

# **EMOTIONS IN AND AROUND LANGUAGE**

WORKSHOP HELD IN TALLINN AT THE  
INSTITUTE OF THE ESTONIAN LANGUAGE,  
23<sup>TH</sup>–24<sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER, 2010

# **EMOTSIOONID KEELES JA KEELE ÜMBER**

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INSTITUUDIS, 23.–24. SEPTEMBRIL 2010

# **BOOK OF ABSTRACTS**

TALLINN  
2010

*Emotsioonid keeles ja keele tõmber*



Eesti Keele Instituut

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ETF grant nr 7149 (*The dynamic aspects of the  
conceptualizations of emotions*)  
SF0050023s09 (*Modelling intermodular phenomena in  
Estonian*)

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*Emotsioonid keeles ja keele ümber*

# PLENARY LECTURES

## **The relevance of emotion for language and linguistics**

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The relevance of emotion for language and linguistics will be considered from three perspectives.

1. The conceptualization of emotions.
2. The expression of emotions
3. The grounding of language

As to the first perspective, research on the emotional lexicon will be discussed. Not only content words (N, V, A), but also prepositions are relevant (*to long for, hate against*).

The expression of emotions takes place on all linguistic levels: phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactic. I will pay special attention to some syntactic means (expressive constructions).

‘Grounding’ of language in emotion means that emotion is one of the preconditions for the functioning of language (emotion is part of the embodied grounding) and for its coming into existence, both phylogenetically and ontogenetically.

## **The appearance of idioms in children's emotion lexicon**

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There was an extended debate in the last two or three decades about when children start to understand and use idioms. Like metaphors idioms often show a figurative origin – nevertheless, unlike metaphors idioms are highly conventionalized and stored within the lexicon. Children usually learn idioms as wholes and even young children can use them (Buhofer 1980). Nevertheless, “idioms generally are acquired very gradually throughout childhood, adolescence and adulthood” (Anglin 2002: 1796).

Children use emotion terms very early in their development (cf. Bretherton & Beeghly 1982). Words like *happy* or *sad* for example are an inherent part of very young children’s vocabularies. At age 2;5 to 6, children learn to differentiate verbally *between* the basic emotion states, such as anger, fear, sadness, and happiness. However, the differentiation *within* one emotion state appears to show up later, probably during elementary school (cf. Glaznieks 2009). Within the emotion lexicon idioms show a specific semantic function: they tend to express a very high intensity of a given emotion (which might be a result of their metonymic origin, cf. Dobrovolskij 1997).

In my talk I will focus on the two emotions anger and fear. I will address the following question: How do children verbally distinguish various kinds of anger and fear? To answer this question I will present data from a study with 24 German-speaking children from kindergarten (about age 5), 30 2nd-graders (about age 8) and 30 4th-graders (about age 10). Participants were interviewed using short picture stories showing a character in fear and anger-triggering situations. All participants

were asked to name the feeling of the character. The situations varied in the intensity of the character's feeling.

The results show that the amount of different expressions used to refer to the emotions increases with age. With respect to the use of idioms it was expected that they will be used to denote a high intensity of a given emotion. While the 4th-graders use idioms in a remarkable number, 2nd-graders use idioms only sporadically and the youngest children do not use idioms at all. The results will be discussed with respect to findings in a second study – conducted with the same participants – in which the understanding of idiomatic emotion terms was investigated.

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## **Emotion as Motion: A matter of language, cognition, or both?**

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The concepts (or “domains”) of *motion* and *emotion* are closely related in both language and experience. This is shown by the presence of many metaphorical expressions (e.g. ‘my heart dropped’) across languages denoting affective processes on the basis of expressions originally denoting physical motion. I address the question *why* this is the case, and distinguish between three kinds of theoretical proposals: (a) (embodied) conceptual universalism, (b) (strong) language/culture dependence and (c) consciousness-language interactionism. After an “eidetic” analysis of motion, informed by phenomenology, and to a more limited extent - emotion(s), I describe an empirical study in which 114 motion-emotion metaphors in English, Swedish, Bulgarian and Thai were systematically analyzed and compared. The findings show considerable differences, especially between the Thai metaphors and those in three other languages, but also significant similarities. The results are interpreted as supporting a dialectical, interactionist relationship between language and consciousness, on the one hand, and between motion and emotion, on the other.

## SECTION PAPERS

### Constructions of pain in Finnish

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Pain is an abstract entity which only a sick person can experience. Talking about pain, we cannot draw clear boundaries or identify concrete objects or cases. It is exactly for this reason that languages have a whole plethora of ways to express pain.

In Finland, many people who are not native speakers of Finnish face a necessity to describe their pain to a doctor; also, a foreign doctor needs to understand correctly her/his Finnish patients and their pain. Hence, it is essential that pain constructions are not mistreated in learning and teaching Finnish.

With respect to pain constructions it is important to take into account both grammatical and semantic aspects. For instance, verbs which lexicalize coldness and hotness express the experience of the whole body as well as of its parts, e.g.: *minua paleltaa* (I'm cold), *varpaitani paleltaa* (my toes are cold), *minua kuumaa* (I'm hot), *poskia kuumaa* (my cheeks are hot). Also, verbs which lexicalize muscle pain belong to concrete types of pain, e.g.: *jomottaa* (to cause nagging pain), *kivistää* (to ache), *kolottaa* (to ache). All these verbs presuppose localisation of pain in particular body parts, e.g.: *selkää jomottaa* (back aches), *minua kolottaa joka paikasta* (I have pain everywhere).

This reserach of pain constructions was based on actual dialogues between doctors and patients recorded in Finland in the years 1993–1999. Presentation will comment on the instances of

the most frequently used constructions of pain in Finnish along with the situations in which these constructions occur.

## **Valu konstruktsioonid soome keeles**

Viktoria Alekseeva

Valu on abstraktne entiteet, mida võib tunda vaid haige inimene. Me ei saa siin rääkida selgetest piiridest, samas ei ole konkreetseid objekte ega juhtumeid, just sellepärast on valu keeles nii palju väljendamisvõimalusi.

Paljudel inimestel, kelle jaoks soome keel ei ole emakeel, tekib vajadus kirjeldada oma valu arstile või peab välismaalasest arst saama õigesti aru patsiendist ja tema valust. Järelikult ei tohi alahinnata valu konstruktsioone soome keele õppimisel ja õpetamisel.

Valu konstruktsioonide puhul on vaja silmas pidada nii grammatilist kui ka semantilist aspekti. Näiteks liigse kuumuse ja külmuse tunnet leksikaliseerivad tegusõnad väljendavad nii keha kui selle osa tundmusi, nt *minua paleltaa* (mul on külm), *varpaitani paleltaa* (minu varbad külmetavad), *minua kuumaa* (mul on palav), *poskia kuumaa* (põsed õhetavad) või lihastundeid leksikaliseerivad tegusõnad on valutamistüüpi, nt *aristaa* (hell olla), *jomottaa* (pakitseda), *kivistää* (valutada), *kolottaa* (valutada). Kõik need eeldavad tunde lokaliseerimist kehaosale, nt *selkää jomottaa* (selg valutab), *minua kolottaa joka paikasta* (mul valutab igalt poolt).

Töö väärtus seisneb selles, et valu konstruktsioonide uurimisel oli kasutada reaalsed arsti ja patsiendi vahelised dialoogid, mis lindistati Soomes aastail 1993-1999.

Presentatsioonis esitatakse näiteid, missuguseid valu konstruktsioone kasutatakse sagedamini ja millistes situatsioonides.

**Estonian Emotional Speech Corpus: The aspects of culture and age in selecting corpus testers**

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We touched upon the problem of the influence of culture and age on vocal recognition of emotions when creating the Estonian emotional speech corpus. As this corpus does not specify which emotions the reader should express when reading out a text, each corpus sentence is subjected to a test in which readers determine the emotion of the sentence (joy, anger, sadness, neutral) (see Altrov 2008). When the corpus was created (in 2006), it was not certain if it was possible to successfully identify emotions by listening to recorded texts in non-acted Estonian and not seeing facial expressions. To increase success rate, we chose Estonians older than 30 to be our testers of corpus sentences as research results show that people who have lived longer in a particular culture and have acquired culture-specific skills of expressing emotions are better at recognising emotions by listening to voice only (see Toivanen et al. 2004). That is why we initially excluded younger people from the group of testers. In doing so we did not consider the possibility that the ability to recognise emotions may fall with age (see, e.g., Mill et al. 2009, Paumann et al. 2008).

Currently we are at the stage of corpus creation where we are verifying the selection principle for testers. We did two tests. In the first test, 27 young adults (aged 20-28) were asked to listen to and identify the emotion (joy, anger, sadness, neutral) of 35 sentences. We then compared the results with those of adult testers (over 30). In the second test we asked 32 Latvians listen to the same sentences, and then compared the results with those of Estonians. Our analysis showed that there is a significant difference in how younger and older testers, or Estonians and Latvians perceive emotions. The fact that Latvians and young

adult Estonians identified many sentences as neutral shows that in order to successfully identify an emotion in voice, one has to have a longer experience in how emotions are expressed in a certain culture. From these test results we can say that the selection principle of corpus testers, using people who are more familiar with Estonian culture, is acceptable.

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### **Eesti Emotsionaalse Kõne Korpus: Kultuuri ja vanuse mõju emotsioonide hääle järgi identifitseerimisele**

Rene Altrov, Hille Pajupuu

Kultuuri ja vanuse mõju probleemiga emotsioonide hääle järgi identifitseerimisel puutusime kokku seoses Eesti emotsionaalse kõne korpuseloomisega. Kuna selles korpuseloomimises pole lugejale ette öeldud, mis emotsiooniga teksti lugeda, siis läbib iga korpuselause testi, milles kuulajad määravad lause emotsiooni (rõõm, viha, kurbus, neutraalne) (vt Altrov 2008). Korpuseloomimishetkel (2006) polnud teada, kui hästi õnnestub hääle järgi, ilma nägu nägemata tavalises mittedideldud eestikeelses kõnes emotsioone

tuvastada. Et õnnestumise tõenäosus oleks suurem, valisime korpuse lausete emotsioonide määrajateks üle 30-aastased eestlased, sest uurimustele tuginedes võis eeldada, et emotsioone tunnevad hääle järgi paremini ära need inimesed, kes on selles kultuuris pikemalt elanud ja kultuurispetsiifilise emotsiooniväljenduse omandanud (vt Toivanen jt 2004). Seega, esmalt jätsime testijate hulgast välja nooremad inimesed. Me ei arvestanud seejuures aga võimalusega, et emotsioonide tuvastamisvõime võib vanuse kasvades langeda (vt nt Mill jt 2009, Paumann jt 2008).

Praeguseks oleme korpuse loomisega jõudnud etappi, kus kontrollime testijate valikupõhimõtet. Tegime selleks kaks testi. Esimeses testis lasime 27-l noorel täiskasvanul (vanus 20–28 aastat) testijal kuulamise põhjal määrata 35 lause emotsiooni (rõõm, viha, kurbus, neutraalsus) ning võrdlesime saadud tulemusi üle 30-aastaste omaga. Teises testis lasime samu lauseid kuulata 32-l lätlasel ning võrdlesime tulemusi eestlaste omaga. Analüüs näitab, et vanemate ja nooremate testijate emotsioonimäärangud ning eestlaste ja lätlaste emotsioonimäärangud erinevad oluliselt. Neutraalseks identifitseeritud lausete suur osakaal lätlaste ja noorematel eestlastel viitab sellele, et emotsioonide hääle järgi identifitseerimiseks on oluline pikaajaline kultuuris elamise kogemus. Tulemuste põhjal võime öelda, et korpuse testijate valikuprintsiip – kasutada Eesti kultuuris pikemalt elanud – on aktsepteeritav.

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Automatic discrimination of emotion from spoken  
Finnish. *Language & Speech* 47 (4), 383–412.

## **Keeleõppijate emotsionaalsetest suhetest eesti keelega**

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Mida eesti keel tudengitest õppijatele tähendab, kas see on pelgalt üks õppeaine paljude seas või miski, millega on isiklik suhe? Kuidas eesti keelt kirjeldatakse, kas grammatikasüsteemina või hoopis suhtlusvahendina? Mis on selles keeles kaunis ja huvitav, mis aga raske või tüütu? Kas eesti keele õppimine pakub huvi ja rõõmu või on vaid pealesunnitud kohustus? Kas eesti keel tekitab keeleõppijas selliseid emotsioone nagu näiteks viha, rõõm, armastus või kurbus? Kas eesti keelest kirjutades kasutatakse üldse neid põhiemotsioone väljendavaid sõnu? Nendele küsimustele otsitaksegi ettekandes vastust.

Andmed on kogutud ühe õppeaasta jooksul kirjaliku küsitluse teel, mille otsene eesmärk oli õppijate ootuste välja selgitamine enne eesti keele kursuste algust. Küsitletud on jagatud kahte rühma: emakeele õppijateks ja teise keele õppijateks. Kursuste eesmärk on mõlema rühma jaoks ühine – erialase või ametikeele väljendusoskuse arendamine.

Analüüsi aluseks on võetud sageduse põhimõte – oluliseks on loetud need sõnad ja nende abil väljendatud mõtted, mis esinesid vastustes vähemalt viis korda. Esiteks on vastuseid

analüüsitud küsimuste kaupa ehk nii, et ilmneksid sarnased väljendid eesti keele kohta. Seejärel on uuritud iga vastaja seisukohti kõikidele küsimustele antud vastuste põhjal.

Kahe rühma võrdluses tulevad esile ühised jooned: mõlemad hindavad eesti keelt enda jaoks tähtsaks, kuid õppijale keeruliseks. Mis on keeruline, selles rühmade vastused erinevad. Suurimad erinevused ilmnevad aga vastustes, mis on antud eesti keele kirjeldamist nõudvale küsimusele. Eesti keelt teise keelena õppijad on kirjutanud selle keele tähendusest enda jaoks üsna emotsioonitult ja seda on kirjeldatud skaalal kerge-raske. Emotsioone väljendatakse peamiselt seoses eesti keele õppimise ja kasutamisega.

Eesti emakeele õppijad kirjeldavad oma keelt skaalal ilus—kole ja väljendavad veidi enam emotsioone, kuigi mitte nii otseselt emotsioonisõnavara kasutades.

## **Emotive intensification and subjectivity**

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The paper concentrates on emotive intensification from the domain of FEAR. In particular, on sets of terms like *awesome*, *awful*, *awfully*, or *terribly*, *terrific*, or *fearful*, *fearfully*, *fearsome* but also terms like *dreadful*, *frightful* since they have undergone significant semantic modifications. The motivation of this observation is due to the frequency of utterances like *I terribly love you*, *She's fearfully clever*, and numerous others.

In the literature (Athanasiadou 2007; Lorenz 2002; Nevalainen 1991; Nevalainen and Rissanen 2002; Traugott 1999, 2003) it has been claimed that intensifiers, as they extend from

adjectives, are semantically bleached without keeping their content component. They are only used to emphasize, to persuade or to modify the hearers' perspective. According to the views so far, one would equally expect the above intensifiers to have undergone progressive delexicalization, and in this way they are being, very frequently, used in a great range of discourse contexts. So, although they derive from the domain of FEAR, they are used in expressions which do not denote the emotion of fear.

The aim of the paper is to investigate the path of the semantic extension of the emotive intensifiers from the domain of FEAR. At first sight, one tends to generalize and group them together with all the other intensifiers that have lost their content and have undergone semantic bleaching. It will be claimed that the above entities of emotive intensification naturally extend to such uses; they, however, keep their emotional meaning, namely the emotion of fear. This is an instance of subjectivity in Langacker's terms (1990, 1997, 1999). Within this framework, speakers, in their attempt to express their conceptualizations, employ terms that vary on a continuum from subjective, via more, then to highly and ultimately to most subjective. This process involves the gradual change of entities in terms of status, focus, or domain. In our case we have a change in status and focus. The domain, in this case the domain of FEAR, is still represented. In terms of status, we have a shift from actual fear to potential fear, or a shift from specific to generic fear. We also have a change in focus, i.e. some emotive intensifiers focus on hesitation, others on intimidation, while others focus on alarm or impressively fearsome situations.

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## **Conceptualization and expression of the domain of SADNESS in Modern Greek**

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The emotion of SADNESS has been studied by psychologists, linguists, anthropologists, philosophers. SADNESS is a universal emotion and there are similarities in the conceptualization and expression of this emotion among different languages, however, there is no satisfactory universal definition of it. The fact that difficulties arise even in the translation of words that belong to the domain of SADNESS from one language to another shows its language specific character. In Modern Greek the domain of SADNESS comprises a range of polysemous lexical items. These polysemous lexical items are sometimes considered as near-synonyms, as they have senses that overlap, while at other times they have senses that are restricted only to a particular item. This presentation aims at the investigation of the conceptualization and the expression of the domain of SADNESS in Modern Greek by means of the following items: *lipi*, *thlipsi*, *melanxolia*, *stenoxoria*, *thrinós* and *penthos*.

Keywords: sadness, language of emotions, Modern Greek, polysemy, semantic network

**Süda peopesal – sydän kämmenellä:  
süda-sõna kasutus eesti ja soome keeles**

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Südamega seotud sõnaühendid ja idioomid võivad väljendada füüsilist seisundit: nt sm *sydän sykkii, tykkii, lyö*; füsioloogilist seisundit: ee *Süda läigib, süda pöörstab, süda on paha*, sm *sydäntä etoo, kääntää, ellottaa*.

Tundetaseandil on südamega seotud:

1. Armastus: sm *sydämeni kuuluu sinulle*; ee *mu süda kuulub sulle*; sm *sydämeni sykkii sinulle*; ee *mu süda tuksub sinule, kingin sulle südame, kaotas sinulle südame*.

2. Hirm: sm *sydän kutistuu*; ee *süda tõmbub kokku*; sm *riipaisee, vihlaisee, kirvelee, karvastelee*; ee *süda tõmbub hirmust kokku*; sm *kuoraisi sydänalaa*.

3. Mure, kurbus: nt sm *sydän särky, supistuu*; ee *süda tõmbub kokku*; sm (tuska) *kuoristaa sydäntä*; ee *Süda murdub*; sm *sydän pakahtuu ~halkeaa*; ee *süda lõhkeeb*; sm *sydän vuottaa verta*; ee *süda tilgub verd*.

4. Saladus ja kergendus: sm *Mitä sinulla on sydämellä?* ee *Mis sul südamel on?* sm *Kivi putosi sydämeltä*; ee *Kivi langes(kukkus) südamelt*.

5. Meelepaha: ee *Ta ajab mu südame täis*; sm *suututtaa*; ee *süda läheb täis*; sm *suutun*.

6. Solvumine: ee *Ma võtsin seda südamesse, solvusin südamepõhjani*.

7. Vihastumine: sm *Tämä käy sydämelle = harmittaa*; ee *ajab südame täis, süda annab järele*.

8. Rõõm, heameel: sm *sydän hypähtää* (ilosta), *sydän paisuu* (ilosta); ee *süda laulab, hõiskab, juubeldab, rõõmustab, hüüab* (rõõmust), *naerab, põleb* (vaimustusest); sm *laulaa, iloitse, huutaa, palaa...*

9. Ausus, tingimatus: ee *kogu südamest*; sm *koko sydämestä, keventää sydäntä*; ee *kergendada südant*; sm *puhtaasta sydämestä*; ee *puhtast südamest*.

10. Üllatus: ee *Oh sa süda!* sm *Voi hyvänen aika!*

11. Tähtsus: sm *Tämä on minulle sydämen asia*; ee *See on mulle südame asi*.

**A cognitive linguistic exploration of the complex emotion  
ENVY: Comparing Mandarin XIANMU “admiration/envy”  
and English ENVY**

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Emotion has been widely studied interdisciplinarily. Among them, cognitive linguists and psychologists have explored the understanding of basic emotions such as anger, love, and happiness (Kövecses 1991, 1995), without paying too much attention to the linguistically confounded (Cristiano & Maria 2009) complex ones (Johnson-Laird 1987, 1989) such as the frequently co-occurring emotions of envy and jealousy (Parrot & Smith 1993). ENVY and JEALOUSY are often viewed as comparable complex emotions because they are sometimes used interchangeably and they both contain the shared basic emotion of disgust. In view of the claim that every culture has multiple, sometimes quite different, ways of nuancing the same emotions or emotive words, the present study aims to investigate how the Mandarin ‘equivalent’ of ENVY, XIANMU, is understood in the language.

Specifically, the present study aims to explore how one’s idea of the more complex emotion, XIANMU, can be influenced

by the resources available in one's language, and to what extent, XIANMU is similar to or different from its lexically index English equivalent ENVY. In addition, the relationship between XIANMU and its relevant emotions will also be investigated via the analysis of XIANMU and its related linguistic expressions in Mandarin.

Based on our pilot study, it was discovered that XIANMU in Mandarin is significantly primed by words containing the embodied attributes of mouth and eyes. Expressions used to satisfy one's desire of food depict traditionally XIANMU, which is typically used to express one's longing for what one lacks. Our data further confirmed that XIANMU is different from the English ENVY: XIANMU can be interpreted and understood either positively or negatively as two different emotions, depending on the perspectives of the cognitive subject. It could be used in the sense of its English equivalent ENVY since it is frequently collocated with the negative emotion of JIDU (jealousy). It can also positively emphasize the desired outcome CHENGZAN (admiration) when one wishes to possess the much desired due to his lack of it. In other words, XIANMU is either ENVY or ADMIRATION, depending on the perspective taken by the cognitive subject in the context where the term occurs. Cross-linguistically and cross-culturally, XIANMU is therefore not a linguistic equivalent of the English ENVY.

Keywords: Complex emotion; XIANMU (admiration/envy); perspectival subjectivity

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## **Verbal labeling in detection, discrimination and remembering of schematic faces**

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Introduction. Humans have multiple memory systems, and working memory (WM, Baddeley 2000) is one of them. WM can be defined as short-time memory with some kind of active processing – rehearsal, maintenance, control – of retained material. Baddeley's model describes two main types of processing, phonological and visuo-spatial in WM, both performing under the guidance of the central executive (i.e., higher cognitive control including attention). Attention is a cognitive process that has a power to speed up, improve or block information processing. Attention can be directed towards tasks or stimuli depending on physical properties or subjective meaning of stimuli. Emotions or emotional connotations typically carry such a subjective meaning and this is a key how (excessive task-irrelevant) attention can be directed to stimuli (e.g., Attentional Control Theory; Derakshan & Eysenck 2009; Eysenck, Derakshan, Santos, Calvo 2007). As processing in WM is limited in time and processing load, the role of emotions in WM has been largely disregarded. However, relying on patients with mood disorders, Baddeley has recently added a hedonic detector with a biologically set threshold (Baddeley 2007) to the model to take into account possible emotional connotations of the material in

WM. Accordingly, two main goals of our experimental study are following: (1) to specify the role of emotions in WM (and its obligatory sub-processes like detection and discrimination); (2) to compare relative efficiency of verbal and visual encoding strategy.

Methods. Participants of the longitudinal representative Estonian Children Personality Behavior and Health Study in the 2008/2009 data collection wave (mean age 25 years, 228 men, 279 women) took part in three randomly ordered computerized cognitive tests with 7 schematic stimuli. The tests were: (1) a detection task requiring simply to press a button as soon as a stimulus had appeared on the screen; (2) a discrimination task demanding to press left or right key indicating which, left or right one of a pair of stimuli on the screen was the target (always the neutral face); and (3) a WM task (/2-back task/, ) were participants had to decide whether currently presented stimulus was exactly the same or different from the stimulus presented 2 items back (at a position  $n-2$  in a continuous row of stimuli). Stimulus set was adapted from Öhman, Lundqvist and Esteves (2001) and it consisted of faces referring to four emotions (sad, angry, scheming and happy), one neutral face and two scrambled objects with face elements. For all tasks the possible emotional connotation of stimuli was absolutely irrelevant. At the end of the testing there was an additional questionnaire (inspired from Beneventi, Barndon, Ersland, Hugdahl 2007) asking to assign a label and to rate valence, arousal, and participant's own processing strategy (from verbal to visual) for each stimulus. Altogether, cognitive testing lasted 30-40 minutes per participant.

Results. (1) Stimuli differed in their arousal and valence ratings and, thus, can be considered suitable for the purposes of the study; (2) Women assigned more often "correct" labels to the stimuli but contrary to the expectation, women were not generally more verbal than men in their reported strategy (the only exception was one scrambled object); (3) Although stimuli differed in their ease of verbalizability, for each stimulus the more verbal strategy was related to better WM performance (as compared to visual strategy or "no-clear-strategy-at-all"), (4)

According to reaction time (RT) comparison, verbal strategy did not necessarily mean more processing but just different processing (i.e., RTs did not discriminate between different strategy users); (5) Multidimensional scaling of confusion matrix in WM task indicated that the two probable dimensions behind WM performance were not emotional categories (valence and arousal) but discriminability from the neutral face as reflected by the discrimination task RT and ease of verbalizability as indicated by the reported strategy or total number of reported labels for each stimulus.

Conclusions. This study shows that WM is relatively unaffected by the emotional meaning (arousal and valence) of stimuli and it presents evidence that verbal encoding of (emotional) stimuli has advantages over visual encoding with respect to advanced cognitive processing.

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## **Prosodic variation and emotions in spoken German from the thirties to the fifties**

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Interest in linguistic expression of emotions has increased in the research of several disciplines during the last few years. From a phonetic point of view the interest focused primarily on the question of how emotions are expressed vocally and how they can be recognized by people. Of particular interest was the question of how basic emotions differ in their linguistic expression, this was examined for example in a DFG-founded project by Sendlmeier on phonetic reduction and elaboration in emotional speech (“Phonetische Reduktion und Elaboration bei emotionaler Sprechweise”, SE 462/3-1). For this project actors repeatedly spoke sentences with different emotions. Probandes were able to recognize the emotions only by these means of paraverbal expression. This suggests a high similarity between the language imitated by actors and naturally spoken language.

Therefore it should be possible to examine also the change of linguistic expression of emotions by using early sound movies from the thirties to the fifties. This aspect has been neglected by research so far. In my dissertation project on prosodic changes of the spoken German in the 20th century I’ll try to answer the following questions: Is there a difference in the way emotions were expressed at the beginning or in the middle of the 20th century and the way they are expressed today? If this is

the case, does this apply to different kinds of emotions? To what extent is the cultural aspect in expressing emotions influenced by social change?

When watching movies that were made in the thirties to the fifties it is apparent that these movies somehow sound “alien” to us, although we can’t point out what it exactly is that makes these voices sound strange. Responsible for an important part of this oddness seems to be a higher emotionality in the linguistic expression which has an impact on prosodic parameters like pitch, variation, range, accentuation, rhythm and quality of voice. Generally it is assumed that a higher emotional expression of speech is accompanied by e.g. a higher pitch and a greater variation which is supported also by the sound samples of the movies analyzed by me so far. But is the perceived higher emotionality of the movies from the thirties to the fifties caused by quantitative differences only or are also qualitative changes in the vocal expression of emotion involved?

Experiments where a sentence is repeatedly spoken with different emotions take place under controlled laboratory conditions. Here many parameters that can have an influence on the result can be excluded. As a contrast a wide range of linguistic and paralinguistic information occur in combination in the audio tracks of movies (e.g. age, gender, social and physical state, and so on). Therefore it has to be determined how emotional expression and other factors (e.g. socio-linguistic) correlate with each other.

## **Shame and gender: a corpus-based study of emotion**

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This study explores how the emotion terms *shame* and *ashamed* are gendered in modern English. It is based on close readings of shame examples retrieved from the *British National Corpus* with the purpose of investigating in what situations women and men are shown to experience shame. An additional purpose, still with a focus on gender, is to analyze whether shame is presented as a positive or negative emotion, and from whose perspective and in what contexts they are so understood.

The results demonstrate that the human body and its functions are common shame triggers for women, whereas men typically feel shame as a result of weakness, failure in achievements and immoral actions. The material also indicates that more men than women feel shame in someone else's place, which suggests that men more commonly than women are positioned as morally superior.

**Eestlased Youtube'is: emotsioonisõnavara  
videokommentaarides /  
Estonians in Youtube: The emotional comments of videoclips**

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Youtube on üks peamisi ülemaailmseid lühivideode jagamise võrgustikke internetis. Ülemaailmse kasutajaskonnaga keskkonnas on ajapikku tekkinud ka sotsiaalse võrgustumise tendentsid (nt Xu Cheng jt 2008) ning osalt kildkondlik suhtlus ennekõike videode alla jäetavate kommentaaride näol. Selles paljumeelses ja -rahvuselises kommentaaripildis on võimalik kindlaid keeli ja rahvusgruppe leida näiteks kohalike tõsielusarjade videopostituste juures. Käesolevas ettekandes vaatlen Youtube'ist kogutud eestikeelseid hinnanguid ja vestlusi ning analüüsin positiivse/negatiivse väljendamiseks kasutatavat sõnavara ja emotikone.

## **On the dynamic and emotional aspects of the Estonian personality trait terms**

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Our presentation will pay attention to the semantics of the terms of personality traits in Estonian. We have observed the data elicited by Estonian laypersons in an attempt to list personality traits and analysed the material, relying on the framework of cognitive semantics. Based on meaning and composition we distinguish certain groups of Estonian terms of personality traits where there are either direct or indirect references to emotional experience and physical motion.

Main ways how emotion and motion are able to meet each other in the Estonian vocabulary of personality traits are as follows. The first possibility is that emotionality and mobility are co-conceptualised (for example in the literal terms such as *tragi* ‘spunky’, *hasartne* ‘excitable’). It seems that physical motion and emotions are perceived and conceptualised as concurrent. As the second possibility we found that because of metonymic mapping it is possible to characterise emotional state via reference to some motion event (for example with words such as (*taltsutamatu* ‘tameless, lit. tame-INF+CAR.ADJ’, *pidurdamatu* ‘rampant, lit. restrain-INF+CAR.ADJ’, *heitlik* ‘fickle, lit. throw+ADJ’, *tõmblev* ‘convulsive, twitch+PRS.PTCP’, *pöörane* ‘frenetic, lit. turn+ADJ’). Again, these conceptualisations are based on the default assumption of emotionality's and mobility's correlation. The third tendency is a metaphoric mapping from physical space (where one is able to track motion) onto the domains of social relationships and/or motivation. For example compounds such as

*alttõmbaja* ‘traitor lit. from under+pull+A.SBST’ and *eestvedaja* ‘leading figure, lit. from ahead+pull+A.SBST’. In this case the participants' emotional states are incorporated only as a kind of background knowledge.

## **The lexis of emotions and its constructions in Estonian and Finnish**

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This paper is based on a PhD-project which deals with the contrastive description of emotive constructions in Estonian and Finnish. By an emotive construction I mean a syntactic structure containing an emotive lexeme (substantive, adjective, verb) which is used in order to verbalize feelings and/or emotions. In the theoretical framework of construction grammar constructions are understood as conventionalised form-meaning pairs. Syntactical constructions as holistic entities consist of the co-occurrence of semantic roles and syntactic functions as well as semantic and pragmatic aspects. By means of a list of emotive lexemes in both languages and their lexical-morphological properties (e.g. derivation tendencies, categorisation, semantic fields, analytic vs. synthetic forms of verbs, etc.) this paper determines the constructions which can be divided into two groups: (i) nominal constructions expressing emotional states and (ii) verbal constructions reflecting emotional reactions.

Another task is to figure out which of these constructions can be labelled general constructions, i.e. constructions whose lexical contents are not limited to emotional lexis, and which, on the other hand, are specific emotive constructions in which an

emotional lexeme selects a particular structure which thereby makes the construction an idiosyncratic one. The constructions of emotions/feelings with internal and external local case forms whose primary semantics depict emotions as spatial entities play an important role.

This paper presents some central constructions of my current research; the final purpose of the PhD-project is (i) to achieve an exhaustive *constructicon* of the Estonian and Finnish emotive constructions and (ii) to point out productivity and frequency of the constructional potential of emotions.

### **EMOTION and DESIRE in ‘independent’ complement clauses: A case study from German**

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In this talk we use analytical tools from both Cognitive Linguistics (conceptual metonymy) and contemporary pragmatic theory (inferencing) to analyze constructions that are traditionally known as “minor sentence types” and relegated to the periphery of grammar.

Cases in point are “stand-alone” complement clauses in German such as:

- (1) *Dass du nicht die Zeit vertrödelst!*  
that you not the time dawdle  
‘Don’t dawdle away your time!’

- (2)     *Dass*   *du*     *mir*                 *ja*     *nicht*  
          that   you    me.DAT             PRT    not  
          *die*   *Zeit*   *verträdelst!*  
          the   time   dawdle  
          ‘Don’t dawdle away your time on me!’

Utterances such as (1) and (2) are used in German as independent directive speech acts. Example (2) is notable in that it expresses a *strong desire and emotional involvement of the speaker* regarding the action that is to be carried out. The clausal constituents that specifically convey these mental and emotional attitudes are the dative pronoun *mir* (‘me’) and the modal particle *ja* (literally ‘yes’).

In our talk we focus on the grammatical, conceptual, and pragmatic properties of *mir* (often referred to as an instance of the “free” or “ethical” dative). We show that *mir* in directive dass-clauses functions neither as a verbal nor a constructional argument. We explain its speech act function and its emotional meanings through the conceptual mechanism of metonymic chaining.

## **The syntactic expression of emotions in Hungarian from a diachronic point of view**

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In this talk I will study some Hungarian constructions (subtypes of imperative and negative sentences) where the unconventional syntactic position of the verbal particle encodes extra emotional content: the affectedness of the speaker. The diachronic

comparison of these constructions and their neutral alternatives suggest that the very rare cases of Hungarian where emotions are syntactically expressed are the spin-offs of linguistic change. The originally neutral word order is replaced by the new construction in most contexts, but the archaic form could survive in certain contexts by taking over some additional semantic and/or pragmatic content. I will argue that the association between certain emotional content and the archaic form is not random in these cases but follows from the information structural properties of the sentence.

### **Some aspects of the object of emotion verbs**

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Emotion verbs are not only a semantic category of verbs, they attract attention also because of their (morpho)syntactic behavior. Generally, emotion verbs with two participants are divided into four groups on the ground of two aspects – transitivity and „casting“ the participants (EXPERIENCER, STIMULUS). Such a subcategorization can be undertaken in many languages, among other also in German and Estonian. But there are several verbs with similar meaning that fall into different categories in different languages or even in the same language. The most famous example is the pair of verbs *like – please* (Ger. *gefallen – mögen*, Est. *meeldima*). Further, there are verbs that cross categories. Thus Ger. *erschrecken* (frighten / be frightened) can realize the EXPERIENCER as subject (in direct construction) or as direct object, and Est. *pahandama* may be direct transitive with the

EXPERIENCER as object or intransitive with the  
EXPERIENCER as subject.

The discussion considers the aspects of transitivity, reflexivity and case distinction relating to emotion verbs with two participants in German and Estonian and looks for the possible causes having effects on them.

### **Affectivity as a factor of a construction's productivity**

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The aim of the paper is to examine a complex predicate construction from Estonian as a possible example of how an extralinguistic factor like affectivity might contribute to shape the grammar.

The construction consists of the finite verb *minema* 'go' and an event noun in the translative<sup>1</sup> case form, and denotes the beginning of the nominalized event. The construction occurs in a rare subjectless clause pattern (1); the agent of the nominalized event may however be optionally expressed as an adjunct-like NP in adessive case form (2):

- (1) *Kohe läheb tantsuks*  
immediately go.3sg dance.transl  
'There is going to be some dancing now!'

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<sup>1</sup> Translative is primarily the case of the end-state complement of change-of-state verbs, but it is also one of the cases of purposive adjuncts and predicative complements.

- (2)     *Neil*                 *läks*                 *kakluseks*  
          3pl.adess         go.3sg.past         fight.transl  
          ‘They started to fight’

This construction is not a neutral way of expressing the beginning of an event: it also expresses an affective involvement of the speaker, the exact nature of which must be induced from the context, or is simply a marker of expressivity or informality/colloquiality.

The frequency of the construction is relatively low but its productivity is high: the only restriction on the class of event nouns that can occur in the pattern seems to be that they must denote agentive and intentional activities.

However, the set of nominalizations that occur in the expressions instantiating the construction in the Balanced Corpus of Estonian<sup>2</sup> has a very coherent structure: more than half of the nouns denote verbal or physical conflict or otherwise non-cooperative (collective) activities, and most of the remaining nouns constitute a radial family resemblance category around this central group.

This coherent structure of the class of nouns occurring in the construction may be taken to suggest that the construction was initially restricted to conflict nouns, and may even have grown out of just a few expressive multi-word expressions. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that some of the combinations with conflict nouns can be considered MWEs, on the basis of their collocational strength, and one of these involves a nominalization that is derived with an obsolete affix and is not used in the language outside this expression.

This hypothetical development of a few affectively marked expressions into an open schema may be considered surprising for several reasons.

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<sup>2</sup> <http://www.cl.ut.ee/korpused/grammatikakorpus/>. It is a morphologically tagged 15 million word corpus consisting in equal parts of newspaper, fiction and scientific texts.

First of all, it has been hypothesized that emotional intensity is in inverse proportion to relative usage frequency (Zipf 1965), which is a precondition of productivity (Bardðal 2008), and it has been observed that affectively marked expressions are generally short-lived (Foolen 1997).

Secondly, the construction is formally idiosyncratic: there exist no similar complex predicate or argument structure patterns that could support its spreading in the language.

Thirdly, the construction has to compete with more general constructions in the same functional niche: a completely general auxiliary construction consisting of the auxiliary verb *hakkama* ‘to start’ and an infinitive, and the lexical verb *algama* ‘to begin’.

In our talk we will discuss the possible motivations of the productivity of the construction. We will propose that some of these may be related to affectivity and thus that affectivity has contributed to the productivity of the construction, contrary to what might be expected.

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## **Positive emotions verbalization in the English, Ukrainian and Modern Greek languages**

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The core problem addressed by this paper is to explain specific features of positive emotions conceptualization and characteristics through examining their linguistic representation in the English, Ukrainian and Modern Greek languages. The paper aims at revealing universals and differences in perception and categorization of positive emotions by these linguistic communities.

Linguistic analysis has made it possible to distinguish between three basic positive emotional concepts *LOVE*, *ADMIRATION* and *PLEASURE* within the conceptual sphere of positive emotions existing in the collective consciousness of the modern English, Ukrainian and Greek linguistic communities. The content of the concepts reflects the way of conceptualization of people's emotional experiences. The category of "Positive emotions" being a part of a more abstract category of "Human Emotions" falls into two less abstract categories of "Positive emotional state" and "Positive emotional attitude".

Specific features of positive emotions conceptualization and characteristics of their lexical representation in the analyzed languages have been studied. A model of complex systemic description of the semantic level of positive emotions representation has been worked out.

The general structure of the semantic content of positive emotional concepts turns out to be similar in the three analyzed languages. The models of semantic organization of the three basic emotional concepts were worked out. They demonstrate similar features in the core part of their semantic structure and peculiarities in the peripheral ones. Thus the languages

demonstrate different level of lexical differentiation of the same emotional notions.

**Emotion in the Bantu languages of the Great-Lakes region  
(East Africa)**

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Every language has some lexicalised ways of referring to sensory perception. In my presentation I would like to discuss anthropological and sociological aspects of verbs of emotion using the data collected during my fieldwork in Uganda, in particular Bantu languages Luganda and Lusoga (J10) as well as an endangered linguistic variety of Luganda spoken on the Ssesse Islands, Lussese. I will argue that some typical patterns of polysemy for ‘HEAR/PERCEIVE’ in these languages are closely related to their culture. This explains the semantic extension of this sensory verb to the domains of cognition and emotion. Cultural practices, social interaction, and religious beliefs must be considered for an adequate analysis of the semantic and syntactic properties of ‘HEAR/PERCEIVE’, as Evans & Wilkins (1998) have argued for the Australian languages.

## **Metaphor-metonymies of joy and happiness in Greek: The fulfillment of a strongly invested desire**

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The aim of this paper is to examine the stereotypical idiomatic expressions in the Greek language denoting joy and happiness, i.e. the metonymical expressions which belong to the "The Emotion Exists" stage of the Cognitive Models approach (e.g. Kövecses 1990, 2000), as well as the role of the metaphors included in them. The above examination is based on a critical stance presented elsewhere (Theodoropoulou 2004, 2008a) concerning the relationship of metaphor to the emotions; this stance draws largely from LeDoux's (1998) critique about the emotions being sterilized from their pathos in the broader cognitive scientific paradigm: on one hand the conceptual character of metaphor is recognized and on the other the choice of the word is considered crucial as the space where the experiential constituents of the emotion is brought forth (Theodoropoulou 2004, 2008b).

The metonymical expressions of joy and happiness in Greek (lit. *s/he is beaming/radiating with joy*, *s/he is flying with joy* 's/he is over the moon', *s/he was laughing all over* 's/he was all laughter', *s/he is flying in the Heavens* 's/he is in Heaven' etc.) are examined in the light of their experiential determination or grounding (Theodoropoulou 2004, 2008c), using neuroscientific evidence and drawing from psychoanalytic distinctions concerning affect (Freud 1895, 1915; Green 1973). It is argued that these expressions portray joy as an emotion which emerges as a reaction to the fulfilment of a strongly invested desire and that the respective behavioral and bodily reactions can be explained on a biological level as a release of tension (see also Gaensbauer 1982). On a psychological level the above tension is

the tension experienced until – and if – the desire is fulfilled. Finally, the question is further raised whether some sort of unconscious experience or desire could be detected, as it is in the case of analogous expressions of fear (Theodoropoulou 2004).

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### **Integrating naming, claiming and story-telling: Towards a broader cognitive linguistic understanding of emotion**

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Words for emotions pop up every now and then in texts and talk, but we do not necessarily stop to notice or consider it. The aim of this paper is to relate such naming of emotions to the broader frameworks of text and language without losing sight of the human emotional experience. This attempt involves a suggested conceptual frame for the general concept of EMOTION in

English called the EMOTION frame, and the theories of mental spaces and conceptual integration by Fauconnier and Turner. How these can be employed to discuss language and emotion is illustrated with the help of sentences involving emotion words, more particularly, verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs and participles naming an emotion in a text. The data comes from a children's book, *Moominland Midwinter*, which is rich in explicit and implicit references to emotions. The idea is not so much to praise this beautiful book, but to use it to bridge various parts of a description of coherence in people's linguistic understanding of emotions. Eventually, one may relate people's language of emotions to their emotional experiences in a new way.

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## **Construction caught in the middle: a case of English adjectival passive**

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Constructions expressing perception and emotion often have grammatically marked structures. This is because of peculiarities involving transitivity and agentivity, and historical development of such constructions is often more conservative and they tend to preserve residues of earlier constructions (cf. Toyota, Thanassoula and Hallonsten 2010). Depending on a degree of historical changes in each language, markedness of perception or emotion phrases can vary considerably.

Bearing this pattern in mind, it is argued in this paper how perception and emotion are expressed in English, focusing on a specific construction commonly known as adjectival passive, e.g. *I was surprised at the noise*, *He was satisfied with the result*, etc. This specific structure involves a set of verbs that dominantly appear in this structure, not in the active voice. This is so, because these verbs are used to express perception or an emotional state, but the active voice violates an anthropocentric grammatical feature (e.g. *The noise surprised me* or *The result satisfied me*), and this adjectival structure allows a mental state to be expressed, not an action triggering such a state.

Adjectival passive is in a sense rather unique: this structure is rather new, established only after ca. 1500 and it does not show any sign of conservativeness at all. This is so, because English grammar has changed so much that there is no trace of earlier constructions used for perception or emotion apart from lexical verbs. This advancedness in grammatical development forced a new construction specifically for perception to emerge. Thus, perception and emotion have significant impact on

grammatical constructions and how to cope with them has been one of the problems in organising the grammar.

## **The semantics of emotion words in the Finnish language**

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My study focused on the semantics of Finnish emotion words (e.g. *joy*, *anger*). The aim was to investigate and describe what kinds of linguistic-semantic interpretations arise from an emotions vocabulary compiled using a questionnaire as a research instrument. Moreover, I was interested in finding out what kinds of emotions the Finns identify. The data used for the study consisted of the written responses of a hundred Finns of various ages to a questionnaire item, which asked them to name various emotions. Besides the two objectives above, male and female conceptual frameworks for emotions were compared in the study, as well as those of different age groups. Both a qualitative and a quantitative analysis of the data were carried out.

The view of language adopted for the study drew from the basic notions of cognitive linguistics. I applied Anna Wierzbicka's ideas to the semantic grouping of emotion words. Moreover, the explanations given for the most commonly used emotion words were based on Wierzbicka's idea of a natural semantic meta-language.

I investigated the status and significance of emotion words for the speakers of Finnish by using a cognitive significance index. The index has been developed by Urmas Sutrop particularly for the analysis of listing tasks.

Keywords: emotions, Finnish language, lexicology, semantics

## **Why does it make sense to talk about emotions in terms of motion? A case study of Estonian motion verbs<sup>3</sup>**

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In many languages there are expressions like *to fall in love* which make use of an (imaginary) motion event (the person falling) to refer to some emotional event (love). Talk about emotions in terms of motion reaches, however, far beyond the sporadic and occasional occurrences of some particular phraseological expressions. The phenomenon is quite widespread, instead, if not universal.

The idea, that the concepts of *emotion* and *motion* are somehow related is not new nor very unique. Both psychologists and some cognitive linguists share an agreement that emotions are linked to a tendency of motion either towards or away from something. Some knowledge of the emotion-motion interrelation is also part of the so called folk psychology which is reflected in the everyday usage of language. Estonian is no exception: there is a wide variety of expressions which include some motion verb in order to refer to emotional events.

In the present paper the aim is to look at the Estonian material (gathered systematically from the database the Estonian Explanatory Dictionary) and to reveal why are the motion verbs so widely exploited in close relation with emotions?

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<sup>3</sup> This study was supported by the ETF grant Nr 7149.

Roughly, my answer is: because it makes sense. There are at least four reasons to take into account. First, at least some verbs of motion are hard to avoid, because they form part of the core of the linguistic system of spatial relations. Second, emotions and movements (of bodies and body-parts) do co-occur in the acts of expressive behaviour. Third, the metaphoric expressions facilitate cognitive processing. Aspects of vague and complex psychological experiences are made comprehensible and sensible in terms of physical motion (embodiment). They literally “make sense”. Fourth, there are good pragmatic reasons to “play the linguistic role game” – in order to diminish the “Emoters” responsibility. Emotions tend to be pictured as forces that act upon human beings whose role is to be either an object, a location or a container for emotions. It makes a lot of sense in the case of involuntary states like emotions that are sometimes difficult to control.

These four kinds of motivations do not exclude each other but are often concurrent. In conclusion: verbs of motion are hardly avoidable, they help people to make sense of emotions and to “save their face” in the conditions they can hardly control.

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**On the Estonian emotion vocabulary as it is presented in the dictionary of synonyms /  
Emotsioonisõnadest sünonüümisõnastike vahendusel**

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Autorid vaatlevad võimalusi tungida emotsioonisõnade süvastruktuuridesse sünonüümide internetisõnastike kaudu.

Tekkivad visuaalsed esitused peaksid huvi pakkuma keele ja emotsioonisõnade seoste uurimisel.

Käsitletakse ka *viha*, *kurbuse*, *rõõmu* ning *neutraalsuse* eristamise võimalikkust sünosõnastike abil.

**Emotsiooniväljendid eesti kõnekäändude ja fraseologismide  
andmebaasis /  
Emotional expressions in the database of Estonian  
phraseology and bywords**

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Ettekandes otsitakse vastust küsimusele, millised on emotsioonialtimad mõistepiirkonnad eesti fraseoloogias. Sellega seoses püütakse emotsiooniväljendite jaotumist mõistetasandil ka põhjendada. Analüüsitav materjal pärineb eesti kõnekäändude ja fraseologismide andmebaasist (<http://www.folklore.ee/justkui>). Analüüs näitab, et nimetatud andmebaasi emotsiooniväljendid ei koonu sugugi psüühika alale, nagu võiks eeldada, vaid paigutuvad kõige erinevatesse mõistepiirkondadesse.

*Emotsioonid keeles ja keele ümber*

# WORKSHOP

## **Emotions around language planning**

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Based on Deborah Cameron's Verbal Hygiene and a recent study on language attitudes in Estonia, the workshop is aimed at discussing topics like the following.

- What is the justification behind language planning and other value judgements about language? Would it help if normative dictionaries explicated their chosen justification?
- Is there any theory or research behind the positive value traditionally attributed to parameters like univocality, consistence or economy? Has any practical misunderstanding ever been caused by such inherent features of natural languages as polysemy or redundancy?
- If we want to call the language use of any individual "wrong", what language-philosophical assumptions must we base it on?
- Where is the origin of language planning recommendations? One word is "better" than another, but how is betterness defined?
- When protecting a language, what is actually protected? Or how should language be defined, so that it could theoretically be protected from its speakers?
- According to Cameron, linguists support descriptivism, as compared to the prescriptivist ideals of lay people. Does this generalisation also hold in Estonia?

- The statement that language should not be planned is also a strong language planning statement. How is it justified? Would it be possible to come up with an attitude towards language planning that is not based on irrational feelings or suspicious theories?

## **Emotsioonid keele korraldamise ümber**

Arvi Tavast

Sissejuhatav ettekanne Arvi Tavastilt põhineb Deborah Cameroni raamatul "Verbal Hygiene" ja kevadise keelehoiakute küsitluse tulemustel. Eesmärk on juurelda selle üle, miks inimesed enda ja teiste keelekasutusele nii palju tähelepanu pööravad, ja üritada sealjuures jõuda sügavamale traditsioonilistest selguse, ühemõttelisuse, tõhususe ja ühtluse argumentidest. Küsitlus uuris keelehoiakute seoseid hoiakutega poliitika, majanduse, religiooni, moraali jm teemadel, ning paljudega viimastest põhjendab keelealaste väärtushinnangute olulisust ka Cameron.

Töötoa põhiosa sisu on arutelu järgnevate (ja jooksvalt tekkivate) küsimuste üle. Lisaks teadasaamise rõõmule võiks tulemustest ehk ka praktilist kasu tõusta, eriti arutelus osalevatele järgmise ÕSi tegijatele.

- Millega on põhjendatud keelekorraldus jm väärtushinnangud keele teemal?

Variante: suhtluse tõhusus, rahvuse kooshoidmine, valitseva seltskonna võimu kindlustamine, toimetajate ja kirjandihindajate töö säilitamine, haritud inimeste keeleõppesse tehtud investeeringu väärtustamine, subjektiivsed maitse-eelistused. Kui põhjendus on enda jaoks välja mõeldud, kas oleks kasu selle eksplitseerimisest ka nt ÕSi eessõnas?

- Millistel uuringutel või teoreetilistel seisukohtadel põhineb traditsiooniliselt positiivseks peetud parameetrite nagu ühemõttelisus, ühtlus või ökonoomia väärtustamine? Kas

loomulikule keelele olemuslikult omane mitmetimõistetavus või liiasus on kunagi kellelegi reaalseid mõistmisraskusi põhjustanud?

- Millisel keelefilosoofial põhineb seisukoht, et mõne indiviidi keelekasutus saab teoreetiliseltki olla "vale"?

- Kust pärinevad suunava ja soovitava keelekorralduse soovitused? Üks keelend on igasuguste põhjendusteta "parem" kui teine - aga kuidas on paremus defineeritud, millistel uuringutel või teoreetilistel seisukohtadel niisugune soovitus põhineb või millisest allikast pärineb?

- Kui kaitstakse (nt eesti) keelt, siis mida tegelikult kaitstakse? Või teisiti - kuidas peaks defineerima (nt eesti) keele, et seda oleks võimalik tema kõnelejate eest kaitsta?

- Cameroni väitel pooldavad ingliskeelses maailmas "inimesed tänavalt" üldiselt preskriptiivsust, aga lingvistid eranditult ja veendunult deskriptiivsust. Deskriptiivsuse nõue olevat lausa esimene asi, mida keeleüliõpilased oma õpingute alguses kuulevad. Kas meil on samamoodi, või kui ei, siis miks? Kas see on ainult rahvaarvu küsimus (ei jätku eraldi inimesi keelt uurima ja korraldama) või midagi sügavamat? Või on eesti lingvistide keelekorralduslikud ambitsioonid tervenisti alusetu müüt?

- Ka seisukoht, et keelt ei tuleks korraldada, on tugev keelekorralduse alane seisukoht. Millega on see põhjendatud? Kas õnnestuks välja mõelda suhtumine keelekorraldusse, mis ei põhineks irratsionaalsetel hoiakutel või üldist heakskiitu mitteomavatel teooriatel?