they would express their anger verbally or would not be angry at all at an inanimate object. In another scenario involving waiting in a restaurant for 30 minutes, more L2 learners of English than native speakers of English stated that they would be angry and would feel justified in expressing their anger verbally. Overall, the responses showed that L2 learners did not consistently interpret the scenarios in the same way as native speakers of English did. In some instances, they did not know how to express their anger adequately in English or did not feel comfortable doing so.

Although interesting and informative, these two studies share some common weaknesses: a low number of participants and, as a result, a lack of generalizability, as well as a lack of control for the influence of such variables as gender and language proficiency. A larger number of participants took part in Dewaele and Pavlenko's (2002) study that examined emotion vocabulary in the speech of 29 Dutch learners of French and 34 Russian learners of English. The researchers found that the use of emotion vocabulary may be affected by language proficiency, gender, degree of extraversion, sociocultural competence, and the type of linguistic material.

Language proficiency effects were found only in the L2 French corpus, where highly proficient learners used more emotion word tokens than learners with medium and low levels of proficiency. It was somewhat counterintuitive, however, that these highly proficient learners did not appear to use more emotion lemmas; that is, they did not seem to have richer emotion vocabularies than medium- and low-proficiency learners. These findings require further examination with a larger participant pool. Gender was also a factor only in the L2 French corpus; female learners had richer emotion vocabularies than males. There were no significant differences between men and women in the L2 English corpus. This difference may be explained by the fact that the two sets of participants performed different tasks.

Dewaele and Pavlenko's (2002) study offered an important contribution to our understanding of L2 learning of emotion vocabulary, but it had a number of limitations. The first limitation was a lack of clarity in terms of the researchers' analytical choices and assumptions. For instance, the researchers examined the numbers of emotion lemmas and tokens used by the speakers, but did not clarify the nature of the relationship between the number of emotion words used by speakers and their knowledge of emotion vocabulary. The second limitation of the study was the lack of differentiation between emotion words (*anger*, *love*, *sadness*), emotion-laden words (*illness*, *death*, *hooker*), and evaluative words (*certain*, *reliable*, *ideal*), all of which were examined as emotion words. The inclusion of evaluative vocabulary raises questions concerning the validity of the findings with regard to emotion vocabulary per se. Finally, the two corpora did not have a sufficient number of participants to explore fully the influence of the key variables. For instance, the L2 French corpus had 6 highly proficient speakers, 18 medium-proficiency speakers, and 5 low-proficiency speakers. A comparison of such small and uneven groups does not allow for generalizations about the influence of language proficiency.

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RUSSIAN AND ENGLISH EMOTION LEXICONS

In this study, we attempted to avoid some of these limitations by focusing on emotion words, by using a comparatively large number of participants ($n = 129$), and by controlling for gender and socioeducational background. We also combined quantitative and qualitative approaches to examine ways in which the American learners used Russian emotion vocabulary. Most important, we grounded the study in a particular analytical approach—contrastive learner corpus analysis. In this approach, corpora comparable in size are collected from learners as well as from native speakers of the learners' L1 and L2 who are similar to the learners in age, gender, and socioeducational background. Learners' L2 performance is then compared to the native speaker corpora to uncover similarities and differences between them (Altenberg & Granger, 2001; Belz & Vyatkina, 2005). Contrastive learner corpus analysis has been gaining ground in second language acquisition studies as a method that helps ascertain the source of L2 learner errors, assess the importance of L1 transfer, and detect covert divergences in language use by L2 learners and native speakers beyond error analysis (Aijmer & Altenberg, 1996; Altenberg, 2002; Granger, 1996; Johansson, 2003; Liu & Shaw, 2001; Pavlenko, 2002b).

In what follows, we discuss differences between Russian and English emotion words in four areas: distribution of words across morphosyntactic categories, preferred patterns of emotion coding, syntactic constructions and subcategorization frames, and language-specific emotion words. Many more differences undoubtedly exist between the two languages, in particular in the areas of semantics, pragmatics, and discourse (cf., Bogdanovich-Werner, 2005; Levontina & Zalizniak, 2001; Stepanova & Coley, 2002; Wierzbicka, 1992, 1998; Zalizniak et al., 2005). We have, however, limited our discussion to issues informing our research design and analysis.

Distribution of Words Across Categories

Both Russian and English have emotion nouns (e.g., радость/*joy*), adjectives and pseudoparticiples (e.g., расстроенный/*upset*), adverbs (e.g., грустно/*sadly*), transitive verbs (e.g., расстроить кого-то/*to upset someone*), and intransitive verbs (e.g., волноваться/*to worry*). The morphosyntactic categories are the same in the two languages. What differs is the distribution of terms across categories: Russian has a high number of intransitive verbs, whereas English has only a few, such as *to rejoice*, *to worry*, *to fume*, or *to grieve* (Wierzbicka, 1992).

Preferred Pattern of Emotion Coding or Description

A second difference lies in the preferred pattern of emotion coding or description. English favors adjectives or pseudoparticiples, such as *upset*, *worried*, or *disgusted*, that refer to inner states. These terms are often used with copula verbs, such as the state verb *to be*, change-of-state verbs *to become* and *to get*, and perception verbs *to seem*, *to appear*, *to look*, and *to feel*. In contrast, Russian speakers distribute their choices more evenly across nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs (Pavlenko, 2002a). They nevertheless favor verbs and, in particular, intransitive and reflexive emotion verbs that mark aspect and duration of particular actions and processes, as seen in Example 1.

Wierzbicka (1992) argued that these lexicalization differences, namely, the preference for an adjectival pattern in English and a verbal pattern in Russian, are indicative of dominant conceptualizations of emotions in the two languages. In

Example 1

Елена загрустила	Elena got sad. (literally: began manufacturing sadness)
Дети развеселились.	The children began to have fun. (literally: began to enjoy themselves)
Не нервничай!	Don't worry! (literally: Don't be worrying.)
Хорошо, что ты пришла, а то я уже волнуюсь.	Good thing you arrived, because I am already worried. (literally: worrying [myself])
Ну как она там, переживает?	So, how is she, worrying [herself]?
Не обижайся на меня, пожалуйста,	Don't be offended/upset with me, please,
это я так сгоряча ляпнула, не подумав.	I just blurted it out without thinking.

her view, emotions are conceptualized in Russian as inner activities in which one engages more or less voluntarily, whereas in English they are conceptualized as passive states resulting from either external or past causes.

A somewhat different argument about lexicalization differences was put forth by Semin, Gorts, Nandram, and Semin-Goossens (2002). They found that the working emotion lexicons of Dutch speakers contain more emotion nouns, whereas the working emotion lexicons of Hindustani speakers contain more emotion verbs. They interpreted these findings as suggesting that cultures that emphasize independence and individuality represent emotions through adjectives and nouns that function as self-markers. In contrast, cultures that stress interdependence favor emotion verbs that function as relationship markers. Wierzbicka's (2004) discussion of Polish emotion verbs that refer to relationships—similar to their Russian counterparts сердиться 'to be cross at someone/angry with someone' or обижаться 'to be hurt by someone/to feel upset with someone'—lends support to this view.

Syntactic Constructions and Subcategorization Frames

It is important that Russian—unlike many other European languages—allows its speakers to present subjects not only as agents but also as passive experiencers, through an abundance of impersonal constructions (Wierzbicka, 1992). These constructions involve nouns or pronouns in the dative case, emotion adverbs functioning as predicates, and, in the past and future tenses, the change-of-state verbs быть 'to be' and становиться 'to become'. (These constructions are illustrated in Example 2.) Although English also has impersonal constructions (e.g., *It is difficult for me to disagree*), they are not as prominent in emotion expression as they are in Russian.

The second important cross-linguistic difference in morphosyntactic constructions used to describe emotions involves combinations of state verbs (быть/*to be*), change-of-state verbs (стать/*to become*), and perception copula verbs (выглядеть/*to look,* чувствовать/*to feel*) with emotion adverbs and adjectives. In English, this construction is common, whereas Russian speakers in similar contexts often opt either for emotion verbs or for impersonal constructions, as in Example 3.

Literal translations of these constructions are also possible, even though they are significantly less frequent and not always semantically appropriate. These constructions involve emotion adjectives in the instrumental case, for example, Она выглядела совершенно несчастной 'She looked completely unhappy'.

In the same way, constructions with *to look like*, which are very common in English, can be translated into Russian with the help of the direct translation equivalents как and как будто, but they are not particularly common and may sound awkward. Such translations are shown in Example 4.

Example 2

Мне обидно.	I am hurt/offended. (literally: [To] me [it is] hurtful.)
Соне стало грустно.	Sonia got sad. (literally: [To] Sonia [it] became sad.)
Михаилу будет стыдно.	Michael will be ashamed/embarrassed. (literally: [To] Michael [it] will be embarrassing.)

Example 3

Jenny looked sad.	Женя грустила. (literally: Jenny was manufacturing sadness.) Жене было грустно. (literally: [To] Jenny [it] was sad.)

Example 4

He looks like he is going to cry. (common in English)	У него такой вид, как будто он собирается плакать. Он выглядит, как будто он собирается плакать. (Both are grammatically correct but uncommon and awkward in Russian.)
Похоже, что он вот-вот заплачет. (common in Russian)	It seems that he is about to burst into tears. (literally: begin crying)

Language- and Culture-Specific Emotion Words

Each language also has some words that lack translation equivalents in the other language. English, for instance, has no exact translation of the Russian verb переживать (*perezhivat'*) that refers to the process of worrying, taking things hard and experiencing them keenly, or, literally, suffering things through. In turn, Russian does not have single-word equivalents of such common English emotion words as *fun* or *frustration*. Elena Koreneva (2003), a well-known Russian actress who had lived for a while in the United States with her American husband, wrote in her memoirs that "*frustration*—чувство неудовлетворения, смешанное с досадой, которое возникает после больших ожиданий" (*frustration*—a feeling of dissatisfaction mixed with vexation/annoyance that appears after great expectations) is impossible to translate into Russian with one word (p. 383). As a consequence, American students have to find alternative linguistic means when rendering these and other untranslatable emotion words in Russian. For example, *We were having fun* would be rendered Нам было весело (literally: [It] was joyful [to] us).

With all these semantic and morphosyntactic differences in mind, let us now see what happens when advanced American learners talk about emotions in Russian.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Objective

The purpose of this study was to determine whether advanced American learners of Russian would use Russian emotion vocabulary similarly to native speakers of Russian in the context of the same task, and, when they did not, to identify the sources of their difficulties and errors.

Method

In accordance with the contrastive learner corpus analysis approach adopted here, we collected data from advanced American learners of Russian and from native speakers of the learners' L1 (English) and L2 (Russian) who were similar to the learners in age, gender, and socioeducational background. The native Russian corpus allowed us to identify the range of language variation in the target language and to assess the American learners in comparison to a real, rather than an idealized, reference group. The native English corpus allowed us to determine whether particular errors stemmed from L1 transfer.

In selecting among different types of data we could have collected, we chose elicited narratives, that is, narratives elicited through the use of visual or verbal stimuli. Narrative elicitation enjoys the advantages of both experimental and ethnographic approaches to the study of language use. On the one hand, narratives, unlike vocabulary tests, allow researchers to study language use in context. On the other hand, elicited narratives offer a measure of control: All participants describe the same stimulus, and, consequently, their lexical choices can be meaningfully compared across groups.

Stimulus

In choosing an elicitation stimulus, we opted for a visual rather than verbal stimulus because it allowed us to compare how various groups of speakers categorize and name specific aspects of the world around them and, in the present case, how they interpret and describe other people's emotions. Because none of the commonly used visual prompts target emotion vocabulary, we used a 3-minute film, *The Letter*, with a musical soundtrack but no verbal exchanges, created specifically

for this study. In the film, a young woman comes home, gets her mail, opens a letter, reads it, and becomes visibly upset. Her roommate comes in, tries to talk to her unsuccessfully, sees the letter, and begins reading it without permission. The first woman notices that the roommate is reading her letter, grabs the letter, and stomps out of the room. The participants describing this film had to display their skills of creating third-person descriptions, that is, descriptions of emotions of others around them.

Participants

To take into account linguistic variation stemming from geographic and socioeducational factors, we collected monolinguals' narratives in two different geographic locations and at two different types of universities: elite cosmopolitan universities (Cornell University and the University of St. Petersburg) and large public universities, one located in a rural area in the United States (Pennsylvania State University) and the other in a midsize Siberian town in Russia (Tomsk State University). Three sets of corpora were collected in the study:

1. Russian narratives were collected from 49 participants who had only minimal knowledge of either German, English, or French. Of these participants, 20 native speakers of Russian (10 females, 10 males), aged between 18 and 26 years, were undergraduate students at the University of St. Petersburg. The other 29 native speakers of Russian (21 females, 8 males), aged between 18 and 21 years, were undergraduate students at Tomsk State University.
2. English narratives were collected from 50 participants who had only minimal knowledge of either French, Spanish, or Latin. Of these participants, 20 native speakers of English (10 females, 10 males), aged between 18 and 26 years, were undergraduate students at Cornell University. The other 30 native speakers of English (15 females, 15 males), aged between 18 and 24 years, were undergraduate students at the Pennsylvania State University.
3. L2 Russian narratives were collected from 30 advanced American learners of Russian (15 females, 15 males); undergraduate and graduate students enrolled in 6th and 7th level, and in graduate-level Russian courses in the intensive immersion program at the Middlebury Summer Russian School.

The age range of the L2 learners was wider than in the previous two samples: 19 participants (9 females, 10 males) were between the ages of 19 and 24 years ($M = 22.2$ years), and 11 participants (6 females, 5 males) were between the ages of 28 and 56 years ($M = 35.7$ years). Although the students differed in the length of their study of Russian (a range of 1–16 years, $M = 5.3$ years), their skills were relatively similar. On a 7-point scale where 1 equaled *poor* and 7 *native-like*, most of the L2 learners saw themselves as best at reading ($M = 4.9$) and weakest at writing ($M = 4.2$), with listening ($M = 4.7$) and speaking skills ($M = 4.3$) somewhere in between.

Data Collection and Analysis

We interviewed each participant separately. They first watched the film and then recalled it, speaking directly into a tape recorder. We chose to elicit oral, rather than written, narratives because oral narratives are more representative of spontaneous speech. We subsequently transcribed all the tapes in the language of the original. We identified and underlined emotion words (for lists of emotion words produced by each group see Appendixes A, B, and C) and analyzed the uses of these words across groups, both quantitatively and qualitatively. The quantitative analysis focused on the influence of native language, gender, and socioeconomic background on the narrative length, the size and richness of emotion vocabulary, and the distribution of emotion words across morphosyntactic categories. The qualitative analysis examined linguistic factors that affected lexical and morphosyntactic choices. Throughout our analysis, we distinguished between lemmas (units of meaning or words) and tokens (lexical items or lexemes).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Narratives

The three narratives below are fairly representative of the respective corpora from which they came: the Russian corpus, the English corpus, and the L2 learner corpus, respectively. Emotion words, that is, words naming particular emotions, are underlined.

Russian Corpus: Olga, 20 Years Old, Student at Tomsk State University, Accounting Major. Ну, фильм начинается с того что...э...э...в кадре появляется девушка, довольно симпатичная, э...ну не/чуть-чуть небрежно одетая. Вот, она идет по улице мимо,

э . . . домов, вот . . . заходит, э . . . к себе домой, э . . . разбирает . . . почту, э . . . ну . . . берет письма, э . . . раздевается, проходит в комнату, садится в кресло, э . . . з/открывает письмо, начинает читать его и . . . ну, содержимое ей явно . . . письма не очень нравится, она это . . . огорчается очень, ну и потом она углубляется . . . еще, ну дальше читает. М-м . . . вообще очень сильно расстраивается, э . . . кладет письмо на стол, переживает, берет опять в руки письмо, опять м-м перечитывает, очевидно, конец там, или что . . . э, вот . . . опять расстраивается, хватается за голову руками, вот, потом в комнату заходит . . . м-м или подруга, или сестра . . . девушка какая-то . . . э . . . ну смотрит, что . . . та девушка переживает, может она хочет ей посочувствовать или что . . . узнать в чем дело, берет письмо, э . . . тоже его читает, э . . . вот . . . ну наверно даже не дочитав письмо, э . . . та первая девушка встает, э . . . как бы . . . ну, не то что выхватывает, но так . . . берет . . . из рук той второй . . . э . . . письмо . . . и уходит, так . . . чуть-чуть на/на нервах. Вот пожалуй все.

Well, the movie begins with . . . . uhm . . . uhm . . . on the screen appears a young woman, quite pretty, uhm . . . not/somewhat sloppily dressed. So, she is walking down the street, by, uhm . . . some houses, so . . . [she] comes in, uhm . . . home, uhm . . . sorts out . . . the mail, uhm . . . well . . . takes her letters, uhm . . . takes off [her coat], comes into the room, sits down in an armchair, uhm . . . opens a letter, begins reading it and . . . well, the content doesn't seem . . . . [she] doesn't like the content of the letter, she, well . . . gets very distressed, and then she reads again . . . again, reads it further. Uhm . . . gets really upset, uhm . . . puts the letter on the table . . . suffers [literally: experiences deep emotions], then takes the letter again, again uhm rereads, apparently, the ending or something . . . uhm, so . . . again gets upset, grabs her head, well, then enters the room . . . uhm, either a friend, or her sister . . . some young woman . . . uhm . . . well, [she] sees that . . . the other woman is suffering, maybe she wants to empathize or something . . . to learn what is going on, takes the letter, uhm . . . also reads it, uhm . . . well . . . possibly, without having finished the letter, uhm . . . the first woman gets up, uhm . . . as if . . . well, not grabs, but . . . takes . . . from the hands of the other woman . . . uhm . . . the letter . . . and leaves, so . . . somewhat st/stressed out [literally: on nerves]. That's it, I think.

English Corpus: Jeremy, 19 Years Old, Student at the Pennsylvania State University, Chemical Engineering Major. This girl was walking home, looked like . . . from a shirt from college, looked like a college sweatshirt, and she was going back to her apartment, looked like. And she/you know . . . normal day, she got her mail, came up, sat down, saw a letter, I guess it stood out 'cause she opened it first. The letter was obviously bad news because she looked pretty upset from the way she was holding her head and her face/facial expressions. I think it was a bill, looked like a bill, because . . . something about size. Didn't look like a . . . she had like enough time to read like a letter. So I'm guessing it was like a bill she couldn't pay, a credit card or school. That really upset her. The she looked at it again because she didn't want to believe it or had to take a second look at it. Then it looked like her roommate came out and saw she was upset. Maybe she asked her why she was upset and then she picked up the letter to see what was wrong and the girl who/that was upset took the letter back kind of angry because she didn't want her looking at her mail, her business. And so maybe it could have meant it was something besides the bill. And then she just stormed off, the roommate sat down . . . I think she was just upset, just wanted to go and worry about it herself. Didn't want to talk about it. I think she just wanted to go somewhere to figure out what she was going to do.

L2 Learner Corpus: Brandon, 20 Years Old, Advanced American Learner of Russian, Student at the Middlebury Russian Summer School, International Affairs Major. Мне кажется что . . . зимой может быть . . . поздно . . . осенью и . . . есть женщина, она шла по улице среди типичного района в Америке, мне казалось. И пришла домой, она получила/а она получила почту, и она открыла и письма там что-то грустное. Я не знаю что. Но мне кажется может быть она . . . она выглядела . . . для возраста как ВУЗа и наверное может быть это . . . письмо из университета . . . в котором они . . . отказали ее может быть. Это, это типичный рассказ в ВУЗе в Америке . . . Ооо, я не поступила в экономию! я не стану богатым! я не стану . . . Это всегда бывает. Это очень важно. Конечно, совсем не важное в Америке где ты учился, но студенты всегда очень боются, очень смешно. Но думаю это, что случилось . . . может быть ее сестра, может быть ее мать/ее любовница, я не знаю, она пришла в комнату и . . . подошла к женщине с письмом тоже написала и другая женщина она не стала . . . грустной. Она выглядела как она сочуст . . . сочуст, сочуствовала . . . другой женщине и думаю что это было как . . .

отка-зы-ва-ющее . . . письмо . . . для первого/для первой женщины, но я не совсем понял и потом это все. . . .может быть она хотела, она очень грустная, она просто хотела быть один/одна, может быть, и может быть это было, я не знаю, может быть это было что-то . . . другой женщине, и я не знаю, и она стала сердится к ней/сердитой к ней.

It seems to me that [it is] . . . winter maybe . . . late . . . fall and . . . there is a woman, she was walking down the street on a typical American block, it seemed to me. And [she] came home, she received/she received [her] mail, and she opened and letters and there was something sad there. I don't know what. But it seems to me that maybe she . . . she looked like . . . college-age and maybe it is . . . a letter from a university . . . where they . . . rejected her maybe. This, this is a typical story with colleges in America . . . Ooh, I didn't get into economics! I won't become rich! I won't . . . This always happens. It is very important. Of course, it is not important in America where you studied but students always fear, very funny. But I think that's what happened . . . maybe her sister, maybe her mother/her lover, I don't know, she came into the room and . . . came over to the woman with the letter also wrote and the other woman she did not become . . . sad. She looked like she empa . . . empa/empathized. . . [with] the other woman and I think it was like a . . . re-jec-tion . . . letter . . . for the first, for the first woman, but I did not completely understand and that's it . . . maybe she wanted/she was very sad, she wanted to be alone/alone, maybe, and maybe it was, I don't know, maybe it was something . . . the other woman, and I don't know, and she became angry, angry towards her.

We now turn to the results of the quantitative and qualitative analyses of the three corpora.

Monolingual Corpora

Quantitative Analysis. A Kolmogorov-Smirnov test revealed that all of our data were normally distributed for narrative length, proportion of emotion tokens, and proportions of morphosyntactic categories. We, therefore, analyzed the data using parametric statistics, including independent sample *t*-tests, analyses of variance (ANOVA), multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVA), and Scheffé posthoc analyses. We first discuss the influence of the independent variables (native language, gender, and socioeconomic background) on narrative length and the proportion of emotion tokens in the corpora. We then examine the influence of these variables on the distribution of emotion words across morphosyntactic categories. These dependent variables are well established: Narrative length has been used in previous research on productivity (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2003), and proportions of morphosyntactic categories have been analyzed in Dewaele (1996, 2001).

Table 1 summarizes the comparison of the corpora in terms of size and lexical richness of emotion vocabulary. In terms of narrative length, we found significant differences between the Russian and American monolinguals ($t = 5.02$, $df = 91$, $p < .0001$), with the American group producing longer extracts ($M = 173.3$ words, $SD = 57.9$) than the Russian group ($M = 121.6$ words, $SD = 43.8$), despite the fact that articles were not included in the word count. An ANOVA revealed a main effect for group (American monolinguals, Russian monolinguals, and American learners of Russian) with respect to narrative length ($F = 25.1$, $df = 2,126$, $p < .0001$, $eta^2 = .285$). Scheffé posthoc analysis revealed significant differences among the three groups (all $p < .003$), with the learners' narratives being significantly longer than the monolinguals' narratives. We will return to this difference in our discussion of the learner data.

In terms of emotion vocabulary, the overall number of emotion word tokens was somewhat higher in the English narratives than in the Russian ones (277 vs. 216), but there were no significant differences between Russian and English

TABLE 1
Size and Lexical Richness in the Narrative Corpora

	Number of Words	Emotion Lemmas	Number of Emotion Word Tokens	Lexical Richness of the Emotion Lexicon (TTR)
Russian corpus	5,959	51	216	0.24
N = 49	*M = 121.6*	*M = 1.04*	*M = 4.4*	
English corpus	8,665	36	277	0.13
N = 50	*M = 173.3*	*M = 0.72*	*M = 5.5*	
American learner corpus	6,700	36	159	0.23
N = 30	*M = 223.3*	*M = 1.2*	*M = 5.3*	

TABLE 2
Gender in the Narrative Corpora

	Number of Words	Number of Emotion Lemmas	Number of Emotion Word Tokens	Lexical Richness of the Emotion Lexicon (TTR)
American females ($n = 25$)	4,290 $M = 171.6$	23 $M = 0.92$	136 $M = 5.44$	0.17
American males ($n = 25$)	4,375 $M = 175$	28 $M = 1.12$	141 $M = 5.64$	0.20
Russian females ($n = 31$)	3,827 $M = 123.5$	40 $M = 1.29$	151 $M = 4.9$	0.26
Russian males ($n = 18$)	2,132 $M = 118.4$	32 $M = 1.78$	65 $M = 3.6$	0.49
American learners, females ($n = 15$)	3,540 $M = 236$	29 $M = 1.93$	87 $M = 5.8$	0.33
American learners, males ($n = 15$)	3,160 $M = 210.7$	20 $M = 1.33$	72 $M = 4.8$	0.28

monolinguals in terms of the proportion of emotion tokens ($t = -1.58$, $df = 97$, $p > .05$). The lexical richness of the emotion lexicon, measured through type/token ratio, was higher in the Russian corpus (0.24 vs. 0.13), with Russian speakers using a wider variety of emotion lemmas than American English speakers (51 vs. 36).

Table 2 summarizes the results in terms of the influence of gender. Gender did not show any effect on narrative length either in English ($t = -.21$, $df = 47$, $p > .05$) or in Russian ($t = .38$, $df = 47$, $p > .05$). In terms of the proportion of emotion tokens, no gender differences emerged in the English corpus ($t = .37$, $df = 48$, $p > .05$); Russian-speaking women, however, used a significantly larger proportion of emotion tokens than Russian-speaking men ($t = 2.72$, $df = 24.7$, $p < .01$). These inconsistent results suggest that gender may not directly influence the size and use of emotion vocabulary or narrative length. This outcome is not surprising: Owing to multiple contextual influences on ways in which speakers of different languages perform gender, gender cannot influence language performance in a uniform manner (see also Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Lutz, 1996; Shimanoff, 1983).

Table 3 summarizes the results in terms of the university type, which was taken here to represent socioeducational background. No differences in narrative length were found within the American corpus between the groups from Cornell and Penn State ($t = -.53$, $df = 48$, $p > .05$), nor within the Russian corpus between the groups from Tomsk and St. Petersburg ($t = 1.26$, $df = 47$, $p > .05$). In terms of the proportion of emotion tokens, a difference emerged within the American corpus between the students from Cornell and Penn State ($t = 2.72$, $df = 24.7$, $p < .012$). No such difference emerged in the Russian corpus.

Let us now consider the influence of the independent variables on the distribution of emotion words across morphosyntactic categories. Table 4 summarizes the group results, and Figure 1 illustrates the results graphically. We can

TABLE 3
Socioeducational Background in the Narrative Corpora

	Number of Words	Number of Emotion Lemmas	Number of Emotion Word Tokens	Lexical Richness of the Emotion Lexicon (TTR)
University of St. Petersburg ($n = 20$)	2,621 $M = 131.1$	34 $M = 1.7$	98 $M = 4.9$	0.35
Tomsk State University ($n = 29$)	3,338 $M = 115.1$	36 $M = 1.2$	118 $M = 4.1$	0.31
Cornell University ($n = 20$)	3,359 $M = 168$	26 $M = 1.3$	130 $M = 6.5$	0.20
Pennsylvania State University ($n = 30$)	5,306 $M = 177$	27 $M = 0.9$	147 $M = 4.9$	0.18

TABLE 4
Morphosyntactic Categories in the Emotion Vocabulary

	Nouns	Adjectives	Verbs	Adverbs	Total
Russian corpus ($n = 49$)	22%	24%	51%	3%	$n = 216$
	$n = 47$	$n = 52$	$n = 110$	$n = 7$	
English corpus ($n = 50$)	6%	75%	18%	1%	$n = 277$
	$n = 16$	$n = 209$	$n = 49$	$n = 3$	
American learner corpus ($n = 30$)	11%	26%	48.5%	14.5%	$n = 159$
	$n = 18$	$n = 41$	$n = 77$	$n = 23$	

see that speakers of Russian and English differed in the preferred pattern of emotion coding in retellings of *The Letter*. English speakers favored emotion adjectives (75% of all emotion word tokens), whereas Russian speakers favored emotion verbs (51% of all emotion word tokens). These patterns also held within the subcorpora. Adjectives accounted for 70% of all emotion words in the Cornell corpus and for 80% in the Penn State corpus. Verbs accounted for 46% of all emotion words in the St. Petersburg corpus and for 55% in the Tomsk corpus. It is interesting that the dominant patterns were stronger in the corpora with lower lexical richness, which suggests to us that speakers with more limited lexicons may appeal to more predictable lexical choices.

No significant influences of gender or socioeconomic background emerged in the analysis of morphosyntactic categories (all $p > .05$), but there was a significant effect of the native language. A MANOVA revealed a significant main effect of group membership on the proportions of morphosyntactic categories (Wilks lambda = .35, $F = 21.5$, $df = 4,123$, $p < .0001$, $eta^2 = .412$). According to the criteria set out by Cohen (1992), the amount of variance (41.2%) explained by the model is indicative of a large effect size. The analysis of between-subjects effects suggests that the group effect was strongest for adjectives ($F = 80.7$, $p < .0001$, $eta^2 = .562$), followed by verbs ($F = 30.0$, $p < .0001$, $eta^2 = .322$), nouns ($F = 14.0$, $p < .0001$, $eta^2 = .188$), and adverbs

FIGURE 1
Comparison Between English L1, Russian L2, and Russian L1

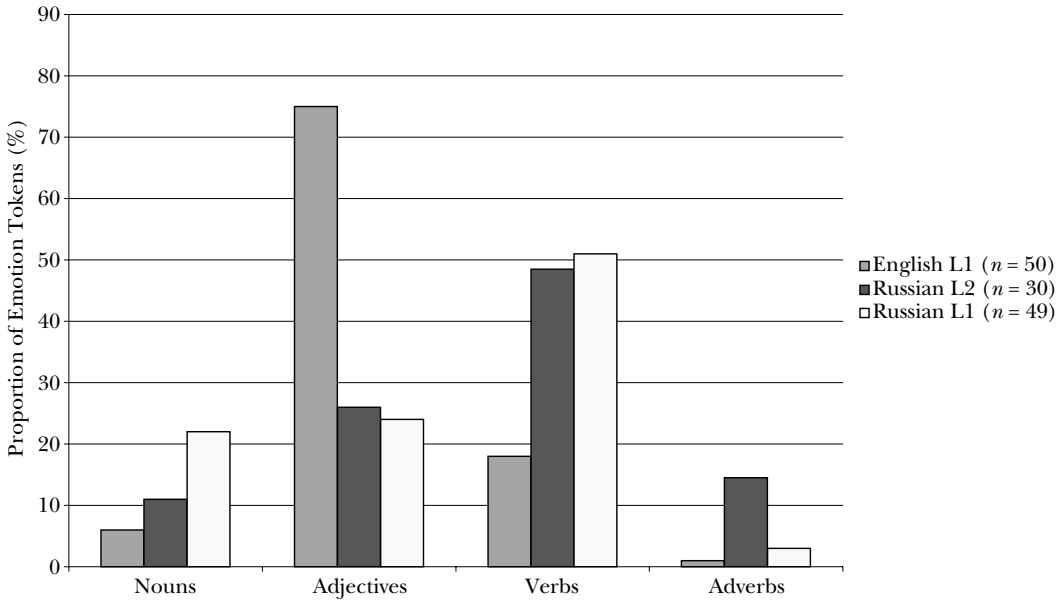

TABLE 5
Multiple Comparisons (Scheffé) Between Proportions of Emotion Nouns, Adjectives, Verbs, and Adverbs Selected by English Monolinguals (EL1), Russian Monolinguals (RL1), and American Learners of Russian (RL2)

Dependent Variable	GROUP	GROUP	Mean Difference	*SE*	*α*
Nouns	EL1	RL1	−19.3	3.7	.0001
	RL2	EL1	4.7	4.2	ns
	RL2	RL1	−14.6	4.2	.003
	EL1	RL1	59.9	5.0	.0001
Adjectives	RL2	EL1	−53.1	5.8	.0001
	RL2	RL1	6.8	5.8	ns
	EL1	RL1	−37.9	5.3	.0001
Verbs	RL2	EL1	35.1	6.1	.0001
	RL2	RL1	−2.8	6.1	ns
	EL1	RL1	−3.0	2.5	ns
Adverbs	RL2	EL1	14.0	2.9	.0001
	RL2	RL1	11.0	2.9	.001

($F = 12$, $p < .0001$, $eta^2 = .165$). Scheffé posthoc tests, summarized in Table 5, show significant differences between the two monolingual groups in their use of adjectives, verbs, and nouns, but not of adverbs.

Qualitative Analysis. We also analyzed the corpora in terms of the actual lexical choices the speakers made. Analysis of the English corpus revealed a high level of agreement concerning identification of the main protagonist's emotions: 45 out of 50 participants described the woman with the adjective *upset* in combination with the copula verbs *to be*, *to get*, and *to become*, as in Example 5.

Example 5

she was really frustrated, upset. . .

she got really upset when she read the letter. . .

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

Altogether, the word *upset* appeared 119 times in the English corpus and accounted for 43% of the emotion word corpus (see Appendix A). Among other frequently used words were the emotion adjectives *angry* (24 tokens, 9% of the emotion word corpus), *mad* (16 tokens, 5.8%), and *sad* (10 tokens, 3.6%), as well as the verb *to cry* (15 tokens, 5.4%). These choices suggest that the participants perceived the female protagonist both as sad and angry, either simultaneously or at different points in the film.

The Russian speakers also saw the young woman as upset and used two translation equivalents of the adjective *upset* to refer to her, the verb расстраиваться (*rasstraivat'sia*) (43 tokens, 20% of the emotion word corpus) and the adjective расстроенная (*rasstroennaia*) (24 tokens, 11%). Example 6 illustrates the use of these words.

Example 6

Чи/читая письмо, она расстраивается, видать, это была . . . не очень хорошая новость для нее, она очень расстроилась.

'Re/reading the letter, she is becoming upset (*rasstraivaetsia*, present tense/imperfective), looks like it was . . . not very good news for her, she got really upset (*rasstroilas',* past tense/perfective).'

Together with the corresponding noun расстройство (*rasstroistvo*), these choices accounted for 32% of the emotion word corpus. *Rasstraivat'sia* is not the only frequently used verb—the other two popular choices are переживать (*perezhivat'*) 'to suffer, to worry, to experience something keenly' (18 tokens, 8% of the emotion word corpus) and плакать 'to cry' (10 tokens, 4.6%). As noted earlier, *perezhivat'* is a language-specific word that does not have an exact translation equivalent in English. As a verb, it can be used in all three tenses (past, present, and future) but only in an imperfective aspect; its perfective counterpart, пережить (*perezhit'*), means 'to survive, to live through'. The verb расстраиваться (*rasstraivat'sia*) also has a perfective equivalent расстроиться (*rasstroit'sia*), which refers to a completed action whose result is still in effect. The imperfective verb can be used in all three tenses, but the perfective one only in the past and future tenses.

Example 7 shows that Russian speakers used these verbs in conjunction with tense and aspect markers to discuss processes that have a clear starting point (e.g., начинает расстраиваться 'begins to be upset', она очень расстроилась 'she got very upset') and duration (она переживает 'she is worrying/suffering', она сидела переживала 'she was sitting [and] worrying/suffering'). What is particularly interesting is that Russian speakers often used the verbs *perezhivat'* and *rasstraivat'sia/rasstroit'sia* together to describe a sequence of emotion actions or processes.

Example 7

Видимо, письмо не очень приятное, потому что девушка начинает расстраиваться, переживает.

'It looks like the letter is not a very pleasant one, because the woman is beginning [to be getting] upset (*rasstraivat'sia,* present tense/imperfective), [she is] worrying/suffering (*perezhivaet,* present tense/imperfective).'

...видимо, письмо было...печального содержания, потому что она сильно расстроилась. Ну показано как она переживает...

'...apparently, the letter had...sad contents, because she got really upset (*rasstroilas',* past tense/perfective). So it shows how she is worrying/suffering (*perezhivaet*, present tense/imperfective)...'

...прочитав это письмо, она очень расстроилась. Видимо, там было неприятное известие. И сидя в своей комнате, размышляя, в общем, она очень переживала.

'...having read this letter, she got really upset (*rasstroilas',* past tense/perfective). Looks like it contained some unpleasant news. And sitting in her room, thinking, well, she was really worrying/suffering (*perezhivala*, past tense/imperfective).'

...по-видимому, письмо ее чем-то расстрои ло, она сидела переживала...

'...apparently, the letter upset (*rasstroilo,* past tense/perfective) her somehow, she was sitting [and] worrying/suffering (*perezhivala*, past tense)...'

The switch from one verb to another allows speakers to shift from perfective (*rasstroit'sia*) to the imperfective aspect (*perezhivat'*), to differentiate between the starting point of a particular process (расстроилась 'got upset') and the action in progress (переживает 'is worrying/suffering'), and also to avoid repetition. This aspect-related usage mirrors the use of these two verbs in contemporary literary and colloquial Russian, as illustrated in the following quotation, taken from a recent novel by a bestselling Russian writer of murder mysteries, Aleksandra Marinina (2005):

> Мне стыдно, что я своим поведением заставил его так сильно переживать. И пусть его переживания кажутся мне неправильными, мне все равно стыдно, и сейчас я готов на все, лишь бы он перестал расстраиваться. (p. 132) 'I am ashamed that my behavior made him suffer/worry (*perezhivat'*) so much. Even if his worries/feelings (*perezhivania*) seem wrong to me, I am still ashamed, and now I am ready to do anything so that he would stop being so upset (*rasstraivat'sia*).'

What we see then is that, although for the most part Russian and English speakers agreed on the emotions they wanted to describe, English speakers described them predominantly with adjectives, such as *upset*, and Russian speakers predominantly with verbs, such as *rasstraivat'sia* and *perezhivat'*. There were also some discrepancies in terms of how the two groups perceived the woman's state. English speakers saw her not only as sad but also as angry, with the total of 47 word tokens for *anger* (2), *angry* (24), *furious* (1), *mad* (16), *pissed off* (2), and *angrily* (2) accounting for 17% of the emotion word corpus. Russian speakers, on the other hand, used only 9 emotion word tokens describing anger (4% of the corpus), with no agreement on any single word (for a list of all the words, see the next section and Appendix B). This low frequency and the lack of agreement suggest that 'angry' was not a dominant interpretation in the Russian corpus.

To sum up, using quantitative and qualitative analyses, we identified five important differences between the two monolingual corpora. First, they differed significantly in terms of mean narrative length: English monolinguals produced longer narratives than Russian speakers. Second, they differed in terms of lexical richness: Russian speakers displayed higher lexical richness of emotion vocabulary than speakers of American English. Third, they differed in the distribution of emotion terms across morphosyntactic categories: English speakers favored an adjectival pattern of emotion description and Russian speakers a verbal one, as would be predicted by Wierzbicka, (1992). Fourth, the two groups differed somewhat in terms of lexical choices. English speakers favored an emotion adjective *upset* with a range of copula verbs. In turn, Russian speakers described the same character using the adjective *rasstroennaia*, which corresponds to *upset*, but also two intransitive verbs, *rasstraivat'sia* and *perezhivat'*, which worked in tandem to mark aspect and to describe a sequence of emotion actions or processes. Fifth, the two groups differed somewhat in their interpretations of the main character's emotions: Americans were more likely to see the main character as *angry* or *mad*, in addition to being *upset* or *sad*. Let us now see how advanced American learners of Russian performed on the same task.

American Learner Corpus

Quantitative Analysis. As we discussed earlier, American learners produced significantly longer narratives than either monolingual group (see Table 1). It appears that the learners did not align

exactly with either monolingual group in this task; rather, they behaved as L2 learners or users. The monolingual participants saw the task as a recall and performed it easily in their native languages. In contrast, the learners interviewed in their L2 may have suspected that the quality of their performance would also be subject to judgment and may have tried to impress the researcher by displaying their ability in Russian. The length of their narratives was further affected by the fact that, to navigate lexical gaps, they had to resort to paraphrasing and circumlocution.

Despite the increased length, the learners' narratives contained a smaller proportion of emotion word tokens than the monolinguals' narratives. An ANOVA revealed a significant main effect of group for the proportion of emotion tokens ($F = 9.1$, $df = 2,126$, $p < .0001$, $eta^2 = .127$). The effect size was small (see Cohen, 1992). Scheffé posthoc analyses revealed a significant difference between the learners and the English monolinguals ($p < .021$), as well as between the learners and the Russian monolinguals ($p < .0001$). It appears, therefore, that the L2 learners used fewer emotion words than the monolingual speakers. Nevertheless, the lexical richness of emotion vocabulary in the learner corpus (0.23) was higher than that in the English corpus (0.13) and similar to that in the Russian corpus (0.24). These numbers suggest that the learners had a rich variety of emotion words at their disposal. Gender, as discussed in the previous section, was not a consistent influence across the corpora, and the influence of the socioeducational background could not be examined in the learner corpus since all the narratives were collected at a single institution.

Figure 1 and Table 4 show that, in terms of their morphosyntactic choices, the learners conformed to the native Russian pattern in using more verbs (48.5%) than adjectives (26%) in their narratives. Table 5 shows that the L2 learners differed from the monolingual English speakers in their use of adjectives, verbs, and adverbs, but not of nouns. They were similar to the Russian monolinguals in their use of adjectives and verbs, but differed from them in the use of nouns and adverbs. In other words, with respect to the use of adverbs, the L2 learners differed from both monolingual groups. Let us now consider these results from a qualitative standpoint.

Qualitative Analysis. As was seen in Table 4, despite the lack of significant differences, there was growth in the proportion of emotion nouns used in the American learner corpus (11%), as compared to the monolingual English corpus (6%). This growth may suggest that the learners are beginning to internalize the Russian pattern of describing emotions through nominal constructions. The analysis of the lexical choices by the learners (see Appendix C) indicates that they used some of the same nouns that native speakers of Russian did (Appendix B)—настроение 'mood', неудовольствие 'discontent', отчаяние 'despair', состояние 'state', чувства 'feelings', and эмоции 'emotions'—and sometimes in similar constructions, for example, она была в отчаянии 'she was in despair'.

In some cases, however, the learners exhibited the mastery of the appropriate nouns but not of collocations or morphosyntactic constructions in which the nouns appeared, and used the verb быть 'to be' instead of the more appropriate but less frequent verbs, such as испытывать 'to experience' or охватывать 'to grasp/seize', as seen in Example 8.

Example 8

у нее была страх

'she had fear' (It would be more appropriate to say ее охватил страх 'she was grasped by fear' or ей было страшно 'it was scary to her'.)

The dominance of verbs compared to adjectives in the learners' narratives similarly suggests that the learners are beginning to internalize the Russian preference for the verbal pattern over the adjectival one. The learners used some of the same verbs that native speakers of Russian did: беспокоиться 'to worry', (за-)плакать 'to cry, to begin crying', обидеться 'to take offense, to feel hurt [by someone]', огорчать(-ся) 'to be pained, annoyed', расстраиваться 'to get upset', сочувствовать 'to empathize', удивлять 'to surprise', and успокоить(-ся) 'to calm down'. Some learners sounded native-like in the way they described the protagonist's feelings through verbs, as illustrated in Example 9.

Example 9

Она прочитала это письмо, кажется, что в этом письме была какая-то плохая новость. Она заплакала, очень расстроилась . . .

'She read the letter, it seems that the letter contained some bad news. She began crying, got very upset (*rasstroilas'*, past tense/perfective).'

Ясно, что в нем что-то непри/неприятное . . . написано, ну потому что она сильно

расстроилась. Она не заплакала, кажется, что она рассердилась . . .

'It is clear that there is something unplea/unpleasant in it . . . written, because she got really upset (*rasstroilas'*, past tense/perfective). She didn't start crying, it seemed that she got angry . . .'

Nevertheless, several learners transferred the adjectival pattern from their L1 English into Russian. In contexts in which the L1 Russian speakers would use intransitive reflexive emotion verbs, such as рассердиться 'to get cross/angry at someone' or расстроиться 'to get upset', these L2 learners opted for emotion adjectives preceded by change-of-state verbs стать (perfective)/становиться (imperfective) 'to become', as seen in Example 10.

Example 10

она была сердитой/сердита
'she was angry/angry' [changes case endings]

она стала сердитой
'she became angry'

она ушла потому, что она была очень сердитая, мне кажется, и очень грустная
'she left because she was very angry, it seems to me, and very sad'

она читала письмо, и она стала очень грустной
'she was reading the letter, and she became very sad'

другая женщина она не стала . . . грустной. Она выглядела как она сочуст/сочуст/сочуствовала . . . другой женщине. . .
'the other woman she did not become . . .sad. She looked like she empa/empa/empathized. . . [with] the other woman . . .'

первая девушка . . . (2.0) . . . ну вот как стала расстроена, и она ушла
'the first girl . . . (2.0) . . . so she became upset, and she left'

As we previously noted, in English, utterances containing pronouns, state or change-of-state verbs, and emotion adjectives (Pro + Verb + Adj [Nominative]) are fully grammatical and fairly common. Russian, on the other hand, favors emotion verbs in similar contexts. It is quite unusual to hear or see constructions such as Pro + Verb + Adj (Instrumental) (e.g., она стала грустной 'she became sad'). Yet the students transposed the English pattern onto Russian, producing instances of morphosyntactic transfer. During the debriefing session, several students stated that they were not aware of the fact that Russian favors emotion verbs, whereas English speakers prefer adjectives. Although it is entirely possible that they may have learned and forgotten this fact, our analysis of a corpus of Russian textbooks revealed that these differences were not mentioned in the texts (Pavlenko & Driagina, 2006).

Another interesting discrepancy between verb choices of native speakers of Russian and American learners of Russian was the complete absence of the verb *perezhivat'* in the learner corpus. We argue that even though several Russian textbooks introduce this verb, its absence in spontaneous production is not surprising. Both the verb *rasstraivat'sia* and its corresponding adjective, *rasstroennyi*, map in the learners' mental lexicons onto a familiar notion of getting upset, whereas the verb *perezhivat'* has neither a structural, in other words adjectival, nor a semantic counterpart in English, and is thus harder to acquire. In the debriefing session, the learners acknowledged that they had seen the verb before but were not aware of its high frequency and salience in Russian emotion discourse and had not learned how to use this verb in everyday communication.

Another discrepancy was evident in semantic choices made by the American learners and the native speakers of Russian. The learners demonstrated greater consistency in describing the woman as angry and stating that she was either сердитая 'angry/cross' (7 tokens) or рассердилась 'got cross, angry at someone' (17 tokens). The uses of lemmas in the semantic field of сердиться (*serdit'sia*) 'to be experiencing anger/to be cross with someone' accounted for 16% of the emotion words in the learner corpus. This performance was consistent with that of the monolingual English speakers (17% of the emotion word corpus) and suggests that the learners tended to interpret emotions in culturally specific ways. This is especially striking since none of the words in the field of *serdit'sia* were used by native speakers of Russian. A few participants mentioned that the woman experienced досада 'annoyance' (2 tokens), злость 'anger, malice, spite' (1 token), that she was возмущена (-ная) 'indignant' (2 tokens), раздражена 'irritated' (1 token), or that the letter angered her, злить 'to anger' (1 token) and she got angry, разозлиться 'to get angry/irritated' (1 token) and was behaving in an angry manner, разгневанно 'in wrath, in ire' (1 token). Importantly, however, there was no agreement between the speakers on these choices.

This difference in interpretation between Americans (monolinguals and L2 learners) and Russians does not mean that Americans saw anger where there was none. Rather, what we see is a cross-linguistic difference in categorization of particular verbal and nonverbal behaviors. English speakers categorized the protagonist's behaviors as a display of 'anger'. Russian speakers, on the other hand, did not see these behaviors as a display of *serdit'sia* 'to be cross/angry at someone'. A few, however, used lexical items in the field of *zlit'sia* 'to be experiencing anger', revealing differences between *serdit'sia*, a relational process involving another person or people, and *zlit'sia*, a process that may have abstract causes. The learners, however, have mapped the Russian terms *serdit'sia* and сердитая (*serditaia*) 'angry/cross at someone' directly onto *angry* in their mental lexicons, without differentiating between *serdit'sia* and *zlit'sia*, and, in so doing, displayed conceptual transfer.

An intriguing difference between the learners and the monolingual speakers (both Russian and English) involved the uses of adverbs. As seen in Tables 4 and 5, the learners significantly overused adverbs, as compared to monolingual speakers (14.5% in the learner corpus vs. 3% in the Russian corpus and 1% in the English corpus). There may be two reasons for this overuse. The first reason is L1 transfer because adverbial constructions allow learners to use state and change-of-state verbs in ways similar to adjectival constructions. The second reason, suggested by our analysis of current Russian textbooks and by debriefing sessions with the learners, is textbook and classroom emphasis on impersonal constructions with predicate adverbs. Learners are taught—and justly so—that impersonal constructions are a common way of talking about one's own and others' feelings, moods, and attitudes. However, Russian has two competing patterns of describing emotions, one with subjects as agents and one with subjects as passive experiencers. Native speakers of Russian opted for the active pattern in the context of this task, whereas several learners overgeneralized impersonal constructions to contexts in which they were not used by native speakers of Russian, as seen in Example 11.

Example 11

ей стала грустно . . . ей было ст/обидно
'it became sad to her . . . it was sh/hurtful to her'

ей не было так счастливо
'it wasn't so happy to her' [semantically inappropriate]

очевидно ей очень плохо
'it is clear that she is unwell'

она читала одно письмо и это было очень грустно
'she was reading one letter and it was very sad' [It is not clear what was sad, the letter or the sight of the woman reading it.]

Some learners also differed from the native speakers of Russian in the sociolinguistic appropriateness of their lexical choices. These learners appealed to choices sanctioned in their textbooks and classrooms that are either too literary or too strong for the context of this particular task, such as кошмар 'nightmare' or ужас 'horror'. They also appealed to an inappropriately high literary register when using emotion expressions and emotion metaphors, as seen in Example 12.

Example 12

мне кажется что как сердце не разбило . . .
'it seems to me that is like heart is not broken'

для первую девушку открыть свою душу . . .
'for the first girl to open her soul'

Finally, we found evidence of systematic difficulties with lexical retrieval and morphosyntactic choices in the area of emotion vocabulary. These difficulties were evident in the following verbal and nonverbal behaviors:

1. An increased amount of pausing, hesitation, and false starts in sentences that describe the protagonist's feelings; we see several such pauses and false starts in Brandon's narrative, for example, оне не стала . . . грустной 'she didn't become . . . sad', она хотела/она очень грустная 'she wanted/she is very sad'.
2. Laughter in the context of pauses and false starts when attempting to use emotion words. Such laughter is commonly used to cover up the feeling of discomfort about one's proficiency.
3. Questions to the interviewer about the correct form and meaning of Russian emotion words, for example, "она рассердилась, да?" 'she got cross/angry, yes?'; "она абитса? она абилась?" 'she upset? she got upset?' [the student mispronounced the word обидеться 'to be hurt/offended by someone']; "Это правда, утешить ее?" 'It is true, to comfort her?'
4. An increased appeal to alternative means of emotion description, such as exaggerated intonation, body language, repetition (e.g., она плакала, плакала 'she was crying, crying'), and direct speech (e.g., "Что случилось? Почему тебе плохо?" 'What happened? Why are you

unwell?'), not used by native speakers of Russian in the context of this task.

5. Lexical borrowing in contexts in which the learners perceived lexical lacunae in their emotion vocabulary, as is the case with the word *frustration* that, as discussed earlier, lacks a Russian translation equivalent. Example 13 illustrates such borrowing.

Example 13

может быть, у нее фрустрация какая-то, не знаю
'maybe, she had some frustration, I don't know'

у нее была фрустрация
'she had frustration'

не просто грустнее, но как что-то ее фрастрирует/фрастрировало
'not simply sadder, but something is frustrating her, frustrated'

In sum, advanced American learners of Russian in our study were beginning to approximate native speakers of Russian in terms of the lexical richness of their emotion vocabulary and morphosyntactic and lexical choices, shifting from the preference for an adjectival pattern of emotion description in English to a verbal one in Russian. At the same time, we uncovered six differences between the monolingual Russian corpus and the learner corpus: (a) L1 morphosyntactic transfer of the adjectival pattern; (b) L1 conceptual transfer of the usage of adjectives and verbs in the field of *serdit'sia* 'to be cross/angry at someone'; (c) overuse of adverbial constructions, partially explained by L1 transfer and partially by instruction effects; (d) the absence of the verb *perezhivat'* 'to suffer, to worry, to experience something keenly', frequently used by native speakers of Russian; (e) violations of appropriateness of sociolinguistic register; and (f) a significantly lower proportion of emotion word tokens in the learner corpus. This last result may be explained by the overall difficulties learners experience with emotion vocabulary. Indirect evidence of difficulties in retrieval of emotion words was seen in pausing, laughter, paraphrasing, and circumlocutions, and also in lexical borrowing and questions to the interviewer.

CONCLUSIONS

We hope that our discussion has revealed the advantages of contrastive learner corpus analysis and of the uses of narratives in the study of advanced learner proficiency. This approach allows us to hold the semantic referent constant and to elicit comparable language samples from a variety of speakers. The corpora, in turn, make it possible to identify a range of lexical choices made with regard to a particular referent by native speakers of the language in question. Thus, the answer to the question "What would a native speaker say in this context?" becomes an empirical, rather than a hypothetical, one. Then, we can examine lexical choices in the learner corpora and, because the data are narrative, understand the contributions of semantic, pragmatic, and structural factors to lexical selection in the mental lexicon.

Our findings show that the advanced American learners of Russian who participated in the study had rich emotion vocabularies and displayed skillful uses of emotion words in all morphosyntactic categories. Many of their lexical and morphosyntactic choices approximated those of native speakers of Russian. These learners also internalized the Russian preference for emotion verbs over adjectives. They nevertheless continued experiencing difficulties in describing the emotions of others and, as a consequence, differed from the native speakers of Russian in their morphosyntactic, semantic, and register choices. Our findings identified two verbs as particularly difficult for the learners, the intransitive verb *perezhivat'* 'to suffer, to worry, to experience something keenly' and the intransitive reflexive and relational verb *serdit'sia* 'to be cross/angry at someone'. *Perezhivat'* is difficult because it lacks a semantic equivalent in English and does not have a corresponding adjective in Russian, which might have facilitated internalization. *Serdit'sia* is difficult because it refers to a narrow set of meanings. The learners mapped it onto a partial translation equivalent, *angry*, that corresponds to a much broader concept.

These findings have implications both for our understanding of the structure of the bilingual mental lexicon and for FL instruction. With regard to the mental lexicon, we found that in the process of FL acquisition learners can shift the pattern of their structural choices; the L2 learners here replaced their preference for adjectives with one for verbs. Structural preferences from the L1 may nevertheless continue to influence lexical selections in the L2, as was evident in the transfer of the adjectival pattern from English into Russian. Furthermore, the acquisition of the language-specific verb *perezhivat'* seemed to be complicated by the lack of a corresponding adjective. Together, these results point to cross-linguistic influence that affects both lexical selection in the L2 mental lexicon and the acquisition of L2 emotion vocabulary.

Our results were similar to Pavlenko's (2002b) finding that Russian–English bilinguals transfer the adjectival pattern from L2 English into L1 Russian. We have two converging explanations for the similarity between the transfer patterns in the two studies. The first explanation is the dominance of English in both sets of participants: the American learners of Russian in this study and the Russians living in the United States in Pavlenko's (2002b) study. The second explanation involves the lexical options offered by Russian emotion vocabulary. Russian facilitates the "transfer to somewhere" (Kellerman, 1995, p. 126), or transfer-induced overgeneralization of contexts in which the adjectival pattern is appropriate. Transfer in the other direction is rendered virtually impossible by the low number of intransitive emotion verbs in English.

Our analysis revealed both system-wide and item-specific cross-linguistic effects in the mental lexicon. System-wise, we identified a structural shift from the L1 to the L2 pattern occurring in the lexicon of advanced American learners of Russian, as well as negative L1 transfer, evident in the use of emotion adverbs and adjectives. Item-wise, we identified several emotion verbs that represent particular difficulties for American learners, such as *serdit'sia* and *perezhivat'*. The latter findings revealed three patterns of mapping between concepts and lemmas in the learner lexicon. Conceptual equivalence, as in the case of *upset/rasstroennaia*, facilitates internalization of new vocabulary (positive transfer). Partial equivalence, as in the case of *angry/serdit'sia*, facilitates internalization but may lead learners to use the words in ways different from native speakers of the target language (negative transfer). Finally, the lack of a conceptual equivalent may complicate the internalization of particular target language items, as was the case with *perezhivat'* (avoidance), or lead to lexical borrowing from the L1, as was the case with *frustration*.

Our findings also have implications for FL instruction. Although the learners in our study did begin to approximate native–speaker use of Russian, they could nevertheless have benefited from explicit metalinguistic instruction about differences between the Russian and English emotion lexicons. It is noteworthy that the learners reported during debriefing that their classes and teaching materials did not address cross-linguistic differences in structural patterns of emotion description in the two languages. Their observations were borne out in our analysis of the most commonly used Russian textbooks; we found that these texts did not explicitly discuss language-specific semantic, pragmatic, and sociolinguistic properties of Russian emotion vocabulary and that some did not address emotion talk at all (Pavlenko & Driagina, 2006). Even when particular texts did incorporate emotion vocabulary, the corresponding communicative exercises focused on descriptions of emotion states and moods, often through impersonal constructions, and did not offer much explanation or practice in description of emotions as processes or of changes in emotion states. The results of this study show that such a limited focus may result in overgeneralization and overuse of impersonal adverbial constructions, underrepresentation of emotion verbs, difficulties in description of changes of emotion states, and negative semantic and morphosyntactic transfer.

We suggest that emotion vocabulary needs to be incorporated in FL instruction as a separate and important lexical and syntactic domain. In Russian language pedagogy, such incorporation means explicit metalinguistic instruction on structural and semantic differences between Russian and English emotion lexicons, and introduction of both impersonal and agentive constructions as legitimate ways of talking about emotions. In general, FL instruction needs to strike a balance between the following three components: (a) metalinguistic awareness-raising, that is, discussions and exercises to help learners identify the means used by target language speakers and writers to express and describe emotions; (b) emotion expression, that is, written and oral exercises that offer learners opportunities to practice both the expression of their own emotions and the description of the emotions of others; and (c) emotion interpretation, that is, written and oral exercises that involve identification and interpretation of characters' emotions and of affective meanings intended by target language writers and speakers.

Learner corpora offer interesting possibilities in this area as a tool suited not only for learner language analysis but also for data-driven teaching and learning. We present a detailed discussion of how to use learner corpora for form-focused and awareness-raising instruction in our corpus-based workbook for teachers and learners of advanced Russian (Pavlenko & Driagina, 2006). The learners are invited to work with a retrievable corpus (http://www.calper.la.psu.edu) that includes but is not limited to the corpora discussed in the present study. The corpus allows learners to retrieve contextualized examples of emotion lemmas in the speech of L1 and L2 speakers and, thus, notice gaps between their own and native language forms. This approach is particularly

useful for metalinguistic awareness-raising, where we draw learners' attention to overuse or underuse of problematic words (e.g., *perezhivat'*) and patterns (e.g., adverbial or adjectival vs. verbal constructions) and help them discover appropriate contexts for these lexical and syntactic choices. Corpus-driven exercises are also a useful resource for teaching emotion expression and emotion interpretation. In our own workbook, students are first asked to locate emotion references in the narratives available from the retrievable corpus; they are also encouraged to work with emotion vocabulary in a larger corpus of Russian-language materials (http://www.RusCorpora.ru). This interpretive work allows them to locate appropriate models for encoding their own affective meanings.

In the contexts where appropriate corpora are not available, teachers may consider collecting their own, as well as using literary texts, films, songs, poetry, and other written or spoken texts for similar exercises focused on form, interpretation, and self-expression. We also advocate exercises that promote learner analysis of their own emotion talk. This learner-driven approach offers students more active and responsible roles than traditional present–practice–produce paradigms (Granger, 2002; Seidlhofer, 2002), which is of particular importance for such a personal and subjective topic as the expression of feelings.

We hope that our work will inspire further investigations of how emotions are encoded and expressed in languages other than Russian and in the speech of L2 learners of these languages (see also Dewaele, 2005). We also hope that it will enable Russian-language teachers to incorporate emotion vocabulary into their classrooms and to examine the effectiveness of such pedagogical interventions.

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APPENDIX A
English Emotion Lemmas in the Narratives by American Monolinguals ($N = 50$)

Nouns ($n = 16$)		Adjectives ($n = 209$)		Verbs ($n = 49$)		Adverbs ($n = 3$)	
anger	2	angry	24	bother	1	angrily	2
depression	2	confused	1	break down	1	emotionally	1
disbelief	4	depressed (-ing)	5	comfort	4		
disgust	1	disappointed	2	console	5		
distress	1	disheartened	1	cry	15		
emotion	1	distraught	4	deal	7		
feeling (-s)	2	distressed (-ing)	3	disbelieve	1		
tears	1	disturbed (-ing)	5	disturb	1		
unresolve	1	embarrassed	1	feel	1		
worriment	1	frustrated (-ing)	6	resent	2		
		furious	1	sigh	1		
		mad	16	sob	1		
		perplexed	1	upset (someone)	8		
		pissed (off)	2	worry	1		
		puzzled	2				
		sad	10				
		shocked	2				
		traumatic	1				
		unhappy	1				
		upset	119				
		upsetting	2				

APPENDIX B
Russian Emotion Lemmas in the Narratives by Russian Monolinguals ($N = 49$)

Nouns ($n = 47$)		Adjectives ($n = 52$)		Verbs ($n = 110$)		Adverbs ($n = 7$)	
горе 'grief, sorrow'	3	взволнована 'agitated, anxious, worried'	3	беспокоиться 'to worry'	1	мучительно 'agonizingly'	1
досада 'annoyance'	2	возмущена (-ная) 'indignant'	2	вздыхать 'to sigh'	3	невероятно 'incredibly'	1
злость 'anger, malice, spite'	1	встревоженный 'anxious' worried	1	волноваться 'to worry, to be anxious, agitated'	1	неприятно 'unpleasantly'	1
истерика 'hysterics'	1	горестные 'sad, sorrowful'	1	горевать 'to grieve'	1	нервно 'nervously'	1
настроение 'mood'	3	недовольна 'unhappy, discontent'	3	(за-) плакать 'to cry, to begin crying'	10	плохо 'badly'	1
нервы 'nerves'	2	нервная 'nervous'	1	злить 'to anger'	1	разгневанно 'angrily, in wrath'	1
неудовольствие 'discontent'	1	огорчена '-ная' 'pained, annoyed'	4	нервничать 'to worry, to be anxious, nervous'	4	тяжело 'heavily, with difficulty'	1
огорчение 'pain, suffering, vexation'	1	озабочена 'concerned, worried'	1	обижаться 'to take offense, to feel hurt'	1		
отчаяние 'despair'	1	опечалена 'saddened'	1	обрадовать 'to make someone happy'	1		
паника 'panic'	1	печальная 'sad'	3	огорчать'-ся' 'to be pained, annoyed'	8		
переживания 'worries, emotional experiences'	2	подавлена 'depressed'	1	переживать 'to suffer, to worry, to experience something keenly'	18		

Continued

APPENDIX B
Continued

Nouns ($n = 47$)		Adjectives ($n = 52$)		Verbs ($n = 110$)		Adverbs ($n = 7$)	
печаль ‘sorrow, grief, sadness’	1	потрясенная ‘shocked’	2	поразить ‘to shock, to strike’	1		
разочарование ‘disappointment’	1	(не) радостная ‘unhappy, literally: not joyful’	3	потрясти ‘to shock’	2		
расстройство ‘the state of being upset’	3	раздражена ‘irritated’	1	психовать ‘to behave in a crazy manner’	3		
реакция ‘reaction’	4	расстроена (-ная) ‘upset’	24	развеселить ‘to amuse’	1		
слезы ‘tears’	1	(не) счастлива ‘unhappy’	1	разозлиться ‘to become angry’	1		
смех ‘laughter’	1			разочаровываться ‘to become disappointed’	1		
смущение ‘embarrassment, confusion’	1			расстроить’-ся’ ‘to upset, to get upset’	43		
смятение ‘distress, disarray’	1			реагировать ‘to react’	1		
сопереживание ‘empathy, compassion’	1			сочувствовать ‘to empathize’	1		
состояние ‘state’	4			тронуть ‘to touch’	1		
чувства ‘feelings’	5			убиваться ‘to grieve, to mourn’	1		
эмоции ‘emotions’	6			удивлять ‘-ся’ ‘to be surprised’	2		
				успокоить ‘to calm someone down’	1		
				чувствовать ‘to feel’	2		

APPENDIX C
Russian Emotion Lemmas in the Narratives by Advanced American Learners of Russian ($N = 30$)

Nouns ($n = 18$)		Adjectives ($n = 41$)		Verbs ($n = 77$)		Adverbs ($n = 23$)	
Беспокойство ‘the state of worrying’	1	грустная ‘sad’	14	беспокоиться ‘to worry’	2	грустно ‘sadly’	9
душа ‘soul’	1	невеселая ‘unhappy, sad’	3	бояться ‘to fear, to be afraid’	1	неприятно ‘unpleasantly’	1
кошмар ‘nightmare, horror’	1	печальное ‘sad’	1	возбуждать ‘to excite’	1	недовольно ‘unhappily’	1
настроение ‘mood’	1	радостная ‘рада’ ‘happy, glad’	2	возмущаться ‘to be indignant’	2	обидно ‘hurtfully’	3
неудовольствие ‘discontent’	1	раздражена ‘irritated’	1	(за)плакать ‘to cry, to begin crying’	23	плохо ‘badly’	4
отчаяние ‘despair’	2	разочарована ‘disappointed’	2	обижаться ‘to take offense, to feel hurt [by someone]’	5	сердито ‘angrily’	2
раздражение ‘irritation’	2	расстроена ‘upset’	10	огорчать (-ся) ‘to be pained, annoyed’	2	смешно ‘funny, funnily’	1

Continued

APPENDIX C
Continued

Nouns ($n = 18$)		Adjectives ($n = 41$)		Verbs ($n = 77$)		Adverbs ($n = 23$)	
сердце 'heart'	1	сердитая 'angry, cross'	7	раздражать 'to irritate'	3	страшно 'scary, scarily'	1
состояние 'state'	2	счастлива 'happy'	1	(рас-) сердиться 'to get cross, angry [at someone]'	17	счастливо 'happy, happily'	1
страх 'fear'	1			расстраиваться 'to get upset'	9		
ужас 'horror'	1			сочувствовать 'to empathize'	3		
фрустрация 'frustration'	1			удивлять 'to surprise'	1		
чувства 'feelings'	2			успокоить'-ся' 'to calm down'	2		
эмоции 'emotions'	1			утешать 'to pacify'	4		
				фрастрировать 'to frustrate'	2		