

Cultural Scenarios of Emotions of Sadness, Sorrow and Grief

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Abstract: This paper is an attempt to investigate the notions of the native speakers of the Russian language about such emotions as sadness, sorrow and grief on the basis of the reconstruction of the "cultural scenarios", because their lexicographic description does not meet the requirements of recognition and distinction. In the cultural scripts of these emotions the author revealed the differential parameters: the intensity, the activity of the subject and the "publicity". The most intense is grief (*skorb'* [in Russian]), then in descending order, sorrow and sadness (*pechal'* and *grust'* [in Russian]). From the point of view of the subject's activity in the scenario of grief a man acts as an active figure, in a scenario of sorrow - as an active figure and as a bearer of characteristic and in the scenario of sadness - as an active figure, as a bearer of the characteristic and as a carrier of the passive state. In other words, the grief is the most active emotion that requires intense mental activity from an individual. Grief is opposed to sadness and sorrow as a "public" emotion" to the "nonpublic" ones.

Key words: Russian language • Sadness • Sorrow • Grief • Emotions

INTRODUCTION

The conceptualization of the emotional sphere of a person, in the opinion of most scholars, is the cognitive area where the national specific features of psychology, world view and attitude of every nation are manifested the most clearly. William Chafe, exploring language and consciousness, said that the two spheres can not be understood in isolation, but only in concert, in the relationship [1].

Consider the features of linguistic conceptualization of negative emotions, verbalized by the Russian language consciousness in the words: *sadness - sorrow - grief*. These words have a common Slavic origin and have been included in the basic lexical fund of the Russian language for centuries.

The lexical meanings of these words are interpreted in modern dictionaries through one another, for instance: *sorrow - easy sadness, sadness – feeling of sorrow and grief, etc.* [2]. In other words, the lexicographic description of these notions does not reflect the nature and specificity of these particular emotions, while the ordinary native speakers quite distinctly and clearly understand the semantic nuances and subtle differences between them and freely use their nominations.

Inefficiency and inadequacy of the classical methods of lexicographic description of emotional concepts were repeatedly mentioned by domestic and foreign researchers; this has become particularly evident at the current stage of cognitive psychology and linguistics development [3-5]. This is what has contributed to the view that the emotional concept in principle gives in to no interpretation. Indeed, the classical method of interpretation in the traditional formal semantics, based on a set of necessary and sufficient conditions for denotation, can not adequately convey the mental essence and uniqueness of such a complex ontological phenomenon as human emotion. However, it only speaks of the complexity of the problem, rather than of its principle "insolubility". The modern approaches to the description of different cultures, developed in the context of modern cognitivism, allow such interpretations of emotional concepts that meet the requirements of psychologists, linguists and culturologists.

The statement on the primacy of the linguistic approach for conceptual analysis has become almost axiomatic. Linguistic interpretations, according to A. Wierzbicka, "may not say much about the nature of emotions as such, but reveal the idea of the British people about the emotions reflected in the English language"

No.	Emotion	Representation in impersonal form in passive constructions (passive subject)	Representation as an adjective in adjectival constructions (inactive subject)	Representation as a verb in the active structures (active subject – Agent)
1	grief	-	-	+
2	sorrow	-	+	+
3	sadness	+	+	+

[6, 345]. We emphasize once again that, in our study, we are speaking about the emotional concepts, but not about emotions themselves.

The Main Part:

List some of the principal provisions of cognitive science that are relevant to the conceptual analysis: first, the concept of "cultural scenarios (scripts)" [4] and second, the fundamental difference between the cognitive notion and denotation [3]. Citing from A. Wierzbicka, "Emotional concepts are defined by the situations typical for the known experiences and these situations can be described by means of mental scenarios. I believe that we really interpret our emotional state with such scenarios and my hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that the emotional concepts expressed in different languages are very well modeled by such scenarios" [6, 337].

The first striking difference between the "cultural scripts" of these emotions is the difference concerning their intensity (which, by the way, is noticeable in some lexicographic definitions) and duration. So, often the lexemes denoting these emotions are set in a synonymic row in an ascending order of intensity and duration: *sadness - sorrow - grief*. Hence the possible are the expressions: [*lyogkaya grust'*, *lyogkaya pechal'*; *Yego grust'/ pechal' bystro proshla – in Russian (slight sadness, light sorrow; His sadness / sorrow quickly passed)*]; Compare impossible expressions: **[lyogkaya skorb'*; *Yego skorb' bystro proshla (*light grief, His grief quickly passed)*. A. Wierzbicka also pointed to the sign of duration in the concept of *sorrow* (grief) in English, describing the *sorrow* as "long suffering and pain" [6, 352].

The following difference in the "cultural scripts" of the mentioned emotions, in our opinion, is due to the reasons inducing these feelings in humans. *Sadness* is described by V.V. Kolesov as follows: "The vague feeling of discomfort, not yet a sorrow, but already not a boredom; it is the first episode to the experience, which is growing and strengthening. *Sad* in folk speech is the same as boring. Something is missing, but what?" [7, 146]. There may be a specific occasion for *sadness* (*sad because of something*), a specific object (*to feel sad for something, for someone, feel sad about anything about*

anyone), but there may not be ones. This emotional uncertainty and possible causeless sadness was mentioned by V.V. Kolesov.

Sorrow and *grief* as "stronger" and more intense emotions can not be groundless, they have close cause-effect relationships with the events that are significant and important for the individual and have the character of grief, loss and trouble. So, one can *feel sad* about the *past summer*, but can not *sorrow* or *grieve*. However, you can be *sorrow* (but not *sad*) *about the illness of the loved ones, the break with the loved one* and usually the *grief* is only about the *loss of loved ones*. In the "cultural script" of Russians grief is associated with death, see, for example the proverbs: [*Ne stolko smertei, skolko skorbei; Ne slegshi, zhdi skorbi, slegshi – smerti – in Russian*] ("Not so much death as sorrows"; "Standing - wait for grief and falling - for death"). Russian speakers unambiguously interpret the expression "to grieve about a son" as "to grieve about the death of a son"; and the expression "to feel sad about son" implies many interpretations, except for "to sorrow of the son's death".

In the "cultural scripts" the concept of remediable / irreversible event, characterizing the impact of events that caused them, is associated with the induction of a particular emotion. In the Russian, mentality this concept is refracted in the notion of [utesheniye – in Russian] (comfort): *grief* is described as *inconsolable* because it is caused by irreparable events; *sadness and sorrow*, accordingly, are not seen as *inconsolable*, compare: impracticable expressions **[bezuteshnaya grust', bezuteshnaya pechal' – in Russian] (*inconsolable sadness, inconsolable sorrow)*. V.I. Dal in his "Explanatory Dictionary" gives a wonderful example supporting our findings: [*Zagrustil bylo, da pogrustiv, peregrustil i uteshilsya – in Russian*] (*I once became sad and after a while was consoled*) [8]. In the conceptual analysis of the emotion *sorrow* (grief) in English it is also noted that in "*sorrow*" there is something final and irreversible, connecting it with "*grief*" [6, 352]. Apparently, this notion of irreparable sorrow is inherent in many languages and cultures.

Stylistically, the lexeme *grief* and its derivatives are marked as bookish due to its Church Slavonic origin. The word *grief* forced out the synonymous popular

spoken word [tuga - tuzhit' – in Russian] - to grieve for) from the language. Besides, it should be noted that similarly the popular spoken word [*kruchina*] (*sadness*) practically disappeared from active use and was replaced by *melancholy* (*sadness*) that came in the lexicon of Russian language in the XYII century. The word [*kruchina*] is perceived by modern native speakers as oral poetry, folklore.

Another difference in the language images of the studied emotions is related to active / passive subject of emotion. Human as a subject of any emotion is an actively experiencing actor - the Agent, or a psychologically inactive carrier of emotional symptoms, or a passive object of emotional state. Accordingly, the emotions in the naive view of the world can be defined as an emotion-action, emotion-character and emotion-state. We consider from this point of view the functioning of the grammatical category of impersonality, which is represented by impersonal verbs or with the word from the category of state, in the phrases with the names of emotions: [*Mne grustitsya/grustilos'*; *Mne grustno* – in Russian] (*I am/was feeling sad; I am sad*). Compare with impractical reflexive impersonal verbs in Russian (**[Mne pechalitsya; *Mne kruchinitsya; *Mne skorbitsya; *Mne skorbno* – in Russian]). As you know, the semantics of impersonality presents the feeling not as the action associated with the active subject - the Agent, but as a condition associated with the passive subject, or a subjectless state.

In the "cultural script" of such emotion as *sadness* there is grammatical universality in the nature of active / passive subject, because it can function in active, inactive and passive statements [*On grustit – On grustnyi/grusten – Mne grustitsya/grustilos'*; *Yemu grustno* – in Russian]; *Àìó äðõñòï* (*He feels sad - he looks sad; I am sad – I was sad; It is sad*) and respectively, can be defined as an emotional characteristic and emotional state. However, we argue that the most frequent and typical in Russian are the statements, where this emotion is represented through impersonal, passive constructions. People more often say about themselves: [*Mne grustno*] (*I feel sad*) rather than [*Ya grustnyi*] or [*Ya gruschu*] (*I am sad*). In the Russian mentality sadness is typically viewed as an emotional state, which does not require any activity from the subject and when a man appears passive and not controlling his emotions. In other words, the idea of sadness in the Russian minds most often is not associated with active experiences and sufferings, which require a lot of effort of the soul and the heart.

The most "active" in this sense is *grief*; in the Russian language it is more often represented through the active form of the verb: [*Ya skorblyu; On skorbit* – in Russian] (*I grieve, he grieves*). The "cultural scenario" represents grief as an emotional action in which a person exhibits a high intrinsic activity.

It is interesting how *sorrow* behaves in this respect. In the constructions of the 1st person (call them egocentric) the most used is an adjective; the one identifies the emotion in himself, verbalizing it as a predictive characteristic: [*Ya pechalnyi/pechalen* – in Russian] (*I'm sorrow*). Note that for other emotions such verbalization is either impossible (**[Ya skorbnyi* – in Russian] - **I'm grief*), or atypical ([*Ya grustnyi/grusten*] - *I'm sad*, though frequent in English). You can say that the "cultural script" of sorrow in the Russian language suggests the person, experiencing the emotion, as an active subject ([*Ya pechalys'*; *On pechalitsya* – in Russian] - *I sorrow, he sorrows*) and as inactive carrier of emotional characteristic ([*Ya pechalnyi/pechalen; On pechalnyi* - in Russian] - *I'm sorrow, he is sorrow*), but not as a passive carrier of emotional state. Sorrow is at a stage between the "active" grief and "passive" sadness, occupying an intermediate position.

The following table shows the relationship of these emotions in terms of functioning in the constructions with different degrees of subject activity:

In the naive view of the world of Russians the emotions are perceived as facts of the inner world of a person, which are localized in the heart and soul, or in the chest. During introspection a man finds these emotions in himself and represents them in the language in the following set phrases: [*grustno na dushe, grust' v serdtse; na serdtse kruchina; pechal' na dushe/ v serdtse, Pechal tesnit/tomit grud'*; *skorb' v serdtse/ v dushe* - in Russian] (*heart is sad, the sorrow the heart, the heart is grieve, sorrow in my soul / heart, sadness oppresses / torments chest*). Feelings in the naive anatomy of Russians are also associated with blood. Personal emotional state the one, who experiences strong emotions - grief, sorrow, can figuratively express with an idiom: [*krov' zastyla/ zaledenela (ot skorbi/ ot gorya* – in Russian] (*blood froze / icy (because of grief / trouble)*).

In linguistical expression of emotions, researchers also note the manifestation of the ancient Slavs archetype "sense - a liquid". This archetype has generated a widespread metaphorical model [feeling - is a liquid], in which, according to George Lakoff [9], the fluid is the source area for the target region "feeling". The soul and

the heart are the vessels - repositories of sadness, grief, sorrow; and hence are the stable metaphors: [*serdtse napolnilos' grustiye / pechal'yu / skorb'yu, dusha polna grusti/ pechali/ skorbi; izlit' svoyu pechal'/ skorb'*; on polon grusti/ pechali/ skorbi – in Russian] (heart was filled with sadness / grief / sorrow, my soul is full of sorrow / sadness / grief, vent their sadness / grief, it is full of sadness / grief / sorrow). Traces of this archetype are found in the deep metaphorical definitions: [*glubokaya/ bezdinnaya grust'/pechal'/ skorb'* – in Russian](deep / bottomless sorrow / sadness / grief).

The mentioned emotions are detected both externally and in a given set of conventional non-verbal signs: facial, gestural, etc. Characteristics that identify a particular emotion should be visually perceived, so in the Russian language, a person may have a *sad / sorrowful/ grievous look, sad / sorrow / grievous face / face expression / eyes / look; sadness, grief, anguish and sorrow* may be reflected *on the face / in the eyes / in the glance*. A number of conventional non-verbal indicators of negative emotions (gestures, facial expressions) are fixed in idioms, see, for example, [*povesit' nos, povesit' / veshat' golovu* – in Russia] (*to hang up the nose, hang one's head* - "become sad, grieve"). The carriers of the same cultural tradition easily "diagnose" one or another emotion according to the human appearance, which may not always be done by the bearer of a different culture, because the set and configuration of nonverbal indicators of emotion are culturally specific.

As we can see, between the analyzed emotions there is no difference in the localization in the inner world of a man and in external indicators. They are similar in the ways of detecting the signs: they should be perceived visually.

If sadness and sorrow and their causes and ways of manifestation are highly individual, subjective and personal, the "cultural script" of grief is social, ritualized and is associated with the rites of the funeral and repast. *To grieve* is not just to feel grief, but always show the outward signs of feeling and make a number of actions: to weep, lament, follow the rules and prohibitions approved in a certain cultural tradition: not to laugh, not to have fun, to wear ceremonial clothing, etc. The ritualized nature of grief is captured in a set phrase [*posypat' golovu pepлом/ glavu pepлом* - in Russian] (*to sprinkle one's head with ash*, meaning "to indulge in extreme sorrow"), which semantics is based on the imaginative rethinking of the real ceremony. V.V. Kolesov finely described this feature of the concept of "grief" in the Russian model of

reality: *grief* is a "public experience of personal trouble" [7, 146]. His thought may be continued: then *sadness and sorrow* are non-public experiences of personal trouble. It is impossible *to be sad and sorrow for the world, country and team; but grieving is possible for the whole world, the whole country, the whole team* (see also: *The world grieves ... The entire country grieves... The entire team grieves... etc*). Thus, in the Russian linguistic and cultural tradition sadness and sorrow are opposed to grief as "sole" individual experiences to a social, public experience.

The emotions considered here are united by the sign of negativity conditioned by the ontological nature of these mental phenomena.

Etymology of their names clearly proves that the basis of their origin is the idea of ??pain. Thus, the word [*pechal'*] (*sorrow*) is of Slavic origin, a derivative from **pekti* (> be hot, bake), literally "smth. that burns". The word [*gore*] (*trouble*) with close semantics is also related in its origin to the verb [*goret'*] (*to burn*) and literally means "smth. which burns". Fire (smth. that burns) brings pain; see, for example, the set metaphors [*ruka ogyom gorit, ozhglo boliyu, zhguchaya bol'* – in Russian] (*hand burns as in fire in the sense of "hand hurts," burnt with pain, burning pain*). The sensation of physical pain (burning) was associated with feelings of emotional pain. M. Johnson said that many abstract concepts (in our case - the emotional concepts) result from the expansion of physical concepts [10]. Thus, in the views of the ancient Slavs there was a consistent associative chain "fire> burn> physical pain> heartache> sorrow / grief". The same idea of pain is at the origins of the noun *sadness* (in Russian from the verb [*gruditi*] meaning "to gnaw, to torture," the noun *grief* from the word [*sch'rb'*] meaning "flaw"> "scratch, crack, dent, nick" (see paronyms [*uscherb, scherbina*])). It can be concluded that the linguistic conceptualization of such negative emotions as *sadness, grief, sorrow and trouble* reflects the view of ancient Slavs about them as an internal (emotional, heart) pain.

The naive mental views of the people reflect the mental ontological opposition "positive emotions - negative emotions". In proverbs and sayings *sadness, sorrow and grief* are usually opposed to joy and fun: [*S radosti kudri v'iutsya, s pechali sekutsya; Radost' ne vechna, pechal' ne beskonechna; Ni pechali bgez radosti, ni radosti bez pechali; Kto v radosti zhiviot, togo I kruchina neimiot; Luchshe pit' vodu v radosti, chem myod vo kruchine; Pti pire, pri brazhke vse*

druzhki; pri gore-kruchine net nikogo; Ne k mestu pechal'na, ne k dobru vesela – in Russian] (joy makes hair curly, but sorrow splits the ends; joy is not eternal, not infinite; there is no sorrow without joy and no joy without sorrow; who lives in joy, is not touched by grief; better to drink the water in joy, than honey in grief; with feast and beer all become friends and there is no one in grief; sorrow out of place and joyful not for good).

However, they are not only opposed, there are some unclear, dialectical relationships of inter-reliance and interdependence between them: [*Ni pechali bez radosti, ni radosti bez pechali; Vesolyoye gore – soldatskaya zhizn; Za vese'yem gorest' po piatam khodit; Gde chaetsya radostno, tam vstretitsya gorestno – in Russian] (No sorrow without joy, no joy without sorrow; soldier's life is a merry grief; sorrow follows fun; where joy is foreseen there trouble will follow). Experience of sorrow and grief is often conjugated with the notion of peace of mind. This perception of sadness and grief is, apparently, a specific feature of the Russian mentality. Hence there are set phrases: *ñââðëàÿ äððñòü, ñââðëàÿ ïâ-âëü* (pure sadness, sorrow). Recall the classic lines of A.S. Pushkin who expressed this peculiar mental state of sadness and peace of mind: [*Mne grustno il legko, Pechal' moya sveta, Pechal' moya polna toboyu – in Russian] (I am sad and easy, my sorrow is pure, full of you).**

As we can see, the cultural opposition "light - dark," "light - darkness" relates in the area of emotions to another culturally significant opposition "positive emotions - negative emotions." Accordingly, the *pure (light) sadness / sorrow* is originally seen by Russian language consciousness as a synthesis of positive and negative feelings, emotional and spiritual peace.

A special emphasis in the "cultural scripts" of the analyzed emotions is made on their destructive impact on people. They are compared with a [tyazholym gruzom (heavy load), which puts pressure on the person (see, for example, the metaphor *depressed* in the sense of "being in deep sorrow and sadness"), with aggressive phenomena: rust corroding iron ([*Zhelezo rza poedaet, a serdtse toska sokrushaet – in Russian] - Iron is eaten by rust and heart is overwhelmed with sorrow), the beast, tearing the victim ([*Kruchina/ pechal' serdtse glozhet/ gryzyot/ terzaet; Grust'-toska menya s'edaet – Grief / sorrow gnaws / bites / torments hear; Sadness and grief consume me.*) Aggressiveness of these emotions leads to mental decline, to the loss of psychical equilibrium: [*Kruchina s nog sobiot, a nuzhda I vovse zaklyuyot; Pechal' ne**

umorit, a s nog sobiot – in Russian] (Grief will knock you down and the need will peck to death; Sorrow will not kill but knock you down).

They have a negative impact not only on the internal state of the person, but on the appearance: [*Pechal' cheloveka ne ukrasit; Ot skorbi dushevnoi skorb' telesnaya pripadaet; Gore ne molodit – in Russian] (Grief does not adorn a person; Heart's sorrow will be added with bodily grief (fading); Grief does not make you younger). It is interesting to note that one of the negative impacts on the appearance of a man a number of Russian proverbs is described as an impact on hair / curls (on this see: [11, 144]): [*S radosti kudri v'yutsya, s pechali sekutsya; Ot kruchinushki kudri sekutsya – in Russian] (joy makes hair curly, but sorrow splits the ends).**

Negativity of the considered emotions is seen in their didactic character, in that they deprive a person of the will to act. Accordingly, the Russian naive ethics condemns idleness of a person who spends too much time in sadness, grief and sorrow: [*Polno pechalit'sya, delo ne popravitsya; Kruchinoyu lyudei ne nasytish; Kruchinoyu morya ne pereedesh – in Russian] (It's enough being sad, you can't help it; You can't feed people with grief; You can't cross the sea on grief).*

I would like to mention one more peculiar feature of the "cultural script" of emotions: *sadness, grief, sorrow, trouble*, in the Russian language, which is derived from their understanding as spiritual pain / illness. If it is a disease, it must be treated and a medicine is often wine, hops and honey, see, for example, a number of proverbs: [*Terpi gore: pei myod; Pit' – gore, a ne pit' – vdvoye: razdumie beryot; Charu ne pit' – ne kruchinu byt'; Spasibo tomu zelyonomy kuvshinu, chto razvyol dobromu molodtsu kruchinu; Pyanyi p'yot, sebya veselit – in Russian] (Endure trouble: drink honey; To drink is a trouble and not to drink is a double trouble as you may be lost in thoughts; Wine cures (it's better to drink a glass when in trouble); Thanks to a green jug a trouble left a good fellow; A drunk drinks cheering himself); and the idioms: [*grust'-tosku zalivat', gore (charkoi, vodkoi, venom) zalivat' – in Russian] (to flood sadness / depression / trouble with (wine, vodka, etc.))**

CONCLUSION

So, during the reconstruction using the material of Russian "cultural scripts" of emotions *sadness, sorrow and grief* we came to the following conclusions:

- They vary in duration, intensity and power of spiritual experiences, the least intense and durable is sadness and then in ascending order: sorrow and grief;
- The degree of the subject activity in these emotions is also different; a grieving man appears as an active, the less active is the sorrowing subject and people feeling sad are the most passive;
- Grief is opposed to sadness and sorrow as a public and ritualized emotion to non-public and individualized ones;
- The linguistic conceptualization of these negative emotions reflects the ancient Slavs' view on them as internal (emotional, heart) pain;
- According to the naïve anatomical ideas of Russians they are located in the heart (soul) and chest;
- They are diagnosed on external, visually perceptible signs, which set and configuration are unique in each culture;
- Russian language consciousness perceives sadness and sorrow as a synthesis of psychic experience and calm, positive and negative feelings (pure (light) sadness / sorrow), which is, apparently, a peculiar feature of the Russian mentality;
- The "cultural scripts" emphasize the destructive and aggressive nature of these emotions, which negatively affects the state of mind and even the appearance of the man - his hair, curly hair.

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