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CONCEPTS EXPRESSING EMOTIONS IN POLISH AND ENGLISH

1. INTRODUCTION

There are intrinsic difficulties involved in the study of a phenomenon as complex as emotion. Numerous different approaches to the subject have been attempted. Some theorists of emotion stress cognitive, others behavioural, still others subjective aspects. Any theory of emotions deals only with some aspects of the broad meaning the term 'emotion' has acquired.

Difficulties with defining both the very term 'emotion' and particular emotions are probably due to the variety of aspects associated with them.

Dictionary definitions try to state the necessary and sufficient conditions for the correct application of a word. In case of the terms referring to emotions definitions are likely to depend on personal views and the experience of individuals. The result is that different dictionaries stress different concepts as important in their definitions of emotions. For example, the *American Heritage Dictionary* (1972) defines love as 'an intense affectionate concern for another person' (stress on affection and concern), the *Random House College Dictionary* (1974) as 'a profoundly tender, passionate affection for a person of the opposite sex' (stress on tenderness) and *Funk and Wagnalls Standard College Dictionary* (1970) as 'a deep devotion or affection for another person' (stress on devotion). These slight differences in emphasis indicate the difficulty involved in the attempt to define emotions by stating the necessary and sufficient conditions for the application of such concepts as love or happiness [c.f. F o d o r and K a t z 1964].

Emotions in general are not easily defined in terms of any closed sets of features.

Traditional definitions of concepts list only those aspects of concepts which are inherent in them. This approach, however, as applied to the concepts expressing emotions, would impose great limitations on the way we think of and understand emotions. Therefore using traditional definitions to the concepts of emotions proves inadequate, as it does not take into account all the relevant aspects we associate with emotions in everyday use of the words - emotion names. A lot of concepts which, as emotions, are important to us, are abstract ones, they are not clearly represented in our experience, and may not have clear-cut boundaries.

The experiment I am going to present was an attempt to approach the area of investigating the nature of emotions in a different, not so rigoristically stated way. In my opinion it proved that the definitions of any basic emotion are to a great extent influenced by the experience of the individual who attempts the definition, his personality, the situations in which he experienced the given emotion in the past, the images he has created in relation to the given emotion.

Because emotions are such highly personal concepts, one of the possible ways of increasing our knowledge about them, about their content and structure, is asking the large number of people what their personal definitions of love, happiness, etc. are, and then, on the basis of their answers, draw conclusions about the various aspects of those emotions. The large variety of answers to the questions 'what is your definition of love, what do you associate it with?' could help us in better and fuller understanding of the complexity of a given emotion.

The large number of aspects that make up the concepts of emotions, and the difficulty in establishing relationships among those aspects make emotions complex concepts. Because of this complexity some theorists do not even attempt to produce any definitions; they concentrate on describing, rather than defining emotions, with the aim of providing their readers with more connotations to the given words than they already may have.

The way people describe emotions has attracted the interest of linguists. They are interested in the various strategies people employ when trying to define their emotional experience verbally. It has been noticed that when asked to define a specific emotion, such as anger, or joy, people usually try to avoid definitions by giving an example drawn from their personal experience instead.

W i e r z b i c k a [1971] noticed that people usually describe emotions by using comparisons.

Single words like 'anger' or 'joy' are necessarily nothing but labels that stand for longer and fuller descriptions of emotions. These longer descriptions most often take the form of comparisons. Emotions are unstructured in their nature and therefore it is impossible to give them an exact and direct verbal expression. What is left then, is to describe them using comparisons.

Usually people describe emotions through comparison with other emotions, those they know from their own experience, or those felt to be universally familiar. Subsequently, a definition of any emotion is likely to take the form of a statement: 'X feels Y means X feels something we usually feel when...'.

Wierzbicka notices further that when describing emotions people often refer to the situation in which the specific emotion is evoked, or to the results these emotions create in behaviour (facial expression, unconscious reactions, physiological changes).

The study of the language of emotions is frequently undertaken by linguists and psychologists in many countries. Many of the researchers conducting those studies believe in the usefulness of their work in clarifying such issues as the nature and definition, of emotion.

'A careful and systematic observation of how people describe their emotional states is one of the essential first steps in developing a meaningful approach to investigation in this area' [D a v i t z 1969: 13].

Emotion are complex concepts, which treats difficulties in their understanding. Kovecses in his study *The Language of Love* [K o v e c s e s 1988] suggests that the study of everyday expressions referring to emotions may lead to a better understanding of those concepts, as language is one reflection of our conceptual system. Therefore by analyzing the variety of expressions used when talking about emotions, examining the way they are related to each other, and trying to establish which aspects of particular emotion they encapsulate, it may be possible to increase our knowledge about the concepts they refer to.

The subject of my experiment was the analysis of concepts expressing a number of basic emotions in Polish and English. Its aim was to analyze and describe the ways that Polish and English native speakers verbally express their emotional states. This

analysis was undertaken by investigating the usage of terms expressing emotions taken from the two languages.

2. EXPERIMENT

2.1. METHODOLOGY

The tool used for my purpose was a questionnaire, divided into two parts and prepared separately in two language versions.

The first part gives a list of 11 emotion names:

1) happiness; 2) kindness; 3) love; 4) tenderness; 5) joy; 6) fear; 7) sadness; 8) misery; 9) despair; 10) suffering; 11) anger.

For the Polish version these were respectively: 1) szczęście; 2) dobroć; 3) miłość; 4) czułość; 5) radość; 6) strach; 7) smutek; 8) nieszczęście; 9) rozpacz; 10) cierpienie; 11) gniew.

The task for the interviewees at this stage was to complete a word association test for each of the 11 words, and to give synonyms and definitions of them. In the second part of the questionnaire the interviewees were asked to think about words, phrases, or sentences they use to express or describe each of the 11 emotions. They were asked to recall a situation when they were experiencing a given emotion and try to repeat their verbal reactions in those situations. They were also presented with a series of photographs of human faces [from the book *Unmasking the Face*, P. Ekman and V. Friesen 1975] expressing very suggestively the emotions from the list of 11. They were asked to 'quote' the people in the photographs, to try and repeat what they might be saying or thinking at the moment the photos were taken.

In both language groups the responses in word association tests were obtained from 35 people. All the interviewees were from the age group 25-35, students or graduates of various subjects, coming from similar social backgrounds (middle class), the rate of men to women was 18:17 for English version and 16:19 for Polish version.

In the way described the data was obtained on the variety of linguistic forms used by the speakers of the two languages when referring to emotions.

2.2. DISCUSSION

Now I would like to present and analyze the results obtained on the word association tests, separately for two groups of emotions:

1) a group of 'positive' emotions, including happiness, kindness, love, tenderness, and joy;

2) a group of 'negative' emotions, including fear, sadness, misery, despair, suffering, and anger.

Within each group the responses were often repeated in relation to more than one stimulus word, and the stimuli words themselves occurred as responses to other words from the group.

2.2.1. Positive emotions

The number of responses obtained for each word is usually similar in Polish and English; for happiness/*szczęście* this number is: 20(E) and 22(P); for kindness/*dobroć*: 22(E)/23(P); for tenderness/*czułość*: 21(E)/22(P); for joy/*radość*: 28(E)/30(P).

The only case of significant difference in this respect was the number of responses obtained for love/*miłość*: 28(E) versus 18(P). I will discuss this case when dealing with love/*miłość* in detail. Generally the similarities in Polish and English responses are much greater than occasional differences. One of the differences noticed is that the English responses more often take the form of synonyms. The interviewees often repeated the same words later, when asked for synonyms and definitions. This pattern is probably most clear with responses to happiness. The synonymic responses obtained are: joy(9), contentment(3), gladness(1), pleasure(1), and elation(1). They are all later repeated as synonyms for happiness.

Polish responses to happiness tend to be more symbols of happiness than its synonyms, they could often be the answer to a question 'what would I need to be happy', or they mention situations in which one expects to be happy (e.g. *dobra rodzina, miłość, pełnia lata, podróże, zdrowie, dziecko, lato, raj, ktoś kochany*). In English the similar kind of responses are: Christmas, childhood.

However, in spite of those differences, happiness built up of all the responses in Polish and English contains the same important structural elements, such as: love(2)/*miłość*(7), joy(9)/*radość*(4), smile(3)/*uśmiech*(3), peace(1)/*pokój*(1). The Polish responses stress

Table 1

Responses obtained for the emotion words from the
positive emotions group

Stimulus word	Responses
1	2
Happiness	love-2, joy-9, smile-3, pleasure-2, gladness-1, contentment-3, elation-2, Christmas-1, freedom-1, exaltation-1, excitement-1, achievement-1, expectation-1, well-being-1, childhood-3;
Szczęście	miłość-7, ktoś kochany-1, uśmiech-3, dobra rodzina-1, spokój-2, harmonia-1, zdrowie-2, radość-4, odnalezienie-1, poród-1, raj-1, lato-1, słońce-2, podróże po świecie-1, zieleń-1, przyroda-1;
Joy	laughter-3, happiness-5, pleasure-2, spring-2, ecstasy-1, summer-2, celebration-1, Christmas-1, Christmas carols-1, Easter-1, weightlessness-1, birth-1, release-1, realization-1, offspring-1, radiant-1, splendid-1, satisfaction-2, peace-2, success-1, achievement-3, completion-1, delight-1, freedom-1, excitement-2;
Radość	śmiej-4, uśmiech-3, szczęście-1, zdrowie-2, narodziny dziecka-1, wyzdrowienie-1, życie-1, Boże Narodzenie-1, euforia-2, dzieci-1, łąka-1, słońce-4, lekkość-1, niespodzianka-1, pokój-1, nieoczekiwana-1, kwiaty-2, zadowolenie-2, dobra wiadomość-1, spełnienie marzeń-1, brak zagrożenia-1;
Love	affection-4, woman-4, liking-1, fondness-1, warmth-1, openness-1, hate-1, kiss-1, deep-1, husband-1, outgoing-1, completeness-1, light-1, marriage-2, closeness-2, beauty-2, sexuality-1, dedication-1, family-1, ecstasy-1, passion-1, powerful-1, gentleness-1;
Miłość	szczęście-12, uczucie-2, spokój-2, nienawiść-1,

Table 1 (contd)

1	2
	serce-4, przyjaźń-1, matka-1, człowiek-1, dobroć-1, seks-1, mężczyzna-2, bezpieczeństwo-2, mąż-1, radość;
Kindness	warm-1, generosity-6, listening-1, older people-1, sensitivity-1, love-4, giving-2, freedom-1, gentleness-3, spirituality-1, children-1, gentle-1, a friend-1, mother-1, good deeds-1, help-1, helping-2, Mother Theresa-1, caring-1, hospitality-1, goodness-2, consideration-1, friendliness-1, Christianity-1;
Dobroć	miłość-1, matka-4, rodzice-2, babcia-2, serce-4, Bóg-2, pomoc-2, serdeczność-1, łagodność-4, wyrozumiałość-1, mądrość-1, słońce-2, ofiarność-1, przyjaźń-1, Chrystus-1, religia-2, anioł-2, podać pomocną dłoń-1, uśmiech-1, ciepłe słowo-1, poświęcenie-1;
Tenderness	soft-4, touching-2, gentleness-6, softness-2, cosy-1, furry-1, defenseless-1, feeling-2, female-1, love-2, calm-1, soothing-1 children-1, caring-1, teddy bear-1, stroking-1, a baby-1, protection-1, a donkey-1, togetherness-1, orphans-1;
Czułość	subtelność-1, mężczyzna-4, wyrozumiałość-1, delikatność-4, miłość-3, objęcie-1, 'On'-1, seks-1, dziecko-1, puszysty miś-1, ogień na kominku-1, dobroć-3, matka-2, dłoń-1, charakter-1, miękkość-1, dotyk-3, spojrzenie-1, kobieta-2, uczucie-2, tkliwość-1, ciepło-1.

love (miłość-7, and ktoś kochany-1) as a significant part of happiness more often than English (love-2, which is even more clearly repeated with responses to love (szczęście-12 versus no 'happiness' in English). This may reflect the fact that for Polish people the association between love and happiness is more immediate, happiness is perceived of as a necessary element of love and vice versa.

Responses to love, apart from the one difference mentioned above, show big similarities in that they contain in both language versions a variety of concepts commonly associated with love. They are, in English: affection, liking, fondness, warmth, openness, kiss, husband, deep, completeness, powerful, closeness, gentleness, ecstasy, passion, marriage, sexuality, dedication, and

in the Polish version: szczęście, uczucie, dwoje ludzi, zakochanie, dobroć, seks, bezpieczeństwo, mąż, radość.

On the whole, then, the responses prove that there are no significant differences in emotions and emotional attitudes evoked by love in Polish and English.

Responses to tenderness/czułość again show great similarities. They present the concepts with an internal structure very much alike for English and Polish. The similarities are shown by the responses: gentleness(6)/delikatność(4), softness(2)/miętkość(1), touching(2)/dotyk(2), feeling(1)/uczucie(1), love(2)/miłość(2). In both versions there appears 'teddy bear' - 'puszysty miś'.

Thus the picture obtained in both languages is very much the same. All the responses together would create an even more complete model of tenderness/czułość. Those responses that appear only in one language (e.g. cosy, defenseless, calm, soothing, caring, protection, a baby, orphans, and subtelność, objęcie, spojrzenie, ciepło, tkliwość) are complementary to each other.

In both languages a number of 'sources' and 'objects' of tenderness are mentioned: a baby, children, orphans, female, teddy bear, and: dziecko, matka, kobieta, mężczyzna, "On", puszysty miś. In both cases, then, tenderness/czułość is the emotion felt towards the loved ones or the defenseless. The Polish responses, however, place more stress on the relationship between tenderness and love. This relationship is shown in such responses as: mężczyzna(4), kobieta(2), seks(1), "On"(1), miłość(2), the English equivalent being only love(2).

Responses to kindness/dobroć in English seem to repeat the same pattern of responses to happiness, with many synonymic words; in this case they are: generosity(6), gentleness(3), goodness(1), caring(1), sensitivity(1), consideration(1). The Polish responses that can be classified as synonyms to dobroć are: serdeczność(1), łagodność(3), ofiarność(1), poświęcenie(1).

In both versions there appear terms referring to religion. These are, in English: Christianity, Mother Theresa; and in Polish: Bóg, Chrystus, anioł, religia. In the Polish version here there are 4 responses 'serce', which also occur twice as a response to miłość, and which do not appear at all in the English version. Other responses which appear only in the Polish version are: słońce, associated with radość(3), and with szczęście(2); and zdrowie, given as a response to both radość(2) and szczęście(2).

The last emotion from the positive group was joy/*radość*. Here the variety of responses was the greatest; 28(E) and 30(P). There is a similarity in the type of responses given in the two languages. They usually refer to a particular event or situation that evokes joy/*radość* in people. It seems that many responses were based on a recollection or on an image created to provide a 'setting' for experiencing joy, a momentary event giving occasion for joy. Those responses are, in English: summer, Christmas, Easter, holidays, spring, Christmas carols, birth, dancing; and in Polish: *łaka*, *kwiaty*, *narodziny dziecka*, *wiosna*, *ładna pogoda*, *słońce*, *Boże Narodzenie*, *rosa na trawie*, *zapach lasu*. In English again there are more synonymic responses: happiness, excitement, pleasure, delight, ecstasy, celebration.

In Polish this stimulus word gave the biggest variety of descriptive responses (mentioned above), but giving this kind of response seems to be more typically Polish pattern, as opposed to the English tendency to give more responses in the form of synonyms.

In case of joy/*radość* there are again a few characteristic similarities in responses; birth(1)/*narodziny dziecka*(1), laughter (3)/*śmiech*(4), Christmas(1)/*Boże Narodzenie*(1), spring(1)/*wiosna*(1), weightlessness(1)/*lekkość*(1), peace(1)/*pokój*(1).

2.2.2. Negative emotions

The number of responses obtained for each word in this group: fear: 24(E)/24(P); misery: 27(E)/18(P); suffering: 25(E)/19(P); sadness: 20(E)/22(P); despair: 17(E)/22(P); anger: 26(E)/22(P); Within this group again the same responses reoccured in relation to more than one stimulus word.

Among the responses to fear there are two distinct types of associations, in both languages. These are synonyms (e.g. fright, anguish, trepidation, anxiety, dread, and *lęk*, *obawa*, *przerażenie*) and the words referring to 'what I am afraid of', what causes fear among the interviewees (e.g. darkness, failure, unknown, airplanes, snakes, hurt, of oneself, and *samotność*, *ciemność*, *osamotnienie*, *bezrobocie*, *mroczne cienie*, *noc*, *ból*, *śmierć*).

There are a few characteristic similarities between responses in the two languages, e.g.: scream(1)/*krzyk*(1), trembling(1)/*drżenie*, nervousness(1)/*nerwowość*(1), uncertainty(1)/*niepewność*(2), scared(1)/*boję się*(1).

Table 2

The responses obtained for the emotion words from
the negative emotions group

Stimulus word	Responses
1	2
Sadness	loss-6, sorrow-2, unhappy-1, death-4, loneliness-1, misery-2, tears-5, fear-1, crying-1, dismay-1, disappointment-1, upset-2, bereavement-3, cry-2, gloom-1, despair-1, grief-1, failure-2, betrayal-1, isolation-1;
Smutek	niedosyt-1, ból-3, płacz-4, mrok-1, żałoba-3, żal-4, jesień-1, szarość-1, brzydota-1, starość-1, łzy-2, deszcz-1, rozczarowanie-1, bezkres-1, listopad-1, niekochanie-1, samotność-3, grymas-1, choroba-2, ponurość-1, przykrość-1, nastrój-1;
Fear	scream-1, dark-2, failure-1, unknown-3, of oneself-1, uncertainty-3, not knowing-1, airplanes-1, fright-1, ignorance-1, surprise-2, ruthlessness-1, anguish-1, trembling-1, hurt-1, scared-3, trepidation-1, nervousness-1, snakes-1, vulnerable-1, uneasiness-1, anxiety-2, startled-1, dread-1, darkness-2, black-1;
Strach	boją się-1, drżenie-1, lęk-3, obawa-1, samotność-2, niepewność-2, bezwzględność-1, nerwowość-1, ból-4, nerwica-1, ciemność-4, bezrobocie-1, horror-1, śmierć-3, mroczne cienie-1, krzyk-1, pustka-1, przerażenie-1, obcość-1, przemoc-1, noc-2, ciemne mieszkanie-1, osamotnienie-1, zagadkowa cisza-1;
Suffering	pain-11, in pain-1, deprivation-1, war-1, misery-1, grief-1, death-1, depressed-1, illness-1, poverty-1, great anxiety-1, homelessness-1, Ethiopia-1, Cross-1, starving-1, cancer-1, darkness-1, loneliness-1, patience-1, exploitation-1, mother-1, soldier-1, hospital-1;
Cierpienie	ból-12, odrzucenie-1, dolegliwość-1, choroba-2, ciemność-1, przygnębienie-1, wojna-5, przepaść-1,

Table 2 (contd)

1	2
	miłość-1, walka-1, osamotnienie-1, krzyż-1, szpital-2, dysharmonia-1, prześladowający ból-1, udręka-1, potężny ból-1;
Despair	bottomless pit-1, blackness-3, hopelessness-10, sadness-3, suicide-3, hell-2, loneliness-3, void-1, black-2, frustration-1, India-1, giving up hope-1, feeling stuck-1, being powerless-1, concentration camp-1, death-1, worry-1, illness-1;
Rozpacz	ciemność-2, brak-1, choroba-1, strata-2, płacz-3, śmierć-5, agresja-1, załamanie-2, płacząca kobieta-1, lament-1, żaloba-1, depresja-2, żal-2, żzy-2, niemoc-2, coś straszne-go-1, osamotnienie-1, bezradność-2, pogrzeb-1, pustka-1, nicość-1;
Misery	desperate-1, misericordia-1, poverty-3, hunger-1, sadness-2, glumness-1, discomfort-1, sad-1, gloom-2, suicide-1, prison-1, depression-2, goallessness-1, despair-3, lacking in character-1, powerlessness-1, cold and wet-1, deprivation-1, homelessness-1, Romanian orphans-1, cardboard, cicles-1, loneliness-1, destitute-1, wretchedness-1, grayness-1;
Nieszczęście	śmierć-11, tragedia-3, gdy ktoś umrze-1, pech-1, wypadek-2, choroba-4, stracić wszystko-1, brak-1, nieczucie-1, smutek-2, pogrzeb-2, rozpacz-1, zgłiszcza-1, ciemność-1, rozczarowanie-1, utrata-1;
Anger	betrayal-2, fury-5, madness-1, energy-1, upset-1, pain-1, shout-1, cross-1, fear-1, red-5, being let down-1, destroying-1, bullying-1, violence-1, abuse-1, evil-1, abusing power-1, hate-2, hatred-1, rage-1, losing control-1, greed-1, incompetence-1, laziness-1, poverty-1, frustration-1;
Gniew	złość-9, żal-1, strach-1, kłótnia-4, awantura-1, wrzask-1, wściekłość-1, burza-1, zdenerwowanie-1, bezsilność-1, nieopanowanie-3, brak panowania nad sobą-1, wykrzyczenie się-1, krzyk złości-1, mąż-1, zmarszczone czoło-1, ogień-1, przemoc-1, pożar-1, chmura gradowa-1, krzyk-1, gryźć-1, oszustwo-1, kopać-1.

There also seems to appear the third type of responses in both languages, apart from synonyms and sources of fear. These are the concepts that cannot be immediately recognized as obviously related to fear; these are e.g. in English: ignorance, vulnerable, and in Polish: obcość. These terms must have been given as responses on highly subjective basis.

Responses in the form of synonyms and 'sources of' the given emotion are also given in the case of sadness/smutek. Synonyms are, in English: sorrow, upset, grief, gloom, dismay, misery, and in Polish: żal, przykrość, ponurość, żałoba.

Responses in the form of the answer to the question 'what makes you sad?' are, in English: death, loneliness, betrayal, loss, isolation, failure, and in Polish: samotność, choroba. There are similarities in responses like: tears(4)/łzy(2) and cry(2), crying (1)/płacz(5), which make tears and crying the common elements associated with sadness/smutek.

In the Polish version, however, there is a group of responses that do not occur in English. These are: mrok, bezkres, deszcz, jesień, brzydota, szarość, listopad, nastrój, starość, which all evoke a certain image of 'ugliness' and 'greyness' which may in turn put us into a sad mood; but they do not carry the element of personal harm or deprivation of any kind. They have no equivalent in English responses, which all refer to a personal sense of unhappiness of some kind.

Responses to misery/nieszczęście present an interesting case, as the overall definition of this emotion, as obtained from the sum of all the responses would differ significantly for the two language versions. In Polish the associations are usually in the form of recollection of one event, which is the cause or the symbol of misery/nieszczęście. These are: śmierć, pogrzeb, wypadek, tragedia, stracić wszystko, gdy ktoś umrze. In English the responses are of a different type, they mention concepts referring to a more permanent state, when one experiences misery, feels miserable, because of something physically or mentally unpleasant, e.g.: goaleanness, powerlessness, hopelessness, discomfort, lacking in character, glumness. Even in the form of the words given above there is a sense of 'lacking something' (in Polish only: brak(1)).

The Polish concept of nieszczęście seems to be more 'tragic' than that of the English misery. Tragedia(3) and especially śmierć(11) are mentioned very often, whereas the only similarly 'tragic' English response is suicide(1).

There is a group of English responses (poverty, hunger, prison, homelessness, Romanian orphans, cardboard cities) which point to the relationship between the concepts of misery and deprivation in a more physical sense.

When trying to compare the two groups of responses to misery/nieszczęście I noticed that misery is perceived of as a more or less permanent state of physical or mental (or both) deprivation, the state of 'lacking something' whereas nieszczęście is seen as a sudden, often unexpected, tragic event, which usually deprives people of something valuable.

Despair/rozpacz brings different types of responses which dominate in the two languages, these being in English, in the form of synonyms, and in Polish more in the form of reasons for rozpacz.

English synonyms, (later often repeated in the synonyms and definitions part of the questionnaire) of despair are: hopelessness, being powerless, feeling stuck. In Polish the equivalent responses are: bezradność, niemoc, załamanie, but the majority of Polish responses refer to what causes despair/rozpacz: śmierć choroby, coś strasznego, strata, utrata bliskiej osoby. In Polish there are also a few responses descriptive of despair/rozpacz: łzy, płacz, płacząca kobieta, lament, agresja.

English responses give a few situations when despair might be expected of people: hell, concentration camp, India. The concepts which occur in both languages are often equivalent, so the model of despair/rozpacz built of them is similar in Polish on English. Similarities in responses: void/pustka, nicość; being powerless/nie-moc; loneliness/osamotnienie.

Among responses to suffering/cierpienie the most frequent were: pain(12), in pain(2) and ból(12), potężny ból(1), prześladowający ból(1). There are other similarities: war(1)/wojna(5), Cross(1)/Krzyż(1), darkness(1)/ciemność, hospital(1)/szpital(1), illness(1)/choroba(2). There seems to be an agreement about what are the inherent features of suffering/cierpienie, pain/ból being the most obvious.

The last stimulus word in this group was anger/gniew. The English and the Polish interviewees seem to have chosen different patterns of giving responses to this word. This time in Polish, there are more synonyms and words describing the emotion itself, its elements, people's reactions when angry, etc. Examples: złość, wrzask, wykrzyczenie się, krzyk, krzyk złości, gryźć,

kopać, wściekłość, zdenerwowanie, zmarszczone czoło, nieopanowanie, kłótnia, awantura, brak panowania nad sobą.

In English there are a few responses of the same kind (fury, rage, shout, frustration) but the tendency here was to give reasons for being angry. This type of responses to anger was also repeated during individual interviews, when the first reaction with the English people was: 'anger, what makes me angry...?', whereas the Polish tended to think aloud more along the lines of: 'what are the consequences of my being angry, how do I behave then?' Among the English responses mentioning reasons for getting angry are: betrayal, being let down, bullying, violence, abuse, abusing strength, incompetence, laziness, poverty. Among English responses to anger is 'red' mentioned five times, which has no equivalent in Polish, even though there exists an expression *czerwony* = *gniewu/ze złości*.

3. CONCLUSIONS

All the responses obtained in the word association test for the 11 terms presented above may be useful in trying to establish what concepts contribute to the complex and rich organization of the given emotions. The variety of responses reflects the difficulty to define emotions in terms of their inherent features. Many of the responses might form lists of the numerous possible defining features of emotions given as stimuli words. The large number of those features obtained in relation to many stimuli terms proves once again that definitions of emotional terms depend on subjective opinions, on the personal choices of individuals regarding the selection of concepts understood as important elements of conceptual organization of emotions. Some people may refer in their answers to situations or aspects they consider representative for the given emotions, others may recall situations or reactions which are more recent, and therefore still vivid and suppressing other aspects.

The results obtained show a great similarity of responses in the Polish and the English versions. In a few cases the overall model of the given emotion formed by all the responses referring to it would be identical in the both versions. Any cultural differences which might be presumed to influence the patterns of responses, and differentiate them accordingly proved irrelevant to the question how the subjects conceptualize the given emotions.

The conclusions based on this particular study would support the hypothesis about the similarity of emotional reactions between English and Polish Cultures. Cultural factors probably account for slight differences in reactions, for example some responses were clearly culture-specific, referring to events observable only in one of the two countries, but they did not influence the general patterns of reactions.

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POJĘCIA WYRAŻAJĄCE STANY UCZUCIOWE W JĘZYKU POLSKIM I ANGIELSKIM

Artykuł ten jest próbą analizy pojęć wyrażających powszechne stany uczuciowe poprzez analizę znaczeń słów będących określeniami tych stanów. Punktem wyjścia do rozważań były wyniki testów swobodnych skojarzeń jakie przeprowadzone zostały wśród 70 osób (35 w polskiej wersji językowej i 35 w angielskiej). Słowa - hasła wykorzystane w tych testach są nazwami 11 powszechnie znanych stanów

uczuciowych. W wersji polskiej są to: szczęście, radość, miłość, czułość, dobroć, smutek, nieszczęście, rozpacz, strach, gniew, cierpienie.

W obu grupach językowych testów były osoby z grupy wiekowej 25-35 lat, studenci lub osoby z wyższym wykształceniem, o podobnym pochodzeniu społecznym. Materiał uzyskany w wyniku testów zawiera różnorodność form językowych używanych w odniesieniu do różnych stanów emocjonalnych. Wyniki analizowane są z dwu punktów widzenia. Po pierwsze w odniesieniu do różnych hipotez o uniwersalnym charakterze emocji, niezależnie od różnic kulturowych. Po drugie w odniesieniu do różnych opinii na temat sposobów definiowania i opisywania pojęć tak skomplikowanych i niekonkretnych jak uczucia. Wyniki testów wskazują na tezę o uniwersalności uczuć. Odpowiedzi uzyskane w obu grupach językowych są do siebie bardzo zbliżone, różnice nie występują systematycznie, a raczej są sporadyczne.

Drugie zagadnienie to próba głębszego wniknięcia w istotę pojęć dotyczących stanów uczuciowych. Punktem wyjścia była tu opinia, że tradycyjne definicje, będące zbiorem cech koniecznych i wystarczających dla używania danego pojęcia w odniesieniu do danych jego przedstawicieli są zbyt ograniczające, niewystarczające do pełnego zrozumienia pojęć dotyczących uczuć. Definicje stanów uczuciowych są prawdopodobnie zawsze w jakimś stopniu uzależnione od subiektywnych doświadczeń, osobowości, itp. osób, które podejmują się takich definicji.

W związku z tym, że uczucia są tak wyjątkowo "osobistymi" pojęciami, jednym ze sposobów ich pełniejszego zrozumienia, ich struktury i treści, może być pytanie jak największej ilości osób, jakie są ich własne definicje pojęć takich jak szczęście, miłość itp. i na podstawie ich odpowiedzi wyciągać następnie wnioski o różnych aspektach tych uczuć, z których mogliśmy dotąd nie zdawać sobie jasno sprawy.