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Words from the Heart: Emotional Expression from Russian-Australian *1.5ers*

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Abstract

The bulk of studies on bilingualism and emotions have commonly focussed on multilinguals with a variety of language combinations, language learning trajectories and different cultural backgrounds. This heterogeneity has often been recognised as a limitation of this research area, given that emotion concepts can be language- and culture-specific (Panayiotou, 2006; Sachs & Coley, 2006; Wierzbicka, 1992, 1997, 1999) and emotional expression can vary enormously from one culture to another (Dewaele, 2015a; Kitayama & Markus, 1994; Kövecses, 2003).

Despite the repeated calls for further research on bilinguals and multilinguals who learned an LX during childhood (Caldwell-Harris, Staroselsky, Smashnaya & Vasilyeva, 2012; Harris, 2004; Harris, Gleason, & Ayçiçeği, 2006), most studies have examined multilinguals who learned their LXs late in life, and who are dominant in their L1 (Dewaele, 2010a).

Trying to fill these research gaps and combining these various calls for research, the present study examined a group of Russian-Australian sequential bilinguals, born in a Russian-speaking country, who migrated to Australia, or another English-speaking country first, and later to Australia, between the ages of 6 and 12 years. Owing to their age of migration, these speakers have been named as *1.5ers* (Rumbaut & Ima, 1988) as they share some characteristics with the first generation, and some with the second generation of migrants, yet are dissimilar to both, and should been examined as a generation on their own – generation 1.5 (Rumbaut, 1997, 2004). This generation of speakers is not homogeneous in terms of language competence (Frodesen, 2002); generally, they have native or almost-native proficiency in their L2, while their L1 proficiency may vary drastically (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, 2014).

The present research explored the emotional speech, perceived language emotional resonance and language choices to express emotions for a group of Russian-Australian 1.5ers, investigated during adulthood. The data collected through a mixed-method approach – fictional narratives and semi-structured debriefing interviews – confirmed the liminality of these speakers. In fact, their emotional speech and use of emotion vocabulary was overall language-appropriate both in L1 and L2, although it showed that it had undergone attrition and restructuring. Their perceptions on language emotionality revealed that the L1 maintained strong emotional connotations, including for those who did not feel very fluent in this language (see, e.g., Dewaele, 2004a,

Pavlenko, 2004a). Language choices to express emotions showed a connection with perceived language competence (see, e.g., Dewaele, 2006, 2009, 2010a; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a), except for in the sphere of parenting, which was influenced mainly by the perceived emotionality of the L1, and choices of language maintenance.

Declaration

This is to certify that:

I. This thesis comprises only my original work towards the Doctor of Philosophy degree;
II. Due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used;
III. Full ethics procedures and guidelines have been followed; and
IV. The thesis is fewer than 100,000 words in length exclusive of tables, maps, figures, foreign language examples, bibliographies and appendices.

Beatrice Venturin
26th November 2019

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction

1.1. Research trajectory

Bilingualism is a world that opened up in front of me when I started working on my Master's thesis. This endeavour made me aware of how little I knew about this fascinating topic, and of my increasing desire to explore it more – as always happens for any sphere of research. Before my Master's I had always naïvely assumed that children growing up with two or more languages in their childhood are just lucky, at least luckier than me; I grew up in a very monolingual environment but learned my foreign languages with passion, although with sweat and tears. Collecting data for my Master's thesis reconfirmed my idea that acquiring two or more languages in childhood *is*, indeed, a gift, yet it can cause also other distressing experiences. Many of the participants in my Master's research were international adoptees, who, with great courage and strength, shared their personal stories with me. The fact that I had to learn my foreign languages from books and study abroad experiences definitely did not make me less lucky than they were. Thanks to these people and their stories, I started pondering on the different reactions that different languages can evoke in us and on how ambivalent, convoluted and seesawing our relationship with languages can be, especially if our first language, the language of our childhood, is involved. In fact, many of the international adoptees who participated in my Master's research acknowledged that, after migration, they had initially rejected their native tongue, but felt the need to reconnect with it in their mature years – although this was not exactly what I focussed on during my Master's thesis. Also, for the first time, I was exposed to a category of sequential bilinguals which has received little attention, the generation 1.5 – by virtue of having migrated during childhood, many of these international adoptees belonged to this generation, although at the time I was not aware of their unique status, nor even of this term. These thoughts sat in my mind for a few years before I finally realised that I wanted to explore these topics further and started a PhD on bilingualism. I was further enlightened when I read a paper by Jean-Marc Dewaele and Aneta Pavlenko (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002), two of my current "academic gurus", which helped me put together all the pieces of the confused puzzle that I had in my mind, and which made me understand that I wanted to work on bilingualism *and* emotions.

1.2. Research focus

I decided that I wanted to give voice to this largely neglected category of *childhood, sequential bilinguals*, belonging to the generation 1.5, or 1.5ers (Rumbaut & Ima, 1988). This distinctive group of bilinguals migrated to a new country as children during their primary school years (between the ages of 6 and 12) and learned their L2 after migration. There is some confusion around their positioning, primarily due to their age of migration (Doolan, 2011). Sometimes they are considered as first-generation migrants (see, e.g., Childs, Finnie, & Mueller, 2017; Dearing *et al.,* 2016), by virtue of being born in their country of origin. Most often, they are grouped together with second-generation or even third-generation migrants (see, e.g., Nesteruk, 2011; Polinsky, 2000; Scontras, Fuchs, & Polinsky, 2015; Valdés, 2005, 2014), and studied together with other heritage speakers, as they have spent most of their life in their country of immigration. The confusion is sharpened by the fact that 1.5ers share some features with first-generation migrants – they are shaped by their country of origin, as they have first-hand experience of life there – and some with second-generation – they are highly adapted into this country – yet they are dissimilar to both. 1.5ers stand between the first and second generation, hence the label *generation 1.5* (Rumbaut, 1994, 1997, 2004; Rumbaut & Ima, 1988) and their liminality endorses the importance of recounting their unique stories and experiences.

I chose to focus on *Russian-Australian* 1.5ers: those born in a Russian-speaking country who migrated to Australia. This means that, in terms of order of acquisition, Russian is their L1, and English, learned sequentially after migration in late childhood, is their L2. I decided to conduct my research within the Russian community in Melbourne, a relatively small minority group in terms of size. According to the 2016 Census (ABS, 2016d), 6,307 residents in the state of Victoria were born in the Russian Federation, 24,701 claimed to have Russian ancestry, while 17,685 spoke Russian at home. This community has an intense commitment to cultural maintenance and has a strong connection with its national language (Kouzmin, 1988), treasured for "its emotional and symbolic values" (Garner, 1988a, p. 49). I chose to work with this community also because of my passion for Russian language and culture, and as a way to "pay back" all my Russian friends for their continuous teachings – language- as well as non-language-related.

Topics in bilingualism and emotion investigate the way bilinguals[1] interpret, describe and express emotions, their own as well as others', and explore whether they do it differently in their different languages. This area of research contributes to a deeper understanding of bilingualism and the bilingual mind, and it offers the opportunity to explore the relationship between languages and emotions from a new perspective, challenging the monolingual bias (Pavlenko, 2005a). The connection between languages and emotions also encompasses that of languages *of* emotions (Pavlenko, 2005a, p. 35), in other words, the way bilinguals convey their own feelings. This involves the ways bilinguals talk about personal and emotional topics (Dewaele, 2004a), the language used with children (Pavlenko, 2004a), inner speech (Dewaele, 2015b; Larsen, Schrauf, Fromholt, & Rubin, 2002), the way they express love (Dewaele, 2018; Dewaele & Salomidou, 2017; Kline, Horton & Zhang, 2008; Seki, Matsumoto & Imahori, 2002), anger (Dewaele, 2006; Dewaele & Qaddourah, 2015; Woon Yee Ho, 2009) and swearing (Dewaele, 2004b, 2005, 2010a, 2010b, 2016a; Pavlenko, 2005a). It examines also their perceptions of terms of endearment and affection (Caldwell-Harris, Kronrod, & Yang, 2013; Dewaele, 2008, 2010a; Gareis & Wilkins, 2011; Pavlenko, 2004a, 2005a; Wilkins & Gareis, 2006), positive feelings (Caldwell-Harris *et al.*, 2012), humour (Ayçiçeği-Dinn, Şişman-Bal, & Caldwell-Harris, 2018; Erdodi & Lajiness-O'Neill, 2012; Vaid, 2000, 2006), language emotionality, richness, colourfulness, poeticity (Dewaele, 2004a), whether they feel different when using their various languages (Dewaele, 2016b; Dewaele & Nakano, 2013; Hammer, 2016, 2017; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2018a, 2018b) or show a different part of themselves (Koven, 1998, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2007). Scholars have traditionally opposed the L1, usually considered as the "language of the heart", to the L2, or more generally any LXs, regarded as "languages of detachment" (see, e.g., Amati-Mehler, Argentieri, & Canestri, 1993; Anooshian & Hertel, 1994; Bond & Lai, 1986; Gonzalez-Reigosa, 1976; Marcos, Alpert, Urcuyo, & Kesselman, 1973; Marcos, Urcuyo, Kesselman, & Alpert, 1973; Rozensky & Gomez, 1983). More recently, various scholars (see, e.g., Dewaele, 2010a; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Pavlenko, 2005a; Resnik, 2018a) have revived this debate, highlighting how this matter is much more intricate than

[1] Following current trends in bilingualism research (Dewaele 2015c; Grosjean, 1982; Li Wei, 2000; Pavlenko, 2005a), here and in the following chapters I use the terms *bilingual* and *multilingual*, as well as *bilingualism* and *multilingualism*, interchangeably. Therefore, with the terms *bilingual* or *multilingual* I refer to any individual who has at least minimal competence in two or more languages (Dewaele, 2015c, p. 1).

previously supposed and depends on multiple factors, all of which account for the possibility of shifting the language of emotions.

1.3. Interconnections between research and multilinguals' everyday life

Before reading the article by Jean-Marc Dewaele and Aneta Pavlenko (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002) mentioned above, I gradually developed an interest – hidden and subconscious – in the sphere of bilingualism and emotions when I started being confronted with the need (and most of the time the frustration) to express my preferences, feelings and anger in languages that had not been "mine" for all my life. My language learning trajectory has been mainly "silent", at least at the initial stages. It was only when I started spending periods out of my home country that I began using these languages in authentic and meaningful interactions. At this point I started analysing my linguistic behaviour when speaking my different languages with my international and multilingual friends. I began reflecting upon the way I would relate to them according to the different languages I used with the different people, how I would switch between some languages and how my friends would do the same with me. These thoughts triggered a series of questions: why do I prefer arguments and quarrels in English, my L2? Why do I connect deep thoughts to my L4, Russian? Why does my L3, French, not have much of an impact on me? Why do I only truly appreciate poems in my native Italian? Why do I find my "not-so-proficient" L5, Spanish, so sweet? Why do I find myself cursing at a missed train in my L2, but still feel the need to use my rich swearing repertoire in my L1 when something or someone drives me *really* mad? And finally, does the fact that a person as reserved as myself feels relatively at ease writing about personal experiences relate to the fact that I am using my L2?

Since emotions are an essential part of human life (Goldie, 2002, p. 17) and bilingualism is the norm in many of today's societies (Grosjean, 1982; Luykx, 2003), we cannot deny the reach of this sphere of research, beyond the academic world. Yet, the relationship between language and emotions had for long been examined exclusively from a monolingual English perspective (Pavlenko, 2005a; Wierzbicka, 2003, 2004, 2013), neglecting the fact that knowing two or more languages affects, among other things, the interpretation of emotional experiences by bilinguals. Furthermore, in modern

times, the increase of migration flows, transnational enterprises, mixed families make these issues relevant even in traditionally monolingual countries.

Interesting accounts and reflections on the relationship between languages *and* emotions and languages *of* emotions (Pavlenko, 2005a) as experienced every day by "ordinary" multilinguals are presented in multiple studies on multilingualism and emotions (see, e.g., Dewaele, 2010a; 2015a; Pavlenko, 2004a, 2005a; Resnik, 2018a; Wierzbicka, 2004). Other valuable insights into these relationships come from bilingual writers (for an overview, see Besemeres, 2004; Grosjean, 2010; Kellman, 2000, 2003; Pavlenko, 2006a). Some of these writers, such as the 1980 Nobel Price in Literature, Czesław Miłosz, who was fluent in five languages, chose to write in their L1. Others chose the language they are most proficient in, which may not coincide with the L1, as in the case of Eva Hoffmann, the Polish-born writer, who migrated to Canada at the age of 13. Others, for example Joseph Conrad, opted for a second or third language, while the famous Samuel Beckett and Vladimir Nabokov started their writing careers in their L1s and subsequently switched to the L2. The opposite is also possible, as is the case of Nancy Huston, who started writing in her L2, but reverted to her L1 later on during her writing journey. A smaller group of writers (see. e.g., Chávez-Silverman, 2004; Díaz, 2008) choose to *translanguage* within the same work, i.e. they do not stick to one language only, but navigate them both. These different trajectories are evidence that for a bilingual writer "different languages make possible distinct emotional styles, which engage different parts of a bilingual's self" (Besemeres, 2004, p. 140). They also show that "perceptions of language emotionality and embodiment impact language choices" (Pavlenko, 2005a, p. 184). In other words, the emotional weight of languages strongly affects the choice about whether to write in the L1 or in an LX – even when this choice is not related to language proficiency or audience reasons. Writing in a second language might relieve writers from the burden of dealing with heavy topics and memories associated with the native tongue, what Kellman (2000) calls "emancipatory detachment" (p. 28) and Pavlenko (2005a) "emotional estrangement" (p. 181). The L1 might be "too emotionally fraught", as declared in an interview by Nancy Huston (in Grosjean, 2010, p. 141), who returned to her L1 only when she felt reconciled with her emotions, after many years of writing in her L2. Conversely, writing in the L1 might indicate the desire to maintain one's original identity; this is how Miłosz justified his choice not to abandon his native Polish:

> In my rejection of imposing a profound change on myself by going over to writing in a different language, I perceive a fear of losing my identity, because it is certain that when we switch languages we become someone else (Miłosz, 2001, in Kellman, 2003, p. xiv).

These writers have put into words feelings shared by many multilinguals; the emotional burden carried by the native tongue, a language connected to childhood memories, sometimes to traumas, a language one can feel the need to cling to or to set oneself free from (Pavlenko, 2006a).

1.4. Aim of the project

The present study aims to explore the relationship between bilingualism and emotions for a group of Russian-Australian sequential bilinguals, belonging to generation 1.5, namely their use of emotion vocabulary, their perceptions on language emotionality and their language preference for emotional expression. It addresses the following three research questions (further discussed in Chapter 4):

1. Do the emotion vocabulary and emotional speech of Russian-Australian 1.5ers, in Russian and English, differ from that of monolingual speakers of their two respective languages? If so, in what ways and to what extent?
2. Does the group of Russian-Australian 1.5ers under examination perceive any difference in the emotional resonance of their two languages, Russian and English, and if so, in what ways?
3. What are these speakers' language preferences for expressing emotions?

The decision to focus on this group of speakers (1.5ers), this language pair (Russian and English), and this research topic (the relationship between languages and emotions) is motivated by different reasons. First, 1.5ers are a liminal, conflictual and fluctuating category of speakers (Rumbaut, 1994, 1997, 2004), which, despite being characterised as a generation by itself, has not had sufficient scholarly attention devoted to it in applied linguistics (Benyamin, 2018; Holloway-Friesen, 2008; Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000). Second, the two languages investigated in this study, Russian and English, have been examined extensively for their differences in the conceptualisation of emotions (Wierzbicka, 1992, 1998a, 1998b, 2002, 2009), and also in the area of bilingualism (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Marian & Kaushanskaya, 2004; Pavlenko 2002a, 2002b, Sachs & Coley, 2006; Stepanova & Coley, 2002). However, the research field of

bilingualism and emotions has so far predominantly focussed on *late* – adult – bilinguals, less on *early*. Yet, early bilinguals represent an interesting category, as talking about L1 and L2 is not always appropriate for their situation; they might grow up with two first languages (2L1), in the case of simultaneous bilinguals, or their order of acquisition of languages – L1 and L2 – might not coincide with their predominance of use – *primary* and *secondary languages* (Benmamoun, Montrul, & Polinsky, 2013a). Further research on early bilinguals has been called for repeatedly over the years (Caldwell-Harris *et al.,* 2012; Harris, 2004; Pavlenko, 2002b), by virtue of these speakers' "in-between status" (Caldwell-Harris *et al.,* 2012, p. 281) in terms of language dominance, proficiency and emotionality of the L1 and L2. Furthermore, even those few studies which considered both early and late bilinguals, disregarded (Harris, 2004; Harris *et al.,* 2006), or only partially considered, 1.5ers (Anooshian & Hertel, 1994), which highlights the complexity of this generation of speakers and, most importantly, the necessity to focus on them. As far as language emotionality is concerned, contributions from psychological research have shown that emotion words have different mental representations in the bilingual – but also in the monolingual – mental lexicon (Altarriba & Bauer, 2004), as compared to concrete and abstract ones, as they evoke different responses (Altarriba, 2006; Altarriba & Bauer, 2004; Altarriba, Bauer, & Benvenuto, 1999; Pavlenko, 2008a). Moreover, recent studies have argued that the common belief, which used to regard the L1 as the most emotional language, can be validated only when this is also the more proficient language (Harris, 2004). At the same time, however, the L1 seems to leave traces of emotional resonance even when proficiency in this language has severely deteriorated (Dewaele, 2004a).

As previously mentioned, despite the distinctive status of 1.5ers and the problems in classifying them, little attention has been devoted to this category of speakers and no study has examined the relationship between languages and emotions for this generation. Yet their "in-between status" and heterogeneity in language proficiency and dominance might shed new light on this issue. In fact, scholars have so far focussed mainly on multilinguals who are more proficient in their L1. This feature, though, might not allow for a full understanding of the other factors impinging on the relationship between multilingualism and emotions, as these factors might be "wiped out" by language proficiency (Dewaele, 2010a). 1.5ers are not necessarily more proficient in their L1 and might – to varying degrees – experience L1 attrition (Doolan, 2011; Remennick, 2016,

2017). Thus, analysing a group of speakers with such variability might help uncover other dynamics which play a role in this relationship.

This study built upon various spheres of research. It owes much to research into semantics, which first pointed at the language- and culture-specificity of emotion concepts, focussing in particular on the differences between Russian and English discourses (Wierzbicka, 1992, 1998a, 1998b, 2002, 2009). Following this line of enquiry, further studies (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Pavlenko, 2002a, 2002b) examined the relationship between bilingualism and emotions, and they showed how some emotional concepts differ across English and Russian. This study was based also on previous research on language emotional resonance and expression (see, e.g., Dewaele 2010a, Resnik, 2018a), which investigated the factors – mainly language dominance and fluency, order and age of acquisition of languages, language use – behind different language preferences and choices for various spheres of emotional expression. The present project partially drew from studies in psychology, which recognised a distinctive status for emotion words (Altarriba 2006; Altarriba & Bauer 2004; Altarriba *et al.,* 1999). Finally, it also followed suggestions and definitions coming from sociology, which pointed at the necessity to consider 1.5ers as a separate generation of speakers and called for further research on them.

The present research is a cross-sectional study, employing a mixed-method approach. To explore the above-mentioned research questions, I collected data through two different tasks. The first task aimed at answering the first research questions. It elicited fictional narratives from a group of Russian-Australian 1.5ers, in Russian and in English, and from two control groups of monolinguals of these two languages. These data were analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively, although greater scope was devoted to the qualitative analysis. The second task delved into the second and third research questions; it consisted of semi-structured debriefing interviews held with the group of 1.5ers only, which were analysed qualitatively.

1.5. Relevance of the study

This project is the first study investigating the relationship between bilingualism and emotions for a group of Russian-Australian 1.5ers. It contributes to the debate on the relationship between languages and emotions, continuing the discussion on bilinguals'

conceptualisation, verbalisation and perceptions of emotions in their different languages. It focussed on two languages, Russian and English, which have attracted much scholarly attention as they encode emotions into speech differently (see Wierzbicka, 1992, 1998a, 1998b, 2002, 2009). In contrast to previous empirical studies on this language pair (Pavlenko, 2000, 2002a, 2002b, 2003; Marian & Neisser, 2000; Marian & Kaushanskaya, 2004), the present research concentrated on childhood bilinguals belonging to the 1.5 generation. In fact, despite various calls for further research, this category of speakers has so far been neglected by scholars in this area, who have, instead, mainly concentrated on late bilinguals. Therefore, this study is the first attempt to improve our understanding of 1.5ers, a liminal group of speakers, who, given their language proficiency and dominance, cannot be assimilated to either second-generation, or first-generation migrants.

Furthermore, this research contributes to the understanding of the Russian community in Melbourne, an under-researched group in Australia, in particular their heritage speakers. It focussed on their language use and their attitude toward their heritage language, shedding light on linguistic identity and vitality.

1.6. Summary of chapters

Chapter 2 describes the category of speakers under investigation for the present study – 1.5ers, i.e. speakers belonging to the generation 1.5. I present the main issues concerning their type of bilingualism and their language acquisition, as well as some definitions from research on heritage languages and speakers. I briefly illustrate the main points concerning the relationship between language and identity and how these aspects relate to the 1.5 generation. As the object of this study are 1.5ers who were born in a Russian-speaking country, I conclude the chapter with an overview of the Russian community in Melbourne, discussing its size and the use of the Russian language in this community, drawing on the 2016 Australian Census, and previous research on the cultural richness of this minority group in Australia.

Chapter 3 delves into the sphere of bilingualism and emotions and shows the multidisciplinarity of this research area. Firstly, I present studies which have explored the relationship between language(s) and emotions and the distinctiveness of emotion concepts, focussing particularly on the differences between the Russian and English languages and cultures. Subsequently, I describe research which, following this line of

enquiry, has tested the differences in the conceptualisation of emotions for bilinguals and whether these differences have an impact on bilinguals' mental lexicon and emotional speech. Following this, I consider studies which have examined this relationship from another perspective, looking at the language(s) of emotions, namely how multilinguals perceive and verbalise their emotions in their different languages, and the reasons behind these preferences and use.

Chapter 4 explains the methodology used for this study. First, I present the research questions, and, following this, I delve into the methodological framework. I illustrate the study design, the participants and their recruitment, the two methods used to address the three research questions and the data collection process. I describe how I analysed the data and I conclude with some reflections on my positioning as a researcher.

Chapter 5 presents the data collected through the fictional narratives, which address the first research question. I analyse the narratives elicited by the bilinguals (1.5ers) in their L1, Russian, and L2, English, focussing on their use of emotion vocabulary, and compare their retellings to those elicited by two control groups of Russian and English monolinguals. I analyse the way morphosyntactic categories were used, as well as how emotion words were employed at a sentence level. I also describe other ways to refer to emotions, namely figurative expressions and any references to the body, considered as an organ of emotional expression. For each level of analysis, I deal with group results, as well as individual differences.

Chapter 6 discusses the results presented in Chapter 5 and how they answer RQ1. Considering the main points addressed in the previous chapter, i.e. morphosyntactic categories, framing of emotions, figurative expressions and references to the body, I contrast these results with previous studies on emotion vocabulary, indicating the points of convergence and divergence.

In Chapter 7, I present the results of the debriefing interviews and address the second and third research questions. Firstly, I focus on the main topics discussed with the participants during the interviews, i.e. the emotional resonance of their two languages and their language preferences and choices to express emotions (in different spheres, mainly happiness, anger, language used with children). I also briefly introduce the participants' discussion on their feelings of difference when speaking the L1 and the L2, and their identity issues.

Chapter 8 discusses the results presented in Chapter 7. I consider all the topics presented in the previous chapter and compare the results of the present study with previous research on bilingualism and emotions. At the same time, I highlight the distinctiveness of 1.5ers and emphasise how this generation of speakers offers an additional viewpoint from which to interpret the relationship between languages and emotions.

Chapter 9 brings together the findings of this study. I present the results of the combined analysis of the two datasets, aimed at seeking connections among the three research questions. I point to the limitations and I conclude the whole discussion with a list of contributions that this study provided, as well as of suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2: Theoretical Premises I: 1.5ers, bilinguals or heritage speakers?

2.1. Introduction

This chapter is devoted to the description of the category of speakers examined in this study, 1.5ers. It is structured in the following way: in the first section, I define the term *1.5ers,* one which is borrowed from sociology, and delineate the characteristics of this group, pointing out the reasons why these speakers deserve their own place in research into bilingualism. In the second section, I provide a critical overview of relevant bilingualism studies, discussing the main issues concerning these speakers' type of bilingualism, their language acquisition and L1 attrition. In the third section, I provide an overview of heritage languages studies, an area of research which has examined heritage speakers, among whom are 1.5ers, and I discuss how scholarly literature in this field has contributed to the understanding of this generation of speakers' language proficiency and use. In the fourth section, I present a summary of research on bicultural identity and the relationship between language and identity, showing how these considerations apply to 1.5ers. Finally, in an attempt to better portray the actual speakers focussed on in the present research, namely Russian-Australian 1.5ers, I give an outline of the Russian diaspora in Australia, concentrating on the Melbourne community, and presenting previous studies which have explored the status of this minority language in Australia.

2.2. Generation 1.5

Children of immigrants, who migrate to another country during childhood with their parents, have not received sufficient scholarly attention, especially in applied linguistics (Benyamin, 2018; Holloway-Friesen, 2008; Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000). Coming from a sociological perspective, Rumbaut and Ima (1988, p. 22) described this population as *1.5 generation* (or *generation 1.5*) – or *1.5ers*. This term was coined, and is mostly used, in the United States, where most research on this generation has emerged (Délano-Alonso, 2008; Danico, 2004; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, 2014; Rumbaut, 1994, 1997, 2004; Rumbaut & Ima, 1988; Skarin, 2005). Acknowledging the limits and gaps of immigration literature and the confusion in the use of the terms *first* and *second* generation, Rumbaut (1994, 1997, 2004) has repeatedly called attention to immigrant

children. The label *first-generation migrants* is usually attributed to people who were born in their home country, as applies to 1.5ers. However, age at migration is usually not taken into consideration, and, when referring to the first generation, the object of investigation is usually people who emigrated during adulthood. On the other hand, the term *second generation* is often applied both to people who were born in their parents' country of immigration or in their country of origin, but who migrated in childhood. Hence, the "liminal" group (Huang, Yeoh, & Lam, 2008; Marshall & Lee, 2017; Wang & Collins, 2016) of immigrant children and their in-between status, positioned halfway between first and second generation, is not acknowledged. As these speakers share some characteristics with the first generation and some with the second, but cannot be assimilated to either, Rumbaut and Ima (1988, p. 22) insisted that this group deserves its own place in research and needs to be considered as a generation on its own, proposing the term *1.5 generation*. In earlier studies (Rumbaut, 1994; Rumbaut & Ima, 1988), the label *generation 1.5* was generally applied to people who migrated before adolescence or in the early teen years, but Rumbaut (2004) narrowed this definition, dividing this category into three more specific ones. As a result, the term *1.5ers* is now used to refer exclusively to children who left their home country during their middle childhood, in primary school years, aged between 6 and 12. Those who emigrated in early childhood, before the age of 6, are referred to as *generation 1.75 – 1.75ers*. *1.25ers – generation 1.25* – instead, migrated during their adolescence, between the age of 13 and 17 (p. 1167). Nevertheless, despite these further classifications, there is still confusion in the scarce literature devoted to these speakers, and many scholars still apply the term *generation 1.5* broadly to any speaker who migrated in childhood and adolescence (Délano-Alonso, 2018; Lee, Friesen, & Kearns, 2015; Roberge, 2009), overlooking the complexity and heterogeneity of such broad age ranges. Rumbaut's (2004) subdivision into 1.25, 1.5 and 1.75 generations, conversely, takes into account the peculiarities that speakers with such different ages of migration generally have.

2.2.1. Why focus on *1.5ers*?

Although 1.75ers and 1.25ers are also somewhat neglected groups in research, among these so-called "decimal generations" (Oropesa & Landale, 1997, p. 432) I chose to focus specifically on 1.5ers for the following reasons. For 1.75ers, assimilation to the country and culture of immigration is very similar to that second generation, as they spend only a

few years in their country of birth (Rumbaut, 2004, p. 1167). Conversely, 1.25ers tend to have more elements in common with the first generation than the second, as they spend all their childhood, and some of them most of their teenage years, in their native country (ibid.). 1.5ers, by contrast, share some features with the first generation and some with the second, yet they are dissimilar to both and should not be assimilated to either group (Rumbaut, 1994; Rumbaut & Ima, 1988). 1.5ers are shaped both by their country of birth and by their country of immigration, where they spend the most meaningful years of their childhood. First generation immigrants are formed mainly in their country of origin, while second generation immigrants do not experience life in their parents' homeland. 1.5ers, instead, have a first-hand experience of life in their home country and often have vivid memories of it (Rumbaut & Ima, 1988; Rumbaut, 2004), as first-generation immigrants do, while the second generations' impressions of the land of their parents are forged by the memories reported by older family members (Rumbaut & Ima, 1988, p. 22). The paradox of the in-between status of 1.5ers is that they are considered "by the first generation as second generation, [are] seen as more first generation by the second generation" (Danico, 2004, p. 24), and in different ways by other members of the society they live in. Danico suggests that they might even be marginalised by all other groups (p. 14).

As mentioned above, 1.5ers have been investigated mainly in the United States – where this term emerged and is commonly used (see, e.g., Benesch, 2008; Doolan, 2011; Frodesen, 2002; Skarin, 2005) – and only marginally in other countries, such as Canada (Marshall & Lee, 2017), New Zealand (Lee *et al.,* 2015; Wang & Collins, 2016) and Israel (Remennick, 2016, 2017). However, only a few studies have been devoted to this generation in Australia (Ip & Hsu, 2006; Pertierra, 2015), which is one of the reasons why I decided to focus specifically on this group.

1.5ers have been investigated mainly in sociology during their teenage years and more generally after migration, to analyse all the issues connected with adaptation into a new country. In applied linguistics, this generation of speakers has traditionally been identified as sequential bilinguals, term which refers to speakers who learn their L2 after learning the L1 (De Houwer, 1995, see also next section below), and has typically been examined during their language development in childhood (see, e.g., Cummins, 1979; Kohnert, 2008; Vihman & McLaughlin, 1982). Heritage languages studies, by contrast, have commonly investigated 1.5ers together with other heritage speakers who belong to

second or third generations, analysing them in adulthood (see, e.g., Benmamoun, Montrul, & Polinsky, 2013a, 2013b; Montrul, 2008, 2012, 2016, and Section 2.4 below). Various researchers have on several occasions considered combining the research areas of heritage languages and bilingualism (Kupisch & Rothman, 2018; Montrul, 2008, 2012, 2016), in order to provide a more rounded picture of 1.5ers. Nevertheless, these speakers still occupy a marginal place in applied linguistics.

In the following sections I discuss definitions used in bilingualism research, and I discuss some crucial elements characterising the particular category of bilinguals – i.e. sequential – to which 1.5ers belong. I introduce also some key considerations deriving from heritage languages studies and applicable to 1.5ers. The aim of this discussion, in line with Kupisch and Rothman (2018) and Montrul (2008, 2012, 2016), is to combine the two approaches of heritage language studies and bilingualism research, in order to provide a comprehensive picture of these speakers and their distinctive features.

2.3. Bilingualism

The term *bilingualism* in the scholarly literature has been variously defined. In the past, the predominant, strong view of bilingualism (see, e.g., Bloomfield, 1933; Thiery, 1978) assumed that a bilingual "has (or should have) two separate and isolable language competencies […] similar to those of the two corresponding monolinguals" (Grosjean, 2008, p. 10). Nowadays, the most accredited perspective on bilingualism is what Grosjean (2008, 2010) calls a "holistic view of bilingualism". This flexible view does not assume that a bilingual should have native-like proficiency in two or more languages, but recognises as bilingual "anyone who has minimal competence in one of the four skills (speaking, listening, reading, and writing) in a language that is not the first language, or anyone who controls two or more languages" (Dewaele, 2015c, p. 1). This reflects the fact that most of the time bilinguals do not have equal competence in both languages, as the two languages tend to be confined to different domains of use (Fishman, 1972); for example, a speaker may use the L1 at home but the L2 in all the other spheres of life – which is often the case for 1.5ers. Grosjean (1997, 2010, 2016) defines these dynamics as the Complementarity Principle: "Bilinguals usually acquire and use their languages for different purposes, in different domains of life, with different people. Different aspects of life normally require different languages" (Grosjean, 1997, p. 165). The Complementarity

Principle recognises the range of social functions that different languages play in the life of a bilingual (Grosjean, 2016, p. 67), which affect the bilinguals' fluency in their languages. The need for a language in a particular domain, in fact, has an impact on language skills and fluency in that domain (Grosjean, 1997). If a language is not needed and never used in a particular domain, an individual will not develop the linguistic skills required in that sphere (Grosjean, 2016, p. 68).

Recently, the terms *bilingualism* and *multilingualism*, as well as *bilingual* and *multilingual*, have been most commonly employed interchangeably (Baker, 2011; Dewaele, 2010a; Grosjean, 1982; Li Wei, 2000, Pavlenko, 2005a), regardless of the number of languages a person masters (two or more) – they are employed interchangeably also in the present research. The focus of this study, however, is on *bi*-lingual individuals who have been in contact with, and who have acquired sequentially during their childhood, two, and only two, languages.

2.3.1. Early sequential bilingualism

In bilingualism research, age is one of the most crucial elements used to classify bilinguals. In view of their age at the time of migration, 1.5ers can be labelled as *early sequential* bilinguals. The term *early bilingual* refers to the *age of onset of bilingualism* and applies to anyone who acquired two languages during childhood, as opposed to people whose exposure to the L2 started during adulthood – *late bilinguals* (Hoffmann, 1991). However, there is much disagreement among scholars with regards to the age of onset of bilingualism and the "dividing line" between early and late bilinguals. In general, this "line" is set around puberty (see also discussion on Language Acquisition and the Critical Period Hypothesis in Section 2.3.2 below). Therefore, the label "early bilinguals" is applied to individuals who acquire their L2 approximately by age 12, as opposed to "late bilinguals", who acquire the L2 after this age (Paradis, 1994, 2004; Paradis & Lebrun, 1984).

The label *sequential* bilingual (also referred to as *consecutive* or *successive*) concerns the *order of acquisition,* and identifies children who firstly acquire an L1, and afterwards start acquiring the L2, after 3 years old (Meisel, 2009). For example, this is often the case with children who learn their L1 in their home country, and the L2 after migration, as it is the case for 1.5ers, or children coming from minority communities, who

learn the minority language first, and have contact with the national language of the country they live in once they start attending school. Sequential bilinguals are differentiated from *simultaneous bilinguals*, i.e. children who acquire both languages synchronically, or almost synchronically, from birth, or by the age of 3 (McLaughlin, 1984, 1985). This happens when children acquire two languages in a naturalistic setting, for example, those growing up in a multilingual context, in families where two languages are spoken, or children belonging to second or third generations of migrants, where the language spoken at home differs from the dominant language of the community. Simultaneous bilingualism is often also termed as *bilingual first language acquisition,* or *BFLA* (De Houwer, 1990, 1995, 2009; Genesee, 2006; Meisel, 1989, 2001) as the child develops two first languages (2L1) simultaneously. From the perspective of L2 acquisition studies, sequential bilingualism is often referred to as *early second language acquisition – ESLA –* (De Houwer, 2009, 2011)[1] or *child L2 acquisition*, further divided into *early* and *late.* The expression *early child L2 acquisition,* and *early child L2 acquirers,* refers to children whose acquisition of the L2 takes place before formal schooling starts, around 4 and 6 years. By contrast, the label *late child L2 acquisition* addresses acquisition taking place during primary school years (Montrul, 2008, p. 17) and is therefore applicable to the 1.5 generation. These distinctions are important as age plays a crucial role in L2 acquisition. Differently from adult L2 acquisition, when acquiring an L2 during childhood, this process occurs with the acquisition and development of the L1. These issues are discussed in the following section.

2.3.2. Language acquisition

As sequential bilinguals, and specifically late child L2 acquirers, 1.5ers acquire their L1 similarly to monolingual children, at least in the first years of their life, until they migrate to another country. *Monolingual First Language Acquisition – MFLA* (De Houwer, 2009) – follows relatively homogeneous stages (Brown, 1973; Clark, 2009), although individual variation always plays an important role in language development (Bates, Dale, & Thal, 1995). Generally, a basic grammar of the L1 is acquired by age 3, while complex syntax

[1] De Houwer distinguishes between *early second language acquisition* and *bilingual second language acquisition*. ESLA (2009, p. 2**)** is used as a general term to refer to contexts where a monolingual child starts being exposed to a second language in addition to the first, while the term BSLA (1995, p. 223) indicates specifically exposure to a second language on the top of the first between one month and two years of age.

is acquired from the age of 4 or 5 (Berman, 2009; Clark, 2009). However, after this age, L1 development continues, especially under the influence of schooling, when children start reading and writing, and their language development starts following a more individual path (Montrul, 2008). L1 acquisition is fairly stable by puberty (Bylund, 2009; Keijzer, 2007), although even after this age the acquisition of complex syntax, morphology and vocabulary continues (Jia & Aaranson, 2003).

Sequential bilinguals, including 1.5ers, start learning an L2 when basic command of the L1 has already been acquired, although the L1 has not yet stabilised. Therefore, their L1 acquisition process is similar to monolingual children, at least up to the age at which they are exposed to the L2. Their L2 acquisition, and eventual L2 attainment, depends on a number of factors, particularly the age of onset of bilingualism (see, e.g., Birdsong, 1992; Birdsong & Molis, 2001; Flege, Munro, & MacKay, 1995; Flege, Yeni-Komshian, & Liu, 1999; Johnson, 1992; Johnson & Newport, 1989; Oyama, 1976). Child L2 acquisition, and its similarities and differences with L1 acquisition and adult L2 acquisition, are debated issues. Schwartz (2004) claims that child L2 acquirers share some characteristics both with L1 acquirers and adult L2 acquirers. Conversely, Montrul (2008) believes that child L2 acquisition differs from L1 acquisition and from adult L2 acquisition. She argues that child L2 acquisition is different from adult L2 acquisition as it takes place during the Critical Period (usually considered before the age of 13, see Lenneberg, 1967). The Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH) claims that children, as opposed to adults, have an advantage in learning languages – the L1 and any LX – which ultimately leads to attainment (see, e.g., Birdsong, 1999; Harley & Wang, 1997; Lenneberg, 1967; Long, 1990; Newport, Bavelier, & Neville, 2001). In particular, various studies (see Birdsong, 1999 for an overview) have found a strong negative correlation between age of acquisition and L2 proficiency, with "a strong decline up to a certain age and a leveling off for adults or a strong decline around puberty with little age differentiation within the child and adult groups" (DeKeyser & Larson-Hall, 2005, p. 90). This is because, for children, acquisition occurs in a period which is favourable for the development of language skills, an ability which declines later in life. Despite having raised much

controversy[2] in language acquisition studies, it is widely accepted among scholars that the age of acquisition has a strong effect on ultimate L2 attainment (DeKeyser & Larson-Hall, 2005), although the factors causing this advantage for children are still debated. Among the factors which most likely contribute to full L2 attainment for children, the most investigated by scholars are neurological maturational issues (Lenneberg, 1967; Long, 1990; Penfield & Roberts, 1959; Pinker, 1995; Scovel, 1988) and differences in learning mechanisms between children and adults (Bley-Vroman, 1988; DeKeyser, 2000; Harley & Hart, 1997; Ullman, 2001).

The CPH was firstly theorised in relation to L1 acquisition and later extended to L2 acquisition. It was hypothesised that, since neurological maturation happens between birth and puberty, because of biological constraints, if a language is not acquired by this age, it is unlikely that full attainment will be achieved (Lenneberg, 1967). The hypothesis that maturational constraints necessarily bind L2 acquisition has been replaced by the suggestion that there is, instead, a significant, yet neither sharp nor continuous, decline through adulthood in the ability to achieve full command in certain areas of language, mainly pronunciation and grammar (Bialystok & Hakuta, 1994, 1999; Bialystok & Miller, 1999; Birdsong & Molis, 2001; Stevens, 1999). However, the hypothesis that there are differences in learning mechanisms between children and adults – differences that are not necessarily maturational – seems to be the most accepted to explain why children can ultimately attain full L2 proficiency, while this is less likely for adults. Nevertheless, what exactly makes children's learning capacities more effective than those of adults has not yet been clearly identified. One possibility is that this advantage comes from the fact that children learn only implicitly, through years and years of constant and abundant input, while adults learn mainly explicitly, a type of learning which is ineffective in some areas (DeKeyser & Larson-Hall, 2005, p. 103). Implicit learning, in fact, turns out to be successful in the long term, especially in the areas of pronunciation and grammar, despite a slower start, as opposed to explicit learning, which can show an initial advantage, but generally falls short in the long run (DeKeyser, 2000; Ullman, 2001; von Elek & Oskarsson, 1973).

[2] Since the denomination *Critical Period* could be interpreted as too clear-cut and rigid, some researchers have suggested the use of other terms, such as *optimal* or *sensitive* (Oyama, 1978; Schachter, 1996; Scovel, 1988). Despite these suggestions, this hypothesis has remained known in the scholarly literature as Critical Period. In line with this trend, I refer to it also with the term *critical*, without necessarily meaning with this term a definite limit for language acquisition.

Other aspects, such as length of exposure (Flege & Liu, 2001; Flege *et al.,* 1995; Flege *et al.,* 1999; Purcell & Suter, 1980; Shim, 1993; Suter, 1976; Thompson, 1991), amount of input and practice (DeKeyser, 2000; Flege & Liu, 2001), and socio-psychological variables, in particular motivation, attitude towards the L2 community and self-consciousness (Gardner, 1985; Krashen, 1981; Skehan, 1989, 1998; Spolsky, 1989, 2000) have also been considered as possible explanations of successful L2 learning. Studies that investigated these variables, however, have shown that, although all these elements might affect learning, and contribute or undermine also adult learning, they do not play the same role as the age of acquisition does (Johnson & Newport, 1989; Oyama, 1978). In other words, although scholars have not yet found a satisfactory explanation for the CPH, they largely accept the "earlier is better" hypothesis, namely the robust effects of early age of acquisition on successful learning (DeKeyser & Larson-Hall, 2005, p. 104).

1.5ers, as sequential bilinguals, acquire their L2 during the Critical Period, although at different ages. In addition, they learn the L2 in an L2 context, through interactions in the new environment, and mainly at school. This "full immersion" contributes to their L2 acquisition, although this is possibly also one of the causes of their L1 attrition (Montrul, 2008, p. 98), discussed in Section 2.3.3 below.

2.3.2.1. Acquisition of emotion vocabulary

As explained in the previous section, 1.5ers (sequential bilinguals) develop basic command of their L1 similarly to monolingual children, at least until the age of migration, when they are removed in large part from the L1 environment and immersed into the L2 community, although they may continue to speak the L1 at home. Therefore, the acquisition of emotion vocabulary, one of the focus of this research (see discussion in Chapter 3), in L1 follows the same phases as for monolingual children, at least until the age of onset of bilingualism.

Research in developmental psychology has highlighted that, generally, children learn to differentiate basic facial expressions between positive and negative (Russell & Ridgeway, 1983), and to label them with basic emotion words at around the age of two (Bretherton & Beeghly, 1982; Denham, 1998; Izard & Harris, 1995; Widen, 2013; Widen & Russell, 2008), when they first use emotion words referring to their own states. At

around the age of 3-3.5, they start using emotion labels referring to others, also with reference to imaginary characters or story characters (Reilly, McIntire, & Bellugi, 1990). Around 4 or 5 years of age, children learn to categorise more specific emotions, and by 7 they can distinguish most facial expressions and the corresponding emotion words similarly to adults (Widen, 2013; Widen & Russell, 2008).

Studies on the acquisition of emotion vocabulary by children and adolescents (Baron-Cohen, Golan, Wheelwright, & Granader, 2010; Ridgeway, Waters, & Kuczaj, 1985) have shown that the size of children's emotion vocabulary increases enormously during childhood and develops gradually in relation to the level of difficulty of words – with basic emotion terms learned earlier than more complex ones. In particular, Baron-Cohen and colleagues (2010, p. 2) have observed that between the age of 4 and 12, the size of emotion vocabulary doubles every two years, and it reaches a plateau around adolescence. In fact, from between the ages of 13 and 16, the maximum age examined by these scholars, almost no increase in size was reported.

Developmental psychologists have repeatedly pointed out that parents and caregivers play an important role in children's development and use of emotion terms (Cervantes & Callanan, 1998; Dunn, Bretherton, & Munn, 1987; Dunn, Brown, Slomkowski, Tesla, & Youngblade, 1991; Dunsmore & Halberstadt, 1997; Gottman, Katz, & Hooven, 1996; Hakim-Larson, Parker, Lee, Goodwin, & Voelker, 2006; Lindquist, MacCormack, & Shablack, 2015; Saarni, 1999). Children whose parents use abundant emotional vocabulary and describe and explain emotions extensively to their children have been shown to later develop better emotional understanding, better abilities in identification and description of emotions, and better use of emotion terms (Cervantes & Callanan, 1998; Dunn *et al.*, 1987; Dunn *et al.*, 1991; Saarni, 1999; Yehuda, 2005). Conversely, parents who display minimal emotional description inhibit the development of children's conceptual knowledge of different emotions (Lindquist *et al.*, 2015, p. 8). At the same time, parents' views on emotions also affect children's abilities to interpret and describe emotions. Environments where parents value discussions about emotional states and encourage children to talk about their own emotions help children to develop their conceptualisations about emotions (Dunsmore & Halberstadt, 1997; Gottman *et al.*, 1996; Hakim-Larson *et al.,* 2006). Concurrently, parents' feedback on children's use of emotion terms during acquisition allows children to "refine" their accuracy in their use of such labels (Lindquist *et al.*, 2015, p. 9). On the other hand, parents who dismiss

discussion about emotions reduce children's opportunities to develop their skills in interpreting and describing emotions (Dunsmore, Her, Halberstadt, & Perez-Rivera, 2009; Lindquist *et al.*, 2015). Furthermore, as highlighted by Halberstadt and Lozada (2011), parents play a role in guiding children to interpret and describe emotions according to the emotion categories that are appropriate for the culture they belong to.

Studies on the development of the language of emotion (see, e.g., Baron-Cohen *et al.*, 2010; Ridgeway *et al.,* 1985; Russell & Ridgeway, 1983; Widen, 2013; Widen & Russell, 2008) are limited. Firstly, they have focussed only on the acquisition of English emotion terms. Secondly, they have investigated mainly the understanding of emotion words, and neglected the use of these words, since only self-reports from children, adolescents, their parents and teachers were collected (Ridgeway *et al.,* 1985; Russell & Ridgeway, 1983). Thirdly, they have mostly examined the comprehension of emotion words (Harris, de Rosnay, & Pons, 2005; Russell & Widen, 2002; Widen & Russell, 2008), with minimal investigation of emotion recognition and its development with age (Golan, Baron-Cohen, & Hill, 2006; Golan, O., Baron-Cohen, & Golan, Y., 2008). Despite these drawbacks, previous studies have shed light on the phases of acquisition of emotion vocabulary in childhood and the factors supporting or limiting this development. Although no specific studies have been conducted, to my knowledge, on the acquisition of emotion vocabulary by 1.5ers, since their L1 acquisition until the age of onset of bilingualism is similar to monolingual children, they most likely follow the phases described above before they migrate. Therefore, it is reasonable to expect that 1.5ers acquire basic emotion vocabulary in L1 before migration, although up to different levels, depending on the age of onset of bilingualism. At the same time, the age of onset of bilingualism and L2 acquisition are likely to affect also 1.5ers' use and attrition of the L1, and among others, of emotion vocabulary.

2.3.3. L1 attrition

The age of onset of bilingualism does not only affect L2 acquisition, but also L1 development and a shift in language dominance (Montrul, 2008, p. 153). When the language of the environment changes from L1 to L2, children generally stop receiving as much input in L1 (Schmid, 2011, p. 16) – in the case of migration, for example. This also applies to 1.5ers, when the L1 becomes a language spoken only at home and in a few

other limited contexts. As a consequence, L1 development may be affected, depending on the age of the child in question. The age of onset of bilingualism, in fact, is related also to L1 attrition, a phenomenon influencing both early bilinguals, simultaneous and sequential, and late bilinguals (Montrul, 2008). L1 attrition is defined as the progressive erosion in an individual's L1 competence (Schmid, 2008), particularly noticeable, although not limited to, the speech of bilinguals who have lived in an L2-dominant environment for an extended period (Köpke & Schmid, 2004; Schmid, 2013; Schmid & Dusseldorp, 2010; Schmid & Köpke, 2007). L1 attrition is a form of language loss[3] which also affects bilingual adults, but which affects bilingual children more (Köpke & Schmid, 2004). In contrast to adults, who have attained full mastery of their L1 before being exposed to an L2, bilingual children are immersed in an L2 environment when their L1 development is not yet complete. Köpke and Schmid (2004) recognise age as the most crucial element predicting L1 attrition consequent to immersion into an L2 environment – "the younger the child is when the language of her environment changes, the faster and deeper she will attrite" (p. 10). Studies on L1 attrition identify a clear-cut age effect between 8 and 13 years (Köpke & Schmid, 2004; Schmid & Dusseldorp, 2010). If attrition starts before this age range, there is a high risk that attrition will be very severe, while after this age speakers will probably have more limited attrition (Schmid & Dusseldorp, 2010). These considerations are particularly important for 1.5ers, whose age of onset of bilingualism spans 6 to 12. Nevertheless, other aspects come into play, supporting or detracting from L1 maintenance, including the child's and the family's attitude towards the language spoken at home (Hakuta & D'Andrea, 1992; Schmid, 2012), supplementary school in the home language (Kataoka, Koshiyama, & Shibata, 2008), social contacts in L1 (Higby & Obler, 2015) and emotional factors (Ben-Rafael & Schmid, 2007).

While recognising the role played by age in L1 attrition, proponents of the Savings Paradigm (see, e.g., de Bot & Stoessel, 2000; Hansen, 2001; Hansen, Umeda, & McKinney, 2002) argue that there remain some traces of a language learnt in childhood, especially on the lexical level, even in cases where this language seems completely forgotten. Because of the imprints left in the brain, this language can be retrieved when an individual is re-exposed to it, which gives an advantage if one decides to re-learn it (Isurin, 2019, p. 165). The Savings Paradigm, originally from cognitive psychology, was

[3] L1 attrition refers to individual language loss. Language loss at a societal level is commonly referred to as *language shift* (Ng & Wigglesworth, 2007).

initially formulated with regards to LXs learnt in childhood and later abandoned because the child was immersed into another language environment (de Bot & Stoessel, 2000; de Bot, Martens, & Stoessel, 2004). Subsequently, other scholars applied it also to cases of (apparently) complete L1 loss, for example with international adoptees, who often have no further access to the L1 after adoption at a very young age, receiving input solely in L2 (Higby & Obler, 2015; Isurin & Seidel, 2015). Although 1.5ers usually emigrate with their families, their situation can sometimes be similar to international adoptees. In fact, while some 1.5ers maintain the use of the L1 at home, therefore they continue receiving input in their L1, other families choose to switch to the L2 straight after migration, in order to speed up the child's adaptation into the new environment (Danico, 2004). In the latter case, when L1 input is interrupted and L1 attrition is more likely, factors other than the age of onset of attrition have been thought to influence a possible reactivation in future, namely the level of L1 proficiency attained before the onset of attrition and the length of non-exposure to L1 (de Bot *et al.,* 2004, Hansen *et al.,* 2002; van der Hoeven & de Bot, 2012).

2.4. Heritage languages and speakers

Hitherto I have presented some crucial studies on early sequential bilingualism, relevant for the discussion of 1.5ers. Heritage language studies have also examined 1.5ers but classified them with other heritage speakers. The term *heritage speaker* refers to a person who acquires a language in childhood, the so-called *heritage language*,[4] as L1, spoken at home, living in an environment where this is not the dominant language (Rothman, 2009, p. 156). These speakers may be simultaneous or sequential bilinguals (Montrul, 2008), they usually belong to the 1.5, second, or, possibly, even third generation. However, heritage speakers are usually more proficient in their L2, the language of the community where they live, than in the minority – heritage – language, and may have only passive skills in the heritage language (Polinsky, 2006a, p. 2).

In heritage language research, 1.5ers have often been analysed with other young heritage speakers (Anstatt, 2017; Isurin, 2017; Isurin & Ivanova-Sullivan, 2008;

[4] Heritage languages (HLs) – a term commonly employed in the United States – are often referred to as *community languages* or *ethnic minority languages* in Europe and Australia (Montrul, 2012).

Prazhisky & Remennick, 2018; Riehl, 2017), but only few scholars have focussed solely on this generation (Remennick, 2016, 2017; Remennick & Prazhisky, 2018).

By assimilating 1.5ers to other speakers belonging to the second or third generation, heritage language studies fail to recognise crucial differences in terms of competence in the heritage language, as well as language acquisition, which generally differs among speakers from the various generations (Valdés, 2005; Montrul, 2008), and between simultaneous and sequential bilinguals. The definition of heritage speaker itself better suits the second and third generations, than the generation 1.5. 1.5ers, in fact, start acquiring their L1 in an environment where this is the dominant language, and only after migration they continue the acquisition of this language in an L2-dominant environment. Despite these pitfalls, heritage language studies contribute to the understanding of 1.5ers' language competence and use. In addition, research on heritage speakers and on early bilinguals looks at two different sides of the same phenomenon (Silva-Corvalán, 2015). While heritage speakers are usually investigated for their heritage language use in adulthood, early bilinguals are observed at different stages of their language development, in both languages, in their childhood (Kupisch & Rothman, 2018, p. 572). Therefore, these areas of research should be considered as complementary – and various scholars (Benmamoun *et al.,* 2013a, 2013b; Kupisch & Rothman, 2018; Montrul, 2008, 2012, 2016) have suggested that these areas would benefit from joining forces – as together they provide a more rounded picture of these speakers and their language acquisition, proficiency and maintenance.

2.4.1. Heritage speakers' language competence and use

Research into heritage languages has highlighted a crucial distinction between the languages that heritage speakers acquire and use. In fact, the labels *L1* and *L2*, normally considered in bilingualism and language acquisition studies in terms of chronological order of acquisition, may be less pertinent than the distinction between *primary* and *secondary language* (Benmamoun *et al.,* 2013b), two terms which refer to the predominance of use, i.e. which language one uses more often. When an individual acquires an L1 in childhood and continues to use it as a dominant language in adulthood, the order of acquisition and predominance of use coincide, and the L1 is the primary language. This could be the case both for monolingual speakers, as well as multilinguals

living in an L1 environment, or migrating to an L2 environment, yet continuing to interact mainly in L1, for work, family or social reasons. Conversely, a person who learned an L1 during childhood, but who, in adulthood, uses an L2 more frequently that the L1, switches dominance from L1 to L2. In other words, the L2 becomes the primary language and the L1 reverts to secondary language, used to a lesser extent. This could be the case of immigrants, adults and children, therefore also of 1.5ers, who, after migration to an L2 environment, are immersed in it, have contacts mostly with speakers of the L2, and use the L1 only on a limited number of occasions (p. 134).

Heritage speakers have often been named "incomplete acquirers" or "incomplete learners", "semi-speakers" and "forgetters" (Polinsky, 1999, 2000; Polinsky & Kagan, 2007). The term "forgetters", as used for the first time by Polinsky (1999), refers to speakers who forgot their L1, usually because of the influence of another dominant language, after migration – in bilingualism studies "forgetters" are commonly referred to as "attriters". The label "incomplete acquirers" (or "incomplete learners") describes speakers belonging to migrant communities, who acquire a language system which is significantly reduced. The term "semi-speakers" encompasses both definitions, as it refers generally to speakers who speak a language (which is not the dominant language of the country where they live) only partially (Aalberse, Backus & Muysken, 2019).

Similarly, heritage speakers' competence in the heritage language has been described as "incomplete acquisition" (Montrul, 2002, 2008; Polinsky, 2000, 2006a; 2006b) or "near-native attainment" (Polinsky & Kagan, 2007), as it considers a grammatical system that has not fully developed in childhood and has stabilized at a simplified level (Montrul, 2002, 2004, Polinsky, 2006b, 2008a). Various scholars (Bayram, Kupisch, Cabo & Rothman, 2019; Kupisch & Rothman, 2018; Putnam, 2019; Putnam & Sanchez, 2013) have highlighted that these terms have negative connotations, as they compare heritage speakers' acquisition and skills to monolinguals, considered as baseline, and establish their definition on lesser proficiency (Aalberse et al., 2019). Despite the undermeaning carried by these labels, heritage language studies have contributed to the understanding of heritage speakers' language acquisition and development of a language system that differs from that of monolingual speakers (see, e.g., Brinton, Kagan & Bauckus, 2008; Krashen, Tse & McQuillan, 1998; Lynch, 2003; Polinsky & Kagan, 2007; Smyslova, 2012; Valdés, 2014). In particular, heritage speakers' grammatical systems have been analysed in the areas of morphology

(Anderson, 1999, 2001; de Groot, 2005; Laleko, 2010; Montrul, 2002, 2009; Montrul & Bowles, 2009; Montrul, Foote & Perpiñan, 2008; Polinsky, 2006a, 2008a; Rothman, 2007), syntax (Keating, Jegerski & Van Patten, 2011; Kim, Montrul & Yoon, 2009; Lee-Ellis, 2011; Polinsky, 2011), semantics and pragmatics (Dubinina, 2012; Dubinina & Malamud, 2017; Montrul & Ionin, 2010, 2012; Serratrice, Sorace, Filiaci & Baldo, 2009; Sorace, 2004, 2005; Sorace & Serratrice, 2009), phonetics and phonology (Au, Knightly, Jun & Oh, 2002; Godson, 2004; Khattab, 2002; Knightly, Jun, Oh & Au, 2003; Major, 1992; Oh, Jun, Knightly & Au, 2003) and narrative development (Anstatt, 2008; Mikhaylova & Ravitch, 2018; Polinsky, 2008b). From these studies, it emerged that all aspects of heritage speakers' grammars are affected by incomplete acquisition and attrition, especially morphosyntax, with the highest error rates being produced in verbal and nominal inflectional morphology (Montrul, 2008, p. 167), at the levels of production, comprehension and judgment (p. 182).

Montrul (2008) explains that it is hard to distinguish between incomplete L1 acquisition and L1 attrition,[5] as these two features can occur simultaneously. In fact, as observed with regards to L1 attrition (see Section 2.3.3), incomplete acquisition is mainly due to the early age of onset of bilingualism and limited exposure to L1 input (p. 165). Hence, simultaneous bilinguals are generally more vulnerable to incomplete acquisition, because they receive reduced input in the heritage language while they have not yet developed substantial skills in this language. Conversely, sequential bilinguals benefit from longer exposure and use of this language and are therefore more likely to reach more solid competence before being exposed to the L2 (Flege, Yeni-Komshian & Liu, 1999; Silva-Corvalán, 2003; Yeni-Komshian, Flege & Liu, 2000).

Montrul (2012, p. 164) explains that the main reason why many heritage speakers do not reach full proficiency in their L1 is most likely due to the fact that they receive hardly any schooling in this language. This is the case of 1.5ers who migrate to a new country before starting primary schools, or when they had just begun it. Their oral skills, in fact, are far more developed than their writing skills, they are not familiar with the academic standards of their L1, having contact only with family, everyday register, and in a limited environment (Kupisch & Rothman, 2018). By contrast, the situation is very

[5] A possible difference between L1 attrition and incomplete L1 acquisition proposed by this research area is that the former only undermines interpretable (semantic) features, such as tense, aspect and mood in verbs (Sorace, 2000), while the latter involves both interpretable and uninterpretable (formal) features, such as gender, case, agreement on verbs (Montrul, 2008).

different for those 1.5ers who completed, or almost completed, primary school in their country of origin. In fact, formal education, received in the country of origin before emigration, but also in the new country in bilingual schools or similar, can give a determinant boost to language development, as various studies demonstrated (Bianchi, 2013; Kupisch, 2012, 2014; Kupisch, Akpinar, & Stöhr, 2013; Kupisch *et al*., 2014; Lein, Kupisch, & van de Weijer, 2016). These factors influence 1.5ers' language competence, which can show pronounced inter-individual differences (Frodesen, 2002; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, 2014), discussed in the next section.

2.4.1.1. 1.5ers' language proficiency

In terms of language proficiency, as explained above in Section 2.3.1, 1.5ers are usually bilinguals, and have a native or almost-native proficiency in their L2, comparable to second generations, and much higher than their first-generation parents (Frodesen, 2002; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, 2014). On the other hand, their L1 proficiency may vary considerably; they may be fluent in their L1 (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, 2014), or this language may be attrited (Doolan, 2011; Remennick, 2016, 2017). However, individual differences are very marked for this generation, as they are not a homogeneous group (Frodesen, 2002). Some 1.5ers are highly competent in both L1 and L2, others are dominant in either L1 or L2, others are not fully fluent in either language (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, p. 131). Family attitudes towards the home language and its maintenance, and towards the L2, play a crucial role in 1.5ers' language skills (Danico, 2004). After migration, in fact, parents may choose to switch to the L2 also at home, to help their children integrate faster into their new society, or they might be concerned about their children losing their L1 and therefore they might insist on its maintenance (ibid.). Most importantly, 1.5ers' language skills in L1 and L2 largely depend on their schooling. In fact, 1.5ers leave their home country from between 6 and 12 years of age, which is a significant age difference at this stage in terms of language development. As mentioned in the previous section, some might start school in their country of immigration, being therefore educated only in the L2, while others might have completed primary school in their home country in L1 before migration. Others might do a few years of primary school in their home country in L1 and complete their studies in their country of immigration in L2 (Frodesen, 2002). Overall, as 1.5ers receive most of their education in L2, they are

generally more fluent in this language, especially in terms of academic skills (Danico, 2004).

2.5. Biculturalism and identity

Up to this point the discussion has concentrated on linguistic features; however, another layer of complexity is also involved, insofar as bilingualism is closely associated with biculturalism, defined in the Encyclopedia of Cross-Cultural Psychology as “the internalization of two cultures” (Nguyen, 2013, p. 132) and the ability to switch between two sets of values (Grosjean, 2015; Phinney & Rotheram, 1987). Jones (2004, p. 43) defines this experience as a “third culture”, transforming the bicultural individual into the “product of two distinct cultures”. However, being bilingual does not necessarily mean being also bicultural; an individual might speak a language without necessarily associating with the culture behind it (Ramírez-Esparza & García-Sierra, 2014). Conversely, some individuals can be bicultural and feel an affiliation with two sets of values, despite being monolingual (Grosjean, 2015). In addition, even biculturals who have a connection with two cultures do not necessarily feel an equal affiliation to both and do not necessarily consider their biculturalism positively (Nguyen, 2013, p. 132). When dealing with their cultural identity, individuals can identify with only one culture, with both, or with neither of them (Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002). People who see their two cultures as compatible and integrated are considered to have high Bicultural Identity Integration (BII), while those who perceive their two cultures as oppositional are regarded as having low BII (Benet-Martínez *et al.,* 2002; Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Haritatos & Benet-Martínez, 2002). Length of residence in a country of immigration is not necessarily correlated to BII (Benet-Martínez *et al.,* 2002). Generally, new immigrants have a greater tendency to see their two cultures as conflicting (Tsai, Ying, & Lee, 2000), although even people who have lived in another country for decades or second generations can score low in BII (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). Therefore, when it comes to bicultural identity, we can assume that 1.5ers might be positioned along a continuum, from perceiving their two cultures as completely oppositional to entirely integrated, but also that individual differences play the most decisive role, as shown in other studies (Benet-Martínez *et al.,* 2002).

Bicultural Identity Integration also mediates Cultural Frame Switching (Benet-Martínez *et al.,* 2002), defined as the ability to shift between different cultural mindsets and values in response to different culture-specific cues, (Hong, Chiu, & Kung, 1997; Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martínez, 2000), language being considered as one of these shift-triggering cues (Luna, Ringberg, & Peracchio, 2008; Ramirez-Esparza, Gosling, Benet-Martínez, Potter, & Pennebaker, 2006, see also Chapter 3.3.3).

2.5.1. 1.5ers' bicultural identity

1.5ers are commonly regarded as bilingual and bicultural (Délano-Alonso, 2018; Danico, 2004; Frodesen, 2002; Skarin, 2005). They are known to be able to navigate both cultures, and to adapt to them equally, depending on the situations, environments and social circumstances, in other words, to "switch" their identity according to whom they interact with (Danico, 2004). Because of their early migration, they are expected to assimilate easily with the values and norms of the new society. At the same time, they are also expected by their parents and family members to embrace and conform to the original culture, all these elements contributing to their sense of "in-betweenness" (Wang & Collins, 2016, p. 2780). 1.5ers might easily harmonise the two cultures and fluctuate between them (Danico, 2004; Marshall & Lee, 2017), showing the ability to resolve conflicting values (Skarin, 2005). Nevertheless, their sense of belonging might stand between two worlds (Oudenhoven, 2006; Wang & Collins, 2016) and they might feel that they do not entirely belong to either of the two (Rumbaut & Ima, 1988; Wang & Collins, 2016). Their identity has also been defined as "hybrid" (Kanno, 2003; Wang & Collins, 2016), a term which can be interpreted in a positive or negative way. 1.5ers' hybrid identities, in fact, can lead these speakers to a higher sense of flexibility and adaptation (Chan, 2010), but these speakers can also go through phases of crisis, continuous renegotiation and sense of incompleteness (Ang, 2001; Wang & Collins, 2016).

In a series of longitudinal studies, Rumbaut (1994, 1997, 2004) showed that, for the 1.5 generation, feelings about their identity were different from those of other generations – first, second and what Oropesa and Landale (1997) called "decimal generations" (p. 432).[6] Most importantly, 1.5ers' feelings about their identity and ethnic

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[6] Decimal generations comprise not only the generations 1.5, 1.75 and 1.25, but also the *generation 2.5,* people with one parent born outside and one parent born in the country of immigration.

self-identification, namely whether they identified according to their national origin or to their new society,[7] were fluctuating and oscillated over time. Although identity is a complex issue, subject to change for any migrant (Burke, 2006; Kanno, 2003; Norton, 2006; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004), 1.5ers may be more affected by these conflicts than other generations, as they adjust to a new country, a new language and a new set of values during the unstable years of late childhood and adolescence (Kasinitz, 2009; Oudenhoven, 2006; Phinney, 1990). While entering the "dangerous land of adulthood" (Kasinitz, 2009, p. 163), 1.5ers find themselves in a limbo of values, trying to adapt to the new culture and mediate with their parents' pressure and culture of origin (Wang & Collins, 2016). As Danico (2004, p. 5) has observed, the age at migration is not the only element characterising 1.5ers; for this generation, what influences identity construction more than anything else is their individual experiences and environment, namely family, communities and socialisation in general.

2.5.2. Language and identity

Identity construction and negotiation, a dynamic, versatile process, which takes place with any language display is influenced by language (see, e.g., Cummins, 2000; Niño-Murcia & Rothman, 2008; Norton, 2006, 2013a, 2013b; Omoniyi, 2006; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Weedon, 1997). The relationship between language and identity can be regarded as a reciprocal exchange – "language constructs and is constructed by identities" (Liang, 2006, p. 145, see also Ochs, 1993). Highlighting how the relationship between language and identity follows an individual trajectory, Fielding (2015, p. 38) observes that every person differs in the type of connection, level of awareness and value attributed to their language(s). These statements are especially true for bilingual identities, considered as multiple, polymorphous and changeable (Cummins, 1996; Norton & Toohey, 2002), identities that are as changeable as bilinguals' relationship with their languages over time (Fought, 2006, p. 21). *Agency* plays a crucial role in the development of bilingual and bicultural identities, defined by Kanno (2003) as the process "where bilingual individuals position themselves between two languages and two (or more) cultures, and how they incorporate these languages and cultures into their sense of who they are" (p. 3). The importance of agency in identity positioning is underscored

[7] This opposition, in Rumbaut's (1994, 1997, 2004) studies, was between identification with national origin versus America, as this was the context of his research.

especially in the literature on identity and SLA (see, e.g., Duff, 2012; Menard-Warwick, 2007; Norton, 2013a). This concept emphasises individual choice in language use, where this choice represents the individual's decision as to who one wants to identify with (Zuengler, 1989, p. 82). Many factors – other than individual choice – influence identity positioning, in particular language socialisation (Fought, 2006). During language socialisation new members of a group are "initiated" to language and cultural practices by other older members (Duff, 2002, 2003). Language socialisation allows individuals to learn the values and norms of their community and to negotiate their group membership within it (Duff, 2007). In a sense, Fielding (2015, p. 40) argues that identity construction is a process taking place together with language and culture learning. Other elements complicate the relationship between language and identity, particularly language status and context (Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001; Shin, 2012). Contexts where minority languages do not have a prestigious status and multilingualism is not valued can have a negative impact on minority ethnic identities (J. Edwards, 2009; Fielding, 2015). This situation may affect also proficiency in this language as the two elements are interconnected (J.S. Lee, 2002; Phinney *et al.,* 2001; Shin, 2012). In fact, if speaking a minority language is discouraged in a particular environment, members of a minority group may "hide" their language and opt solely for the dominant one, ultimately to hide their affiliation with the minority group. As a result of reduced use of the minority language, the level of proficiency may deteriorate (Kim & Chao, 2003; Rajadurai, 2010; Shin, 2012), especially for 1.5, second and further generations, whose proficiency is usually lower than that of recent immigrants.

Various scholars have explored identity development for migrants (Meaders, 1997) and minority communities (Phinney, 1989; Tse, 1998) and their relationship with their languages during this process. They acknowledge that identity formation can undergo different stages; from unawareness and lack of exploration of ethnic identity issues to a harmonious resolution of identity conflicts and acceptance of all the sides of one's identity (Meaders, 1997; Phinney, 1989; Tse, 1998). In between there are contradictory and doubtful phases, where an individual can experience a rejection of the minority culture and develop a preference for the dominant one, and later rediscover a sense of affiliation with their ethnic origins – but not everyone goes through all these stages (Tse, 1998).

The social and cultural psychologist John Berry (1997, 2003, 2005; Berry & Sam, 1997) proposed a four-fold model to explain *acculturation strategies* of migrants, in relation to their identity and the level to which they choose to have contact with the new society and their heritage culture (see Figure 1.1 below).

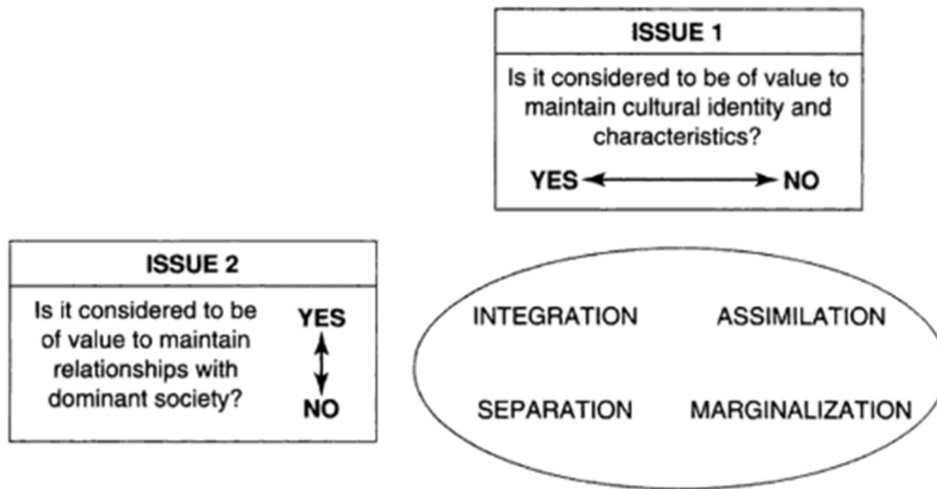

Figure 1.1: Berry's acculturation strategies, adapted from Berry and Sam (1997, p. 296).

When individuals become immersed in the new society, abandoning any connections with the heritage culture, they put in practice the *assimilation* strategy (Berry, 2005, p. 705). Conversely, migrants who place value on maintaining their original culture and avoid contact with the dominant one, use the *separation* alternative (Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987, p. 496). When an individual shows the desire both to maintain the heritage culture and to have contacts with the larger society, they strive for *integration* (Berry, 2005, p. 705). Finally, the case of *marginalisation* involves individuals who show little interest both towards the original culture and the host society (ibid.). These different strategies are associated and assessed through various factors, in particular the knowledge and use of the ethnic language, and the dominant language of the society, friendship networks from the same ethnic group or from the larger group, identification with the ethnic minority or with the larger society (Berry, 2005, p. 707).

The inter-relationship between language and identity is multifaceted. On the one hand, identity is thought to have an impact on bicultural bilinguals' language use. Namely, language has been considered as related to Bicultural Identity Integration.

Bicultural bilinguals who have high BII are considered more likely to maintain both their languages, as opposed to those with low BII (Ramírez-Esparza & García-Sierra, 2014). On the other hand, studies on heritage speakers – among which 1.5ers are usually classified – and cultural identities have shown that proficiency in a heritage language correlates positively with bicultural identification (J. S. Lee, 2002). Among the benefits for heritage speakers caused by high levels of heritage language proficiency, scholars have mentioned notably a strong sense of cultural and linguistic identity, and belonging (Cho, 2000; Feuerverger, 1991; Imbens-Bailey, 1996; Laroche, Kim, Hui, & Tomiuk, 1998; J. S. Lee, 2002; Lee & Shin, 2008; Oketani, 1997; Pigott & Kalbach, 2005). Additionally, positive attitudes towards heritage languages, expressed not only by heritage speakers themselves, but also by their parents, peers and school teachers, have not only a propitious impact on heritage language maintenance, but also on speakers' cultural identity formation (B. Y. Lee, 2013).

2.5.3. 1.5ers' language choice and identity

As explained in the previous section, the role of language in identity construction is crucial (Norton, 2006, 2013a, 2013b; Omoniyi, 2006; Weedon, 1997). Although a number of scholars have examined the relationship between heritage language and identity, they have most commonly considered the 1.5 generation together with other generations (Benet-Martínez *et al.,* 2002; Repke & Benet-Martínez, 2017). Only a few studies have focussed specifically on 1.5ers and how they deal with these issues (Rumbaut, 1994, 1997, 2004).

In his analyses on the generation 1.5, Rumbaut (1994, 1997, 2004) notes that that these speakers' language use and proficiency in L1 was tightly interwoven with ethnic self-identity. At the same time, fluency in the L2 was also considered as a crucial indicator of integration in the new country. In particular, the choice of this generation to identify as "Americans", or, inversely, by national origin, was related to language preference, which, in turn, was linked to their circle of friends and the language used with them (Rumbaut, 1994, pp. 779-780). Rumbaut showed that teens who mixed with friends from different backgrounds were more likely to consider their L2, English, as their preferred language, and they usually identified as "Americans". Conversely, those who preferred

to associate with other youngsters coming from the same national community favoured also their family language and identified according to their ethnic belonging (p. 780).

Despite the dearth of studies examining the relationship between language and identity for 1.5ers, a number of scholars have observed that, as late childhood and adolescence are often periods of crisis for identity negotiation, the relationship with languages (usually the minority) can also be conflicting during these phases (Oudenhoven, 2006; Tse, 1998, 2000). During these years children and adolescents can reject their minority language and culture in favour of the dominant one because of peer pressure and the desire to assimilate with them (Shin, 2012). As 1.5ers migrate during these years, or they enter this stage of life when they are still adjusting to the new country, they might experience even more confusing identity perceptions (Yuzefova, 2012).

2.6. The Russian diaspora in Australia

As this study focuses on Russian-Australian 1.5ers living in Melbourne, an overview of the Russian community in Melbourne is necessary to contextualise their experiences and provide a better understanding of their background and socio-histories of migration. Therefore, there follows a brief excursus of the Russian presence in Australia, and in particular in Melbourne, and the status of this minority language.

According to the Australian 2016 Census (ABS, 2016a),[8] 85,657 Australian residents claimed to have Russian ancestry, 50,308 stated that they spoke Russian at home. The largest communities are located in New South Wales (31,663 and 18,763)[9] and Victoria (24,701 and 17,685), particularly in the capital cities, Sydney (26,529 and 17,497) and Melbourne (22,335 and 16,984).

[8] 2016 Census – Community Profiles: http://www.abs.gov.au/websitedbs/D3310114.nsf/Home/2016%20Census%20Community%20Profiles. In this section I refer to the data made public by the Community Profiles tool of the Australian Bureau of Statistics website, in particular the General Community Profile Series and the Time Series Profile. I consulted the data which relates to the whole of Australia (ABS, 2016a), Victoria (ABS, 2016e) and Greater Melbourne (ABS, 2016b). To compare the situation in Victoria and Melbourne vis-à-vis New South Wales and Sydney, the areas with the highest concentration of Russian speakers, I also consulted the series which relate to New South Wales (ABS, 2016d) and Greater Sydney (ABS, 2016c). To explore the data of the Census, I used also the interactive tool developed by SBS: http://www.sbs.com.au/news/census-explorer

[9] Here and further the first figure indicates the number of people who declared that they have Russian ancestry, while the second refers to the number of those who speak Russian at home.

Among those who stated that they spoke primarily Russian at home, the majority arrived in Australia in 1992, i.e. after the collapse of the Soviet Union. 36.7% of them were born in the Russian Federation (SBS Census Explorer, n.d.). However, if we consider also those who declared that they spoke Russian at home, and who were born in one of the former Soviet Republics (for example, Ukraine, Belarus, Latvia, Kazakhstan and others), their percentage comes to 67.3% (ibid), meaning that they are mostly first- or 1.5-generation migrants and that the Russian-Australian 1.5ers examined in this study are most likely to belong to this group. However, Census data cannot grasp the complexity of this population; Russian or Soviet-born people who did not declare that they spoke Russian at home are not included in this percentage.

2.6.1. The Russian community in Melbourne and its language maintenance

The Russian community is not one of the largest in Melbourne in terms of size; however, this population is quite active when it comes to ethnic representation, cultural and recreational events and language maintenance. It is very hard to establish the exact number of cultural associations and Russian schools – the two are often tied together – owing to their dispersal across the State, but also as a result of the positive effect of personal initiative, which have contributed to the emergence of more and more playgroups, family childcare situations, and after-school activities in Russian. I skimmed the Internet and various Facebook group gatherings of the Russian-speaking population living in Melbourne to obtain a more precise idea of the number of Russian schools and pre-schools in Victoria, as I wanted to understand what opportunities the Russian diaspora has for language and cultural maintenance. However, this was much harder than I expected, owing to out-of-date websites, unofficial information and ultimately lack of a central directory. As an approximate number, I counted sixteen registered schools and pre-schools in Victoria, including Saturday and Sunday classes run by Russian Orthodox churches and Jewish associations organising programs in Russian. However, this number may be higher, as it does not take into account unofficial groupings. These endeavours, aimed at spreading and maintaining the Russian language, suggest that family opinions about language maintenance are positive and that children have considerable opportunities to retain their heritage language.

The Melbourne community and its relationship with Russian has been investigated by Garner (1986, 1988a, 1988b, 1989a, 1989b), and Kouzmin (1973, 1988).[10] However, as these studies are now quite dated – they were published during Soviet times – they do not take into account the latest large wave of migration which followed the collapse of the Soviet Union. To my knowledge, the only recent studies focussing on the Melbourne Russian community are Ancypova's articles (2003a, 2003b, 2004, 2005, 2006), and doctoral theses by Gvozdenko (2007) and Vakser (2014).

Ancypova (2003a, 2003b, 2004, 2005, 2006) investigated the contact between Russian and Australian-English languages, focussing on the lexico-grammatical aspects of the Russian language used by the diaspora living in Australia. Gvozdenko (2007) investigated Russian-speaking adult migrants and their learning paths, styles and beliefs in learning English as an L2 after migrating to Australia. Vakser (2014), by contrast, examined the code-switching practices of three families living in Melbourne. She looked also at the views that these families had on language use, maintenance and change, and how these aspects influenced their sense of "Russianness". Although this latter research considered different generations of speakers, it is the most up-to-date study looking at the situation of the Russian language in the Australian diasporic context and at its speakers' perceptions.

Despite being outdated, the studies by Garner (1986, 1988a, 1988b, 1989a, 1989b) and Kouzmin (1973, 1988) explored not only language maintenance and use within the Melbourne Russian community, but they give also a valuable account of the bond that this population had with their native/heritage language. Kouzmin (1988) explained that the Melbourne and Sydney Russian communities she analysed experienced "feelings of language loyalty" (p. 63). Therefore, maintenance and promotion of Russian language and culture at home, with friends, through churches, cultural activities and clubs were considered imperative tasks to preserve their national identity.

Garner (1986, 1988a, 1989b) examined facets of language and cultural maintenance in Russian immigrant communities within the approach known as *ecology of language*. This framework, defined by Haugen (1972) as the "study of interactions between any given language and its environment" (p. 382), considers the ecology – i.e.

[10] Kouzmin (1973, 1988) studied both the Melbourne and the Sydney Russian communities, while Garner (1986, 1988a) investigated also the Swedish community in Melbourne, in order to compare language maintenance between the two populations.

the maintenance – of community languages from a dual perspective. On the one hand, any given language is considered from a psychological angle as existing in the mind of a speaker in relation with the other languages one speaks. On the other hand, from a sociological viewpoint, the environment of a language is the society where the language is used. The picture that Garner (1988a) painted of the ecology of the Russian language within the Melbourne community was positive overall; language maintenance was a central concern not only for first-generation migrants, but also among the following generations, who acknowledged the "symbolic value of Russian language and culture" (p. 47) and their desire not to lose this richness. Delving into the ecology of Russian, as reflected in the bonds created within the community by the language itself, Garner (1988a) examined language preference, dissecting it into various indicators – when writing, reading, counting, praying and swearing (pp. 45-46). Most importantly, Garner outlined the bonds that this community felt for their heritage language, explaining how Russian, for "its emotional and symbolic values" (p. 49), was regarded as "ideally suited to expressing deep thoughts and passionate emotions", as opposed to English, considered as "a far more emotionally neutral language" (p. 46). Garner analysed the Russian community and the relationship it had with the Russian language as a whole, but he did not consider in detail the differences there might be among various generations of speakers, or any other potential variables, primarily language proficiency. In other words, he did not separate the first generation of migrants, from 1.5, second and further generations; the different generations, in fact, might have a different attachment to the language, which might be related to their proficiency, presumably dissimilar among the various generations. Despite these limitations, these studies shed light on the emotional resonance that the Russian language held for this community and, in a sense, anticipated and paved the way to the field of bilingualism and emotions, which flourished only about fifteen years later (see, e.g., Pavlenko 2002a, 2002b, 2004a, 2005a; Dewaele 2004a, 2004b, 2006, 2010a, 2010b, 2013, 2015b) and which is discussed in detail in the following chapter.

2.7. Concluding remarks

In this chapter I overviewed the category of speakers investigated in this research, i.e. 1.5ers, a generation more commonly studied in sociology, and I argued for why this generation needs to be analysed separately from other generations of migrants. I presented

a few key concepts coming from bilingualism research, where 1.5ers, for their age and order of acquisition, are typically studied together with other early sequential bilinguals. Subsequently, I summarised some key points coming from research into heritage speakers, which investigates 1.5ers with other children of immigrants belonging to second and third generations. I indicated the contributions made by this research area in pointing at the peculiarities that heritage speakers' language systems present, showing also the intersections between bilingualism research and heritage language studies. I also presented a brief overview of studies on biculturalism and the relationship between language and identity, to illustrate other complex issues with which any bilinguals, and particularly 1.5ers, are confronted, and how they relate to their multiple identities and the conflicts that might arise. Finally, in order to contextualise the participants involved in this study – Russian-Australian 1.5ers living in Melbourne – I briefly sketched the Russian population in Australia, and particularly in Melbourne. I also summarised some previous research on the Russian community, highlighting the bonds they have maintained with their community language.

In Chapter 3, I explore the research on bilingualism and emotions, showing the multidisciplinarity of these topics and where the present study is situated with respect to them.

CHAPTER 3: Theoretical Premises II: What language tells us about emotions

3.1. Introduction

This study examined how a group of Russian-Australian 1.5ers, a particular category of early sequential bilinguals, perceived, interpreted and described emotions in their two languages, Russian and English. The previous chapter provided a picture of the generation 1.5, describing the peculiarities of this generation and the issues related to their bilingualism, in order to underscore their specific status and the importance of focussing on this group in research.

In this chapter I examine bilingualism in relation to emotions, highlighting what this research area can unveil about the relationship between language(s) *and* emotions, and on language(s) *of* emotions (Pavlenko, 2005a).

This chapter is divided into two parts. I begin the first part with an overview of the debate on emotions, and the role played by language in interpreting them, focussing in particular on those scholars who addressed this issue in the field of linguistics and applied linguistics. I continue with a description of the differences in defining and interpreting emotions between Russian and English, presenting some key emotion terms of these two languages. Subsequently, I present studies which have shifted the attention onto the use of emotion vocabulary and emotional speech of Russian-English bilinguals, and their possible restructuring. I conclude the first part of this chapter with a discussion on some untranslatable emotion concepts, typical of Russian culture, of Anglo cultures, as well as others. I point out what these concepts show about the interpretation of emotions by members of different cultures, about how bilinguals interpret emotions and about the distinctiveness of the bilingual mental lexicon. In the first part of this chapter, great attention is devoted to two scholars, Anna Wierzbicka and Aneta Pavlenko, who have substantially contributed to the study of emotion conceptualisation and emotion vocabulary, focussing on the Russian and English languages, and on Russian-English bilinguals.

While the first part of this chapter discusses the relationship between language(s) and emotions, the second part presents studies which have addressed bilinguals' perceptions, preferences and choices of language(s) in various emotional spheres. I start

with a discussion of studies on emotional resonance of bilinguals' different languages. Subsequently, I examine research in the sphere of emotion verbalisation, focussing on the expression of anger and swearing, of positive feelings, and on parenting situations. Finally, I present studies on how bilinguals could feel different and behave differently when switching languages. In order to give a full picture of the scholarly literature where the present study fits, as well as of the relevance and resonance that this research area has for bilinguals' daily lives, I combine theory and practical examples.

3.2. Language(s) *and* emotions

The relationship between language and emotions has long been considered from a monolingual perspective (Pavlenko, 2005a), or been denied entirely – "Language and emotion are independent of each other", argued Ekman and Cordaro (2011, p. 369). Conversely, other scholars (Pavlenko, 2005a; Wierzbicka, 2003, 2004, 2013) have repeatedly insisted on the importance of cross-linguistic and cross-cultural analyses of emotion terms and of reconsidering this relationship from a bilingual perspective. In fact, bilingual individuals often recognise that their knowledge of two or more languages affects the way they interpret emotional experiences; "many bilingual and bicultural people say that the existence of different words for emotions has made a difference to the texture of their emotional life" (Wierzbicka, 2003, p. 579). At the same time, a bilingual perspective, namely considering the relationship between *languages* and emotions, has contributed to a better understanding of emotion concepts, its conceptualisation in the bilingual, and in the monolingual, mind, as well as their distinctiveness (Altarriba, 2003, 2006; Altarriba & Bauer, 2004; Altarriba *et al.,* 1999; Eilola & Havelka, 2010; Harris, Ayçiçeği & Gleason, 2003; Pavlenko, 2002c).

3.2.1. Emotions: universalists versus relativists

The debate around emotions, their nature and categorisation, and their roles in different cultures has stimulated the fields of psychology, anthropology, sociology, philosophy – and more recently also linguistics and applied linguistics – starting from the 1970s. The igniting spark, however, dated back to a century earlier, with Darwin's (1872) evolutionary study, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals,* on the universality and taxonomy of emotions (Lutz & White, 1986). Recently, the debate on

emotions has been revived by two opposing schools of thought, supporting the universalist and relativist positions. Universalists claim that "emotions are a product of our evolution, with some biological givens" (Ekman, 1992, p. 550). They therefore see emotions as innate and experienced similarly by all individuals (see, e.g., Ekman, 1980, 1992, 2003; Izard, 1977; Izard & Buechler, 1980; Plutchik, 1994). They identified a limited number of basic, primary emotions. According to Ekman (1980, 1989) there are six: anger, disgust, fear, joy, sadness, surprise. Izard and Buechler (1980, p. 168) identified ten: interest, joy, surprise, sadness, anger, disgust, contempt, fear, shame/shyness, and guilt. Although universalists acknowledge the role of culture in interpreting emotions and attitudes towards emotions (Ekman, 1992, p. 550), they consider language and concepts only as "representations of emotions" (Ekman, 2003, p. 13), and not as instruments to explain the origin of emotions.

Relativists, by contrast, do not believe in the universality of basic emotions, arguing that these concepts, and the terms used to identify them, are not language- and culture-independent (see, e.g., Bamberg, 1997; D. Edwards, 1997; Lutz, 1988; Wierzbicka, 1986, 1992). Their view is summarised by Resnik (2018a) as follows:

> Proponents do not assume that emotion concepts and bodily experiences precede corresponding lexical realisations but rather are convinced of the opposite: that language shapes and influences the acquisition of concepts and concepts in turn have an influence on the understanding and awareness of bodily states (p. 15).

Among the supporters of the relativist position is Anna Wierzbicka, who has devoted much of her research to the semantic analysis of emotion terms, examined from a cross-cultural and cross-linguistic perspective (Wierzbicka, 1986, 1992, 1994, 2004; Wierzbicka & Harkins, 2001). Wierzbicka argues that emotions and emotion terms are culture- and language-specific and various languages are an effective tool to refute the universalist hypothesis. The idea that some emotions are universal, Wierzbicka (1986, p. 584) adds, comes from an English monolingual bias, which uses English as the only baseline to examine emotion concepts. To promote her argument on the language- and culture-specificity of emotion terms, Wierzbicka (1986) gives as an example a few terms, considered by Izard and Buechler (1980) as universal emotions, which, however, do not have a translation equivalent in other languages. Among them, for example, she mentions the term *disgust*, which does not have an exact translation equivalent in Wierzbicka's native language, Polish. Similarly, another two "universals" listed by Izard and Buechler

are the concepts of *fear* and *shame*. However, in Gidjingali, an Indigenous language of Australia, these terms are translated by a single word. These instances, namely the absence of some terms indicating some presumed fundamental emotions in some languages, do not mean that speakers of that particular language cannot experience that feeling – for example that Poles do not experience disgust – rather they suggest that this specific emotion is not crucial for that particular culture (Wierzbicka, 1986, p. 584). Ultimately, Wierzbicka affirms (1986, 1992) that this difference in the emotion terms repertoire of every language indicates how different cultures conceptualise emotions differently.

One of Wierzbicka's main contributions has been to ignite a cross-cultural debate on emotions, emotion terms and emotional speech and on the role played by language and culture in shaping emotion concepts. She has persistently tackled the dominant assumption which used to employ "English lenses" only to interpret a supposedly universal prism of emotions. She has pointed to the dangers of using this limited and limiting framework, which ultimately leads this sphere of research to be "imprisoned in English" – as reflected by the provocative title of her 2013 book.

3.2.2. Emotion terms and emotional description in Russian and English

Wierzbicka's cross-cultural analyses on emotion terms are particularly relevant for the present study, as they focus, among other things, on the different ways Russian and English languages encode emotions into speech, as well as on the semantics of some key emotion words in these two languages, which has attracted also the interest of other scholars (Levontina & Zaliznkiak, 2001; Sachs & Coley, 2006; Stepanova & Coley, 2002). One of the objects of Wierzbicka's (2002) analysis is cultural scripts, in particular Russian. Cultural scripts are "representations of cultural norms that are widely held in a given society and that are reflected in language" (p. 401), for example, culture-specific terms, collocations, communication habits. She has focussed on the semantics of different emotion terms, such as (what in English is expressed by the nouns) *sadness*, *anger* (Wierzbicka, 1998a, 1998b), *pain* (Wierzbicka, 2012), as well as other abstract concepts, namely *fate*, *destiny*, or emotion organs, as *soul*, *heart*, *mind* (Wierzbicka, 1992), and their distinct meanings in Russian and English. To give a few examples of the concepts she illustrated and how they differ between English and Russian, let us consider the

English *sadness* – and the adjective *sad* – which does not fully correspond to either of its Russian translations, *grust´* (and the adjective *grustnyj*) and *pecal´* (and *pecalnyj*, adjective). While *grust´* can be described as "light" and "passing" sadness, *pecal´* is a "deep" and conscious sensation (Wierzbicka, 1998b, p. 11), which can be assimilated to the English *sorrow* or *grief*.

Similarly, the concept of *anger* – and the adjective *angry* – has also two, not exact, translations in Russian. In fact – Wierzbicka argues – it does not fully correspond to the Russian *gnev,* a feeling emerging by the idea that someone did something bad against general human ethical principles, that is absent in the concept of anger in English. Closer to the meaning of *anger* and *angry*, Russian language has the verb *serdit´sja-rasserdit´sja* and the adjective *serdityj,* which do not have a corresponding noun. According to Wierzbicka, (1998b, p. 22) the difference between the Russian concept of *serdit´sja* and the English *anger* lies in their different grammatical category. The fact that Russian uses a verb, reflexive, indicates that the speaker has an active role in experiencing this emotion and in "manufacturing" it (p. 24), and that the individual is not just "passively undergoing that feeling" (p. 23). Also, the verb, as well as the adjective and the adverb *serdito,* imply a visible change of behaviour in the experiencer (p. 25).

These considerations can be extended to many more emotion terms; Wierzbicka (1992, 1998a, 1998b), in fact, has insisted on the differences in the use of morphosyntactic categories that Russian and English languages employ to describe emotions. She explained that Russian employs mainly emotion verbs, while English generally uses adjectives and pseudo-participles[1] (*radovat`sja* as opposed to *to be happy*, *serdit`sja* as opposed to *to get angry*). This difference is crucial, according to Wierzbicka, as it reveals a different way to conceptualise emotions. Emotion adjectives, in fact, imply a static conceptualisation of emotions, while emotion verbs designate a process, an active stance in the construction of the emotion (Wierzbicka, 1992, p. 398). In other terms, Wierzbicka explains: "since emotions have a cognitive basis (that is, are caused by, or related to, certain thoughts), the different conceptualisation of emotions reflected in the two patterns illustrated may be related to a different conceptualisation of thoughts" (p. 399).

[1] Pseudo-participles, called also participial adjectives, are adjectives that have the same form as the participle of the verb they are derived from, therefore usually ending in -ing, -ed or -en, for example 'loving', 'shocked', etc.

A great deal of Wierzbicka's (1989, 1990, 1992, 2002) scholarly attention has been devoted to the opposition between *soul* and *mind* in Russian and Anglo cultures. She argues that the concept of *duša* (soul) is central to Russian culture, which considers it as the repository of emotions (Wierzbicka, 1989, p. 51). Conversely, Anglo cultures, and more broadly the Western world, have the "cult for reason" (Wierzbicka, 2002, p. 428), hence the centrality, for Anglo cultures, of the category of *mind*, seen as an objective "category of thought" (Wierzbicka, 1989, p. 41**)**. The importance of these different concepts – *duša* for Russian culture, and *mind* for Anglo cultures – is explained also by Wierzbicka through the opposition between the two fundamental parts of an individual, one material and one immaterial. In fact, while Anglo cultures oppose the *body*, the material part, to the *mind*, the immaterial one, for Russian culture this dualism is represented by *body* (*telo*) and *duša*. Wierzbicka (1989, 1992) suggests that the fact that the concept of *mind* is central for Anglo cultures, but not for Russian culture, is exemplified by the fact that the Russian language – as others, such as French and German – does not have an exact word indicating the mind. The closest translations that Russian language has are the words *um* (intellect), *razum* (reason) and *golova* (head). However, the first two concepts – *um* and *razum* – are "mental faculties", not "entities", as *mind* is (Wierzbicka, 1989, p. 48), while *golova* is the "organ of thinking", although material, and not immaterial as mind is (p. 50). Similar to mind, *duša* is also an immaterial entity, but the two concepts of *duša* and the English *soul* do not exactly coincide – "soul can always be translated into Russian as *duša* – whereas the reverse is not true" (Wierzbicka 1992, p. 39). Wierzbicka (1989, 1992) argues that *duša* is a specific Russian concept – it does not coincide with the terms *âme* in French and *Seele* in German either – which is only rarely rendered in English as *soul*, oftentimes it is translated as *heart*, or *mind*, or it is omitted (Wierzbicka, 1989, p. 41). Furthermore, the concept of *soul* in English indicates a transcendental, often religious entity, linked to moral values and the spiritual world. The word *duša*, instead, present in many phrases, collocations, sayings, implies also the religious and spiritual meaning indicated by the English *soul*, but it is not restricted to it. *Duša* is the organ where feelings are originated, similar to *heart* (*serdce*), although it is "an organ of deeper, purer, and more morally and spiritually coloured feelings than serdce" (Wierzbicka, 1992, p. 50). *Duša* is an entity connected to the individual's inner world, capable not only of feeling, but also of thinking and knowing, a type of knowledge and thoughts related to values, though, not to reason. Its meaning is so broad, that it can cover all aspects of an individual, to the point of indicating the individual as a whole (p.

52). These lexical differences, as well as the centrality of *duša*, seen as an organ of emotions, moral values, knowledge in Russian culture, as opposed to the centrality of mind in Anglo cultures, with their focus on thinking, knowing and on anything rational, ultimately indicate – Wierzbicka (1989) argues – cultural differences "in the cultural outlook, or in what is sometimes called ethnopsychology" (p. 42).

According to Wierzbicka (1998a), emotions play also a different role in the two cultures: while they are central to Russian culture and their display is culturally accepted and ordinary, Anglo cultures favour restraint. However, this opposition is not as simplistic as it may seem. We can say that as far as the emotional sphere is concerned, Anglo cultures rejects extremes, excessive "coldness", as much as excessive "hotness" (Wierzbicka 1999, p. 238). Conversely, Wierzbicka argues that "in Russian it is good to be 'hot' (*gorjačij*), and it is not good to be just 'warm' (*tëplyj*)" (ibid). As an argument to support her thesis on the centrality of emotions and the emphasis on its expression for Russian culture, Wierbicka (1998a, 1999) uses the numerous collocations referred to emotions and its display present in Russian. She underscores the fact that these collocations are often connected to the body, and body parts, considered as the organ of emotional display par excellence (Wierzbicka, 1998a, p. 456). Wierzbicka (1998a) has analysed the entries of the *Russian-English Collocational Dictionary of the Human Body* (Iordanskaya & Paperno, 1995) involving *laughter, tears, face, eyes and eyebrows, legs, hands, head, heart*. She explains that, although these expressions often have an English equivalent, they are overall more numerous and more hyperbolic in Russian (Wierzbicka, 1998a). The insistence on emotional display in Russian, according to Wierzbicka, is also connected to the grammatical categories employed. Referring to *laughter*, for example, she explains that "in Russian […] there are many expressions involving imperfective verbs and referring to extreme forms of laughter" (p. 461). For instance, Wierzbicka argues that "in English there are a few expressions such as 'nearly died laughing', but nothing similar to 'was dying with (or from) laughter'" (ibid). The Russian expressions she gives as examples, instead, are all in the imperfective form: *zalivat′sja smexom* – literally *to be flooding oneself with laughter*, *umirat′ so smexu – to be dying from (with) laughter*, *davit′sja so smexu – to be choking from (with) laughter* and others (pp. 461-462). The fact that Russian describes emotional display, and in this specific case, the display of laughter, using imperfective verbs indicates, Wierzbicka argues, a "prolonged, ongoing laughter, that is, laughter that a person freely indulges in for some time, without

trying to control it or stop it" (p. 461), and more generally the prolonged nature of emotions, to which one "gives in". Wierzbicka's analysis of Russian collocations involving human body, and in general the reference that Russian makes to the body considered as an organ of emotional expression has attracted the attention of other scholars (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Pavlenko 2002a, 2002b) who have drawn on these arguments to analyse bilinguals' conceptualisation of emotions and its restructuring (see Sections 3.2.3 and 3.2.4).

3.2.3. Emotional speech of Russian-English bilinguals

Inspired by Wierzbicka, Aneta Pavlenko has become just as influential, shifting the attention of the debate on language and emotions to empirical analysis and further to bilingualism and bilinguals' conceptualisation of emotions.

As already observed by Wierzbicka, the Russian language can make use of different morphosyntactic categories to describe emotions, but it privileges verbs, used mainly in the imperfective form, which emphasises the prolonged state of emotional display. Aneta Pavlenko (2002a, 2002b) has taken Wierzbicka's analyses further, illustrating that often these verbs are also intransitive and reflexive (for example *bojat′sja*, meaning *to be scared*). This morphological feature, Pavlenko argues, shows that Russian language interprets emotions not only as a prolonged state, hence the imperfective form, but also as emerging from within and inside the individual, thus the abundance of reflexive emotion verbs (Pavlenko, 2002a, p. 213). Ultimately, Wierzbicka's and Pavlenko's arguments claim that the differences in language forms employed in the two languages reflect how differently Russian and English interpret emotions. While in Russian culture they are conceived as actions, rising from the inner world of the individual, who has no control on them, Anglo speakers indicate "the passive – and even induced – state aspect of emotions" (Pavlenko, 2002a, p. 228), which, provoked by external factors, "need to be 'dealt with'" (p. 229).

While Wierzbicka's analyses are based only on texts, albeit plentiful, Pavlenko applied Wierzbicka's theoretical assumptions empirically. In particular, she investigated the speech of Russian and American-English monolinguals to ascertain whether, as Wierzbicka (1992, 1998a) stated, the two groups would describe emotions differently (Pavlenko, 2002a). In particular, Pavlenko wanted to examine whether Russian and

American monolinguals would use different morphosyntactic categories to describe emotions – a verbal pattern for Russian speakers, an adjectival one for English speakers, as described by Wierzbicka (1998b, 1998b) – and whether Russian monolingual speakers would make more connections between emotions and the body, as opposed to English speakers.

In subsequent studies, Pavlenko analysed the emotional speech of *late* Russian-English bilinguals living in the United States (Pavlenko 2002b), as well as of Russian advanced learners of English (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002), and of American advanced learners of Russian (Pavlenko & Driagina, 2007), in order to compare their speech to that of monolinguals. This was to determine whether the emotional speech of bilinguals in their respective languages, i.e. in L1 Russian and L2 English, resembled that of monolinguals, or whether their use of emotional vocabulary and their overall emotional speech had undergone some sort of restructuring, attrition or influence from one language, and culture, over the other (Pavlenko, 2003a, 2004b; Pavlenko & Jarvis 2002; Pavlenko & Malt, 2011).

For her studies, Pavlenko used *fictional narratives*, two silent short-movies with the same script, but different settings (one was shot in the Unites States, entitled "The Letter", the other had a Russian setting, "Pis'mo"), created for her research purposes and depicting scenes with an emotional content, aimed at eliciting third-person narratives rich in emotional vocabulary and expressions.

The results obtained by Pavlenko (2002a) showed that Russian monolinguals and American monolinguals did describe the emotions depicted in the two movies differently, confirming Wierzbicka's previous hypotheses. As far as grammatical categories were concerned, as expected, monolinguals' narratives adhered to their language pattern: Americans employed more adjectives and pseudo-participles, possibly showing that they conceptualise emotions as states, while Russians used more verbs, which might indicate how emotions are considered as actions (Wierzbicka, 1992). Furthermore, Russian monolinguals used also highly intense expressions, and "read" and interpreted emotions by referring often to facial expressions and the body in general, seen as a vehicle to convey feelings (Wierzbicka, 1998a, 1999). Bilinguals' retellings, instead, did not completely correspond to the narratives elicited by the monolinguals (Pavlenko, 2002b). On the one hand, bilingual narratives in English resembled those of monolinguals, in their predominance of emotion adjectives. However, this group used also a high number of

highly emotional expressions and made numerous connections to the body – typical of Russian emotional speech. On the other hand, bilingual narratives in Russian also patterned with those of Russian monolinguals, although only to a certain extent. Bilinguals, in fact, described the emotional content of the short movies following Russian norms, mainly through verbs, and made numerous connections to facial expressions and body language. However, they also seemed to have replaced many verbal constructions with adjectival ones, which indicates forms of morphosyntactic and semantic transfer from the L2 into the L1 (Pavlenko, 2002b, p. 67). For example, the bilingual narratives in Russian contained numerous instances of use of copula, or change-of-state verbs, followed by an adjective, whereas a more standard Russian construction would make use of a verb.

Pavlenko identified other instances of L2 transfers in L1 (Pavlenko, 2002b, 2004b, Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2002). The bilingual narratives in Russian contained various sentences with the verb *čuvstvovat´* and *čuvstvovat´ sebja*. Both forms are translations of the English *to feel*. However, the verb *čuvstvovat´* is transitive and is used with the meaning of *to experience, to sense*, followed by a direct object. The verb *čuvstvovat´ sebja*, reflexive, is used together with adverbs, such as *khorošo* (*good*, i.e. *feel good*) or *plokho* (*bad,* i.e. *feel bad*), or adjectives in the instrumental case. Although these constructions are possible and grammatically correct, standard Russian would more commonly express the same idea with a verb or a copula verb followed by an adjective. As English language often describes emotions through the verb *to feel*, these constructions are most likely transferred from English into Russian, producing a *framing transfer* (Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2002, p. 200), namely a transfer of a linguistic frame, a grammatical class. Many bilinguals confused also the two forms of the verb *čuvstvovat`* and *čuvstvovat` sebja*, using the first form, without the reflexive pronoun, followed by an adjective in the nominative case (instead of the instrumental). Pavlenko (2002b, p. 69) interpreted this confusion as *semantic*, as well as *morphosyntactic/ subcategorisation transfer*.

Another similar case of *morphosyntactic* (Pavlenko, 2002b, p. 68) and *framing transfer* (Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2002, p. 205) from L2 to L1 identified was the use of verb *vygljadet´* (literally meaning *to look*). Pavlenko explained that the verb *vygljadet´* is usually used in Russian with the adverbs *khorošo* and *plokho*, with the meaning of *to look good/ to look bad*. This verb – she explained – was not used by Russian monolinguals (Pavlenko, 2002a), but only by bilinguals. These results show that emotional speech can

be affected by *bidirectional transfer*, namely the influence of the L2 on the L1, and not only the interference of the L1 on the L2, as it had always been considered before (Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2002), and that emotional repertoire can change to adapt to a new language environment, even for late bilinguals.

All these studies have the merit of addressing possible differences in the conceptualisation of emotions between Russian and English empirically, as well as of looking at bilinguals' use of emotional repertoire in these two languages. They have analysed in detail possible transfers from the L1 to the L2, and vice versa, focussing specifically on Russian and English languages, and on possible restructuring of emotional speech in bilingual speakers of these two languages. For these reasons, they represent a solid baseline, from which the present research emerges and draws upon. At the same time, these studies have concentrated only on late bilinguals, or on L2 learners of English and Russian. Despite the repeated calls for further research on other groups of bilinguals, especially early, this category of speakers has remained largely unexplored, a gap that the present study tries to fill.

3.2.4. Distinctive, untranslatable emotion concepts

If we accept the view that emotion concepts can vary – slightly or largely – from one culture to another, and that speakers of different languages interpret emotions through their own "cultural lenses", namely the concepts available in their language, then we can also expect bilinguals' interpretations of emotions to stand at an "intersection".

The comparison between monolinguals' and bilinguals' emotional speech illustrated by Pavlenko (2002a, 2002b) reconfirmed the language- and culture-specificity of some emotion concepts in Russian and English, already identified by Wierzbicka, and pointed out new ones, as well as their restructuring (Pavlenko 2003, 2004b). American monolinguals, for example, often referred to the idea of privacy and its invasion, while Russian participants mentioned the need to suffer and they described events in a more tragic way, in line with Russian discourse (Ries, 1997). In fact, Russian monolinguals often used the verb *pereživat´*, meaning *to experience, suffer, worry*, or, as Pavlenko (2002a, p. 220) puts it, *to suffer through*, while the bilingual group did not refer to this concept (only one participant out of 17 employed this verb) (Pavlenko 2002a, 2002b). The verb *pereživat´* is a Russian specific concept, identified as a case of *conceptual non-*

equivalence between Russian and English (Pavlenko, 2008c; Pavlenko & Driagina, 2007), as it does not have an exact translation equivalent in English.

Conversely, American monolinguals often used the adjective *frustrated* and the noun f*rustration*, which represent another case of conceptual non-equivalence between English and Russian, as Russian does not have a translation equivalent for this "highly culture-specific concept", typical of Anglo cultures (Wierzbicka, 1999, p. 71). This adjective and this noun were found multiple times also in the narratives elicited by Russian-American bilinguals (Pavlenko, 2002b) and Russian advanced L2 learners of English (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002), who showed that they had internalised this distinctive concept. In another study on the use of emotion terms by American advanced L2 learners of Russian (Pavlenko & Driagina, 2007), where fictional narratives were elicited again through the same movie prompt, American learners used the noun *frustracija*, as well as the verb *frastirovat′* in Russian. Pavlenko and Driagina (2007, p. 228) considered this verb and noun as lexical borrowings. In fact, the concept of *frustracija* is not commonly used in daily conversations in Russian. It is limited to the sphere of psychology and refers to a pathological psychological state of extreme disappointment due to unfulfilled needs and expectations.

In other words, monolingual speakers of these two languages showed that they referred to concepts and emotion scripts that are significant for the culture they belong to (Pavlenko, 2002a, p. 235). Bilinguals, instead, showed that they had internalised new concepts and scripts during L2 socialisation, but also that other concepts might undergo attrition, as they referred only to the concepts that are shared by both Russian and American cultures (Pavlenko, 2002b, p. 71).

The concept of *frustration* has been discussed also by Panayioutou (2004a, 2004b), in her studies on Greek-English and English-Greek bilinguals. Panayioutou supports Wierzbicka's (1999) view on the distinctiveness of this concept, as she found that her participants code-switched from Greek to English to refer to this specific feeling. Her study participants commented themselves on the necessity to code-switch to English to refer to this specific emotion, as Greek does not have an exact term to refer to this concept. Discussing the culture-specificity of this concept, Panayioutou (2004a) argued that this is "an individualistic emotion" – distinctive of individualistic cultures, such as the Anglo ones – "something that one experiences alone" (p. 14). She added that the culture-specificity of this concept lays also in the fact that this emotion is provoked by

external forces (p. 10). According to Panayioutou, the concept of frustration "encompasses an Anglo-American notion of being able to do something about this pressure, of taking action, of being, ultimately, in control" (p. 13). Furthermore, Panayioutou shows that her considerations are in line with Pavlenko's (2002a) arguments on the conceptualisation of emotions as induced by external factors for Anglo cultures, and the necessity to deal with them (see Section 3.2.3).

Other distinctive and untranslatable emotion concepts have been analysed, as representative of a particular, culturally embedded conceptualisation of emotions, as is the case of the Greek *stenahoria* (Panayioutou, 2004a) – a sort of sadness, discomfort, suffocation – the Japanese *amae* (Doi, 1981; Morsbach, & Tyler, 1986) – seen as a positive and trustful dependence – the Malay *hati* – an active and cognitive heart, as Goddard (2001) described it, or "the sensitive part of a person" (p. 167), and many others.

If these concepts are so distinctive and untranslatable, does it mean that, for instance, only speakers of Greek can perceive and describe this mix of sadness and suffocation identified by the term *stenahoria*? Or that only a member of the Japanese culture can understand and appreciate the sense of positive dependence described by *amae*? To overcome the dichotomy between the universalist and relativist standpoints on emotions and emotion concepts, Panayioutou (2004a) and Pavlenko (2008a) proposed a conciliatory position. Panayioutou (2004a) argues that emotions:

> are both universal and specific: universal, because as human beings we are prewired to have emotions and even to learn emotions, but also specific because emotions we do have are influenced by the culture and language in which we live (p. 14).

On a similar note, Pavlenko (2008a) proposes an approach that is compatible both with the universalist and the relativist perspectives on emotion concepts. She argues that:

> To say that emotion concepts vary does not imply that speakers of different languages have distinct physiological experiences. Rather, it means that they may have somewhat different vantage points from which to evaluate and interpret their own and others' emotional experiences (p. 150).

In fact, she views emotion concepts as emerging from both biological and social factors, as:

> prototypical scripts that are formed as a result of repeated experiences […] embedded within larger systems of beliefs about psychological and social

> processes, often viewed as cognitive models, folk theories of mind, or ethnopsychologies (ibid.).

As shown, distinctive emotion concepts offer speakers of different languages different filters through which to make sense of emotions. For bilinguals, these filters seem to be unstable and continuously changing, making them reorganise and reinvent the way they interpret and describe emotional experiences.

3.2.5. Emotion concepts and the bilingual mind

The study of emotion concepts and the role they play, not only in the lives of bilinguals but also of monolinguals, allows for a better understanding of the representation of these concepts in the mental lexicon. As the frames through which bilinguals interpret and describe emotions are continuously changing, so are their mental representations of emotion concepts (Pavlenko, 1999, 2002c, 2004b, 2008c, 2009; Sachs & Coley, 2006; Stepanova & Coley, 2002).

A huge contribution to the understanding of the mental representation of emotion concepts comes from the field of psychology and physiopsychology, which has pointed to the distinctive status of emotion terms and the necessity to consider them as a separate category of words (Altarriba, 2006; Altarriba & Bauer, 2004; Altarriba *et al.,* 1999). Emotion words, in fact, were found to be more easily recalled than concrete and abstract ones not only by bilinguals, but also by monolinguals (Altarriba, 2006), leading scholars in this area to conclude that the mental representations of emotion words are different from those of abstract and concrete ones (Altarriba & Bauer, 2004).

Studies have also investigated the possible language-specificity of emotion words (Altarriba, 2003), arguing that these concepts, differently from other classes of words, may be represented differently, namely in a language-specific way (Altarriba, 2003, 2006; Altarriba & Bauer, 2004) in the bilingual mental lexicon. Language-specificity of emotion concepts and their representation in the bilingual mental lexicon has been questioned by Stepanova-Sachs and Coley (Sachs & Coley, 2006; Stepanova & Coley, 2002), who investigated the concepts of *envy* and *jealousy* with American monolinguals, Russian monolinguals and late Russian-American bilinguals. The definitions of the words *envy* and *jealousy* in English and in Russian are very close – envy refers to a situation where a person longs for a thing, or a quality, skill that someone else has, while jealousy

refers to the perceived threat of losing a person because of a third party (Parrott & Smith, 1993). However, in practice, in Russian the words *envy* and *jealousy* are used for very distinctive situations, while in English the word *jealousy* applies to both "jealousy" and "envy situations" (Stepanova & Coley, 2002, p. 239). By analysing how monolinguals, as well as bilingual participants, organised envy-related and jealousy-related stories, through sorting tasks, both verbal and non-verbal, Stepanova-Sachs and Coley found that, on the one hand, overall Russian monolinguals differentiated the "envy situations" from the "jealousy situations" more sharply than American monolinguals. On the other hand, bilinguals, similarly to English monolinguals, "were more likely to group envy and jealousy situations together than were Russian monolinguals" (p. 255). The two scholars concluded that for bilinguals, when the two languages known map emotion concepts differently, emotion categorisation can change, triggering "the conceptual effect of increasing the perceived similarity between emotions, and the linguistic effect of influencing how labels are mapped onto situations in one's native language" (p. 256). In other words, they restated the possibility that emotion concepts in different languages can be mapped differently in the bilingual mental lexicon and that this different mapping can change, with one language influencing the other – and not only the L1 influencing the L2, but also the L2 influencing the L1 (see Pavlenko, 2002c, 2005b; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2002).

3.3. Language(s) *of* emotions

Hitherto I have presented the debate on the relationship between language and emotions and I have focussed on the discussion of emotion concepts, their distinctiveness, their conceptualisation and their restructuring for bilinguals. Bilingualism studies have not only contributed to the understanding of the relationship between language(s) *and* emotions, but also that of language(s) *of* emotions, namely "multilingual performance of affect" (Pavlenko, 2005a, p. 35), in other words how bilinguals perceive and express emotions in their different languages.

Scholars used to present as oppositional the L1, considered as the "language of involvement", to any LXs, viewed as "languages of detachment" (see, e.g., Amati-Mehler *et al.*, 1993; Anooshian & Hertel, 1994; Bond & Lai, 1986; Gonzalez-Reigosa, 1976; Marcos *et al.*, 1973a; Marcos *et al.,* 1973b; Rozensky & Gomez, 1983). However, this

opposition has been contested by various scholars (Dewaele, 2010a; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Pavlenko, 2004a, 2005a; Resnik, 2018a) as simplistic. While it could be suitable for late bilinguals, it might be less appropriate for early bilinguals, who might grow up with 2L1s,[2] or use the L1 only in limited environments. The debate around bilinguals' languages of emotions, their experiencing and verbalisation of emotions and more broadly their relationship with their different languages have been recently revived (see, e.g., Dewaele, 2010a; Resnik, 2018a), leading scholars to examine all factors which might impact these perceptions and choices.

Furthermore, considering the language of emotions as a univocal choice is another conventionalised assumption that has been dismantled by scholars, who have, instead, insisted on analysing the various emotions, their perceptions and expression by bilinguals, separately. In particular, recent studies have focussed on the perception of language emotionality, richness and poeticity (Dewaele, 2004a), on different spheres of emotional expression, namely anger (Dewaele, 2006; Dewaele & Qaddourah, 2015) and swearing (Dewaele, 2004b, 2005, 2010a, 2016a; Pavlenko, 2005a), positive feelings (Caldwell-Harris *et al.*, 2012), including love (Dewaele, 2008), humour (Ayçiçeği-Dinn *et al.*, 2018; Erdodi & Lajiness-O'Neill, 2012; Vaid, 2000, 2006), terms of endearment (Dewaele, 2010a; Pavlenko, 2004a, 2005a), on language preference and choice for parenting (Pavlenko, 2004a), for inner speech (Dewaele, 2015b; Larsen *et al.,* 2002; Resnik, 2018b) and for the discussion of personal and emotional topics (Dewaele, 2004a). Also, bilinguals have been analysed for the way they express themselves differently in their different languages (Koven, 1998, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2007; Marian & Kaushanskaya, 2004) and for whether and how they feel different when using their various languages (Dewaele, 2016b; Dewaele & Nakano, 2013; Hammer, 2016, 2017; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2018a, 2018b; Pavlenko, 2006a).

3.3.1. Perceived language emotional resonance

Language emotional resonance refers to bilinguals' subjective perceptions, namely whether they perceive one of their languages as more emotional, and if this language has a stronger emotional connotation for them.

[2] The acronym 2L1s refer to simultaneous bilinguals who grow up with two first languages (De Houwer, 2009).

The mainstream idea about resonance of bilinguals' languages has for long attributed a higher emotionality to the L1 than to languages learned later (Amati-Mehler *et al.*, 1993; Anooshian & Hertel, 1994; Bond & Lai, 1986; Gonzalez-Reigosa, 1976; Marcos *et al*., 1973a; Marcos *et al.,* 1973b; Rozensky & Gomez, 1983). The L1 has been associated with a higher emotionality by virtue of the emotional context where this language is acquired (Harris *et al.,* 2006), namely during childhood, a period when the child builds strong and meaningful emotional bonds with parents and caregivers. These bonds are also created through L1 words, which are associated to strong memories, as well as to the emotional contexts where these words are employed. This is what Harris and colleagues (2006) defined as *emotional context of learning hypothesis*. Since human experiences are tightly associated to the environments where they take place, a language is perceived as emotional if it is acquired and used within an emotional context (p. 274). When two languages are acquired in childhood, they might be perceived as equally emotional (p. 277). This hypothesis does not exclude the possibility that also an LX learned at a later stage can have a high emotional resonance, if it is learned in an emotionally rich environment (Harris *et al.*, 2006; Pavlenko, 2004a, 2005a).

Language emotionality can shift, and an LX can be perceived as more emotional than the L1. Other factors, apart from age and context of acquisition, contribute to perceived emotionality, above all language proficiency and dominance.[3] Harris (2004), in fact, stated that "the L1 is more emotional when it is the more proficient language" (p. 241). As often multilinguals are more proficient in their L1 (Dewaele, 2010a), it is common to accept that the L1 is also the language with the highest emotional resonance. However, in cases when an LX is the dominant or most proficient language, it might be perceived as more emotional than the L1 (Harris, 2004). However, Harris and colleagues (2006, p. 276) highlighted that, although proficiency and emotionality can be related, this cannot be interpreted as a causality relationship, namely proficiency does not cause emotionality. Moreover, despite the fact that proficiency and dominance play a key role in language emotional resonance, the L1 has shown to maintain a strong impact also when this language is attrited (Dewaele, 2004a). Dewaele (p. 97) has noticed, in fact, that even for speakers dominant in an LX, the L1 maintains a strong emotional and poetic force.

[3] The dominant language is the most accessible, the "default language" (Harris et al., 2006). The most proficient language is the language mastered at the highest level. The two do not necessarily coincide; one can be more proficient in, say, the L1, yet the dominant language could be an LX, because this is the language of the environment, used daily in most spheres of life.

The fact of not using this language has an impact on its activation, but not on its perception, Dewaele argues, describing this perception as following:

> Metaphorically one could compare the use of the attrited native tongue as an activity, like cycling, that hasn't been performed for a long time. The memory of what the performance feels like remains intact, the emotional image hasn't deteriorated, but the actual procedures needed to execute the action are dormant and, at least temporarily, inaccessible because of lack of exposure (p. 101).

As mentioned above, an LX acquired late in life can become the dominant language and be perceived as more emotional (Pavlenko, 2005a). In particular, an LX can be perceived as more emotional, when it is learned in a highly emotional context, as postulated by the emotional context of learning hypothesis (Harris *et al.,* 2006), for example when this is the language of a romantic partner (Pavlenko, 2004a, 2005b, 2008a). Pavlenko (2005a) explained that:

> individuals who "marry into", raise their children, and work in the L2 integrate the meanings of L2 words with multisensory representations and personal memories acquired in a variety of social contexts. For them, L2 words are vested with personal meanings and emotional associations and may elicit strong visceral responses (p. 156),

as its words become "embodied and physically experienced" (p. 169).

Language emotionality can also converge across languages. Harris and colleagues (2006) advanced the hypothesis that:

> there are two cases in which bilinguals' emotional reactivity is similar across languages: (a) when proficiency is similar, and (b) when the less-proficient language is the first learned language (p. 266).

This statement, as well as evidence provided by other studies (Caldwell-Harris *et al.*, 2012; Harris, 2004; Harris *et al.,* 2006) calls attention to *early bilinguals*. Caldwell-Harris and her research team (2012), who examined a group of late and early Russian-American bilinguals, argued that early bilinguals, for their language dominance, language preference and perceived emotionality of their L1 and L2, seem to belong to an "in-between status" (p. 281) as they "share characteristics with late arrivals, by virtue of sharing a first language but resemble native English speakers in having English as their dominant (more proficient) language" (p. 290).

These studies contributed to emphasising the difference, or convergence, in emotionality for bilinguals' languages, and the peculiar status of early bilinguals.

However, they are not clear-cut in the distinction between early and late bilingualism. While in some cases the discrimination age was set at 10 years old (Caldwell-Harris *et al.,* 2012), other studies considered as early bilingual speakers who learned their L2 by the age of 7 and as late bilinguals individuals who migrated after the age of 18 (Harris, 2004). This confusion does not allow for a clearly positioning of 1.5ers, who are often overlooked in the discussion, as in Harris' (2004) study, a confusion which reasserts that this category of speakers is often neglected in research.

3.3.2. Emotional expression

While language emotional resonance involves only *perceptions,* or how different languages have a different impact on multilinguals, emotional expression implies *verbalisation* of emotions, namely which language(s) are used to express emotions, how they are used, and when and why one language could be preferred over another.

First, I present a general discussion on the most common factors influencing bilinguals' language preferences and choices for emotional expression. Following this, I examine the main spheres of emotional expression that have so far been analysed in bilingualism and emotions.

Generally speaking, the language chosen and preferred by bilinguals for emotional expression depends on *individual*, *contextual* and *linguistic* factors (Pavlenko, 2005a, p. 146). Among the most relevant *individual* factors influencing bilinguals' preference for one or another of their languages to express their emotions, scholars have identified language dominance, proficiency and possible attrition, age and context of acquisition, and perceived languages emotionality (ibid.). Speakers tend to express their emotions in their dominant language, as it is the most accessible language, which, for most bilinguals, is the L1 (Dewaele, 2010a). However, this is not the case for L1 attriters, dominant in an LX, who generally use an LX for their emotional expression (Dewaele, 2004a). In fact, for L1 attriters, inadequate proficiency in the L1 could make emotional expression, as well as interpretation of the emotions of others, difficult.

Age and context of acquisition play also a role, as bilinguals are overall more comfortable in expressing their emotions in languages learned in a naturalistic environment, rather than in an instructed setting, through formal learning (Dewaele, 2010a). Once again, by virtue of being learned at a young age and in a naturalistic setting,

the L1 might be preferred. However, an LX can also be learned in a naturalistic or mixed setting, i.e. a combination of formal learning and interaction in and exposure to authentic communication, even at an adult age, as it is often the case for migrants, moving and immersing themselves into a new environment and a new language (Pavlenko, 2005a). Perceived emotionality of languages can also influence bilinguals' choices. Bilinguals can choose to express their emotions in the language they perceive as most emotional, because the emotional charge makes the words of this language more "real" (Pavlenko, 2004a). As discussed above, the majority of bilinguals reported the L1 as their most emotional language (Dewaele, 2004a, Pavlenko, 2005a), although an LX can also have a higher emotional resonance, therefore it can be preferred for emotional expression. Conversely, multilinguals might choose a language that they perceive as less emotional, because the "detachment effect" allows them to feel in control of the situation (Pavlenko, 2005a). In other words, avoiding using their most emotional language allows them to be more rational and not to lose control, both in positive circumstances – such as in romantic situation – and negative – for example in arguments, preventing them for being too aggressive.

Bilinguals do not consider only their own individual preferences and feelings, but also "situational constraints". Among the most widespread contextual factors, Pavlenko (2005a, p. 147) named: language competence of the interlocutor, interlocutor's language emotionality, interactional goals and language prestige. Usually bilinguals choose to communicate in a language that they share with their interlocutors. In emotional situations, however, they might switch to a language that has more prestige, to sound more assertive and "authoritarian", or to the most emotional language of the interlocutor, to make sure that the message they are passing on is going to "touch" the interlocutor, be it in a positive or negative way. Conversely, they might also switch to their own most emotional – or more proficient – language, even though the interlocutor does not understand it, for example for arguments, because this language allows them to "release" their feelings better and often faster (see following section below).

Linguistic factors, namely *cross-linguistic differences*, can determine language choice and code-switching to another language. One might appeal to a particular language because its affective repertoire is richer to convey a particular feeling (Pavlenko, 2004a) – for instance richer in diminutives or terms of endearments to express affection, swearwords to express anger. Alternatively, one might switch to another language to

name a particular emotion, in cases of conceptual non-equivalence, i.e. when the language that was being used lacks an emotion concept present in another language (Panayioutou, 2004a, 2004b; Pavlenko, 2005a, p. 147).

3.3.2.1. Anger and swearing

As for any spheres of emotional expression described in the previous paragraph, the language chosen to express anger and swearing generally depends on a number of factors, the most commonly identified being language proficiency, dominance, age and context of acquisition, frequency of use of the different languages, socialisation in these languages, and language emotionality (Dewaele, 2004a, 2004b, 2006, 2010a, 2010b; Dewaele & Qaddourah, 2015). Generally speaking, bilinguals choose to express their anger in their dominant and most proficient language, which is usually a language learned early in life and in naturalistic environment – hence most commonly the L1 is preferred (Dewaele, 2006, 2010a). When expressing anger, fluency in a language allows multilinguals to react to situations fast, and to be able to fully control the illocutionary and perlocutionary effects[4] of their words (Dewaele, 2004c). At the same time, this is possible only for languages learned in a naturalistic environment, as opposed to those learned in instructed settings (Dewaele, 2004b, 2005, 2006, 2010a), whose words are "embodied" with meaning, namely they "invoke both sensory images and physiological reactions" (Pavlenko, 2005a, p. 155).

Language emotionality also plays a role in language choices to express anger. In fact, when a language is perceived as highly emotional, it can also be preferred to express anger and swearing (Dewaele, 2010a, 2010b; Dewaele & Qaddourah, 2015). Once again, as most multilinguals perceive the L1 as more emotional, they also prefer this language to express anger. However, when an LX is perceived as equally or more emotional, it can be favoured over the L1 (Dewaele & Qaddourah, 2015).

Nevertheless, other elements influence bilinguals' choices, such as cultural factors, and other strategies of "detachment" or "involvement" can be intertwined with the perception of language emotionality, in particular the emotional force of swearwords. Some cultures, for example Asian or Arab, consider swearing as taboo, as compared to

[4] According to Austin's (1962) speech acts theory, the illocutionary effect of an utterance refers to the meaning given to it by the speaker, while the perlocutionary force refers to the effect that a communicative act has on the interlocutor.

Western countries, where swearwords are used more "loosely" (Dewaele, 2015a). Therefore, bilinguals raised in cultures where swearing is considered as highly inappropriate in any circumstances might choose to switch to an LX, where swearing in an LX is culturally acceptable and using this language does not feel as heavy as using the L1. This was recounted by Ryoko, a Japanese native, and Michelle, a Taiwanese native, two of Dewaele's (2015a, p. 366) participants of the Bilingualism and Emotions Questionnaire (BEQ, Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001–2003), who reported swearing only in English, because of the heaviness of swearwords in their native tongues. Conversely, bilinguals might swear excessively in an LX, as these words do not have a strong connotation for them and do not convey a sense of guilt, as explained by another of Dewaele's (2010b, p. 605) participants, Theodora, a Greek native, L2 speaker of English.

As mentioned in the previous section, as a result of contextual factors, bilinguals might code-switch during a conversation to express their anger. One the one hand, focussing on their own perceptions, they might choose a language that they perceive as less emotional, as it gives them a sense of detachment and it diminishes their sense of guilt. This is usually connected to cultural and religious beliefs, as in some cultures, as mentioned above, swearing is stigmatised (Dewaele, 2010a, 2010b, 2015a; Dewaele & Qaddourah, 2015). Conversely, they might revert to a language that is perceived as more emotional for their outburst, to fully convey their extreme fury (Dewaele, 2010a, 2010b). On the other hand, shifting the attention to their interlocutor's perceptions, bilinguals might opt for expressing their anger in their interlocutor's most proficient and most emotional language, to make sure that they will be fully understood and that the intensity of their rage will affect their interlocutor. Or, they might revert to a language that the interlocutor does not (completely) understand, to "mitigate" the message, so that this person will not be offended (Dewaele, 2010a; Pavlenko, 2005a).

As described in Section 3.2.5, studies in psychology have investigated reactions to emotion words, as compared to other categories of words – concrete and abstract. Within emotion words, special attention has been devoted to swearwords and taboo words, to analyse whether physiological reactions to these words were different between L1 and languages learned later in life (Eilola & Havelka, 2010; Harris, 2004; Harris *et al.*, 2003). Firstly, these studies showed that physiological reactions were stronger for taboo and swearwords than for neutral words (Eilola & Havelka, 2010). Secondly, they highlighted that taboo and swearwords in the L1 elicited a stronger skin reactivity than in

the L2 for late bilinguals (Harris *et al.*, 2003), but similar reactions for early bilinguals (Harris, 2004). These studies pointed at the specificity of these words among emotion words, as well as the differences in the impact they have on bilinguals, late and early (Eilola & Havelka, 2010; Harris *et al.*, 2003).

3.3.2.2. Positive feelings

Multilinguals' expression and perception of positive feelings has been overlooked by scholarly literature, which has, instead, predominantly focussed on the expression of anger and swearwords. However, several scholars investigated the sphere of love (Kline *et al.,* 2008), intimacy (Seki, Matsumoto & Imahori, 2002), romantic relationships (Dewaele, 2018; Dewaele & Salomidou, 2017; Zhengdao Ye, 2004), perception and use of the phrase "I love you" and its value in different cultures (Caldwell-Harris *et al.,* 2013; Dewaele, 2008; Gareis & Wilkins, 2011; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2019; Wilkins & Gareis, 2006). More broadly, Piller (2001b, 2002, 2007) examined communication and language choices adopted by multilingual couples in their intimate relationships.

Research into emotional communication in cross-cultural couples explored pragmatic challenges (Dewaele, 2018) and possible difficulties which may emerge in these relationships because of language and cultural differences (Dewaele & Salomidou, 2017). The results of these studies showed that many multilinguals struggle in expressing their emotions to their partners in an LX, especially at the start of the relationship, sometimes feeling less genuine and less intense (Dewaele & Salomidou, 2017). Nevertheless, these obstacles are usually overcome later in the relationship, after a few months. Also, it emerged that personality traits and gender had an impact on the expression of emotions in an LX (Dewaele, 2018; Dewaele & Salomidou, 2017), with female participants struggling more than male in the initial phase of the relationship.

Dewaele (2008) noticed that almost half of his multilingual participants perceived the phrase "I love you" as stronger in their L1. However, the intensity of this phrase was related to self-reported language dominance and proficiency, context and age of acquisition of the LX, socialisation in the LX and network of interlocutors with whom the LX is used, as observed for the expression of anger and swearing (Dewaele, 2004a, 2004b, 2006, 2010a, 2010b; Dewaele & Qaddourah, 2015). This explains also why, for

many of Dewaele's (2008) respondents, the emotional weight of "I love you" had shifted in favour of the LX, or coincided for the L1 and the LX.

Caldwell-Harris and colleagues (2013) focussed on the differences in the use of "I love you" between Chinese and American cultures. They observed that their American respondents used this phrase more often than the Chinese ones, who, conversely, preferred to communicate their love in an indirect, non-verbal way. Similar findings were reported by other studies examining the differences between the United States and Germany (Gareis & Wilkins, 2011), as well as the United States and other cultures (Wilkins & Gareis, 2006) in the use of this locution. Americans reported saying "I love you" more frequently than Germans (Gareis & Wilkins, 2011), in a wider range of situations, not limited to romantic declarations, than respondents from other collectivist cultures (Wilkins & Gareis, 2006). Wilkins and Gareis (2006) also observed that respondents from non-American cultures often preferred to use the expression "I love you" in English than in their L1.

Despite the valuable contribution made by these studies, they are restricted to the sphere of love, while research exploring the verbalisation of positive feelings and happiness in general is scarce. Caldwell-Harris and colleagues (2012) examined perception, but not use, of angry and positive expressions for early and late bilinguals. They found that for late bilinguals, both kinds of expressions were rated as stronger in their L1, while for early bilinguals only angry expressions were perceived as stronger in L1, while positive expressions felt stronger in L2. This group of researchers explained this result with language use, arguing that angry expressions are associated with family and the language used with them, usually the L1 both for early and late bilinguals. Positive expressions, on the other hand, are connected to friends; while late bilinguals tend to associate more with peers sharing the same background and L1, early bilinguals tend to have more L2-speaking friends, therefore they associate positive feelings to this language (p. 392). Caldwell-Harris and colleagues had the merit to acknowledge the difference in bilinguals' reactions to positive and negative feelings. However, they focussed only on the perception of these feelings and, to my knowledge, no research has so far examined the verbalisation of happiness, which – we can hypothesise – does not necessarily entail the same language choices as the verbalisation of anger.

3.3.2.3. Parent-child communication

As a particular form of emotional expression, Pavlenko (2004a) analysed language choice in parents-children communication, focussing on the emotional factors behind this use. Based on the answers to the Bilingualism and Emotions Questionnaire (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003), Pavlenko (2004a) argued that language dominance is the main factor impinging this choice. Parents choose to raise their children, scold them and express affection toward them in the language they feel more comfortable with, be it the L1 or an LX.

Language emotionality has not been shown to correlate with language choices for parenting, although this can also play a role (ibid.). This is true for the emotionality of the L1 – but not of the L2 – also for LX dominant, L1 attrited, speakers, who might opt for an LX to raise their children, yet maintain a strong bond with the L1 (p. 188). L1 emotionality mediates especially in the use of endearments, which are connected to multilinguals' own childhood and childhood memories (p. 191). At the same time, multilinguals can resort to the affective repertoire of an LX, as it might offer them the opportunity to express other, more emotional parts of themselves. This possibility might be precluded to them in the L1, in cases where this language lacks a rich emotional repertoire, or for cultural reasons, namely an overall tendency to emotional restraint for the culture of origin (Pavlenko, 2004a, 2005a).

Beside L1 emotionality, this language can be preferred with children because of the strong affective bond that one holds with it. As some parents acknowledge the place that the L1 occupies in their lives, they might choose to use it with their children as a means to pass on an important part of themselves to their children – "I just think it's nice for the children to know who I am" stated a father in Piller's (2002, p. 254) analysis of language choices in bilingual couples. Similarly, the L1 can be preferred as it is the only vehicle for communication with the parents' family, with whom the emotional bond would be otherwise compromised (p. 255). The bond with the L1 can also create inner conflicts for speakers who do not use it with their children, or grandchildren, which Pavlenko (2004a) described as "the plight of many immigrant parents and grandparents who feel that they are losing the emotional connection to children who grow up in a language different from their own" (p. 201).

Mixed choices have also been reported by parents raising children in a multilingual environment, where one language is used as the norm on an everyday basis,

while another is reserved to disciplining or, conversely, to express affection (see, e.g., Heye, 1975; Hoffman, 1971; Luykx, 2003; Schecter & Bayley, 1997; Zentella, 1997).

3.3.3. Feelings of difference when speaking different languages

The majority of bilinguals report feeling different when speaking their different languages (Dewaele, 2016a; Dewaele & Nakano, 2013; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Pavlenko, 2006a). The manifestations and reasons behind these feelings are manifold. Some bilinguals declared that a switch in the language used entails a change in their verbal and non-verbal behaviour (Dewaele, 2016a, p. 102) – body language, voice pitch, openness – confirmed also by their interlocutors (Koven, 1998, 2001; Pavlenko, 2006a). Some consider these feelings in a positive, empowering way, others in a negative and obstructive way (Panicacci & Dewaele, 2018b). The main variable investigated by scholarly literature in relation to feelings of difference when speaking the L1 or an LX is language proficiency. As most bilinguals are more proficient in their L1 (Dewaele, 2010a), their feelings of differences when switching languages are examined in relation to their LXs, in which they tend to feel less serious, less authentic, less emotional, less logical (Dewaele & Nakano, 2013, p. 117). Although proficiency plays a key role, Dewaele (2016a) dismissed McWhorter's (2014) clear-cut, and rather simplistic, assumption, which attributes these feelings of difference solely to the late age of acquisition of an LX, and a consequent lack of proficiency in these languages. Dewaele (2016a), in fact, investigated other factors which might influence these feelings, and he found that, although some bilinguals named their lack of proficiency as one of the causes, making them feel different and restrained when using an LX, he also found no statistical correlation between these feelings and proficiency, and with age of acquisition. Overall, as mentioned, it is important to restate that scholarly literature has so far focussed on the analysis of feelings of difference in relation to LXs, with a late AoA. This means that, apart from few exceptions, few studies have examined bilinguals with an early age of acquisition of the LX (see, e.g., Koven, 1998, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2007), and whose order of acquisition might not correspond to the order of proficiency, as it is often the case for 1.5ers and early bilinguals in general.

Other reasons have been adduced as causes of these feelings. Firstly, Grosjean (2010), and Dewaele (2016a; Dewaele & Nakano, 2013) explain that a switch in language

implies a switch of interlocutors and settings. Both scholars argue that these feelings of difference might be caused by this change of context, and not by the language itself (Grosjean, 2010). Secondly, conversation topics and interlocutors also affect these feelings, with bilinguals declaring that they feel different, namely less confident and more anxious (Dewaele, 2016a) when using the LX with unfamiliar interlocutors, and when discussing intimate topics (Panicacci & Dewaele, 2018b). Furthermore, older multilinguals showed to perceive more feelings of differences than younger ones (Dewaele, 2016a), a result which Dewaele attributes to code-switching practices. As younger multilinguals are more used to code-switching than older (Dewaele & Li Wei, 2014), this habit might diminish their feelings of differences, as opposed to older multilinguals, who are less used to this practice (Dewaele, 2016a).

A correlation between feelings of difference and anxiety has also been found, namely more anxious participants reported also more feelings of difference (Dewaele, 2016a). Dewaele argues that this result might be connected to personality traits, in particular with introversion; in fact, as introverts tend to be more anxious when speaking a foreign language (Dewaele, 2010a), he assumes that there could be a relationship also between anxiety and feelings of differences. Other studies investigated feelings of differences in relation to personality traits[5] (Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2018a; Wilson, 2013), finding that a low score in emotional stability, social initiative and extraversion were related to a higher unease in using the LX (Panicacci & Dewaele, 2018a; Wilson, 2013). Another variable considered was cultural orientation,[6] namely attachment to the heritage and host cultures, showing that those multilinguals who did not show a high sense of belonging and identification with the host culture felt stronger feelings of difference when using the LX (Panicacci & Dewaele, 2018a).

Another possible explanation for these feelings is Cultural Frame Switching, discussed in Chapter 2.5, and defined as a change in cultural mindset, due to the exposure to a cultural prime (Benet-Martínez *et al.,* 2002; Hong *et al.,* 1997; Hong *et al.,* 2000;

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[5] Ożańska-Ponikwia (2013) determined personality traits with the Big-Five personality test (McCrae *et al.,* 2000), and the Trait Emotional Intelligence (EI) Questionnaire. Panicacci and Dewaele (2018a) assessed them using a short version of the Multicultural Personality Questionnaire (Van der Zee, van Oudenhoven, Ponterotto, & Fietzer, 2013; van Oudenhoven & Van Der Zee, 2002). Wilson (2013) elaborated her own questionnaire on the basis of the Bilingualism and Emotions Questionnaire (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003) and the Big-Five personality test.

[6] Cultural Orientation assesses migrants' attachment to their heritage culture and their host culture, using an adaptation of the Vancouver Index of Acculturation (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000).

Hong, Ip, Chiu, Morris, & Menon, 2001), language being one of them (Luna *et al.*, 2008; Ramírez-Esparza *et al.*, 2006). However, most previous research in this area has investigated multilinguals from different backgrounds and with different language combinations, therefore it was impossible for these studies to assess whether these feelings of differences were to be attributed to Cultural Frame Switching or to other factors. Keeping the background of the participants homogeneous, as it is for the present study, allows for an investigation of the possible effects of Cultural Frame Switching, and how bilinguals can navigate these different frames through the use of their various languages.

3.3.3.1. Presenting oneself differently in different languages

A switch in language can cause also a change in the way bilinguals present themselves or the events in the different languages. This is what was analysed by Koven (1998, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2007), who elicited autobiographical narratives from a small group of early French-Portuguese bilinguals. Koven (2001) noticed that her participants "perform[ed] a variety of cultural selves" (p. 513), "a different kind of socially locatable persona" (p. 514) in French and in Portuguese. For example, one of them, Isabel, presented herself as an "angry, hip suburbanite in French, whereas in Portuguese, she seem[ed] a frustrated, but patient, well-mannered bank customer" (Koven, 1998, p. 436). The different personae Isabel showed, assertive in French, deferential in Portuguese, reflect the domains of acquisition and use of these two languages, Koven (1998) explains. While French is the language of the peers, used in urban France, Portuguese is the language of the family, used in rural Portugal during summer holidays. According to Koven, this is the transformative potential of languages; "different language forms have the power to transform self-expression and experience because of their capacity to index, to bring into being, other contexts and identities" (p. 437). In other words, the different styles and communicative strategies used in French and Portuguese have twofold implications: not only Koven's participants presented what apparently seems to be the "same" story differently in the two languages, but also it appeared that ultimately the two languages conveyed a different identity for the participants (ibid).

In a similar fashion, bilingual identity and how this is presented in narratives has been examined also by Marian and Kaushanskaya (2004). The two scholars collected autobiographical narratives elicited through cue-word prompts by a group of Russian-

American late bilinguals. They noticed that the languages used to retrieve memories had an impact on cognitive styles; in fact, memories retrieved in English, a language associated with an individualistic culture, were more self-oriented and richer in personal pronouns, while the Russian narratives, a language associated with a collectivistic culture, were more other-oriented and richer in group pronouns (Marian & Kaushanskaya, 2004, p. 197). It also emerged that the narratives were richer and had a higher emotional strength when the language of retrieval coincided with the language of encoding, namely when events happened in Russia were retold in Russian and when memories connected to life in the United States were recalled in English (p. 198). This result reconfirms the *language-dependent memory hypothesis* formulated by Marian and Neisser (2000, p. 367), according to which a memory is more easily retrieved when it is recalled in the same language in which the described event took place. Marian and Kaushanskaya (2004) conclude that "the bilingual self is mediated by the language spoken at any given time and that language functions as a vehicle for culture with cultural differences seeping into language and potentially influencing cognitive styles and the self" (p. 197).

3.4. Concluding remarks

Chapters 2 and 3 represent the theoretical bases of this thesis. While in Chapter 2 I presented the category of bilinguals this study focuses on, the 1.5 generation, in this chapter I presented the broad research area of bilingualism and emotions, to show the scholarly context where this study is situated. Firstly, I discussed research dealing with the relationship between language(s) and emotions. As one part of the present study investigates the use of emotion terms and emotional description by bilinguals belonging to the 1.5 generation, I focussed on studies which have examined emotion concepts from a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural perspective, and which have analysed this relationship through "bilingual lenses". I pointed at the culture-specificity of some emotion terms, which are, therefore, often untranslatable and distinctive of a particular language. I presented studies on the differences in the conceptualisation of emotions between Russian and English and on the restructuring and attrition of these concepts for bilingual speakers of these two languages.

Secondly, as another focus of the present study is perceptions and verbalisation of emotions, I discussed scholarly literature which has moved the attention onto bilinguals'

language(s) of emotions. I thus presented research on perceptions of language emotionality, highlighting the emotional weight that the L1 maintains in the lives of multilinguals, but also the emotional resonance that languages learned later in life, especially in highly emotional contexts, can acquire. I examined language choices and preferences for various spheres of emotional expression, in particular anger and swearing, positive feelings and language use with children, showing that these choices are mostly related to language proficiency and dominance, and to the age of acquisition. Also, to conclude the discussion on bilingualism and emotions, I reviewed research on bilinguals' feelings of difference when switching languages, which again have been shown to largely depend on proficiency. The following chapter presents the methodology used to address the research questions investigated for the present study.

CHAPTER 4: Methodology

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I present the research design used for this study and the methodological choices adopted. I repeat the research questions motivating the research and describe some possible expected outcomes. Subsequently, I outline the methodological framework on which this research is based, and the study design, which describes the participants and their recruitment. Following this, I present the data collection process: I start from the pilot study and I continue with the description of the actual data collection. Next, I explain the data analysis and I conclude with a discussion and reflection on my positioning in relation to this study and its participants.

4.2. Objectives

As explained in the Introduction, the present research is a cross-sectional study, focussing on the emotional speech and emotion vocabulary of Russian-Australian early bilinguals, belonging to generation 1.5, as well as on the emotional resonance of Russian and English and their language preferences for expressing emotions. The research questions motivating this study are:

- RQ1: Do the emotion vocabulary and emotional speech of Russian-Australian 1.5ers, in Russian and English, differ from that of monolingual speakers of their two respective languages? If so, in what ways and to what extent?
- RQ2: Does the group of Russian-Australian 1.5ers under examination perceive any difference in the emotional resonance of their two languages, Russian and English, and if so, in what ways?
- RQ3: What are these speakers' language preferences for expressing emotions?

In line with previous studies on bilingualism and emotions (see Chapter 3), I expected the following outcomes:

- The emotional speech and emotion vocabulary elicited by the group of Russian-Australian 1.5ers in English (their chronological L2) will be very close to the English monolingual norm, while in Russian (their chronological L1), it will be further from the Russian monolingual norm (RQ1);

- The two languages will have the same emotional resonance (RQ2);
- If there are any differences in language emotional resonance, these differences will depend on language competence, namely the language perceived as stronger is expected to be perceived as more emotional (RQ2);
- The language chosen to express emotions will depend on language competence, namely those participants who reported a higher competence in one language over the other are expected to favour this language for emotional expression (RQ3);
- The language chosen to express emotions will depend on language emotionality, namely those participants who reported a higher emotional resonance for one language over the other are expected to favour this language for emotional expression (RQ3).

4.3. Methodological framework

The first seminal studies on bilingualism and emotions appeared in the twentieth century (see, e.g., Arsenian, 1945; Ervin-Tripp, 1954, 1964, 1967; Vildomec, 1963; Weinreich, 1953). However, this scholarly research area emerged steadily only at the beginning of this century (see e.g. Dewaele, 2010a; Pavlenko, 2005a, 2006b; Wierzbicka, 2004). As discussed in Chapter 3, this research area is at the crossroads of various fields of investigation, and, as such, it has been analysed with multiple approaches, coming from sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, semantics, cognitive psychology, social psychology, just to name a few. By virtue of its interdisciplinary nature, the present study drew upon various methodological approaches, employed and discussed in bi-/ multilingualism and SLA research. Within these spheres of research, various scholars have insisted on the importance of integrating participants' perspectives, reflections and feelings on their own experiences (Duff, 2007; Firth & Wagner, 2007; Ogarkova, Borgeaud, & Scherer, 2009; Williams & Burden, 1999), namely adopting what Pike (1954) named an "emic perspective", often neglected in favour of broader generalisations. The opposition between – and the terms – emic and etic epistemological perspectives, according to Pike (1954), sees etic analyses as applying analytical and rigorous methods from the social sciences, with the aim of finding relationships between variables and ultimately comparing and generalising results to broader contexts (Dewaele, 2009, p. 164). An emic approach, conversely, "builds on normal human experience as an ultimate starting point for the development of postulates of science" (Pike, personal correspondence, in

Dewaele, 2010a, p. 31). Emic analyses do not strive to generalise their results, but they focus on the participants' subjective experiences (Ogarkova *et al.*, 2009). Therefore, they are centred on the individuals, considered, in line with a post-modernist view, not as "bunches of variables" (Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2001), but for "their unique cultural, linguistic, psychological, social and cognitive characteristics, who function within well-determined sociocultural contexts" (Dewaele, 2010a, p. 35). The centrality on individuals, rather than on groups, which may be heterogeneous, and therefore may hide individual differences, represents the novelty of this approach, as bi-/ multilingualism and SLA research has traditionally done the opposite (Dewaele, 2010a, pp. 34-35).

Qualitative methods have been considered as suitable to provide an emic perspective on participants' experiences and views (MacIntyre, 2007), as they take into consideration individual differences (Dörnyei, 2007). Conversely, quantitative studies focus on general tendencies (Włosowicz, 2014), and are not concerned with in-depth exploration of the causes behind a phenomenon; to paraphrase (MacIntyre, 2007), they take a "snapshot", but not a "picture". The limits of a solely quantitative approach have been acknowledged also by scholars who used to favour it. Reflecting on some studies on the use of emotion words (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002, 2003), Dewaele (2010a, p. 39) noticed that applying an etic perspective only often allows researchers to delineate relationships among variables, but not to understand the causes behind these relationships. To overcome this limitation and avoid the dichotomy quantitative-qualitative, various scholars have advocated for the use of mixed methods (Dewaele; 2010a; MacIntyre, 2007; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2018a; Ushioda, 2001), which give the opportunity to triangulate data and enhance their validation (Dewaele, 2004b, 2010a), as the phenomenon under analysis is investigated from various perspectives.

In line with these considerations, I adopted a mixed-method approach, combining qualitative and quantitative analyses. Acknowledging the importance of the emic perspective, namely the centrality of participants and their own reflections on their experiences, greater attention was devoted to the qualitative analysis. The quantitative part consisted only of descriptive statistics, as a large sample of participants would be required in order to apply also inferential statistics methods. Following the principle of triangulation, two data sets were collected – fictional narratives and debriefing interviews (see discussion below and Sections 4.4.2 and 4.4.3 for details) – each used for different purposes.

To analyse the relationship between languages and emotions, namely whether speakers of different languages interpret and verbalise emotions somewhat differently, scholars have analysed distinctive emotion concepts and terms, typical for particular languages and cultures (see, e.g., Doi, 1981; Morsbach, & Tyler, 1986; Panayioutou, 2004a, 2004b; Wierzbicka, 1986, 1992). Among these, particular attention has been devoted to the differences between English and Russian languages and cultures (Levontina & Zalizniak, 2001; Wierzbicka, 1992, 1998a, 1998b, 2002), described in Sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.3. According to Wierzbicka (1998a), one of the main differences in the conceptualisation of emotions between these two languages is that Russian conceptualises emotions as actions, while English as states – a difference reflected also in the morphosyntactic[1] categories used in these two languages.

As discussed in Section 3.3, bilinguals' expression and perception of emotions have been examined in various spheres. Despite insisting on the importance of participants' emic perspectives, most studies have investigated huge corpora of data, and participants coming from different backgrounds, with a variety of language combinations and language learning histories (see, e.g., Dewaele, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2010a, 2010b, 2015b, 2016a; Dewaele & Nakano, 2013; Dewaele & Salomidou, 2017; Pavlenko, 2004a; Resnik, 2018b). Although these accounts provide rich insights on bilinguals' emotional expression, they failed to recognise the uniqueness of participants' histories, as well as cultural factors which might influence these perceptions and choices. To overcome this difficulty, for the present study I focussed on a specific group of speakers, sharing very similar language learning trajectories, cultural and language background.

Fictional narratives were collected in order to analyse the emotion vocabulary and emotional speech of the group of 1.5ers under examination (see RQ1). This method was employed in numerous studies (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002, 2003; Pavlenko, 2002a, 2002b, 2002c, 2003a, 2003b, 2008b, 2010; Pavlenko & Driagina, 2007), and it proved itself appropriate to elicit reasonably homogeneous retellings and avoid a huge variation in the data, which, conversely, is typical for personal narratives (Pavlenko, 2003b; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2002, see also the next section for further discussion on the choice of

[1] In this and in the following chapters, I use the terms *morphosyntactic category*, *grammatical category*, *word class* and *part of speech* interchangeably. I refer, in particular, to emotion verbs, adjectives, nouns and adverbs, the parts of speech that can denote emotions.

fictional narratives). This data was analysed qualitatively, as well as quantitively (see Section 4.6.2.1 for a description of the data analysis).

Debriefing interviews were collected to analyse language emotional resonance and language preferences for emotional expression (see RQ2 and RQ3). Most studies on these topics employed web-questionnaires (Dewaele, 2004a, 2006, 2008, 2010a, 2016a; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a, 2012b, 2013; Pavlenko, 2004a; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2018a, 2018b; Resnik, 2018a, 2018b), some of which complemented questionnaires with interviews (Dewaele, 2010a; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2018a; Resnik, 2018b). I opted for semi-structured interviews in order to gather extensive and more in-depth information on the participants' socio-histories and perspectives on their experiences, recognising they would contribute to a better emic perspective, whose assets I delineated above. In order to delve into the participants' perceptions, comments, and histories in detail, this data was analysed only qualitatively (see Section 4.6.2.2).

4.4. Study design

4.4.1. Study participants

This study focuses on a group of Russian-Australian 1.5ers, investigated during adulthood. In order to be considered as 1.5ers, possible participants had to meet the following criteria:

- born in a Russian-speaking country,
- raised with Russian as their L1, family and only language,
- migrated to Australia (or to another English-speaking country first, and later to Australia) during primary school years, between the age of 6 and 12, and learned English as their L2, after migration.

As they were examined during their adulthood, respondents were aged between 18 and 41 and had lived in Australia for a minimum of 7 years at the time of the interview. Both fictional narratives and debriefing interviews were elicited with the group of 1.5ers. The participants could choose the language, either English or Russian, to use for both tasks. As far as fictional narratives were concerned, the goal was to obtain a balance in terms of number of retellings in Russian and in English. For the debriefing interviews, conversely,

no language balance was required, therefore the language employed for this second part depended exclusively on participants' preference.

The study included two control groups, with similar characteristics in terms of age and gender to the bilingual group, one composed of Russian monolinguals, and one composed of English monolinguals, speakers of the Australian variety. The aim of the two control groups was to compare their use of emotion vocabulary with that of the bilingual group. Therefore, only fictional narratives were elicited by these participants in their respective native languages, i.e. either in Russian, for the Russian monolingual group, or in English, for the Australian monolingual group.

4.4.1.1. Recruitment of the bilingual participants

Since bilinguals were the focus of the study, first of all I recruited bilingual participants. I sent my call for participants to different possible sources, both via email and in person. Appendix 2, outlining the recruitment strategies, contains a list of all the associations and groups contacted, and of all the different advertising materials used.

All the potential respondents who showed interest in this study were sent a short explanation of the research project, the criteria and what their participation would involve. They were also redirected to the following link with the description of the research, as published on the website 'Russian speakers in Australia': http://www.avstralia.com.au/announcements/language-use-narratives-early-russian-english-bilinguals/. All the potential participants who confirmed the criteria (see Section 4.4.1 for the criteria) and agreed to participate were accepted for the study. Overall, I received numerous responses and considerable interest, with the channels which turned out to be the most effective being personal referrals, the University of Melbourne portal and Facebook groups.

4.4.1.2. Recruitment of the monolingual participants

The monolingual groups served as control groups, and, as such, they were determined by the bilingual groups. The main objective was to match the bilinguals with the monolinguals in terms of age, gender, and language of retelling used for the fictional narratives. The reason why I proposed to match monolinguals and bilinguals not only for the language of retelling, but also for age and gender is justified by the fact that these

variables might affect their speech (Coates, 2000; Halpern & LaMay, 2000; Heller & Dobbs, 1993). While other factors might also affect discourse, such as education, profession, socio-economic status, as claimed by various studies (MacKenzie, 1999; Paltridge, 2012), I decided to take into account only age and gender factors as they are the most studied and most discussed in the scholarly literature, and also so not to too strictly limit the criteria for participation. I considered as monolinguals individuals who claimed that they did not speak one or more foreign languages (except to a very basic level studied at school), and who had not lived in a foreign speaking country (except for brief vacations), or been exposed to a foreign language, for long periods.

4.4.1.2.1. Russian monolinguals

Russian monolinguals were recruited in August and September 2017, during my two months of data collection in Moscow. There, I advertised my research (see Appendix 2) on the online forum https://otvet.mail.ru/ and through friends and personal connections, the latter being the most successful channel.

4.4.1.2.2. Australian-English monolinguals

Australian-English monolinguals were recruited in Melbourne alongside with the bilingual participants, from April to July 2017 and again in December 2017, through the University of Melbourne portal (see Appendix 2). In order to keep the participants homogeneous, I limited my research only to speakers of Australian-English, so I excluded other varieties of English (British, Canadian, American, etc.).

As for the recruitment of bilingual participants, all the potential monolingual respondents, both Russian and Australian-English, who expressed interest in participating in the research were contacted again with a short explanation of the research project and to confirm they fitted the criteria.

4.4.1.3. Overview of the bilingual participants

The bilingual group consisted of 26 participants, 16 female and 10 male, residing in the Melbourne area,[2] ranging from 18 to 41 years old (M= 27.92). They had all been born in a Russian-speaking country (Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Moldova), before or after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and were raised speaking only Russian at home. They all moved to Australia between the ages of 6 and 12. Three participants moved first to New Zealand, and one moved to an English-speaking province of Canada, and afterwards they moved to Australia. One participant moved permanently to Australia at the age of 15, but from the age of 6, moved back and forth between the United Kingdom and Russia. In term of order of acquisition of languages, they all acquired Russian as their L1 and English as their L2 (*sequential bilingualism*), after moving to an English-speaking country. Some participants spent a few months or longer periods in Russia, or in their native country, in adulthood, while a few lived also in other countries after migrating to Australia (Colombia, Germany, United Kingdom) and spoke other languages apart from English and Russian (mainly Spanish and German). However, their use of these languages and their broader multilingualism was not investigated, as it is beyond the scope of this study.

Within this group, 14 participants (8 female and 6 male) did the first task in Russian, while 12 (8 female and 4 male) did it in English. In order to differentiate these participants according to the language used for the first task, this group was further subdivided into two groups, referred to in the next sections, and in the following chapters, with the following acronyms:

- BR (Bilinguals- in Russian): refers to the group of bilinguals/1.5ers, whose fictional narratives were in Russian;
- BE (Bilinguals- in English): refers to the group of bilinguals/1.5ers, whose fictional narratives were in English.

As for the second task, 10 participants (5 female and 5 male) had the debriefing interview in Russian and 16 (11 female and 5 male) had it in English. However, as mentioned, for this task the language used was not important, as it was not required to

[2] At the moment of the data collection, one participant had been living in Norway for one year and a half, where she communicated mainly in English, but before that she had lived all her life in Melbourne since migration.

have a balance between interviews in English and interviews in Russian. Table 4.1[3] below shows the language used by each participant for each task.

Name	**Language used for the fictional narrative**	**Language used for the debriefing interview**
Bogdan	English	English
Boris	Russian	Russian
Eleonora	Russian	Russian
Elena	English	English
Eva	Russian	English
Igor	Russian	Russian
Inna	Russian	English
Julia	Russian	Russian
Kirill	Russian	Russian
Larisa	English	English
Leonid	English	English
Maksim	Russian	Russian
Maria	Russian	Russian
Maya	English	English
Nikita	English	English
Oleg	English	English
Olga	English	English
Pavel	Russian	Russian
Tanya	Russian	English
Valentina	English	English
Valeria	English	English
Vera	Russian	Russian
Veronika	English	English

[3] All names shown here and in the following chapters are pseudonyms.

Viktoria	Russian	Russian
Vladimir	Russian	English
Yana	English	English
Total: 26	**Total in Russian: 14** **Total in English: 12**	**Total in Russian: 10** **Total in English: 16**

Table 4.1: Language used by the participants for the fictional narrative and the debriefing interview.

4.4.1.4. Overview of the monolingual participants

As mentioned in Section 4.4.1.2, the monolingual participants were matched with the bilinguals for gender,[4] age and language of retelling of the movie. For the sake of brevity, I use the following acronyms to identify the two groups of monolinguals:

- MR (Monolingual Russians): refers to the control group of Russian monolinguals;
- ME (Monolingual English): refers to the control group of Australian-English monolinguals.

The control group of Russian monolinguals, recruited and interviewed in Moscow, consisted of 14 people, 8 female and 6 male, aged between 19 and 37 (M= 28.86). They were all born in Soviet Union or Russia and raised speaking Russian only at home. As English is the first foreign language and a compulsory subject taught in Russian schools nowadays, inevitably all the participants had had some exposure to English. However, they all confirmed that they were not fluent in it, mastering only the basics learned at school. Similarly, very few participants declared that they had been exposed to other foreign languages (Italian or Greek), mainly through formal instruction, but their skills never went beyond a basic level. They claimed that they had not spent long periods out of Russia, other than short holidays.

The control group of Australian-English monolinguals, recruited and interviewed in Melbourne, consisted of 12 people, 8 female and 4 male, aged between 18 and 39 (M= 27). They were all born in Australia and were raised speaking only English at home. Some of them studied a foreign language at school (Spanish or French), which they knew only

[4] However, considering the small number of participants, gender differences were not investigated.

up to a very basic level. They had all spent most of their lives only in Australia, although some had lived in other English-speaking countries (United Kingdom, United States) for up to one year. Two respondents had lived in non-English-speaking countries (France and Netherlands) for a few months, although they claimed that they communicated solely in English there.

	No. of participants	**Age range**	**Language used for the fictional narrative**	**Language used for the debriefing interview**
Bilingual group	26: Female: 16 Male: 10	18-41 M= 27.92	Russian (BR): 14 Female: 8 Male: 6	Russian: 10 Female: 5 Male: 5
			English (BE): 12 Female: 8 Male: 4	English: 16 Female: 11 Male: 5
Russian monolingual control group (MR)	14: Female: 8 Male: 6	19-37 M= 28.86	Russian	/
Australian-English monolingual control group (ME)	12: Female: 8 Male: 4	18-39 M= 27	English	/

Table 4.2: Participants' profile (age range, gender (M/F), language used for the two tasks).

4.4.2. First task: fictional narratives

Fictional narratives were preferred over other methods for various reasons. Firstly, the choice of oral elicitations, rather than written, was justified by the fact that the former category usually better recreates spontaneous speech (Pavlenko, 2008b). Secondly, fictional narratives proved to be a successful method to analyse the use of the diverse parts of speech employed by different speakers. Thirdly, fictional narratives resulted to be the best method to avoid great variation in the data (Pavlenko, 2003b; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2002). Although individual variation in retellings cannot be avoided completely, participants were expected to limit their lexical choices to the content of the stimulus presented, which should facilitate the comparison among retellings (Pavlenko, 2008b).

Furthermore, fictional narratives can be considered as a 'safe' option to limit the influence of other variables, like introversion or extraversion (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002), which would play a significant role and should be taken into consideration if employing personal narratives.

The short film chosen to elicit fictional narratives is called *Love Sick*, by Kevin Lacy (2011). It is centred on the story of a young man, obsessed with the idea of love, who goes through various vicissitudes to find a partner. The first scene presents the main character, the young man, in a park, while his (presumably) girlfriend breaks up with him and yells at him. The protagonist leaves the park, seeming very upset, and a teenager, who has witnessed the scene of his break-up, laughs at him. Following this, the main character heads to a tram stop, where he sees a girl, who is getting on a tram. The girl smiles at him, he realises that he likes her, but, because of a brief hesitation, he misses the tram, so decides to run after it to catch up with the girl. He is slowed down by various unfortunate events (the traffic light is red, a car hits him), but he finds a solution to accelerate his quest; he meets again the teenager who was laughing at him in the park, steals his bike and continues his chase. However, he punctures a tyre of the stolen bike and sees the tram going past him. At this moment, when he has lost all his hopes, he sees the girl sitting in a café. He rushes into this place, starts to talk to her and takes out of his pocket a ring to propose to her. He is interrupted by a man, who scolds him and kicks him out. In the final scene, the young man is sitting on a bench in a park, when another girl jogs past, smiles at him and catches his attention. The movie ends with the young man getting up the bench and running after her. The original is 4:30-minute long, but I adapted it to a slightly shorter version (3:55 minutes), cutting some scenes where English captions were displayed and a short part depicting the main character's long chase. Also, the original version is spoken (in English): it is a sort of stream of consciousness of the protagonist's thoughts and feelings while all these vicissitudes happen. I eliminated the main character's voice and replaced it with a soundtrack, called *Farewell to Life* by Arn Andersson (2014). This is to replicate the choices adopted in previous research (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002, 2003; Pavlenko, 2002a, 2002b, 2003a, 2003b, 2008b, 2010; Pavlenko & Driagina, 2007; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2002), which employed silent movie prompts, accompanied by a music soundtrack. Silent movies, in fact, have various advantages. Firstly, they can be used with speakers of different languages, as is the case for the present study. Secondly, respondents are forced to retell the story based only on what they see.

In voiced movies, in fact, it is likely that the participants would be influenced by the speech they hear, and would possibly be prompted to use the same, or similar, words they hear.

I selected the movie *Love Sick* because of its short duration, ideal for the aim of this research, and because it has a simple plot, easily understandable even without words. Most importantly, it portrays different emotions, therefore I expected it to prompt the participants to use a vast range of emotion vocabulary.Nine screenshots from the movie, depicting diverse emotions (anger, sadness, disappointment, joy, frustration, etc.) were selected, to be shown to the participants after watching the film. The reason for employing both the movie and some screenshots was justified by various considerations. Firstly, to obviate memory issues, the use of the stills served the participants to recount the movie plot more easily. Secondly, I expected the screenshots to induce the participants to focus on the emotion shown in each scene, and, consequently, to use emotional vocabulary and not to digress on to other topics, as showed by the pilot study (see Section 4.5.1).

In line with Wierzbicka's (1992, 1998a, 1998b) theories about emotional expression in Russian and Anglo cultures, as well as Pavlenko's (2002a, 2002b) empirical studies, the Australian monolingual group was expected to employ mainly adjectives in their narratives, while Russian monolinguals were expected to use a wider variety of constructions (verbs, adverbs, adjectives, nouns), but to employ mainly emotion verbs, to refer to the body more often when describing the emotions of the movie characters, and to use more idiomatic and figurative expressions. The bilingual speakers were, on the one hand, expected to use, in Russian, a narrower range of emotion words in general, compared to the monolingual group. They were also expected to employ a narrower range of morphosyntactic categories, similarly to the late Russian-American bilinguals analysed by Pavlenko's (2002a), and to prefer an adjectival pattern. Lastly, they were also expected to show some difficulties in the employment of some Russian emotion concepts, due to L1 attrition, similarly to learners of Russian (Pavlenko & Driagina, 2007). On the other hand, in English the bilingual group was expected to use emotion vocabulary very similarly to the Australian monolingual group.

4.4.3. Second task: debriefing interviews

Fictional narratives were complemented with debriefing interviews, aimed at facilitating the overall process of participants' contextualisation and at obtaining a more emic perspective about Russian-Australian 1.5ers from the participants themselves. The decision to integrate fictional narratives with debriefing interviews is supported by various arguments. Firstly, interviews allow the researcher to get in contact more closely with the participants – each interview is highly shaped by the relationship researcher-participant (Pavlenko, 2002c). Secondly, they oblige the researcher to delve into group heterogeneity and to investigate individual variation (Włosowicz, 2014).

These interviews were semi-structured (see Appendix 1 for interview structure) and consisted of two parts: the first part concerned participants' contextualisation, therefore it intended to gain information about their personal histories (age of migration, family context, schooling, etc.), perceived language dominance and fluency, and language use. The second part was centred on the participants' relationship with their languages and investigated language emotionality and emotional expression. In a way, the first part of these interviews, dealing with the participants' life histories, can be considered as autobiographical. This part was shaped on the model of *elicited life stories*, a method used by Driagina and Pavlenko (2007). This type of narrative allows researchers to investigate the meaning that each person gives to his or her own experiences (Dörnyei, 2007), and how these have affected the use and relationship that one has with their languages. These stories, as very individual, are important for the analysis of complex situations (ibid.), and help make sense of all the variables and circumstances which affect people's very diverse language trajectories. At the same time, they also give an insight into personal metalinguistic awareness (Gabryś-Barker, 2004), motivations (Dörnyei & Skehan, 2013), strategies of language use. The structure of the second part of the interview was also designed with previous scholarly literature in mind. The aim, in fact, was to talk about language emotionality and emotional expression, and, as such, to cover a handful of topics investigated in previous research, in particular anger (Dewaele, 2006), swearing and its perception (Dewaele, 2004a, 2010b), positive feelings (Caldwell-Harris *et al.*, 2012; Dewaele, 2008), language choice for parent-child communication (Pavlenko, 2004a), and also feelings of difference when speaking the L1 and L2 (Dewaele, 2016b; Dewaele & Nakano, 2013; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2018a, 2018b).

The group of 1.5ers examined for the present study was expected to show considerable variation in terms of self-reported language skills, in turn connected to the age of onset of bilingualism, but it was anticipated that most participants would feel more competent in English, their chronological L2. They were expected to perceive the same emotionality for both languages, by virtue of having learned them in childhood (Harris *et al*., 2006). Alternatively, perceived language emotional resonance was expected to be related to language skills, namely the language they reported as stronger was expected to be perceived as more emotional (Harris, 2004). Language choices for emotional expression were supposed to depend on language skills; therefore, the self-reported strongest language was expected to be preferred to express emotions. Otherwise, a possible connection between language emotionality and emotional expression was predicted, namely the language perceived as more emotional was expected to be favoured for emotional expression.

4.5. Data collection

All data was collected by myself, a doctoral student fluent both in English and Russian, although neither of these is my L1. Data was collected from February to December 2017. All participants were met and interviewed individually.

4.5.1. Piloting

Prior to the data collection a pilot study was conducted with Russian and Australian-English native speakers to trial the fictional narrative task and to assess the suitability of the movie chosen for this research. The piloting served to ascertain whether the movie plot was easily understandable and whether it was appropriate to elicit emotion vocabulary. In addition, the piloting aimed at determining whether native speakers of Russian and English would retell the movie somewhat differently, particularly in their use of emotion vocabulary. The piloting involved native speakers of Australian-English and Russian, although not monolingual, recruited, on a voluntary basis, in the School of Languages and Linguistics of the University of Melbourne and among my friends.

The piloting consisted of two phases, each phase involving four speakers: two native speakers of Russian and two native speakers of Australian-English for the first

stage, and two (different) native speakers of Russian and two native speakers of Australian-English for the second phase (a total of eight subjects). During the first phase, the first four respondents (two for each language) were shown the movie *Love Sick* described above in Section 4.4.2, and they were asked to retell the plot. In this instance, the respondents did not use many emotion terms, as they often digressed giving their interpretation of its content. During the second phase, by contrast, four different respondents were shown the movie, afterwards they were shown ten stills from it, and they were asked to retell the movie characters' actions and feelings depicted in each screenshot (see Section 4.5.2.1 for the exact instructions given to the participants). On this occasion, the respondents used a wide variety of emotion vocabulary, therefore this method was adopted for the final study. However, one of the screenshots created some confusion among the subjects, as most of them could not remember what this scene was referred to. For this reason, this scene was excluded from the final study, which involved only nine screenshots.

4.5.2. Data collection process with the bilingual participants

As explained earlier, in line with the principle of methodological triangulation, two different tasks elicited data from the bilingual participants: a movie narrative and a debriefing interview. All the participants were compensated with $30 for their time. The interviews took place either at the University of Melbourne, or at the participants' office or house, or at my house.

4.5.2.1. Fictional narratives

For the first task, fictional narratives, the respondents watched a 4-minute silent movie (described in Section 4.4.2). They were then shown nine stills from the movie and asked to describe the scenes orally. They described the screenshots one by one as I scrolled through them and recorded their speech. There were not particular guidelines in terms of length or details of description; the participants decided themselves whether to talk at length or concisely. I was as silent as possible and did not intervene in their retellings, unless the participants asked for clarifications. The participants decided in advance whether to do the task in Russian or in English. The goal was to have half of the retellings in Russian and half in English, so that these narratives could be compared to each other

and to those elicited by the monolinguals, in English and in Russian. The participants were given the opportunity to choose the language of their preference for the interview, or, if they had no specific preference, I would ask them whether they agreed to perform in the language in which I was short of participants at that moment, to maintain the language balance. No constraints were imposed, and they were free to change their mind at any time. As explained in Section 4.4.1.3, at the end of the data collection the bilingual group was subdivided into two groups, according to the language used for the fictional narrative (BR group and BE group).

In line with the principle of "language mode" (Grosjean, 2001), all participants were instructed in the language they chose for the retelling. Specifically, they were instructed to describe, for each screenshot, the movie character's actions and feelings. Depending on whether they chose to do the task in English or Russian, they were given the following instructions, in English: "I am going to show you a short-movie, which is 4-minute long, and afterwards, nine stills from it. For each scene, please describe what the character is doing and his or her feelings". Similarly, in Russian they were instructed as follows: "Sejčas ja Vam pokažu korotkometražnyj fil'm, 4-kh minut, a potom devyat' kadr iz fil'ma. Po každoj scene, opišite, požalujsta, to, čto geroj ili gerojnja delaet i ego ili ejo čuvstva".

As shown in the flyers distributed (see Appendix 2), this project was given a fictitious title "Language use and narratives in Early Russian-English bilinguals", in order not to disclose the exact research focus of the study, i.e. the relationship between bilingualism and emotions, before the interviews. When corresponding with potential participants, they were informed about the movie task – but not the movie content – and were generically told that in the debriefing interview we would discuss their use and relationship with their two languages. The intent was not to influence the participants' retellings, which were meant to be as natural as possible. Although the participants were instructed to describe the movie characters' emotions, telling them explicitly that one of the focus of the research was emotion terms would have probably induced them to pick up words studiously and, consequently, unnaturally. However, after the movie task, the exact purpose of the research was disclosed – some of them had already guessed the research topic by themselves, as the movie content explicitly presents emotional display.

4.5.2.2. Debriefing interviews

The aim of the debriefing interviews was twofold. Firstly, they intended to collect information about the bilingual participants' histories, use of Russian and English, their relationship with these two languages, their language choices to express emotions, and everything that might affect these factors. Secondly, they aimed to use this information to interpret, when possible, the participants' use of emotion words, examined through the fictional narratives. In the first part of the debriefing interview, we discussed the respondents' life histories, their migration, schooling, studies and their perceived language skills. We discussed also their language use with different people, and L1 maintenance, namely whether they read or watched TV in Russian, whether they had contacts with the Russian community or with Russian-speaking friends. After this introductory and ice-breaking presentation, in the second part of the interview, the participants were asked to talk about their emotional relationship with their Russian and English, namely about the emotional resonance that these languages might, or might not, have for them, and their preferences for certain spheres of emotional expression. As mentioned, these interviews were semi-structured, which means that I had a list of topics to discuss (see Appendix 1 for the interview structure), based on previous research in bilingualism and emotions – anger and swearing, positive feelings, parent-child communication, emotional topics, inner thinking, feelings of difference when switching language. However, the participants were given the freedom to converse openly, and preferably to lead the conversation themselves. I would bring the conversation back to its focus if they deviated too much from the main themes of discussion, or I would ask for clarifications or more details when something interesting was mentioned, but I felt could be further expanded. In cases where the participants were less keen to talk or shy, I would ask more questions and generally talk more. Primarily, the aim was to create a friendly atmosphere with them and to establish a genuine contact – a human-to-human conversation, rather than a researcher-to-interviewee relationship – which would prompt them to talk openly and extensively. As the participants were invited to lead the conversation when possible, not all topics were discussed to the same extent by all of them. Furthermore, the participants were encouraged to add any reflections relevant to the relationship between languages and emotions. Some of them spontaneously moved the discussion also towards spheres that had not originally been foreseen (for example humour).

The participants were given the freedom to choose the preferred language for the debriefing interview. Most of the time, the language employed for the movie task was maintained, as usually that was the participant's declared preference, and because the relationship between the participant and myself was established in that language. However, four participants who retold the movie in Russian preferred to switch to English. Since for this task there was no need to have a balance between the two languages, any language choice for this part was welcome, the only constraint being to make the participants feel as comfortable as possible and to use the language they were more at ease in. Table 4.1 above contains the list of all the bilingual participants, and the language they used for the two tasks.

4.5.3. Data collection process with the monolingual participants

The aim of the two control groups was to compare the emotional speech and emotion vocabulary used to describe the movie by the bilinguals, in Russian and in English, with the emotional speech elicited by Russian and English monolinguals. Therefore, the monolingual participants carried out only the first task.

The monolingual participants were given the same instructions as the bilinguals and the exact research purpose was not disclosed to them before the interview (see Appendix 2 for the leaflets used to recruit monolingual participants). They were generally informed that, as control groups, their speech would be compared to the speech of bilinguals and only after the task they were informed about the precise research focus, as it happened with the bilinguals. The monolingual participants completed also a short questionnaire (see Appendix 4) with nominal data about their age and their possible foreign language knowledge and level, aimed at confirming their biographical information and that they were monolinguals, and therefore suitable for the research purposes.

As with the bilinguals, the monolingual participants also received a $30 compensation for their time – the Russian group received the equivalent in roubles, i.e. 1250. The interviews with the Australian control group took place at the University of Melbourne, while the Russian monolingual participants were met in public places in Moscow, mainly cafés, or at the participants' offices.

4.6. Data analysis

In order to protect the identity of the participants, all were assigned a pseudonym, which was used throughout the data analysis and in the results discussion. Before starting the data analysis, and to facilitate this process, all bilingual participants were categorised for their biographical information – mainly country of birth, age at the time of the interview, age of migration, length of exposure to English, education level (see Section 4.4.1.3 and Appendix 5).

4.6.1. Transcriptions

Overall, I collected 15:15:16 hours of data. 3:14:07 hours were fictional narratives, elicited both by the bilinguals (1:05:39 hours elicited by the BR group and 45:33 minutes elicited by the BE group) and the monolinguals (39:43 minutes elicited by the MR group and 43:12 minutes elicited by the ME group). All pauses to switch from one screenshot to the next one were subtracted from this count. 12:01:09 hours were debriefing interviews, elicited from the bilingual participants.

Each interview was transcribed with the programme Transcribe, an Internet tool, which allows one to convert audio recordings into text in a variety of languages, including English and Russian. The researcher can listen to the recording, dictate directly to the computer, while an engine converts the dictated speech into text. The movie interviews were transcribed verbatim (Appendix 6 describes transcription conventions and contains a sample of transcription of the fictional narratives and of the debriefing interviews). As for the debriefing interviews, in light of the considerable amount of hours collected, and considering the fact that many of them contained long digressions about unrelated topics, these interviews were not transcribed entirely. Only the discourse relevant to the topics investigated was transcribed verbatim, while all diversions whose content was not pertinent for this study were not transcribed.

I opted for denaturalised transcripts, rather than naturalised ones. Naturalised transcripts, typical of conversation analysis, strive to transcribe all utterances in as much details as possible and concentrate on the tools and mechanisms of the conversation, such as turn-taking, repair techniques, overlaps (Oliver, Serovich, & Mason, 2005). Denaturalised transcripts, on the other hand, are considered to be better suited for qualitative content analyses (Sandelowski, 1994), as they are a "more *polished*" (Azevedo

et al., 2017, p.161) type of transcription, which focuses on the informational content and meanings (MacLean, Meyer, & Estable, 2004; Stuckey, 2014). Thus, all sorts of pauses, false starts and other non-verbal sounds, such as laughter and interjections, were annotated and described in the transcripts as part of the speech, but not detailed, in order not to add weight to the transcripts and not to lose sight of their content. Overall, the purpose of these transcriptions was to analyse the participants' emotion vocabulary, and to understand their thoughts, experiences, perceptions about their languages, and how their personal history linked to the way they perceived these languages. For these reasons, the focus of the transcriptions was not to detail *how* the participants used language, but on the words they used and their meaning.

The transcriptions were either in English or in Russian, depending on the language employed for the interview; only the quotes in Russian presented in this thesis have been translated into English – the English translation is presented in italics after the original in Russian. All translations are my own and are as literal as possible. Russian quotes containing grammatical mistakes have not been altered; however, the English translation is presented correctly. All Russian quotes presented in the following chapters, and their translations, were verified by the Co-researcher of this project, who is a native speaker of English and fluent in Russian.

All instances of code-switching, to English during interviews in Russian, and vice versa, were transcribed using the corresponding alphabet and italicised. Appendix 6 contains a few samples of the transcriptions of the fictional narratives and the debriefing interviews, both in Russian and in English, and the transcription conventions used.

4.6.2. Analysis of the data

For this study, a mixed method data analysis approach was employed, although qualitative analyses were predominant. In fact, in-depth qualitative analyses, typical of an emic approach, offer the opportunity to delve more deeply into the individual participants' comments and experiences. It is important to highlight that an in-depth analysis of individual characteristics was possible because of the limited size of the corpus examined. At the same time, the limited size of the corpus would not allow for a generalisable quantitative analysis.

The fictional narratives were analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively, while the debriefing interviews were analysed only qualitatively.

4.6.2.1. Analysis of the fictional narratives

The first level of analysis of emotional speech and emotion vocabulary applied to the fictional narratives was at a word level. Firstly, for each fictional narrative, all content words were identified and counted. *Content words*, called also *lexical words* are words that have meaning, such as nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives. They are different from *function words*, referred to also as *structure* or *grammatical words*, which have only a grammar function, such as prepositions, conjunctions, auxiliary verbs, articles and pronouns. Subsequently, among all content words, all emotion words were identified. Following Pavlenko's (2008a, p. 148) classification, I considered as emotion words, not only *emotion words per se*, i.e. words describing an emotional state or process (for example *sad*, or *to worry*), but also *emotion-laden words* and *emotion-related words*. Emotion-laden words are words that elicit emotions, although they are not related to them, such as endearments, swearwords, insults (for example *idiot*, or *loser*), while emotion-related words are words describing behaviours and emotional display, although they do not name the actual emotion (for example *to scream*, or *tears*). Following this, all emotion words were divided between tokens – all instances of emotion words used – and types – the variety of different words used. Afterwards, all emotion words were divided according to the grammatical category they belong to – adjectives, verbs, nouns, adverbs – and the distinction between emotion word tokens and emotion word types was maintained for each grammatical category. Each emotion adjective, verb, noun and adverb was considered separately, in order to count the recurrence of each instance, i.e. the number of times each item was used. After carrying out this analysis for each fictional narrative, the total number of emotion words used by each group was computed, maintaining the distinction between tokens and types, and among the four grammatical categories considered (adjectives, verbs, nouns, adverbs). Appendix 7 contains a list of all emotion words used by each group, divided by grammatical category. The coding categories and the categorisation of emotion vocabulary were counterchecked by the Principal Researcher and the Co-Researcher of this project, in order to gauge their reliability.

In order to compare the four groups – BE, BR, ME, MR – as well as individuals, all these instances were counted and underwent descriptive statistical analysis. Mean

values were calculated for the number of emotion words (tokens and types) and of each grammatical category (tokens and types). The ratio of emotion words used, as opposed to total number of content words, and the ratio of each grammatical category used, as opposed to the total number of emotion words was also calculated.

The second level of analysis was applied at a sentence level. This level of analysis was only qualitative and consisted of identifying, for each grammatical category, the constructions used in conjunction with emotion words. The aim of this analysis was to examine emotion vocabulary at a morphosyntactic level, namely, to determine whether the bilingual participants used emotion vocabulary in a sentence in a similar fashion to the monolinguals.

In addition, all figurative expressions describing emotions by means of idioms and other non-standard expressions, and all references to the body (Pavlenko, 2002a; Wierzbicka, 1998a) were identified.

Possible similarities in the participants' emotional speech and use of emotion vocabulary, as well as possible connections between these aspects and bilinguals' biographical information (mainly age of onset of bilingualism, length of exposure to English, language used at home and with friends) were sought and identified (see also Section 4.6.2.3 below).

4.6.2.2. Analysis of the debriefing interviews

The debriefing interviews were analysed with Nvivo, a qualitative data analysis software, which enables one to work on data of different formats (audio files, texts, photos, spreadsheets, etc). Although this software allows researchers to code directly from audio-files, I decided to code the transcriptions, in order to better grasp not only main concepts and ideas, but also to work on words used, if necessary. In case some participants used expressions and phrases or specific words recurrently, I wanted to be able to identify them more easily, therefore I opted for a visual option – transcriptions – of their speech. All the interviews underwent qualitative content analysis. This method was favoured for its focus on meaning and description of patterns (Drisko & Maschi, 2016, p. 86). The descriptive nature of qualitative content analysis fits the purposes of emic approaches, centered on participants' experiences and views. I identified themes, which were both theory- and data-driven (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Core themes were theory-driven, as they were

identified a priori, based on the interview structure, which, in turn, was based on previous research. These themes were clustered around language emotionality, and various spheres of emotional expression (anger, swearing, positive feelings, parent-child communication, feelings of difference when switching languages). The coding was also data-driven, as other themes, and sub-themes, were identified only as they emerged spontaneously from the data.

After pinpointing themes and sub-themes, possible relationships were sought and identified. In particular, the relationships sought depended on the outcomes which were anticipated for the second and third research questions; for example, a possible relationship between perceived competence in Russian and English and language emotionality, or between perceived language competence and the various spheres of emotional expression. In addition, possible connections between RQ1, RQ2 and RQ3, and participants' biographical information were also explored (see also next section).

4.6.2.3. Combined analysis of the two datasets

The last level of analysis aimed at examining possible connections among the bilinguals' emotional speech and use of emotion vocabulary, investigated by RQ1, their perception of language emotionality and emotional expression, investigated by RQ2 and RQ3, and their biographical information and language use. In other words, this analysis intended to explore whether the bilinguals' use of emotion vocabulary was motivated by their language socio-histories and by their perceptions of language emotionality and language preferences to express emotions, or vice-versa, whether these perceptions and choices had an impact on their emotional speech.

Because of the small number of participants, this analysis was only qualitative, and was conducted separately for the group of bilinguals who elicited fictional narratives in Russian (BR group) and for those who elicited them in English (BE group). For each participant, possible connections among the following factors were considered. Factors a. to f. referred to the use of emotional vocabulary and emotional speech in the fictional narratives (RQ1); factors g. to l. referred to language emotionality (RQ2) and the different spheres of emotional expression (RQ3); factors m. to p. referred to biographical information, language learning and use:

a) Percentage of emotion adjectives used in the fictional narrative;

b) Percentage of emotion verbs used in the fictional narrative;
c) Percentage of emotion nouns used in the fictional narrative;
d) Percentage of emotion adverbs used in the fictional narrative;[5]
e) Number of figurative expressions referred to emotions;
f) Number of references to the body;
g) Perceived language emotionality;
h) Language preference for anger and swearing;
i) Language preference for positive feelings;
j) Language preference for parent-child communication;
k) Age of Onset of bilingualism (AoO);
l) Length of exposure to English;
m) Number of years of school in Russia;
n) Language used at home;
o) Language used with friends;
p) Perceived language dominance and competence.

These factors were used to assess whether the participants presented characteristics and language behaviour which were ascribable to and/or linked to a stronger influence of English or, conversely, a stronger influence of Russian. For factors a. to d. the percentages of emotion word tokens (divided into emotion adjectives, verbs, nouns and adverbs) used in the fictional narrative by each participant were considered. For factors e. and f., I considered the frequencies of figurative expressions and of references to the body used (see Table 4.4). A high percentage of emotion adjectives, a low percentage of emotion verbs, nouns and adverbs, a low number of figurative expressions referred to emotions and references to the body were considered as ascribable to "typical" English emotional speech. Conversely, a low percentage of emotion adjectives, a high percentage of emotion verbs, nouns and adverbs, a high number of figurative expressions and references to the body were considered as language features typical of Russian emotional speech.

[5] For factors a. to d., I considered the percentage of emotion word tokens.

a) emotion adjectives %	b) emotion verbs %	c) emotion nouns %	d) emotion adverbs %	e) No. of figurative expressions referred to emotions	f) No. of references to the body

Table 4.4: Factors used to examine emotion vocabulary and emotional speech.

In order to trace possible connections among (some of) these factors, and to determine whether some bilingual participants shared similar patterns, factors from g. to p. were analysed following a 1–3 point scale. That is, for each of these factors, the bilingual participants were assigned a number from 1 to 3, with number 1 used to refer to "English-oriented" features, number 3 corresponding to "Russian-oriented" characteristics, and number 2 used for median characteristics.

The scale used to analyse language emotionality and emotional expression is presented in Table 4.5. Number 1 corresponded to a preference for English for language emotionality and the various spheres of emotional expression, number 2 corresponded to no preference and/or balanced choice for both languages, while number 3 corresponded to a preference for Russian in these spheres. Based on these criteria, a number from 1 to 3 was attributed to each factor for all bilingual participants, who were analysed individually.

	g) perceived language emotionality	h) language used for anger and swearing	i) language used for positive feelings	j) preferred language used with children
1	English more emotional	Mostly English	Mostly English	Mostly English
2	Equally emotional	Both/depends	Both/depends	Both/depends
3	Russian more emotional	Mostly Russian	Mostly Russian	Mostly Russian

Table 4.5: Scale used for language emotionality and emotional expression.

To analyse the participants' biographical information and language use, similar values were used (see Table 4.6 below). Number 1 corresponded to characteristics which were expected to anticipate a stronger influence from English, namely an early onset of bilingualism, a very long exposure to English, (almost) no schooling in the home country

in Russian, predominance of English used with family and friends, and higher self-reported competence in English. On the other hand, number 3 corresponded to features, which, presumably, can be associated to a stronger influence of Russian, namely a later onset of bilingualism, a shorter exposure to English, (almost) completion of primary school in Russian, predominance of Russian used with family and friends, and higher self-reported competence in Russian. Number 2 was attributed to traits which can be positioned between the two opposites described above, i.e. a median age of onset, a relatively long exposure to English, some years of schooling in Russia, use of both languages with family and friends, equal self-reported competence in both languages.

	k) AoO	**l) length of exposure to English**	**m) years of schooling in Russia**	**n) language used at home**	**o) language used with friends**	**p) perceived language competence**
1	6-7 y.o.	21+ y.	0-1 y.	Mostly English	Mostly English	More competent in English
2	8-10 y.o.	14-20 y.	2-3 y.	Both English and Russian	Both English and Russian	Equally competent
3	11-12 y.o.	7-13 y.	4-5 y.	Mostly Russian	Mostly Russian	More competent in Russian

Table 4.6: Scale used for biographical information, language learning and use.

Subsequently, similarities and connections among the participants were explored. Those participants who shared similar patterns within the same group were regrouped together. In particular, in order to be considered as similar, participants had to share some characteristics on at least five factors, distributed as following:

- At least two factors referred to RQ1, i.e. the use of morphosyntactic categories in the fictional narratives (factors a., b., c.);[6]
- At least two factors referred to RQ2 and RQ3, i.e. language emotionality and emotional expression (factors from g. to j.).

[6] As emotion adjectives, verbs and nouns are the most employed morphosyntactic categories used to describe emotions, only these three elements were recognised as determinant for participants to be considered as similar and to be grouped together. This means that that use of emotion adverbs, figurative expressions referred to emotions and references to the body was analysed, but these were not considered as crucial factors to trace similarities in the emotional discourse of the participants.

- At least one factor referred to biographical information and language learning and use (factors from k. to p.).

4.7. Researcher positioning

As a "reflexive and reflective" (Sikes, 2004, p. 15) researcher, an essential ingredient in predominantly qualitative analyses, I interrogated myself on my positioning in relation to my study and my participants, above all the bilinguals/1.5ers. The terms *reflectivity* and *reflexivity*, often discussed in research, indicate two complementary attitudes shaping the researcher's mindset towards his or her own practices. On the one hand, reflectivity implies an observation of one's practices, while reflexivity, on the other, goes further than that. It entails questioning these practices and ourselves, it strives to understand how our way of being influences the way we relate to our object of investigation; in a word, it involves pondering on our role in the construction of meaning (Finlay, 2002, p. 531), and it brings change to the researcher as a result of social interaction (Hibbert, Coupland, & MacIntosh, 2010, p. 48).

My positioning towards the bilingual participants had several implications, both for the data collection and the analysis. I am not either a Russian native speaker, or an Australian, which often created a reaction of confusion among the participants. Not being part of the Russian community made me for certain aspects an outsider, in the sense in which this term was used by Merton (1972), who, considering researcher positioning, equates the opposition *insider/outsider* to the opposition member/non-member of the group studied. This does not imply that I do not have any knowledge, cultural and linguistic, of the community investigated, as Griffith (1998, p. 362) defines an outsider, but that my positioning as a non-member of the community entails a series of advantages and disadvantages. An outsider is likely to bring an external perspective to the topic discussed. In addition, an outsider might feel more prone to ask clarification questions, and consequently may allow the participants to expand more on their words, as opposed to an insider, who might give for granted some common knowledge shared by the members of the same culture (Hewitt-Taylor, 2002). On the other hand, an insider might be able to understand better the culture examined, to ask specific questions and might also be more welcomed and trusted among the community members (Bonner & Tolhurst, 2002). Overall, I tried to overcome the dichotomy insider/outsider, as suggested by Hodkinson (2005), who sees the researcher positioned on a continuum between these two

extremes, and to make the most of my viewpoint, showing understanding for both cultures and languages discussed, but also positioning myself as impartial in relation to both.

In addition, the choice of the location where the interviews took place needs to be considered, as it most likely played a role and might have impacted on their course, particularly for the debriefing interviews. As mentioned in Section 4.5.2, some respondents were met at the University of Melbourne, others at my house, others at theirs or at their office. All these settings can be placed on a continuum between the most formal – the University of Melbourne – and the most informal – their house. In all likelihood, the participants' perceptions of the interview and their openness to dialogue were affected by the setting. Being interviewed in a university setting might have made the participants feel more under examination and consequently less free to speak without reserve, maintaining the relationship researcher-participant more distinct. Differently, at the other extreme of the continuum, meeting the respondents at their house, in their own "territory", probably influenced both their attitude towards the interview and to myself. Most likely, they went from feeling questioned to perceiving themselves as leaders of the interview process and, consequently, more ready to share their experiences.

Moving on to self-reflexivity, I recognise the power of the interview process and the change brought to myself as interviewer. From an apparently advantageous position – my role as researcher – I found myself examining my own language use more and more and calling into question its causes. As a multilingual individual using different languages with different interlocutors and for different purposes, I had not only the chance to identify myself in most of the participants' considerations, but also to take in various sides of a prism that I had not considered before these encounters.

4.8. Concluding remarks

This chapter presented the methodological choices adopted. Firstly, I began with the research questions, I illustrated the methodological framework behind this research and the study design. Subsequently, I described the participants, their recruitment and how bilinguals and monolinguals were matched. The following discussion concerned the two tasks used to collect the two datasets and the data analysis; I explained how fictional narratives, aimed at eliciting emotion vocabulary, were elicited and how they were analysed at a word level and at a sentence level. Similarly, I presented the debriefing

interviews, which discussed the participants' perceptions on language emotionality and emotion verbalisation, and the qualitative content analysis employed. To conclude this section, I described how the two datasets were combined for a final analysis, which aimed at finding connections between all three research questions. At the end of this chapter, I discussed my positioning as a researcher, as well as my effort to overcome the dichotomy outsider/insider, and how my positioning may have influenced the participants and, ultimately, the whole study.

For the sake of clarity, in the next chapters, I present the results and their discussion separately. In Chapter 5, I describe the results of the first task, related to RQ1, and I discuss them in Chapter 6. Similarly, Chapter 7 presents the results of the second task, investigating RQ2 and RQ3, and Chapter 8 discusses them.

CHAPTER 5: Emotion vocabulary and emotional speech: findings

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter I address the first research question:

- RQ1: Do the emotion vocabulary and emotional speech of Russian-Australian 1.5ers, in Russian and English, differ from that of monolingual speakers of their two respective languages? If so, in what ways and to what extent?

To examine this research question, here I analyse the fictional narratives elicited through the movie and its stills by the two groups of bilinguals/1.5ers, either in Russian or in English, and by the two control groups of Russian and Australian-English monolinguals, used as comparison.

In order to provide context for the bilingual participants and understand whether their language use in the fictional narratives was influenced by their life histories, I begin by presenting their profiles, namely their biographical information, and their language learning history and use, as discussed in the first part of the debriefing interviews. Subsequently, I present the fictional narratives, discuss their duration and describe the use of emotion words by the participants, focussing on the different grammatical categories used. Following this, to examine the emotion vocabulary used in depth, namely the different possibilities for the framing of emotion, I analyse its use at a sentence level, therefore presenting the constructions accompanying emotion terms. Finally, I discuss the use of any figurative expressions referring to emotions and emotional displays in the movie and I examine all the references made to the body, considered as an organ of emotional expression and display (Pavlenko, 2002a, 2002b, Wierzbicka, 1998a, 1999).

For each level of analysis, firstly I examine group results, and subsequently, I discuss individual differences. As explained in Sections 4.4.1.3 and 4.4.1.4, for the sake of brevity, I use the following acronyms throughout the chapter to identify the four groups:

- BR (Bilinguals- in Russian): refers to the group of bilinguals/1.5ers, whose fictional narratives were in Russian;
- BE (Bilinguals- in English): refers to the group of bilinguals/1.5ers, whose fictional narratives were in English;

- MR (Monolingual Russians): refers to the control group of Russian monolinguals;
- ME (Monolingual English): refers to the control group of Australian-English monolinguals.

5.2. Biographical information, language use and perceived competence

Information about the bilingual participants' biographies and language histories (mainly age of migration/age of onset of bilingualism, schooling, language used with family and friends, language maintenance, perceived competence/fluency in Russian and English and language dominance) was collected during the first part of the debriefing interviews (see Appendix 1 for the interview structure). Details of all bilingual participants, divided into BR and BE groups, are provided in Tables 5.1 and 5.2.

Name	Age	AoO	Length of exposure to EN	Years of school in RU before migration	RU school in AU/ NZ?	Lang. used at home	Lang. used with friends	Self – reported domin. & compet.
Boris	27	6	21	0	Yes	RU	Mainly RU	EN
Eleonora	33	11	22	4.5	Yes	RU	Mainly RU	RU & EN
Eva	32	7	25	0.5	Yes	RU & EN	Mainly EN	EN
Igor	37	12	25	5	No	RU	Mainly RU	RU & EN
Inna	29	6	23	0	Yes	RU	Mainly EN	EN
Julia	33	12	21	4.5	No	RU	Mainly EN	EN
Kirill	27	9	18	3	No	RU	Mainly RU	EN
Maksim	25	10	15	4	No	RU	Mainly EN	EN
Maria	19	12	7	5	No	RU	RU & EN	RU
Pavel	32	9	23	2	No	RU & EN	Mainly EN	EN

Tanya	36	10	26	5	Yes	RU & EN	Mainly EN	EN
Vera	18	10	8	4	Yes	RU	Mainly RU	RU & EN
Viktoria	27	6	21	0	Yes	EN	Mainly EN	EN
Vladimir	24	9	15	3.5	Yes	RU	Mainly EN	EN
Mean	**28.5**	**9.21**	**19.29**	**2.93**	**Yes: 8** **No: 6**	**RU:10** **EN: 1** **RU & EN: 3**	**RU: 5** **EN: 8** **RU & EN: 1**	**RU: 1** **EN: 10** **RU & EN: 3**
Range	**18-37**	**6-12**	**7-26**	**0-5**				

Table 5.1: BR group profile: age, Age of Onset of bilingualism (AoO), length of exposure to English, years of schooling in the native country in Russian, Russian schooling in Australia, language used with family and friends, self-reported competence and dominance.

Name	**Age**	**AoO**	**Length of exposure to EN**	**Years of school in RU before migration**	**RU school in AU / NZ?**	**Lang. used at home**	**Lang. used with friends**	**Self – reported domin. & compet.**
Bogdan	25	6	19	0	No	RU	Mainly EN	EN
Elena	37	9	28	2	No	RU & EN	RU & EN	EN
Larisa	33	10	23	5	No	RU	Mainly EN	EN
Leonid	32	7	25	1	Yes	RU & EN	Mainly EN	EN
Maya	18	11	7	4	Yes	RU	Mainly EN	RU & EN
Nikita	41	6 **(15)***	35	5	Yes	RU & EN	Mainly EN	EN
Oleg	32	8	24	1.5	No	RU & EN	Mainly EN	EN
Olga	20	6	14	0	Yes	RU	Mainly EN	EN

* Nikita had a different trajectory from the other participants. Although he moved permanently to Australia when he was 15, he started moving back and forth between the United Kingdom and Russia when he was 6, because of his parents' job, at first for short periods (up to one month), later for longer (up to one year). He started attending school both in the United Kingdom and in Russia. From the age of 12, his schooling switched mainly to English, as starting from this age he would visit Russia only for shorter periods and often he would not attend school there.

Valentina	27	11	16	4	Yes	RU	Mainly EN	RU & EN
Valeria	20	6	14	0	Yes	EN	Mainly EN	EN
Veronika	18	7	11	0	No	RU	Mainly EN	EN
Yana	24	9	15	2	No	RU	Mainly EN	EN
Mean	**27.25**	**8**	**19.25**	**2.04**	**Yes: 6** **No: 6**	**RU: 7** **EN: 1** **RU & EN: 4**	**RU: 0** **EN:11** **RU & EN: 1**	**RU: 0** **EN: 10** **RU & EN: 2**
Range	**18-41**	**6-11**	**7-35**	**0-5**				

Table 5.2: BE group profile: age, Age of Onset of bilingualism (AoO), length of exposure to English, years of schooling in the native country in Russian, Russian schooling in Australia, language used with family and friends, self-reported competence and dominance.

As shown in Tables 5.1 and 5.2, the two groups were very similar in terms of participants' biographical information. The participants belonging to the BR group were aged between 18 and 37 at the time of the interview (M= 28.5), while those belonging to the BE group were aged between 18 and 41 (M= 27.25, overall M= 27.92). They were distributed along a whole continuum in terms of the age of onset of bilingualism,[1] within the age range of the generation 1.5 – 6 to 12 years (overall M= 8.65, BR: M= 9.21, BE: M= 8). Most of them had spent most of their life outside their native country (in Australia, or another English-speaking country first – New Zealand, Canada, United Kingdom, before moving to Australia), with the range of years spent in Australia spanning from 7 to 26 for the BR group (M= 19.29), and from 7 to 35 for the BE group (M= 19.25, overall M= 19.27). Only three participants, Maria and Vera in the BR group, and Maya in the BE group, had spent more time in their native country than in Australia. Eight participants (four in the BR group and four in the BE group) did all their schooling in Australia.[2] Seven (three in the BR group, four in the BE group) did only a few years of school in their native country before migrating, while eleven (seven belonging to the BR group, four belonging to the BE group) had almost all their primary education, up to grade 4 or

[1] With the only exception of Nikita, for all other participants the age of onset of bilingualism coincided with the age of migration to Australia. A few participants (Maksim, Vladimir, Yana) moved to New Zealand first, and one (Eva) moved to Canada, before moving to Australia.

[2] Or they started in Canada, New Zealand and the United Kingdom and completed their studies in Australia.

5, in their country of birth.[3] In addition, fourteen participants (eight in the BR group, six in the BE group) engaged in some form of formal learning of Russian after migration, of different kinds and for different periods; some attended a Russian Saturday School (some up to the VCE level), others took Russian as a subject at university, for one year or longer, and at different levels, while others worked with a private tutor of Russian.

When discussing language use with families, most participants (ten in the BR group and seven in the BE group) declared that they still used Russian at home. However, the family language dynamics described showed that the amount of Russian used at home varied considerably depending on living factors and family members. Some had parents, siblings and grandparents in Australia and used Russian with all of them, while others had only one or two family members here, therefore, for these people the amount of Russian use was, presumably, limited. Furthermore, the younger participants who still lived with their parents had more contact with their home language, as opposed to those who lived away from their parents, for whom communication with the family was more sporadic and not as intense as when they were children. Seven (three in the BR group and four in the BE group) stated that they used both languages within the family, although once again the dynamics of language use were varied. Some explained that they used a mix of English and Russian at home, others that they used a different language with different family members. For example, Russian was often used with their family and English with their partner, or Russian was used with their grandparents, English with their siblings. Furthermore, with the parents these dynamics were often even more diverse: often one language was used with one parent and the other language with the other, otherwise Russian or English was used with both parents. Finally, only two participants (one in the BR and one in the BE group) reported having switched to English only within the family.

When it comes to the language used with friends, the situation was less distinct, as it was rare to have people declaring that they used only one of their two languages with friends.[4] Most participants (eight in the BR group and eleven in the BE group) stated that the majority of their friends were English-speaking, and of different nationalities, or even people with a Russian background, but with whom they spoke English. Five participants

[3] The Russian school system consists of eleven years: four grades of primary education, five of (compulsory) secondary school and the final two years of (optional) secondary education.
[4] Hence the expression *mainly Russian* or *mainly English* in Tables 5.1 and 5.2.

belonging to the BR group stated that they had mainly Russian-speaking friends, with whom they used Russian, while one participant in the BR group and one in the BE group claimed to have a mix of Russian and English-speaking friends, and consequently to use approximately the same amount of Russian and English in social situations.

Most participants (ten in the BR group and ten in the BE group) stated that they felt more fluent in English, one participant in the BR group felt more fluent in Russian, while five (three in the BR group and two in the BE group) felt equally fluent in both languages.

Although examining in detail all this biographical information is beyond the scopes of this study, these elements have to be borne in mind, as they have probably influenced the participants' emotional speech and use of emotion vocabulary, presented in this chapter and further discussed in Chapters 6.

5.3. First level of analysis

The first section of this chapter analyses interview duration and the use of emotion terms, divided by morphosyntactic categories. Firstly, I present group results, and subsequently I examine individual differences within each group.

5.3.1. Interview duration

I present the duration of the interviews in minutes (see Table 5.3), and subsequently I discuss duration in terms of number of words (see Table 5.4). The bilingual and monolingual groups were symmetrical for number of participants, gender[5] and language of retelling.

Total amount of data collected: 3:14:07				
	BR (14pp)	**MR (14pp)**	**BE (12 pp)**	**ME (12pp)**
Total	1:05:39	39:43	45:33	43:12
Mean	04:41	02:50	03:48	03:36
Range	02:32-08:36	01:22-05:34	02:04-08:06	0:55-09:16

[5] Possible gender differences in emotion discourse were not examined as the small composition of each group would not allow solid generalisations.

Table 5.3: Interview duration in minutes by group (mean value and range).

The average duration of the BE and ME narratives was very similar (03:48 and 03:36 respectively). Conversely, the BR narratives were on average much longer than the MR retellings (04:41 against 02:50), and slightly longer than the retellings in English. However, this difference in duration is, most likely, due to the bilingual participants' higher fluency in English, than in Russian, which made the retellings in English easier than those in Russian. This is reflected by the fact that the retellings in Russian contained more hesitations, reformulations and pauses.

As the interview duration includes pauses, hesitations, false starts, reformulations and use of fillers, I counted the number of words, but only included content words,[6] because function words are never treated as emotion terms. The aim, in fact, was to count the ratio of emotion words in relation to content words. The number of content words (shown in Table 5.4 below) reflects interview duration presented in Table 5.3. The BE and ME groups used approximately the same number of content words, while the BR group used more content words than their MR counterparts. The only difference, however, is represented by the BR narratives. While they were the longest in terms of average duration, they contained, on average, more content words than the MR retellings, but slightly fewer than the narratives in English (see mean values in Table 5.4).

	BR (14pp)	**MR (14pp)**	**BE (12pp)**	**ME (12pp)**
Content words	2085	1642	1930	1822
Mean	148.93	117.29	160.83	151.83
Range	74-251	43-271	49-505	33-324
Emotion words (tokens)	339	347	317	300
Mean	24.21	24.79	26.42	25
Range	15-52	15-45	16-43	11-37
% emotion tokens: content words	16.26%	21.13%	16.42%	16.47%
Emotion words (types)	121	141	109	128

[6] As explained in Chapter 4, *content words*, called also *lexical words* are words that have meaning, such as nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives.

Mean	16.29	18.71	18.25	17.17
Range	11-33	11-34	12-26	11-26
% emotion types: emotion tokens	35.69%	40.63%	34.38%	42.66%

Table 5.4: Number of content words and emotion words by group.

5.3.2. Use of emotion terms

The number of emotion words was counted in order to examine its ratio in relation to content words (see Table 5.4). No relevant difference was found among the various groups in the average number of emotion words used. However, the monolingual Russian group used a higher proportion of emotion words, as compared to the other three groups. In fact, for the MR group, emotion words amounted to more than one fifth (21.13%) of all content words, while for the other three groups, emotion words amounted to approximately one sixth.

To examine the variety of emotion terms, not only emotion tokens were considered, but also types,[7] i.e. distinct emotion words. Table 5.4 shows that the bilingual Russian group employed slightly fewer types, on average (M= 16.21), than the other three groups, and the bilingual retellings, both in Russian (35.69%) and in English (34.38%), contained a slightly lower proportion of types, as compared to their monolingual counterparts, which indicates that the monolingual groups employed a slightly wider variety of emotion terms.

5.3.3. Morphosyntactic categories

Emotion words were further divided into morphosyntactic categories to answer RQ1, namely, to understand whether the various groups behaved differently in their use of the varied categories for emotional description. Following Wierzbicka (1992, 1999) and Pavlenko (2002a, 2002b; Dewaele & Pavlenko 2002; Pavlenko & Driagina, 2007), I expected that Russian monolinguals would use the whole variety of word classes that this language offers (adjectives, adverbial constructions, verbs, nouns), employing mainly

[7] Word tokens, and specifically emotion word tokens, are all emotion words used, regardless of whether and how many times they are repeated. Word types refer to the number of different emotion words used, i.e. their variety.

verbs, and therefore conceptualising emotions as actions. Conversely, Australian monolinguals were expected to use primarily adjectives, as this is the most common grammatical category used in English to describe emotions, therefore conceptualising emotions as states (Pavlenko, 2002a; Wierzbicka, 1992, 1998a, 1998b, 1999). Both bilingual groups were expected to behave more similarly to the ME group. In particular, the BE retellings were expected to approximate the ME ones, while the BR narratives were expected to be further from the MR norm. More precisely, it was anticipated that the BR group would describe emotions mainly through adjectives, as would the ME and BE participants. In other words, the BR participants were expected to be influenced by English emotional discourse and to have restructured their emotional speech, now conceptualising emotions as states also in Russian (Pavlenko, 2002b, 2002d, 2009; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2002). Specifically, the BRs' mental representations of emotions in Russian were expected to have been affected by English emotion concepts, causing a conceptual shift in their emotional speech in Russian (Pavlenko, 2002c, p. 87).

In the next sections I discuss the use of each morphosyntactic category by the four groups. I begin with a general discussion commenting on each group. Subsequently, I examine first the use of adjectives and verbs, as these are the most discussed categories in previous research (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Pavlenko, 2002a, 2002b; Pavlenko & Driagina, 2007; Wierzbicka, 1992, 1999). Following this, I continue with nouns and conclude discussing adverbs and adverbial constructions.

5.3.3.1. General discussion on morphosyntactic categories

Table 5.5 summarises the use of the various morphosyntactic categories by group considering all the instances of emotion word tokens, while Table 5.6 illustrates the variety employed (emotion word types).

	BR (14pp)		**MR (14pp)**		**BE (12pp)**		**ME (12pp)**	
Emotion tokens	339		347		317		300	
Adjectives	115	33.92%	110	31.70%	184	58.05%	197	65.67%
Verbs	116	34.22%	86	24.78%	46	14.51%	39	13%
Nouns	83	24.49%	131	37.76%	85	26.81%	59	19.67%

Adverbs	25	7.37%	20	5.76%	2	0.63%	5	1.66%

Table 5.5: Number and percentage of morphosyntactic categories (tokens) by group.

	BR (14pp)		MR (14pp)		BE (12pp)		ME (12pp)	
Emotion types	121		141		109		128	
Adjectives	41	33.88%	41	29.08%	58	53.51%	67	52.34%
Verbs	31	25.62%	37	26.24%	16	14.68%	23	17.97%
Nouns	37	30.58%	51	36.17%	33	30.28%	34	26.56%
Adverbs	12	9.92%	12	8.51%	2	1.83%	4	3.12%

Table 5.6: Number and percentage of morphosyntactic categories (types) by group.

BE and ME participants behaved very similarly in the way they used the various grammatical categories, namely in the number of adjectives, verbs, nouns and adverbs employed. Both groups described the emotions depicted in the movie and its stills mainly by means of emotion adjectives, which amounted to more than half the overall number of emotion tokens for the BE group (58.05%), and to approximately two thirds for the ME group (65.67%). The second most employed category was composed of emotion nouns, representing around one fourth of the emotion tokens used by the BE participants (26.81%) and around one fifth for the ME group (19.67%). Emotion verbs amounted to around one seventh of the overall number of emotion terms used by both groups (14.51% and 13% respectively), while only very few instances of emotion adverbs were present in the retellings elicited by these two groups (0.63% and 1.66% respectively).

The retellings in Russian were more homogeneous in the distribution of emotion adjectives, nouns and verbs and had only a small number of adverbs. The BR group used approximately the same number of emotion adjectives (33.92%) and verbs (34.22%), amounting respectively to around one third of the overall number of emotion tokens used, while one fourth was composed of nouns (24.49%). The MR participants, instead, used mainly emotion nouns (37.76% all emotion terms present in their retellings), and a lower number of adjectives (31.70%) and verbs (24.78%).

When considering emotion types, for the BE, the ME and the MR groups, the variety of emotion vocabulary used reflected the overall use of emotion tokens. As for

the BR group, by contrast, the distribution of morphosyntactic categories, i.e. their variety, was altered. These participants, in fact, employed a slightly wider variety of emotion adjectives (33.88%), and a lower variety of nouns (30.58%) and verbs (25.62%).

5.3.3.2. Adjectives

	BR (14pp)	MR (14pp)	BE (12pp)	ME (12pp)
Tokens	115	110	184	197
Mean	8.21	7.86	15.33	16.42
Range	0-18	0-15	5-25	5-31
Percentage	33.92%	31.70%	58.05%	65.67%
Types	41	41	58	67
Mean	5.43	5.93	10.58	10.67
Range	0-13	0-12	2-16	4-16
% types: tokens	35.62%	37.27%	31.52%	34.01%

Table 5.7: Number of emotion adjectives used by group.

The English monolingual group used the most adjectives (65.67%), while the Russian monolinguals used the least (31.70%). The two bilingual groups situated themselves in between these two extremes. The BE group used a high number of adjectives (58.08%), although less than the ME group, while the BR group behaved very much like the MR participants (33.92%).

As for tokens, also with regards to types, the bilingual groups, both in English and in Russian, behaved very similarly to their monolingual counterparts. In other words, the four groups displayed a comparable variety of emotion adjectives in their retellings.

5.3.3.3. Verbs

	BR (14pp)	MR (14pp)	BE (12pp)	ME (12pp)
Tokens	116	86	46	39
Mean	8.29	6.14	3.83	3.25

Range	1-17	0-10	0-14	0-6
Percentage	34.22%	24.78%	14.51%	13%
Types	31	37	16	23
Mean	5.43	4.86	2.58	2.5
Range	1-8	0-7	0-8	0-5
% types: tokens	26.72%	43.02%	34.78%	58.97%

Table 5.8: Number of emotion verbs by group.

The ME participants used the fewest emotion verbs (13%) to describe the emotions depicted in the movie, as opposed to the other three groups; the BE participants followed the same pattern (14.51%). As for the retellings in Russian, one quarter of the overall emotion words employed by the MR group consisted of verbs (24.78%), and, on average, this group used almost twice as many verbs as the ME group (M= 6.14 against M= 3.25). Contrarily to what was anticipated, the BR participants employed a higher number of verbs than their monolingual counterparts, amounting to one third of the total emotion terms used (34.22%). Also, the average number of emotion verbs employed by the BRs was twice as much as that of the BE retellings (M= 8.29 against M= 3.83).

Table 5.7 shows that, overall, the two monolingual groups used fewer verbs than the two bilingual groups, although, in terms of variety, monolinguals displayed a much wider repertoire.

As explained in Chapter 4, Russian and English make use of different verbal constructions. The Russian language has reflexive verbs, and most verbs referring to emotions belong to this category. The English language, instead, does not have an explicit reflexive morphological category, and has only a few transitive or intransitive verbs to describe emotions, as adjectives are preferred over verbs (Pavlenko, 2002a, 2002b; Wierzbicka, 1992). Also, differently from English, Russian has grammatical aspect, differentiating processes and actions in progress (imperfective), from actions described as completed, or to be completed in the future (perfective). Other differences in the use of verbs were observed in the participants' narratives, namely the retellings in English contained a combination of transitive and intransitive verbs, in the active form, present participles and passive constructions. Although it is not possible to compare different

constructions across languages, it is useful to contrast their different use by monolinguals as opposed to bilinguals.

The Russian bilingual group used the highest number of emotion verbs in the retellings, even more than their monolingual counterparts (34.22% for the BRs, against 24.78% for the MRs), although the BR group displayed a more restricted variety (26.72% for the BRs, against 43.02% for the MRs). Both groups used mainly reflexive verbs, which amounted to around two thirds of all the verbs used by both groups (64% of tokens for the BRs, against 63% for the MRs). Also, for both groups, around two thirds of all verbs were in the imperfective form (71% of tokens for the BRs, against 65% for the MRs).

As far as the retellings in English are concerned, the BE group used a higher number of verbs than the ME groups, although, as mentioned before, the ME participants displayed a wider variety of emotion verbs. Both groups employed mainly transitive or intransitive verbs (46% of tokens for the BE group and 59% for the ME), but also a considerable number of passive verbs (37% and 28% of tokens respectively) and only a smaller number of present participles (17% and 13% of tokens respectively).

5.3.3.4. Nouns

	BR (14pp)	**MR (14pp)**	**BE (12pp)**	**ME (12pp)**
Tokens	83	131	85	59
Mean	5.93	9.36	7.08	4.92
Range	0-20	0-23	1-22	0-13
Percentage	24.49%	37.76%	26.81%	19.67%
Types	37	51	33	34
Mean	4.21	6.71	4.75	3.67
Range	0-11	0-15	1-12	0-11
% types: tokens	44.58%	38.93%	38.82%	57.63%

Table 5.9: Number of emotion nouns by group.

Russian monolinguals employed the highest number of emotion nouns, as compared to the other three groups, amounting to more than one third of all the emotion terms used by

these participants (37.76%). Conversely, the English monolingual group used the lowest amount of emotion nouns, on average almost half the MR group (19.67%). The two bilingual groups collocated themselves in between these two extremes, using approximately the same number of emotion nouns, which, for both groups, amounted to approximately one fourth of the overall quantity of emotion terms (24.49% for the BRs, against 26.81% for the BE group).

As far as the variety of emotion nouns is concerned, when considering the proportion between types and tokens, the ME participants employed a wider repertoire of emotion nouns (57.63%). The other three groups used a smaller variety of nouns and behaved similarly, although the BRs employed a slightly higher ratio of types (44.58%) as opposed to the BE (38.82%) and the MR (38.93%) groups.

5.3.3.5. Adverbs and adverbial constructions

	BR (14pp)	MR (14pp)	BE (12pp)	ME (12pp)
Tokens	25	20	2	5
Mean	1.79	1.43	0.17	0.42
Range	0-7	0-5	0-2	0-2
Percentage	7.37%	5.76%	0.63%	1.67%
Types	12	12	2	4
Mean	1.21	1.21	0.17	0.33
Range	0-4	0-3	0-2	0-1
% types: tokens	48%	60%	100%	80%

Table 5.10: Number of emotion adverbs by group

Adverbs and adverbial constructions represented only a minimal part of all emotion terms used by all groups. Russian language can describe emotions, as well as other physical sensations (for example *to be hot* and *to be cold*) through adverbial constructions, namely sentences where, from the grammar point of view, an adverb is used as predicate and the subject experiencing the emotion is expressed in the dative.[8] Considering also these

[8] These constructions, called also *kategorija sostojanija*, can be considered as a separate morphosyntactic category, or as adverbs. Following Wierzbicka (1992, 1998a) and Pavlenko (2002a, 2002b), I chose to consider them as adverbs.

instances – which amounted to 72% of tokens found in the BR retellings, and to 50% for the MR group – the narratives in Russian contained more adverbs than those in English and no particular difference was found between the bilingual and the monolingual groups. The narratives in English, conversely, contained a very small number of emotion adverbs (less than 1% in the BE narratives and 1.67% in the ME retellings).

5.3.4. Individual differences

The breadth of word ranges shown in most tables presented in the previous sections suggests that various narratives deviated from the mean value, thus indicating the likelihood of individual differences. In other words, these results do not lend themselves to group generalisations and suggest that they should be explored by participants' verbal expressions individually, as examining group results might not give a reliable picture of the actual variety of emotion vocabulary displayed by each participant. In fact, when considering the participants individually, there were considerable differences in all the four groups for all the aspects examined, from interview duration to the use of emotion words belonging to different morphosyntactic categories.

Below I describe the fictional narratives elicited by each group, focussing on the individual differences displayed in the use of emotion words. The tables and the graphs in the following sections show, for each participant, the use of emotion word tokens, as opposed to the total number of content words in their fictional narratives, and the use of emotion words belonging to different morphosyntactic categories (total number of emotion word tokens and percentage).

5.3.4.1. Bilinguals' narratives in Russian

Name	Min.	Content words (No. tok.)	Emotion words		Adjectives		Verbs		Nouns		Adverbs	
			No. tok	% emot. w. / cont. w.	No. tok	%	No. tok	%	No. tok	%	No. tok	%
Boris	03:12	115	24	20.87	10	41.67	8	33.33	5	20.83	1	4.17
Eleonora	04:00	139	32	23.02	9	28.12	17	53.13	4	12.5	2	6.25

Eva	07:45	171	16	9.36	6	37.5	6	37.5	0	0	4	25
Igor	07:20	251	52	20.72	16	30.77	9	17.31	20	38.46	7	13.46
Inna	03:05	102	19	18.63	6	31.58	9	47.37	0	0	4	21.05
Julia	06:55	244	24	9.84	3	12.5	12	50	6	25	3	12.5
Kirill	02:32	128	15	11.72	0	0	11	73.33	4	26.67	0	0
Maksim	03:03	114	23	20.18	3	13.04	9	39.13	10	43.48	1	4.35
Maria	04:08	125	24	19.2	12	50	7	29.17	5	20.83	0	0
Pavel	02:44	74	16	21.62	9	56.25	4	25	1	6.25	2	12.5
Tanya	03:05	120	20	16.67	9	45	9	45	2	10	0	0
Vera	02:40	95	19	20	5	26.32	1	5.26	13	68.42	0	0
Viktoria	06:34	170	32	18.82	10	31.25	10	31.25	11	34.38	1	3.13
Vladimir	08:36	238	23	9.66	18	78.26	4	17.39	1	4.35	0	0

Table 5.11: BR group: interview duration, content words and emotion words, divided by morphosyntactic categories (total number of word tokens and percentage), elicited by each participant.

As far as the BR group is concerned, Table 5.10 shows that some participants, such as Kirill, Vera and Pavel, were quite concise in their retellings, describing the stills from the movie in less than three minutes. Other participants, by contrast, for example Vladimir, Eva and Igor, were more talkative and discussed the movie content for more than seven minutes, producing retellings approximately three times longer than those produced by Kirill, Vera and Pavel. However, for some participants there was a discrepancy between interview duration and content words. An example is Eva's retelling, which, despite being one of the longest, contained a lot of hesitations and reformulations, yet not many content words. Conversely, Kirill's narrative is the shortest in terms of minutes, yet it contained a rather large number of content words, as compared to other longer retellings.

Similarly, the range of emotion words contained in each retelling was rather broad, varying from 15 to 32 emotion words. Outside this range there was Igor's retelling, which contained a much higher number of emotion words (52). When setting the number of emotion words against that of content words, in most cases emotion words amounted to approximately 20% of all content words. In some cases, however, for example in Eva's, Julia's and Vladimir's narratives, the ratio of emotion words was lower, amounting to less than 10% of all content words.

Table 5.10 and Figure 5.1 show that, although most participants used a combination of different grammatical categories, individual differences were very

accentuated also in this respect. Some participants, such as Viktoria, Igor and Boris, employed a variety of categories. Other retellings showed the predominance of one part of speech and few instances of others. Vladimir's narrative, for example, included mainly adjectives, Kirill used mainly verbs, Vera employed mainly nouns. Adverbs and adverbial constructions were the least employed category; half participants did not use any at all, or just one instance. Other grammatical categories were not employed at all by some participants; for example, Eva and Inna did not use any nouns, Kirill did not use any adjectives.

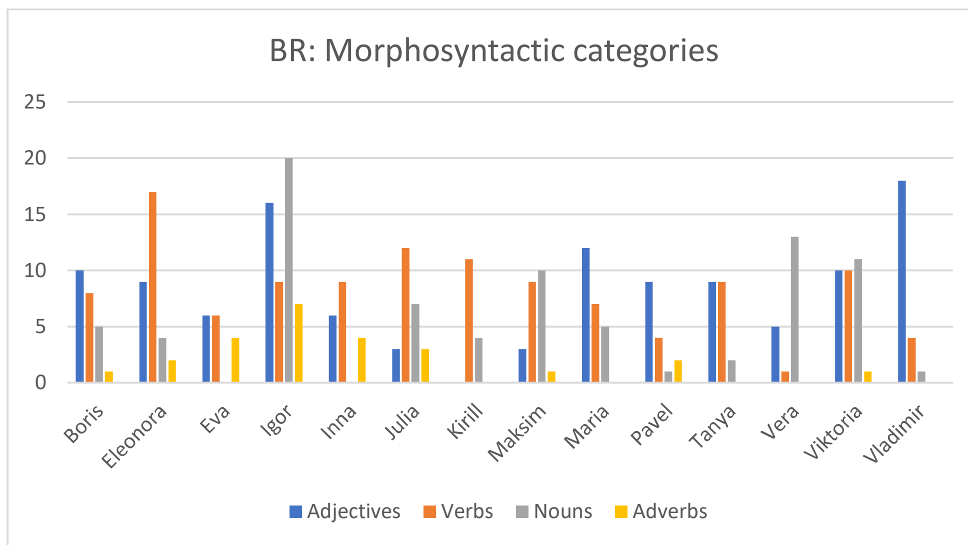

Figure 5.1: BR group: Use of morphosyntactic categories (emotion word tokens) by each participant.

5.3.4.2. Russian monolinguals' narratives

Name	Min.	Content words (No. tok.)	Emotion words		Adjectives		Verbs		Nouns		Adverbs	
			No. tok	% emot. w. / cont. w.	No. tok	%	No. tok	%	No. tok	%	No. tok	%
Alexandra	01:46	63	25	39.68	14	56	5	20	6	24	0	0
Alexey	01:53	93	15	16.13	4	26.67	9	60	2	13.33	0	0
Alina	05:34	271	30	11.07	8	26.67	10	33.33	11	36.66	1	3.33
Alla	02:17	98	30	30.61	7	25	8	28.57	14	42.86	1	3.57

Artur	02:18	87	37	42.53	15	40.54	4	10.81	16	43.24	2	5.41
Diana	02:20	70	16	22.86	4	25	4	25	8	50	0	0
Fjodor	04:03	169	16	9.47	4	25	5	31.25	2	12.5	5	31.25
Galina	04:58	212	46	21.23	14	30.43	7	15.22	23	50	2	4.35
Ivan	02:42	120	15	12.5	4	26.67	9	60	0	0	2	13.33
Kostantin	02:44	158	27	17.09	8	29.63	10	37.04	7	25.92	2	7.41
Ljudmila	02:32	89	22	24.72	9	40.91	3	13.64	8	36.36	2	9.09
Margarita	01:35	46	20	43.48	5	25	4	20	11	55	0	0
Marina	03:39	123	28	22.76	14	50	8	28.58	3	10.71	3	10.71
Mikhail	01:22	43	20	46.51	0	0	0	0	20	100	0	0

Table 5.12: MR group: interview duration, content words and emotion words, divided by morphosyntactic categories (total number of word tokens and percentage), elicited by each participant.

The retellings elicited by the MR group were on average the shortest. Despite being also the most homogeneous in terms of duration – as indicated by the range – they still presented substantial individual differences. In accordance with what was described for the bilingual Russian participants, some retellings, such as Mikhail's and Margarita's, were very short (around 1:30), while others were more than three times longer, for example Galina's and Alina's. However, the MR narratives did not present the same discrepancy between duration in minutes and number of content words as the BR narratives did, as they were slowed down by hesitations, reformulations, false starts, etc. In other words, overall, for this group we can say that the longer the retellings, the higher the number of content words used. Examining emotion words, as well as the relationship between emotion and content words, I have already pointed out that the retellings elicited by this group contained the highest ratio of emotion terms. Nevertheless, looking at each participant individually, this group presented high heterogeneity. In some retellings, for example the ones produced by Mikhail, Margarita and Artur, emotion words amounted to almost half of all content words used by these participants. In other cases, such as Fjodor's, Alina's and Ivan's narratives, emotion vocabulary represented only around 10% of all the content words used by these participants. Between these two extremes there were other participants, such as Galina, Diana and Ljudmila, whose number of emotion words amounted to between one fifth and one fourth of all content words used.

As for the BR participants, among the MR group there were also participants who used a combination of grammatical categories. Fjodor, for example, employed approximately the same number of adjectives, nouns, verbs and adverbs. Alina and Konstantin behaved similarly to Fjodor in terms of variety of categories, although, in terms of ratio, they used fewer adverbs than adjectives, verbs and nouns. Other participants employed predominantly two categories – Artur used mainly adjectives and nouns – or just one – Mikhail used solely nouns.

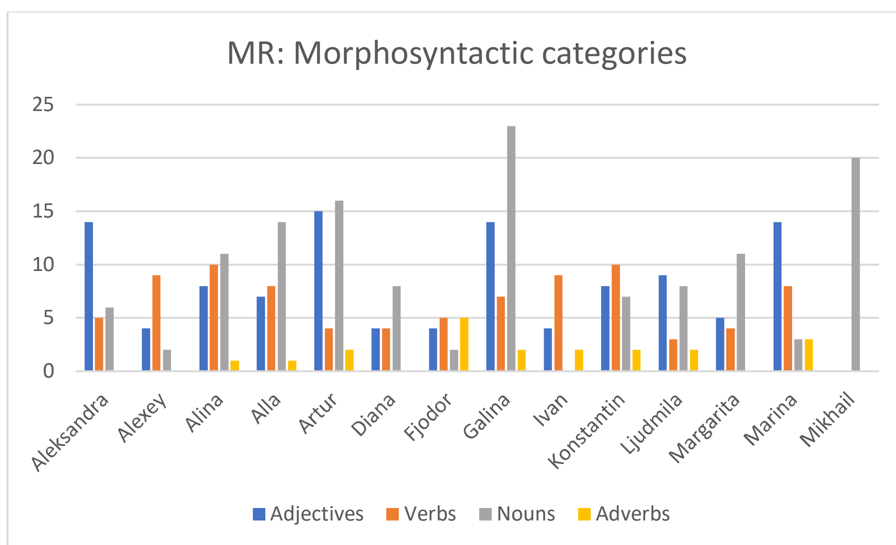

Figure 5.2: MR group: Use of morphosyntactic categories (emotion word tokens) by each participant.

5.3.4.3. Bilinguals' narratives in English

Name	Min.	Content words (No. tok.)	Emotion words		Adjectives		Verbs		Nouns		Adverbs	
			No. tok.	% emot. w. / cont. w.	No. tok	%	No. tok	%	No. tok	%	No. tok	%
Bogdan	05:24	304	32	10.53	20	62.5	5	15.63	5	15.63	2	6.25
Elena	08:06	505	38	7.52	13	34.21	8	21.05	17	44.74	0	0
Larisa	03:07	96	28	29.17	23	82.14	1	3.57	4	14.29	0	0
Leonid	02:25	63	27	42.86	5	18.52	0	0	22	81.48	0	0

Maya	05:46	228	43	18.86	21	48.84	14	32.56	8	18.6	0	0
Nikita	03:40	249	30	12.05	25	83.33	2	6.67	3	10	0	0
Oleg	03:35	103	17	16.5	12	70.59	2	11.76	3	17.75	0	0
Olga	02:04	49	18	36.73	2	11.11	0	0	16	88.89	0	0
Valentina	02:45	79	26	32.91	18	69.23	7	26.92	1	3.85	0	0
Valeria	02:26	108	16	14.81	12	75	2	12.5	2	12.5	0	0
Veronika	02:59	91	22	24.18	19	86.36	2	9.09	1	4.55	0	0
Yana	03:16	55	20	36.36	14	70	3	15	3	15	0	0

Table 5.13: BE group: interview duration, content words and emotion words, divided by morphosyntactic categories (total number of word tokens and percentage), elicited by each participant.

The retellings elicited by the BE group presented marked individual differences as well. In terms of duration, most narratives were between 02:04 and 03:40, with a few outliers – Bogdan's, Maya's and Elena's, whose retellings were much longer (5:24, 5:46 and 8:06 respectively). As far as content words are concerned, their quantity generally reflected interview duration, except for a few exceptions. Yana's retelling contained a low number of content words, despite its duration approximating to the group average. Conversely, Valeria produced a high number of content words, if we relate them to the relatively short retelling (one of the shortest in terms of minutes). The ratio between emotion and content words was even more heterogenous than the differences in content words used and it was spread out along a long continuum. In some narratives, such as Bogdan's, Elena's and Nikita's, emotion words amounted to approximately 10% of the content words. On the other extreme of this continuum were narratives, such as Olga's, Valentina's, Yana's and Ilya's, where emotion words consisted of two thirds – almost a half for Ilya's – of the total amount of content words.

As explained in Section 5.3.3.2 adjectives were the morphosyntactic category that BE participants used the most to describe the emotions depicted in the movie. Yet, a few participants still used a variety of constructions. Maya and Elena, for example, also employed a discrete number of verbs and nouns (in Elena's case, even slightly more than adjectives). Leonid and Olga, by contrast, used predominantly nouns and only a minimal number of adjectives.

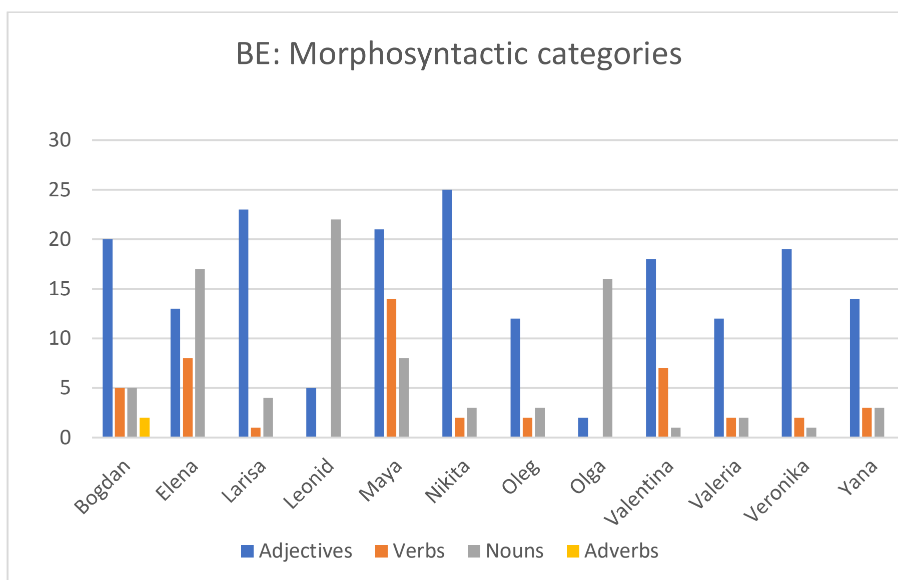

Figure 5.3: BE group: Use of morphosyntactic categories (emotion word tokens) by each participant.

5.3.4.4. Australian-English monolinguals' narratives

Name	Min.	Content words (No. tok.)	Emotion words		Adjectives		Verbs		Nouns		Adverbs	
			No. tok	% emot. w. / cont. w.	No. tok	%	No. tok	%	No. tok	%	No. tok	%
Alison	05:47	308	37	12.01	19	51.35	4	10.81	13	35.14	1	2.70
Brenda	08:10	324	30	9.26	10	33.33	5	16.67	13	43.33	2	2.67
Carly	04:53	234	36	15.38	30	83.33	5	13.89	1	2.78	0	0
Fiona	09:16	306	32	10.46	24	75	6	18.75	2	6.25	0	0
George	02:02	66	25	37.88	20	80	0	0	4	16	1	4
Hayden	01:22	74	14	18.92	9	64.29	1	7.14	4	28.57	0	0
Joanne	00:55	33	11	33.33	8	72.73	3	27.27	0	0	0	0
Joshua	02:10	111	19	17.12	5	26.32	2	10.53	12	63.15	0	0
Laura	02:17	83	19	22.89	15	78.94	2	10.53	2	10.53	0	0
Rachel	01:19	57	19	33.33	11	57.89	3	15.79	5	26.32	0	0
Robert	02:19	105	23	21.9	15	65.22	5	21.74	2	8.70	1	4.34
Sharon	02:42	121	35	28.93	31	88.57	3	8.57	1	2.86	0	0

Table 5.14: ME group: interview duration, content words and emotion words, divided by morphosyntactic categories (total number of word tokens and percentage), elicited by each participant.

The interviews elicited by the ME group were the most heterogeneous in terms of duration, therefore they were not clustered around the mean value. More than half the retellings were as short as one minute or two, while the longest, Brenda's and Fiona's, were more than 8 and 9 minutes long respectively.

For most ME participants, the number of content words reflected interview duration – namely the longer the retellings, the more content words – apart from a few exceptions. In fact, Fiona's retelling was the longest in terms of minutes, yet not the longest in terms of content words. Conversely, Alison's was the second longest in terms of content words, but the third longest in terms of minutes. As far as emotion vocabulary, and its ratio, is concerned, these narratives, as the BE ones, displayed high heterogeneity. In a few retellings, George's, Joanne', Rachel's and Sharon's, around 30%, or more, of the total number of words were emotion terms. For Hayden, Laura and Robert, emotion vocabulary amounted to around 20% of their total number of words, while for the other participants, emotion words represented around 15% to 10% of the total content words.

The ME participants were overall quite homogeneous with respect to morphosyntactic categories used, and, similarly to the BE group, most of them used primarily adjectives. However, some retellings did not follow this tendency. Alison and Brenda used a combination of adjectives and nouns, with nouns slightly prevailing over adjectives in Brenda's narrative. Likewise, Joshua's retelling contained mainly nouns and only a small quantity of adjectives.

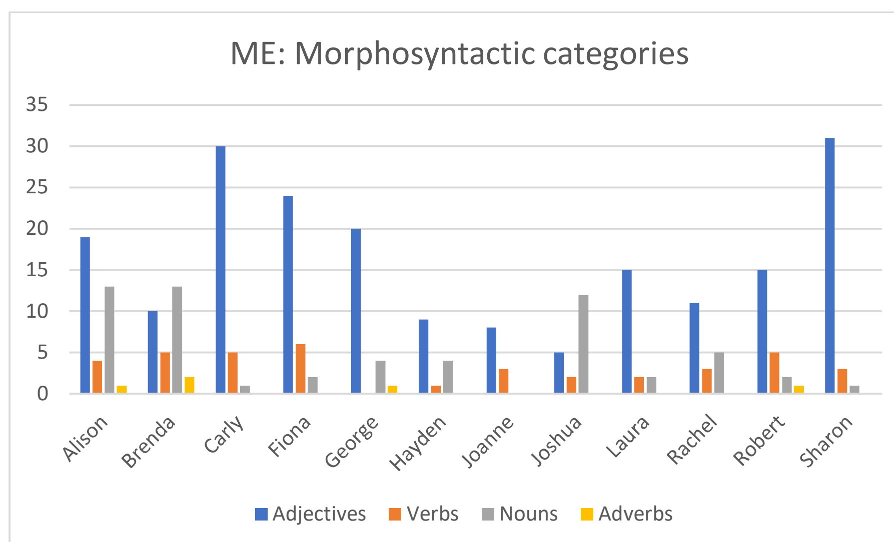

Figure 5.4: ME group: Use of morphosyntactic categories (emotion word tokens) by each participant.

Despite some general tendencies, the way the various participants interpreted the task, used emotion words and above all morphosyntactic categories was very varied and depended largely on individual choice. Within all groups, in fact, some participants employed different constructions, while others opted predominantly for one or two parts of speech.

5.4. Framing of emotions

The use of different morphosyntactic categories explains only partially how emotions are conceptualised in speech, namely at a word level. For this reason, this section of the chapter analyses the use of emotion terms at a sentence level, i.e. which constructions co-occurred with emotion adjectives, nouns, verbs and adverbs. This analysis intends to determine how, and how differently, emotions were framed, i.e. enclosed in speech, by the various groups.

BE participants were expected to frame emotions very similarly to the ME group. The BR emotion framing was expected to be further in distance from the Russian norm and to present constructions which followed the English norm, i.e. to translate and transfer constructions from English into Russian, as already observed in previous research (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Pavlenko, 2002b; Pavlenko & Driagina, 2007).

5.4.1. Narratives in Russian

5.4.1.1. Use of emotion adjectives

As discussed in Section 5.3.3.2, the narratives in Russian contained fewer adjectives than those in English. BR and MR participants used mainly predicate adjectives in *zero copula* sentences,[9] together with the subject they referred to. The monolingual Russians mostly used short-form adjectives – some long forms[10] were also found, although rarely – while the BR group employed a mixture of short and long adjectives:

1. он очень *удивлён* (Boris, BR, still 8);
   [he is very surprised (short form)];
2. он.. *взволнован*, *рад, влюблён* (Alexandra, MR, still 3, short forms);
   [He is agitated, happy, in love, (short form)];
3. опять он *потерянный*, мм *расстроенный*, *потерянный* (Eleonora, BR, still 8);
   [again he is lost, mm, upset, lost (long form)];
4. это конечно ясно почему он *разочарованный* (Vladimir, BR, still 5);
   [It is obviously clear why he is disillusioned (long form)].
5. здесь он.. как.. ну *расстроенный* (Margarita, MR, still 5, long form);
   [Here is is.. so.. well upset (long form)].

A few instances of long adjectives, found among the retellings in Russian elicited by the bilinguals, as well as the monolinguals, accompanied the verb *to go, to walk*, for example:

6. он *идёт* очень *подавленный*, очень *разочарованный* (Vladimir, BR, still 5);
   [he is walking very depressed, disillusioned].
7. А на этом кадре он, после ссоры с девушкой идёт *грустный*, ра: *потерянный, озадаченный* (Galina, MR, still 3, long form);
   [In this scene, after the fight with this girlfriend, he is walking sad, lost, puzzled].

A limited number of sentences, such as the following ones, contained an adjective associated with the word *čuvstva* (feelings) or *emocii* (emotions);

8. его *чувства* такие, очень *грустные* и *одинокие* (Maria, BR, still 2);
   [his feelings are so, very sad and lonely];
9. он немного *в подавленных чувствах* (Igor, BR, still 3);
   [he is a bit in depressed feelings].
10. он такой ра: пока в *расстроенных чувствах* (Ivan, MR, still 5);
    [he is so, for now in upset feelings];
11. у него опять *грустные эмоции* (Alina, MR, still 8);
    [he has again sad emotions].

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[9] Russian is a *zero copula* language, i.e. the copula of the verb "to be" is omitted when speaking in the present tense.

[10] Russian language has two forms of qualitative adjectives, long and short. In the predicate (non-attributive) position, i.e. when the adjective comes after the verb "to be", it uses the long form, in theory at least, to indicate a permanent condition, while the short form can describe a temporal condition or quality. However, the long form is very widespread, even in conversational Russian, while the short form is becoming rarer and is often considered more bookish (see, e.g., Borik, 2014; Groen, 1998).

Only one BR participant and one MR participant used the reflexive construction *čuvstvovat` sebja* (to feel) + adjective in the instrumental case:

12. мужчина *чувствует себя грустным*, или, не знаю, *покинутым* (Inna, BR, still 3);
    [the man feels sad or, I don't know, abandoned].
13. он *чувствует себя.. подавленным* (Ljudmila, MR, still 2);
    [he feels depressed].

In contrast to the MR group, some BR participants used the verb *vygljadet`* (to look) in conjunction with an adjective:[11]

14. он не понимает ситуацию и *выглядит обижен* (Pavel, BR, still 2);
    [he doesn't understand the situation and looks offended];
15. он аа смотрит в камеру и […] очень *агрессивный* выгл: *выглядит* (Eva, BR, still 7);
    [he looks at the camera and […] lo: looks very aggressive].

Similarly, one participant used the reflexive verb *smotret`sja* (to look) a few times, a colloquial, though less common, synonym for *vygljadet`*:

16. он *смотрится* аа.. *разочарованный* I'd say (Tanya, BR, still 2);
    [he looks aa.. disillusioned I'd say].[12]

5.4.1.2. Use of emotion verbs

The BR group used a higher number of emotion verbs than the MR group, if we consider tokens, although the MR participants employed a wider variety – more types. Both groups used a higher number of reflexive verbs, which they used in a similar way:

17. я думаю, что он *обрадовался* (Eleonora, BR, still 4);
    [I think that he got happy];
18. она.. *гневается* на... на своего парня (Ivan, MR, still 1);
    [she.. gets angry with.. with her boyfriend];
19. девушка ему явно *понравилась* (Igor, BR, still 4);
    [he obviously liked the girl];
20. может быть, он даже *влюбился* в неё (Marina, MR, still 4);
    [maybe he even fell in love with her].

Non-reflexive verbs were employed to a lesser extent by both BR and MR groups, yet no difference was found in their use by the two groups:

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[11] This construction was found mainly in the retelling of one participant, Eva. She used this verb not only in conjunction with emotion adjectives, but also in sentences describing the general look of the movie character. One example is: "он смотрит прямо в камеру и к: выглядит как будто бы он аа.. не понимает" [he looks directly at the camera and k: looks as if he aa.. doesn't understand].

[12] Tanya used this verb also in conjunction with an emotion noun: "он смотрится.. в шоке" [he looks.. in shock].

21. он её как-то *разозлил* (Boris, BR, still 1);
[he somehow made her angry];
22. его это очень *расстраивает* (Konstantin, MR, still 5);
[this really upsets him];
23. он очень злой и *ревнует* (Maria, BR, still 7);
[he is very angry and is jealous].
24. а он *негодует* (Artur, MR, still 7);
[and he is indignant].

5.4.1.3. Use of emotion nouns

As explained in Section 5.3.3.4, the retellings in Russian contained more emotion nouns than those in English, both in terms of tokens and types. Furthermore, comparing the two groups of BR and MR, the number of nouns found in the monolinguals' narratives was considerably greater (83 in the BR, against 131 in the MR, 25% and 38% of all emotion word tokens). Despite this difference in quantity, BR and MR participants used emotion nouns very similarly; often they were employed in the construction *в* (in) + noun in the prepositional case:

25. она просто *в бешенстве* (Vera, BR, still 1);
[she is just in rage];
26. а здесь он *в восторге* (Artur, MR, still 6);
[while here he is delight].

On many occasions nouns were used simply to describe the emotion depicted in the scene and to name the feeling experienced by the movie character(s).

27. здесь наоборот какая-то *надежда*, какое-то *вдохновение* (Vera, BR, still 4);
[here, oppositely, there's some sort of hope, of inspiration];
28. в общем это искренняя *радость* (Konstantin, MR, still 6);
[all in all, this is true happiness];
29. у него наверно *счастье* (Eleonora, BR, still 4);
[he probably has happiness];
30. она высказывала своё.. какое-то.. опять *недовольство* (Diana, MR, still 1);
[she expressed her.. some sort of.. again, dissatisfaction];
31. у него такие как бы.. *чувства надежды* (Maria, BR, still 4);
[he has these say.. feelings of hope];
32. У него какое-то *чувство разочарованности*.. в ней (Margarita, MR, still 2);
[He has some sort of feeling of disillusionment.. with her].

The only difference between BRs and MRs concerned the use of nouns in conjunction with the verb *čuvstvovat`* and *čuvstvovat` sebja* (both meaning *to feel*).[13] The

[13] The transitive form *čuvstvovat`* is used with the meaning of *to experience, to sense* and is followed by a direct object. The verb *čuvstvovat` sebja*, reflexive, is used together with adverbs, or adjectives and nouns in the instrumental case.

MR retellings did not contain many instances with this verb – only one with the use of the transitive form *čuvstvovat`*, and one with the reflexive *čuvstvovat` sebja*:

33. герой *чувствует досаду* (Ljudmila, MR, still 5);
    [the character feels vexation];
34. здесь *чувствует себя неудачником* (Marina, MR, still 3);
    [here he feels a loser].

The BR group, instead, used both forms of this verb more often (9 times all together). Some sentences were very similar to those found in the MR narratives:

35. он *чувствует* какую-то *вину* перед ней (Vera, BR, still 2);
    [he feels some sort of guilt before her];
36. мужчина и: уходит и *чувствует себя*.. как бы *дураком* и *идиотом* (Kirill, BR, still 3);
    [the man i: leaves and feels like... say a fool and an idiot].

Other instances were different from the Russian monolingual norm:

37. он *чувствует*, что there's *hope* (Tanya, BR, still 9);
    [he feels that there's hope].
38. он ммм.. *чувствует* что мммм.. ну он *неудачник* (Julia, BR, still 3);
    [he uhm.. feels that uhmmm.. well he is a loser].

In fact, sentences which are analogous with regard to their meaning – e.g. No. 34, elicited by a MR participant, and No. 36 by a BR – presented the use of the reflexive form *čuvstvovat` sebja*, followed by the instrumental case, while Tanya and Julia used the transitive verb *čuvstvovat`* to introduce a dependent clause ("он чувствует, что он…" (he feels that he is...)).

In the example below, Viktoria used the transitive form instead of the reflexive, i.e. she did not add the reflexive pronoun *sebja*:

39. он **чувствует в шоке* (Viktoria, BR, still 8);
    [he feels in shock].

However, in this case a more ordinary way to express the same idea in Russian would be to use the simple expression "он в шоке" (he is in shock).

5.4.1.4. Use of emotion adverbs

The retellings in Russian contained a higher number of emotion adverbs than the narratives in English, taking into account the fact that Russian narratives also contained adverbial predicative constructions. BR and MR participants used adverbs and adverbial

constructions in a similar fashion. Adverbs were employed to modify a verb or an adjective, as in the instances below:

40. просто, просто, ну *спокойно* сидит и смотрит.. что там происходит вокруг его (Eva, BR, still 9);
41. Он внимательно, *спокойно*, *смиренно* слушал (Fjodor, MR, still 2);
    [He was listening carefully, *calmly*, *submissively]*;
    [just, just, well, is sitting *calmly* and is looking at… what's happening there around him];
42. он *агрессивно* настроен (Boris, BR, still 7);
    [he is disposed aggressively];
43. Этот герой настроенный *решительно* и.. *дерзко* (Konstantin, MR, still 7);
    [This character is disposed resolutely and defiantly].

Adverbs were also used in conjunction with the verb *čuvstvovat` sebja* (to feel), according to the normal rules of grammar (see Pavlenko, 2002b). However, only one instance was found in the MR narratives, while there were three in the BR ones, all produced by the same participant (Eva):

44. он теперь выглядит как бы.. ну что он *не хорошо* чувствует* (Eva, BR, still 3);
    [now he look as if.. well, that he doesn't feel good]
45. он **чувствует хорошо* теперь (Eva, BR, still 4);
    [he feels good now];
46. *плохо *чувствовал* он теперь (Eva, BR, still 4);[14]
    [he felt bad now];
47. он *чувствует себя* наверно *глупо* (Marina, MR, still 3);
    [he *feels stupid* probably].

BR and MR participants also used impersonal adverbial predicative constructions similarly, as in the following sentences:

48. и ему.. так понятно *страшно* или.. *грустно*.. (Inna, BR, still 8)
    [and for him apparently, it's *frightening* or.. *sad..*]
49. ему, естественно, *больно* (Alina, MR, still 2);
    [for him it's obviously *hurtful*];

5.4.2. Narratives in English

5.4.2.1. Use of emotion adjectives

As discussed in section 5.2.3.2, most instances of emotion terms found in the BE and ME were adjectives, both in terms of tokens and types. The BE and the ME participants used

[14] The correct form of these three sentences (44 to 46), marked by an asterisk, should contain the reflexive pronoun *себя*.

adjectives together with verbs indicating a state, such as *to be, to feel, to look, to seem*, or a change of state, for example *to get, to become, or to make*, as in the examples below:

50. she*'s feeling angry* (Valeria, BE, still 1);
51. she*'s* really *angry* at him (Carly, ME, still 1);
52. he *looks* very *sad* and *distressed* (Maya, BE, still 3);
53. He *seems* pretty.. *sorry* for himself. (Hayden, ME, still 8);
54. so *is getting frustrated* and *desperate* (Valentina, BE, still 5).
55. that, kind of *makes* him really, like, *determined* (Carly, ME, still 4).

5.4.2.2. Use of emotion verbs

Sentences interpreting emotions through verbs were a minority both for the BE and the ME groups (around 15%), and both in terms of tokens and types. As discussed in section 5.3.3.3, the retellings in English presented verbs in the active form, both in the indicative and as participles, and in the passive form, which the BE and ME participants used very similarly.

56. He*'s* probably *suffering* from this (Maya, BE, still 2);
57. First she *was yelling* at the man (Rachel, ME, still 1);
58. he's kind of ignoring the child *laughing* and *mocking* him (Bogdan, BE, still 3);
59. he's not .. upset or anything at.. really the boy *laughing* at him (Carly, ME, still 3);
60. doesn't understand why.. he*'s being yelled at* (Yana, BE, still 2);
61. they*'re being*, not just.. obstructed but, but *remonstrated*, *told off*, maybe even *threatened* (Brenda, ME, still 8).

5.4.2.3. Use of emotion nouns

Nouns were the second most numerous morphosyntactic category found in the English narratives. They were employed in a similar way by BE and ME participants, either together with verbs, or to name the main emotion experienced by the movie characters.

62. this over the top.. *euphoria* that *he's feeling* (Bogdan, BE, still 6);
63. *he's feeling* a renewed sense of I don't know, *hope* (Rachel, ME, still 9);
64. he's obviously visualising all these components of *frustration* and *anger* (Elena, BE, still 8);
65. Again the same guy is in the situation, where he's seen another girl, and experiences that.. *elation* (Joshua, ME, still 6);
66. she's in the state of *rage* (Nikita, BE, still 1);
67. I've just said they're in *shock* (Brenda, ME, still 3).

5.4.2.4. Use of emotion adverbs

Although rare in the retellings in English, adverbs were used very similarly by the ME and the BE groups, to modify a verb or an adjective, as shown below:

68. he's just kind of *stoically* standing there (Bogdan, BE, still 2);
69. he's fallen *madly* in love with her (Alison, ME, still 1).

5.5. Figurative expressions

All figurative expressions describing emotional states and display by means of idioms, figures of speech and other non-standard expressions were analysed. These expressions were included in the analysis, as often feelings and emotional display are described in an indirect and circumlocutory way, using phrases which do not contain any emotion terms, yet the reference to an inner state is evident. Furthermore, as argued by Wierzbicka (1992, 1998a, 1999), Russian language contains a high number of metaphorical expressions referring to emotions and emotional vents, which reflects the centrality of emotions in Russian culture. Wierzbicka (1998a, p. 461) added that, although these expressions often have an English equivalent, they are overall more numerous and more hyperbolic in Russian. In line with these assumptions, it was anticipated that MR participants would use the highest number of these expressions. The ME group was expected to use a limited number of figurative expressions, and the two bilingual groups were expected to approximate the ME norm.

5.5.1. Figurative expressions: group differences

	BR (14pp)	MR (14pp)	BE (12pp)	ME (12pp)
Total	21	25	14	21
Mean	1.5	1.79	1.17	1.75
Range	0-7	0-9	0-4	0-7

Table 5.15: Number of figurative expressions by group.

Against these assumptions, the two monolingual groups did not differ much in the average number of figurative expressions (M= 1.79 for the MR group, and M= 1.75 for the ME). The BR participants approximated the monolingual norm, as their narratives contained a

similar number of these expressions (M= 1.5). The BE retellings, by contrast, presented one third fewer figurative expressions than the ME ones (M= 1.17).

5.5.2. Figurative expressions: individual differences

The broad range of figurative expressions for all groups shows that once again group results cannot give an accurate picture of the participants' language use and that individual differences played a crucial role also with regard to the sphere of figures of speech. In fact, only a limited number of participants in each group used figurative expressions.

For the bilingual participants, the highest number of figurative expressions found in the BR narratives were elicited by Julia and Maria (33% and 14% of the total 21):

70. Ну тут опять же *он в своём мире, у него там свои сказки в голове* (Julia, BR, still 4);
    [Well here again he is in his world, he has fairy tales in his head];
71. он как бы, да очень расстроен.. *эмоционально,* так сказать, @@ *убит* (Maria, BR, still 2);
    [He is sort of, yes, very upset.. emotionally, let's say @@ dead].

and by Elena and Bogdan (4 and 3 each out of the total 14, 29% and 21%) in the BE group:

72. he looks frustrated, again, kind of, *completely living in the moment* (Bogdan, BE, still 5);
73. *he just can't wait* for that time to go fast (Elena, BE, still 5).

In the MR group, out of all 25 expressions, 68% were found in the retellings of only three participants: 36% were produced by Galina, 20% by Fjodor and 12% by Konstantin.

74. то есть человек *готов к.. готов обнять весь мир* (Galina, MR, still 4);
    [in other words this person is ready to.. is ready to embrace the whole world];
75. есть такое выражение, когда *у тебя внутри всё опускается* (Fjodor, MR, still);
    [there is this expression, when inside everything goes to pieces].

Similarly, out of the 21 expressions produced by the ME group, 86% were found in three narratives; 33.50% expressions were found in Alison's and Fiona's retellings respectively and 19% in Carly's:

76. he's just *living on the high* (Alison, ME, still 9);
77. I'd say *over the top*, given the circumstances (Fiona, ME, still 7).

5.6. References to the body

As explained in Chapter 4, all references to the body were counted and analysed. In line with Wierzbicka's (1998a, 1999) assumptions and Pavlenko's (2002a, 2002b) empirical studies, MR speakers were expected to "read" and point at the emotional displays depicted on the movie characters' body in greater numbers than the ME participants. Bilingual participants were expected to be between the two monolingual groups, but to behave more similarly to the ME group than to the MRs.

5.6.1. References to the body: group differences

	BR (14pp)	MR (14pp)	BE (12pp)	ME (12pp)
Total	42	16	13	6
Mean	3	1.14	1.08	0.5
Range	0-19	0-5	0-7	0-2

Table 5.16: Number of references to the body by group.

As predicted, the ME narratives contained only a limited number of references to the body, the lowest among the four groups (6 references, M= 0.5). The BE retellings presented twice as many of these instances as their monolingual counterparts (13, M= 1.08). In line with the main assumption mentioned above, the MR participants referred to the body, on average, more than twice as many times as the ME group (16 times, M= 1.14). However, the BR retellings contained the highest number of references to the body, more than 2.5 as many as the MR ones (42 times, M= 3), and almost three times as many as the BE ones.

All the references to the body were subdivided into six subcategories, according to the body part mentioned or alluded to (face, head, eyes and gaze, eyebrows, mouth, body language).

	BR (14pp)	MR (14pp)	BE (12pp)	ME (12pp)
Total	**42**	**16**	**13**	**6**
Face	18	4	6	4

Head	4	1	1	0
Eyes & gaze	7	11	6	1
Eyebrows	2	0	0	0
Mouth	5	0	0	0
Body language	6	0	0	1

Table 5.17: References to the body (body part mentioned or alluded to).

The BR group referred to all six body parts and postures displaying emotions. The monolingual Russians, as well as the bilingual English participants, used only three of these subcategories: face, head, eyes and gaze. Similarly, the ME retellings also contained references to only three of the above-mentioned subgroups (eyes and gaze, face, body language).

5.6.2. References to the body: individual differences

Interpreting emotions by reading facial expressions, gestures and body movements turned out to be an individual choice, as only a few participants referred to the emotions displayed on the movie characters' face, eyes and body in general.

For the BE group, out of all 13 references to the body, 54% were produced by one participant, Elena, while the remaining 46% were distributed among four other participants, who contributed with one or two instances each. Elena hinted at the face, head and eyes of the movie protagonist, for example:

78. there's this happiness and joy in his *eyes* (Elena, BE, still 6);
79. it is quite sad, just to watch him walk away with his *head* down by.. (Elena, BE, still 3).

Other examples found in other participants' retellings included:

80. he has this like attraction written on his *face* (Veronika, BE, still 4);
81. there's some hope in his *eyes* (Maya, BE, still 9).

In the ME group, which featured the least instances of references to the body, only four participants made connections between the emotion depicted in a still and how it was presented on and through the body. They produced instances such as:

82. she was yeah, pushing him, getting her *body language* was obviously, like, really angry and really like forceful and stuff like that. (Carly, ME, still 1).

83. I would say he's not.. totally totally, like, hopeful and *bright-eyed*, maybe from his past two experiences. (Fiona, ME, still 9).

As for the retellings in Russian, the number of participants who referred to the body was slightly higher (7 out of 14 for the BRs and 8 out of 14 for the MRs, 57% and 50% respectively) than in the retellings in English (5 participants out of 12 for the BE group and 4 out of 12 for the ME group, 41% and 33% respectively). As explained for the retellings in English, also for those in Russian, most references to the body were clustered around a limited number of participants. Among the MR group, out of all 16 references to the body, 69% were produced by three participants (Galina: 31%, Ljudmila and Fjodor: 19% each), while the other five participants contributed with only one instance each (6%). Shown below are a few examples:

84. возможно какая-то безысходность *в глазах* (Galina, MR, still 2);
    [probably there is some despair in his eyes];
85. идёт грустный, опустил *голову*, после ссоры с девушкой (Ljudmila, MR, still 3);
    [he is walking sad, lowered his head, after the fight with the girl];
86. здесь вижу такое.. как сказать.. несколько, некоторое неожиданность на его *лице* (Fjodor, MR, still 8);
    [here I see such.. how to say.. some, a sort of surprise on his face].

As explained above, the retellings elicited by the BR group contained the most instances of references to the body. However, only half of the BR participants commented on emotional display depicted on the movie characters' body, and, as pointed out for the BE and the MR groups, a few participants accounted for the majority of these instances. Vladimir, in fact, produced almost 45% of the overall number of references to the body found in the BR retellings, and he linked emotional expression to the body to describe each still, referring multiple times to face, eyes, mouth, gestures, head, and portraying the connections between emotional display and the body extensively:

87. у него такое, очень довольно агрессивное *выражение на его лице*, это.. видно по тому как открытый аа.. *открыт его рот,* ааа *оскаливает он зубы*, *оскаленные зубы*, аа, такие большие.. *зрачки в глазах* у него очень широкие.. большие, и.. по тому как конечно он это *держит и показывает своим пальцем*. (still 7).
    [he has such, a very, quite aggressive expression on his face, this is.. clear by the way is open aa.. is open his mouth, aaa he bares his teeth, his teeth are bared, aa, such big.. the pupils in his eyes are very wide.. big, and.. by the way of course he holds and points his finger].

Other participants made quite numerous links as well, such as Vera (17%), Igor (17%), and Eva (10%). As already pointed out, the BR group mentioned, not only face, head,

eyes and body language, as the three groups described above, but also mouth and eyebrows.

88. у него.. аа *морщины между бровями,* как будто бы он, ну confused (Eva, BR, still 8);
[he has.. aa wrinkles between his eyebrows, as if he is, well, confused];
89. ну вся *поза,* вся *мимика* указывает на в: минимум агрессию (Igor, BR, still 7);
[all his pose, all his body language indicates v: minimum aggressiveness]
90. и даже и *рот* тоже выглядит как будто бы, да он да он не понимает, что сл: что щас происходит (Eva, BR, still 8);
[and even his mouth as well looks as if, yes he, yes, he doesn't understand what's ha: what's happening now];
91. идёт *голова..* по*: поникший весь*, *голова* вниз (Vera, BR, still 3);
[he is walking with his head.. all drooped, with his head down];
92. Вроде бы она ему улыбается и говорит да *глазами*, но чего-то она на него орёт (Kirill, BR, still 2);
93. [apparently she is smiling at him and saying yes with her eyes, but she is yelling at him something].

5.7. Code-switching

The retellings elicited by the bilingual group in Russian contained six instances of code-switching to English nouns or adjectives. In particular, the emotion noun *hope* was used three times by two participants, and the adjectives *confused*, *upset* and *frustrated* were employed only one time each by two different participants:

94. у него.. п: появилась новая.. аа.. *hope* (Maksim, BR, still 4);
[he.. h: has a new.. aa.. hope];
95. он ааа.. *frustrated* ааа.. я не помню как слово *frustrated* по-русски (Tanya, BR, still 5);
[he is aaa.. 'frustrated' aaa.. I don't remember the word 'frustrated' in Russian].
96. он чуть-чуть *upset* (Tanya, BR, still 5);
[he is a bit upset].

These terms were not classified together with any possible (quasi-) corresponding Russian ones, but they were considered as separate word types.

5.8. Concluding remarks

For this chapter I analysed the narratives of the bilinguals and of the two control groups of Russian and Australian monolinguals in relation to the first research question, i.e. syntagmatic use of emotion vocabulary. This analysis was designed to determine whether Russian and English speakers interpret and describe emotions differently, as has been argued by previous research (Pavlenko, 2002a; Wierzbicka, 1992, 1998a, 1999), and how

these differences might affect emotion interpretation for bilinguals belonging to the 1.5 generation. From the fictional narratives presented here, it emerged that, at a word level, the use of emotion words depended mainly on individual choices. In fact, both for the bilingual and monolingual participants, and both for the retellings in English and in Russian, some participants used a variety of morphosyntactic categories to describe the emotions depicted in the movie, while others used predominantly emotion words belonging to one or two categories (mainly adjectives, verbs or nouns). Similarly, the use of figurative expressions referring to emotions, and the number of references to the body, were also related to individual choices and could not be ascribed to group differences. At a sentence level, the main differences emerged in the framing of emotions of the bilinguals' narratives in Russian, which contained some constructions which were not frequently used in the narratives elicited by the Russian monolingual group.

These differences are further discussed in the following chapter, where I explore the results of my study in light of previous research.

CHAPTER 6: Emotion vocabulary and emotional speech: discussion

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the results presented in the previous chapter in relation to previous research in the area. As the focus is on the emotion vocabulary and emotional speech of the bilingual groups, my discussion is concentrated on their narratives, in English and Russian, and I use the monolingual narratives only as a point of comparison. In the first section, I consider overall results and how they answered the first research question. Secondly, I discuss the main points presented in the previous chapter, namely how the bilingual participants used emotion words belonging to different morphosyntactic categories, how they framed emotions at a sentence level, how they used figurative expressions indicating emotional display and references to the body, in Russian and English. Also, I discuss the instances of code-switching to English found in the Russian retellings and language-specific concepts mentioned.

The aim of this analysis is to discuss some of the peculiarities that these results displayed, how they coincided and differed from previous studies, and to point out the differences in the use of emotion vocabulary by this group of 1.5ers, as compared to other categories of bilinguals investigated previously.

6.2. Answering RQ1

Chapter 5 showed that there was no clear-cut answer for RQ1, which, therefore, needs to be broken down into different layers. However, a few general observations can be highlighted, discussed in detail in the following sections. Firstly, the emotion vocabulary elicited by the two groups of Russian-Australian 1.5ers in Russian and in English did not differ much from that elicited by monolinguals of these two languages. Nevertheless, the bilingual speakers, both in Russian and English, displayed a more restricted range of emotion terms than their monolingual counterparts. Secondly, comparing the retellings in Russian and in English, as expected, the bilinguals' emotional speech in Russian was more dissimilar to that of monolinguals, as compared to the emotional speech of bilinguals and monolinguals in English. Lastly, the use of emotion vocabulary and emotional speech depended largely on individual choices, both for the bilinguals and the

monolinguals. In other words, when considering group results, no substantial differences were found between the monolinguals' and the bilinguals' narratives, either in Russian or English. When investigating each group in more detail, marked intra-group differences were found on various levels.

As far as interview duration and overall number of content and emotion words are concerned, three groups were relatively homogeneous, with the exception being the Russian monolinguals. The average duration of the retellings elicited by this group and the average number of content words contained in them were lower than the other three groups. However, the percentage of emotion terms versus all content words used was higher – 21.13% of all content words were emotion words in the Russian monolingual narratives, while for the other three groups, they were between 16% and 17%. This result might be due to the emphasis that Russian culture puts on emotions, which Wierzbicka (1992) described as "tremendous stress on emotions and on their free expression, the high emotional temperature of Russian discourse, the wealth of linguistic devices for signalling emotions and shades of emotions" (p. 395). Expanding on Wierzbicka's argument, we can assume that this cultural trait has prompted the Russian monolingual participants to focus more on emotion characterisation and to devote less attention to the description of the movie plot, hence the higher proportion of emotion words against the lower number of content words. To continue with this line of enquiry, we can argue that the BR group has lost this "cultural habit" and has adjusted their emotional speech in favour of a more English style, as the proportion of emotion words in their narratives is similar to the retellings in English.

When considering the variety of emotion terms, the monolingual retellings, both in Russian and in English, contained a higher percentage of emotion word types than those of the bilinguals – their ratio amounted to 40.63% for the MR narratives and 42.66% for the ME narratives, as opposed to 35.69% for the BR group and 34.38% for the BE group. This result was likely due to the higher fluency of the monolingual participants as opposed to the bilinguals. However, the present study did not assess language proficiency – the bilingual participants discussed their perceived language skills in the debriefing interviews – and the bilinguals produced data in only one language, therefore it is hard to comment on their language proficiency and make any claims on whether and how it might have influenced the use of emotion words.

6.3. Discussion on the different levels of analysis

6.3.1. Morphosyntactic categories

As far as the use of morphosyntactic categories is concerned, it was expected that the group of Australian-English monolinguals would describe emotions mainly through adjectives and that the retellings elicited by the bilingual group in English would be very close to those of the monolinguals. These assumptions were confirmed, as both groups used mainly emotion adjectives in their retellings. Emotion adjectives, in fact, amounted to 58.05% of all emotion words in the BE narratives and to 65.67% in those of the ME.

The narratives elicited by the Russian monolinguals were expected to present a combination of different grammatical categories (adjectives, nouns, verbs, adverbs), but also that emotion verbs would prevail. The narratives elicited by the bilingual group in Russian were expected to be further from those of the monolinguals. Because of the influence of English on their Russian, it was expected that the bilingual group would have restructured their emotional speech in Russian and therefore would use predominantly emotion adjectives. The narratives in Russian, both monolingual and bilingual, showed a variety of grammatical categories. However, against expectations, they did not contain a predominance of emotion verbs – rather both Russian groups used emotion adjectives, verbs and nouns quite homogeneously (their ratio varied between approximately 25% and 35% of all emotion words). Furthermore, in contrast to what was anticipated, and to previous studies, the bilinguals' retellings were not dissimilar to the monolinguals' ones in terms of grammatical categories used.

The use of verbs in the retellings in Russian elicited for this study was puzzling. In fact, greatest differences between bilinguals and monolinguals were expected to be observed in the use of this category. Against these predictions, the bilingual participants showed that they had not restructured their emotional speech in favour of an adjectival pattern and that they still used morphosyntactic categories, including verbs, in a language-appropriate way, employing also a majority of reflexive and imperfective emotion verbs, in line with Wierzbicka's (1998a, 1999) and Pavlenko's (2002a, 2002b) descriptions of Russian emotional speech.

The English narratives, by contrast, contained a considerable number of passive constructions – amounting to around one third of all verbal constructions both for the bilinguals' and the monolinguals' retellings – mainly used in the present continuous form

(for example "*he's being yelled at")*, which were not found in previous research. As suggested by Pavlenko (personal correspondence), the use of these constructions might be due to the elicitation method itself. In fact, it is likely that the participants were prompted to use these forms as they were asked to describe the stills one by one, which probably made them retell the events as if they were in progress. Therefore, as these forms are not typical of storytelling, but rather of detailed descriptions, it is possible that they were not found in previous studies, because they used different narration methods – in Pavlenko's (2002a, 2002b; Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Pavlenko & Driagina, 2007) studies the participants were asked to retell the whole movie.

In addition, all the retellings analysed in the present study, both the English and the Russian ones, contained a high number of emotion nouns – the most employed morphosyntactic category by Russian monolinguals. This can be again related to the methodology used. Asking the participants to describe the stills one by one prompted some of the participants to name particular emotion(s) identified for each scene (for example in sentences such as "Aaah, *humiliation* and *sadness* and... probably *frustration* as well"), rather than describing the stills in a more sequential, "storylike" way.

As explained in Section 5.3.3.5, the MR and BR groups used impersonal adverbial constructions on a similar scale, although the bilingual retellings contained a slightly higher number of these instances than the monolingual ones (18 tokens against 10, i.e. 72% of all adverbs found in the BR retellings and 50% of all adverbs found in the MR retellings). Wierzbicka (1992) considered these constructions as a means to position "people as passive and more or less impotent experiencers rather than agents" (p. 430), as they lack a grammatical – nominative – subject. She observed also (ibid.) that the use of adverbial impersonal constructions, not only to describe emotions, is growing in Russian. In their analysis of narratives elicited by American learners of Russian as L2, Pavlenko and Driagina (2007) noticed that these learners used a higher number of adverbial impersonal constructions than Russian monolinguals. Similarly, in the present study, the bilingual participants used more of these constructions than their Russian monolingual counterparts. Pavlenko and Driagina (2007) argued that one of the reasons that American learners of Russian used a higher number of adverbial constructions than Russian monolinguals might be that these constructions "allow learners to use state and change-of-state verbs in ways similar to adjectival constructions" (p. 227). In other words, the two scholars considered this choice as an example of L1 transfer from English. For

example, to describe someone as *bored,* English language would commonly use a state expression – *she is bored* – or a change-of-state construction – *she got bored*. Impersonal adverbial constructions in Russian are somewhat similar to English adjectives, as they are invariable, and they require one to change only the dative noun/pronoun referred to the agent, which is comparable to a subject in a predicate adjective sentence – *ей скучно* (*she is bored*, state) or *ей стало скучно* (*she got bored,* change of state). Therefore, impersonal adverbial constructions might be preferred over verbs by non-fluent speakers, because these constructions are assimilated to English adjectival forms. This argument may be valid also for the bilingual participants of this study, as most of them perceived themselves to be more fluent in English than in Russian, and some considered Russian as attrited, although to different extents. In other words, as for these speakers English was the dominant language used more frequently on a daily basis and was, presumably, more active than Russian, we can assume that these adverbial impersonal constructions were used more often by bilinguals than by Russian monolinguals, because of the association made with adjectival constructions in English. To summarise, adverbial constructions can be compared to adjectival ones, as argued by Pavlenko and Driagina (2007), and can be considered as indicative of a way to view individuals as passive, rather than active, in experiencing emotions, as argued by Wierzbicka (1992, p. 430). Following this line of enquiry, we can consider the frequent use of these constructions by the BR group as an example of restructuring in their conceptualisation of emotions, in favour of a passive stance.

Apart from these observations, the distribution of morphosyntactic categories used by the two groups of bilinguals is similar to that of the two monolingual groups. However, individual preferences for one or two grammatical categories, found in the retellings of various participants, belonging to all groups, levelled out a number of differences and rendered this count relatively homogeneous (see Section 5.3.4).

6.3.2. Framing of emotions

The way emotion words were used at a sentence – syntagmatic – level in English was very similar across the monolingual and the bilingual groups (see Section 5.4.2). For the narratives in Russian as well, substantial similarities between the monolinguals' and the bilinguals' retellings were found (see Section 5.4.1). However, the Russian narratives

elicited by these two groups contained also various divergences in terms of emotion framing, which have been noticed also in previous studies. A first example is the recurrent use of the verb *čuvstvovat´* and *čuvstvovat´ sebja* (both translating into English as *to feel*), found quite often in the Russian retellings elicited by the bilingual group (see quotations 12-13 and 33 to 38 in Section 5.4.1), but only once in the monolinguals' retellings, and previously noticed in narratives elicited by late Russian-American bilinguals (Pavlenko, 2002b) and by American L2 learners of Russian (Pavlenko & Driagina, 2007). These instances have been identified as a case of L2 transfer to L1 (Pavlenko, 2002b, 2004b, Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2002). As English language often describes emotions through the verb *to feel* followed by an adjective, bilingual participants have most likely transferred these constructions also into Russian, producing what Pavlenko and Jarvis (2002, p. 200) called *framing transfer*, defined as a transfer of a linguistic frame, i.e. the transfer of a structural or grammatical category. Some participants showed some confusion in the use of the transitive form *čuvstvovat´*, employed instead of the reflexive *čuvstvovat´ sebja*,[1] (see quotation 39 in Section 5.4.1). These cases have been interpreted as *morphosyntactic transfers* (Pavlenko, 2002b, p. 69), namely a transfer which violates morphosyntactic rules.

A second and similar example is the verb *vygljadet´* (literally meaning *to look*), used by some bilingual participants in Russian (see quotations 14-15 in Section 5.4.1), but not by the monolinguals, before emotion adjectives. The use of these constructions has also been considered as a *framing transfer* from the L2 to the L1 (Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2002, p. 205), and Pavlenko (2002b, p. 68) noticed similar instances in the narratives of her late Russian-American bilinguals. She explained that the verb *vygljadet´* is usually used in Russian with the adverbs *khorošo* and *plokho*, with the meaning of *to look good/ to look bad*, but it generally does not accompany adjectives. When it does – she continues – adjectives should be in the instrumental case (p. 68), while the examples found in the bilinguals' narratives involve the use of the nominative. The same considerations could be applied also to the reflexive verb *smotret´sja*, a synonym for *vygljadet´*, although less common in Russian speech, as more colloquial, and used a few times by one bilingual participant, Tanya (see quotation 16 in Section 5.4.1.1).

[1] Let us point out again that the form *čuvstvovat`* is transitive and is used with the meaning of *to experience, to sense*, followed by a direct object. The verb *čuvstvovat` sebja*, reflexive, is used together with adverbs, or adjectives and nouns in the instrumental case.

The fact that emotion framing was more similar across the English narratives than the Russian ones was most likely due to the bilinguals' higher fluency in English than in Russian. Although their language proficiency was not assessed formally, they discussed their perceived language skills during the debriefing interviews (see Section 5.2) and a high majority of them (20 out of 26) considered themselves as more fluent in English. Admitting that self-reported proficiency cannot fully reflect actual language competence, it was used in various studies (Dewaele, 2004a, 2004b, 2005, 2006, 2011; Dewaele & Stavans, 2014; Luk & Bialystok, 2013; Resnik, 2018a), showing that it correlates considerably with actual proficiency measures (Dufour & Kroll, 1995; Kroll, Michael, Tokowicz, & Dufour, 2002; Marian, Blumenfeld, & Kaushanskaya, 2007). However, once again no definite claims can be made on this issue without assessing language proficiency, as well as obtaining data in both languages spoken by the bilinguals.

6.3.3. Figurative expressions

Following Wierzbicka's (1992, 1998a, 1999) assumptions on the centrality of emotions in Russian culture, reflected in the higher number of hyperbolic idiomatic expressions referred to emotions in Russian, as compared to English, it was expected that the Russian monolinguals' retellings would contain the highest number of these expressions. However, no substantial differences in the use of figurative expressions were found among the four groups.

On the one hand, monolingual participants, both Russian and English, used, on average, a slightly higher number of these expressions than the bilinguals. On the other hand, only a restricted number of participants, two or three in each group, referred to emotions in a figurative way. In other terms, only certain individuals chose to speak about emotions in a metaphorical and suggestive way, by means of non-conventional phrases instead of proper emotion words, hence the use of a relatively high number of these expressions in the retellings of a few participants, while others opted for a more direct and ordinary style.

As for the bilingual participants, their use of colourful phrases to describe emotions may be dictated by language skills. In fact, 10 out of the total 21 expressions (47.62%) found in the BR narratives were elicited by Maria and Julia. These two participants still used Russian at home and had a late onset of bilingualism – they moved

to Australia at the age of 12. It is likely that Maria and Julia had reached high competence in Russian before migration, which enabled them to use idiomatic language (in addition, Maria considered herself to be more fluent in Russian, while Julia felt that she was more fluent in English).

At the same time, Wierzbicka's analyses were based mainly on written literary texts and on dictionary entries, rather than spoken language. Considering the differences between these two forms of language, it is possible that the use of figurative language, expressions and collocations, differs between written texts and oral language. Therefore, it is also possible that if there are any differences in the use of these expressions between English and Russian, and in their use by bilingual speakers, these differences are not likely to emerge in spoken language.

6.3.4. References to the body

The tendency to describe emotional display depicted on someone's body is more common in Russian than in English emotional discourse, as noticed in previous studies (Pavlenko, 2002a, 2002b; Wierzbicka, 1998a, 1999). As anticipated, the retellings elicited by the Australian monolingual group presented the lowest amount of these references. Russian monolinguals were expected to make connections between emotions and facial expressions and body language more often than the other three groups, while the two bilingual groups were expected to be between these two extremes, but also to be closer to the Australian monolingual group and to refer to the body only occasionally, both in Russian and English. However, against these predictions, the Russian bilinguals' narratives contained more than twice as many of these references as their monolingual counterparts. Yet, "reading" emotions on the body also turned out to be an individual feature, occurring only among certain individuals. Considering the two bilingual groups, it emerged that some participants have retained this habit in Russian; in fact, Eva's, Igor's, Kirill's, Vera's and Vladimir's narratives contained between 3 and 19 references to the body. The reason why these participants have maintained this "Russian way" of referring to emotions might be the fact that all, except Eva, still used Russian within their families and had a relatively late onset of bilingualism (between the ages of 9 and 12) – Igor and Vera also felt equally fluent in Russian and English. Furthermore, the bilinguals' retellings in English contained almost the same average number of these references as the

Russian monolingual narratives, which shows that some participants, such as Elena, who referred to the body 7 times in her narrative, transferred this habit also to their English speech. Further connections between references to the body to describe emotions and participants' personal histories are discussed in Section 9.2.

Pavlenko (2002a) explored the connections between emotions and the body among American and Russian monolinguals, as well as among Russian-American late bilinguals (2002b), and she noticed the same tendency. She argued (Pavlenko, 2002b, p. 65) that the fact that bilingual speakers often recalled the body in their English narratives showed that their emotional speech in L2 has not completely adjusted to Anglo scripts. Following Bamberg (1997), she suggested that the practice of referring to the body is learned by speakers from childhood through language socialisation: "in the process of language socialization, children are socialized into categorizing, experiencing, and narrating emotions appropriate to their culture" (Pavlenko, 2002a, p. 211). The fact that children are "skilled affective communicators", following culture-specific rules, was explained also by Reilly and Seibert (2009, p. 535), who highlighted that "by age 4, children's cognitive representation of emotion – their use of emotional terms, their understanding of causes of emotional responses, and their ability to attribute emotions to others – is rather sophisticated" (ibid, p. 545).

To summarise, in Russian emotional speech, emotions are referred to the experiencer's gestures and facial expressions to interpret the involvement of the body in the emotional experience (Wierzbicka, 1998a, 1999). Children growing up in such an environment absorb this cultural trait through language socialisation (Bamberg, 1997; Pavlenko, 2002b) at a very early age (Reilly & Seibert, 2009). Hence, we can assume that all the bilingual participants of this study learned this culture-specific norm when growing up in a Russian-speaking country. However, only five participants in the BR group (Eva, Igor, Kirill, Vera, and Vladimir) showed that they have maintained this "habit" in Russian, while others, such as Elena in the BE group, have also also transferred it to their English speech. In other terms, describing the emotions depicted on the movie character(s)' body resulted to be an individual characteristic as other language choices shown in the participants' emotional speech. In fact, only a small number of participants referred to the body, also among the Russian monolinguals, whose retellings were expected to contain the highest number of these references. In addition, the fact that some participants, for example Vladimir in the BR group, described the emotions depicted on

the body in detail might be due to the interpretation given to the task itself. As moving from one scene to the other might have prompted the participants to follow the same pattern of description for each still, participants such as Vladimir, who produced almost half the overall number of references to the body in his group (19), might have started reporting on body language and facial expressions in detail for the first still and have repeated this feature for all the following ones.

6.3.5. Code-switching

The narratives elicited by the bilingual group in Russian contained a few instances of code-switching to English nouns (*hope*) and adjectives (*confused, upset, frustrated*). Pavlenko (2002a, 2002b, 2008a, 2008c; Pavlenko & Driagina, 2007) discussed the use of the adjectives *upset* and *frustrated* in bilingual narratives and their acquisition by L2 speakers. She considered the concept of *frustration* as a case of *conceptual non-equivalence* between English and Russian, occurring when a word does not have an exact translation equivalent in another language (Pavlenko, 2008c, p. 95). Conversely, she classified the adjective *upset*, and its most commonly used Russian translation equivalent, *rasstroennyj*, as an example of *conceptual and structural equivalence.* The two adjectives, in fact, are generally used in the same situations in English and in Russian (p. 94) and belong to the same grammatical category (adjective). Following Pavlenko's (2008c) considerations on equivalence, non-equivalence and partial equivalence, it could be argued that the adjective *confused* does not have a full *conceptual equivalent*, but only partial equivalents in Russian. In fact, its most common Russian translations, *rasterjannyj* and *ozadačennyj*, could be considered as cases of *structural equivalence and conceptual partial equivalence*. The Russian *rasterjannyj* and *ozadačennyj*, and the English *confused*, in fact, share the same morphosyntactic category – they are adjectives – but their meaning only partially coincides. The Oxford English dictionary (n.d.) defines the English *confused* as applicable to a person who is unable to think clearly. The Russian *rasterjannyj*, according to Ozhegov's dictionary (n.d.), refers to someone who does not know how to react to a situation because of some strong emotion. Furthermore, the adjective *rasterjannyj*, as past participle passive of the perfective verb *rasterjat`* (to lose, little by little) includes also the meaning of feeling lost, losing one's head. The adjective *ozadačennyj* is referred to someone in a state of perplexity – it is often rendered in English also as *perplexed* or *puzzled*. As far as the noun *hope* and its Russian translation

equivalent *nadežda* are concerned, they can be considered as another case of *conceptual and structural equivalence;* they belong to the same grammar category (noun), and they are commonly used in the same situations in the two languages. However, Pavlenko (2008c, p. 109) pointed out that full conceptual equivalence may be impossible, as two translation equivalents might in practice be used in different contexts and with different lexico-syntactic frames. For this reason, all code-switching instances mentioned above have been considered as separate word types, distinct from other possible Russian translations.

The choice to code-switch to English may be for different reasons. One possibility is that these participants might have been in *bilingual mode* (Grosjean, 2001, 2012)[2] throughout the whole narrative, knowing that I would understand them both in Russian and English. Being in bilingual mode implies that, although Russian was activated to a higher degree than English, English was still highly active, and therefore code-switching was more likely. Conversely, had they spoken to a Russian monolingual, they would have probably been in a monolingual mode (ibid.), namely they would have activated Russian to a higher degree and English words would have emerged less frequently. Furthermore, as for most participants English was the dominant language used predominantly on a daily basis, the high degree of activation of this language may have induced them to immediately resort to English when they could not find a Russian term promptly. In addition, the material might have induced them to be in a bilingual mode. The movie, in fact, showed a typical Western context – it was shot in the United States, most likely in New York. Although this study did not consider the type of material as a variable, it is possible that this has influenced some retellings. The participants, in fact, might have associated the Western/American ambiance of the movie with the English language, and therefore they might have subconsciously maintained this language activated to a higher degree, had the movie shown a typical Russian background.

[2] According to Grosjean (1998, 2001), bilinguals can find themselves in different *language modes*, in relation to the degree of activation of their languages. When speaking with monolinguals, or with people who do not share the same language combinations, bilinguals are in a monolingual mode; one of the languages (the target language) is active to a higher degree, while the other, non-target language, is latent, but it cannot be completely switched off . Opposite to the *monolingual mode*, bilinguals are in a *bilingual mode* when speaking with other bilinguals with whom they share more than one language. In these situations, they activate predominantly the target language, while the non-target language is less active than the base language, but still highly active, as they might recur to code-switching often (Grosjean, 2012, p. 2).

Another possibility, most likely concurrent with what described above, is that they code-switched because they had difficulties in mapping the situation and the emotion depicted in the movie, and the conceptual representation that it evoked, with a Russian term. In fact, the conceptual repertoire of bilinguals is likely to undergo conceptual change due to the acquisition and interaction of their two languages (Pavlenko, 1997, 1999), a conceptual change which entails the internalisation of new concepts and/or the restructuring of concepts in one or both languages (Caskey-Sirmons & Hickerson, 1977; Kecskes & Papp, 2000; Pavlenko, 2002c). Code-switching might happen when naming culture- and language-specific concepts (Jaspaert & Kroon, 1992; Waas, 1996), such as that of *frustration* (Pavlenko, 1999, 2002c, 2002d), described in detail in the following section.

6.3.6. Language- and culture-specific concepts

The concept of *frustration* was analysed extensively by Pavlenko (2002b, 2008a, 2008c; Pavlenko & Driagina, 2007) and Wierzbicka (1999), who considered it a "highly culture-specific concept" (p. 71), typical of Anglo cultures, an opinion shared also by Panayiotou (2004a, 2004b). Pavlenko (2002a) noticed that the adjective *frustrated* – but also the noun *frustration* – was used frequently in the narratives elicited by her American monolingual participants, confirming the peculiarity of this concept for Anglo cultures, as already remarked by Wierzbicka (1999). This term was recurrent also in the English narratives elicited by Pavlenko's (2002b) Russian-American bilinguals, and Dewaele and Pavlenko's (2002) Russian L2 learners of English, who showed that they had internalised this language- and culture-specific concept. Similarly, the adjective *frustrated* was used very often both by the Australian monolingual and the English bilingual group (7 and 10 times respectively) in this study, together with the noun *frustration* (employed 4 and 6 times respectively). The noun *frustracija* was also employed twice by one of the bilingual participants, Igor, in Russian. This noun – as well as the verb *frastrirovat`* – was also used by American learners of Russian as L2, investigated by Pavlenko and Driagina (2007, p. 228), who considered its use in Russian as a lexical borrowing.[3]

[3] The word *frustracija* in Russian language is limited to the sphere of psychology and refers to a pathological state due to unfulfilled expectations, followed by a sense of anger, anxiety and guilt (Il'in, 2001, p. 163).

One bilingual participant, Tanya, code-switched to English to refer to the concept of *frustration* because, most likely, she had difficulty connecting the conceptual representation triggered in her mind with an appropriate term in Russian, a language that lacks a specific term for this concept. This difficulty was confirmed by the hesitation that Tanya showed when using this term (see quotation 95 in Section 5.7). Tanya may have instinctively associated the situation and the face of the movie character with a "frustration-related" conceptual representation, which she had most likely internalised (Pavlenko, 1999, 2002c) after spending most of her life in an English-speaking country. However, as this concept represents a case of conceptual non-equivalence between English and Russian (Pavlenko, 2008c), she could not retrieve a suitable term to name this emotion within her Russian repertoire. This example can be connected also to Panayiotou's (2004a, 2004b) analyses of Greek-English and English-Greek bilinguals. In fact, Panayiotou's participants also code-switched to English during their speech in Greek to use the term *frustration*, acknowledging that there is no translation equivalent in Greek for this concept.

Conceptual change, and in particular attrition of L1 concepts (Olshtain & Barzilay, 1991; Waas, 1996), may explain also the other instances of code-switching, for terms that do have a translation equivalent, or partially equivalent, in Russian, such as *hope*, or *upset*, described in the previous section. Difficulties in lexical retrieval and code-switching are in fact considered as the most typical manifestations of attrition of L1 concepts (Olshtain & Barzilay, 1991; Pavlenko, 1999, 2002c). Furthermore, the fact that new concepts have been internalised was shown not only by means of code-switching, but also of lexical borrowings in Russian, for example the adaptation of the word *frustracija*, present in the Russian retelling of one participant, Igor.

All these instances indicate that these participants' mental representations of emotion concepts have partially shifted in the direction of English, and, consequently, English concepts may be more easily retrieved than Russian ones. Starting from this assumption, we can argue that these speakers' representation of emotion concepts does not coincide with that of monolinguals, positioning them in a liminal position in this respect.

6.4. Concluding remarks

The results discussed here and presented in the previous chapter showed no clear-cut differences in the use of emotion vocabulary between Russian-Australian 1.5ers, both in English and in Russian, and monolingual speakers of these two languages. However, the group of 1.5ers investigated for the present study has shown that their emotional speech in L1 is more distant to the monolingual norm than it is in L2. Therefore, these results suggest focussing the attention on 1.5ers' emotional speech in L1. At the same time, they shed light on a number of issues worth highlighting and further exploring in future research.

Firstly, they showed that, while English speakers, both monolingual and bilingual, elicited narratives, emotion vocabulary and expressions as anticipated, the narratives in Russian were somewhat distant from what was expected. Secondly, the retellings elicited by the two bilingual groups, despite being very similar to the monolingual narratives of the two respective languages, 'moved' slightly in the direction of the narratives in the other language, which indicates that the bilingual participants' conceptualisation of emotions does not coincide completely with that of monolinguals and has undergone some restructuring in Russian, their chronological L1, or has not completely adjusted to the norms of their chronological L2, English, as previously observed by Pavlenko (2002b). Thirdly, they showed that individual choices played a crucial role in the selection of emotion vocabulary, which resulted to be true for all participants in this study, bilinguals, as well as monolinguals. Individual choices made some participants prefer some morphosyntactic categories over others, use more figurative expressions than others, or refer to the body frequently. These differences may have resulted from the task itself, which was interpreted differently by the various participants. As they were instructed to discuss the movie characters' actions and feelings in each still, some decided to retell the whole story, connecting one scene to the following one, while others focussed solely on the description of the emotions depicted in each still, overlooking background information and any connections to the general story. In addition, the fact of recounting one still after the other might have prompted the participants to stick to their own style of description and to repeat it for all scenes. This could explain why some participants employed the same morphosyntactic category throughout the whole retelling. At the same time this result suggests that choices in emotional speech are determined more by individual language use rather than being dictated by language constraints.

A few considerations can be raised in relation to Wierzbicka's (1998a, 1999) and Pavlenko's (2002a, 2002b) main argument on the difference in the conceptualisation of emotions between Russian and English speakers – considered as inner activities in Russian and as passive states in English – and their possible restructuring for bilingual speakers of these two languages. Firstly, if we associate the use of different morphosyntactic categories to describe emotions to a difference in their conceptualisation – emotion adjectives denoting a passive viewpoint, while emotion verbs indicating an active stance – the results of this study did not show a clear-cut distinction between monolingual speakers of English and monolingual speakers of Russian. In fact, on the one hand, monolinguals speakers of English used a predominance of adjectives, something which reconfirmed that they conceptualised emotions as states. On the other hand, Russian monolinguals did not use a predominance of emotion verbs, but rather a variety of grammatical categories. Two possible explanations could justify this particular result. One possibility is that these results might be due to the task itself and the stills used, which might have induced the participants to describe the story in a static, rather than 'storylike' way. Alternatively, they might suggest that the difference in the conceptualisation of emotions between speakers of English and Russian might be more complex and less 'black and white' than what was postulated before (Pavlenko, 2002a, 2002b; Pavlenko & Driagina, 2007; Wierzbicka, 1998a, 1999) and deserving further investigation.

Furthermore, no definitive conclusions can be drawn regarding the bilingual speakers, either for their narratives in Russian or in English. For many aspects, their use of morphosyntactic categories, both in English and in Russian, was very similar to that of their monolingual counterparts. However, their retellings in Russian contained a higher number of adverbial impersonal constructions, which have been compared to predicate adjective constructions (Pavlenko & Driagina, 2007, p. 227), where the role of the logical subject is not active, but subordinate and passive (Wierzbicka, 1992, p. 430). Starting from these considerations, the numerous instances of adverbial constructions might indicate a slight restructuring of the bilinguals' conceptualisation of emotions towards a passive stance, therefore similar to the English conceptualisation.

The bilinguals' retellings in Russian also contained a number of morphosyntactic and framing transfers, as well as instances of code-switching. These instances reinforce the view that for many aspects the bilingual participants' conceptualisation of emotions

has been restructured, new concepts have been internalised, and possibly a unitary system, distinct from that of the L1 and the L2, has been created, because of the convergence between two systems (Pavlenko, 1999, p. 223).

Although all these phenomena are typical for bilingual speakers, documented and analysed by various previous studies (Caskey-Sirmons & Hickerson, 1977; Jaspaert & Kroon, 1992; Kecskes & Papp, 2000; Olshtain & Barzilay, 1991; Pavlenko, 1999, 2002c; Waas, 1996), the results of the present research suggest looking further into this phenomenon for the category of bilinguals examined, 1.5ers, in order to explore whether and how these speakers differ from other categories of bilinguals investigated previously. At the same time, as the retellings in Russian were further from the monolingual norm than those in English, as expected, these results suggest that future studies on the generation 1.5 focus the attention on these speakers' L1, since most differences are likely to be found in their use of the L1 than in the L2.

Overall, if we compare the results of the present study with previous research, we could say that the emotional speech of the group of 1.5ers analysed here in Russian share some characteristics with that of Russian monolinguals, late bilinguals and L2 learners of Russian. Their emotional speech in English, however, almost matched that of monolinguals. However, some differences, for example the recurrent references to the body found in some retellings, might suggest that the emotional speech of these participants has not completely adjusted to Anglo norms (Pavlenko, 2002b, p. 65). Most importantly, this study reconfirmed that 1.5ers are a very heterogeneous group (Frodesen, 2002). As they learn their L2 after migration, between the ages of 6 and 12, overall language skills are extremely varied for this generation of bilinguals. Intra-group differences in terms of language proficiency, both in L1 and L2, are likely to be very marked. Therefore, it is likely that the use of emotion vocabulary, and the constructions used with it, in both languages, vary enormously, especially between those who migrated closer to the age of 6, as opposed to those who migrated closer to the age of 12. As a consequence, it might be useful to subdivide this generation into narrower groups sharing a more similar age of onset of bilingualism (for example AoO: 6-8 and 9-12). Considering all these factors, individual differences in emotional speech, already remarkable for any speaker, can increase sharply for 1.5ers, which highlights once again the heterogeneity and liminality of this generation of speakers.

In addition, to have a solid understanding of bilingual emotional speech, it is advisable to compare not only 1.5ers to late bilinguals, but also to examine the emotion vocabulary of early simultaneous bilinguals, as already suggested by Pavlenko (2002b, p. 72). Broadening these horizons would allow us to analyse the whole continuum of bilinguals and heritage speakers belonging to different generations of migrants (first, 1.5 and second). As heritage language studies have investigated cross-linguistic transfers from the dominant language into the L1/ family language extensively (see, e.g., Karkafi 2014; Karpava 2019; Montrul & Ionin, 2012), it would be useful to make connections between the findings of the present study and what is known about heritage speakers overall. This would most likely lead to a better understanding of the role that age of onset of bilingualism plays in the use of emotion vocabulary.

The results of this study integrate also with previous research on heritage speakers' language systems, in particular on heritage language morphosyntax (Laleko, 2010; Lee, Kim, Kong, Hong & Long, 2008; Montrul, 2010; Montrul, Bhatt & Bhatia, 2012; Montrul et al., 2008; Pascual y Cabo, 2015; Polinsky, 2008a), narratives (Mikhaylova & Ravitch, 2018; Polinsky, 2008b) and idiomatic expressions (Gor, Cook, Malyushenkova & Vdovina, 2009; Lee et al., 2008). The findings of this study reiterate the importance of longitudinal studies, analysing the use of the heritage language in childhood and adulthood, as indicated by Polinsky (2008b); in fact adult heritage speakers' language might undergo attrition and therefore differ from child language. In other words, when analysed in childhood, heritage speakers might use emotion vocabulary appropriately in the heritage language, yet show signs of attrition in adulthood.

In the following chapter, I present the debriefing interviews held with the bilingual participants only, and address RQ2 and RQ3.

CHAPTER 7: Language emotional resonance and preferences for emotional expression: findings[4]

7.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the results obtained through the debriefing interviews held with the bilingual participants. The aim of these interviews was to address the second and third research questions, which read as follows:

- RQ2: Does the group of Russian-Australian 1.5ers under examination perceive any difference in the emotional resonance of their two languages, Russian and English, and if so, in what ways?
- RQ3: What are these speakers' language preferences for expressing emotions?

As explained in Chapter 4, these interviews consisted of two parts. Initially we discussed the bilingual participants' biographies, language use and perceived language competence and dominance. In the second part, the participants discussed their perceptions on language emotionality and their language preferences for expressing emotions in different spheres.

Firstly, I delve into the participants' perceptions on their language competence and dominance (this information has already been presented briefly in Section 5.2), as these issues are the most investigated factors related to language emotionality and emotional expression, and I present a schematic summary of the participants' views on these topics. Following this, I illustrate in detail the participants' comments on language emotionality (RQ2) and emotional expression (RQ3). As far as the latter topic is concerned, I focus the discussion on the expression of anger and swearing, positive feelings and language preferred to communicate with children. However, other themes related to multilingualism and emotions are presented, namely how the participants feel different when speaking Russian and English, and their identity perceptions. All these results are further discussed in the next chapter.

[4] This chapter and the following use some material and quotations already presented in Venturin (2019), published by the *Heritage Language Journal* in August 2019, as well as materials and quotations submitted for publication to the *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* in October 2019.

7.2. Duration of debriefing interviews

Table 7.1 summarises the descriptive statistics from the debriefing interviews conducted with the twenty-six bilingual participants. As with the fictional narratives, the debriefing interviews also had various durations, depending on the participants' loquacity and desire to talk about themselves. The time indicated in the table refers to the duration of the whole debriefing interviews, including both the first part about biographical information and language use (presented in Section 5.2), and the second part about language emotionality and emotional expression.

No. of participants	26
Total	12:01:09
Mean	0:27:44
Range	0:11:44 - 0:55:06
No. of interviews in Russian	10
Total (in Russian)	4:21:52
Mean	0:26:11
Range	0:13:55 - 0:55:06
No. of interviews in English	16
Total (in English)	7:39:17
Mean	0:28:42
Range	0:11:44 - 0:51:41

Table 7.1: Debriefing interviews (amount of data collected, duration by language).

As explained in Chapter 4, the number of fictional narratives and debriefing interviews held in the two languages differs, as it was the participants' choice. While most participants decided to maintain the language used for the movie retelling for the debriefing interview, four participants who retold the movie in Russian decided to switch to English for the debriefing interview. As a result, fourteen fictional narratives were elicited in Russian and twelve in English, while for the debriefing interviews, ten were conducted in Russian and sixteen in English.

The shortest debriefing interview was 11:44, while the longest was 55:06 (M= 27:44). Any sorts of disfluencies – hesitations, pauses, interjections, reformulations and

repetitions – were not subtracted from the duration count, as they are indicative of natural speech. No particular difference was found between the average duration of the interviews in Russian (M= 26:11) and in English (M= 28:42), and in both languages the duration range was very broad.

7.3. Perceived language competence and dominance

Language competence and dominance was one of the main topics discussed at the beginning of the debriefing interviews. As language emotional resonance and emotional expression have been shown to be connected to L1 and L2 proficiency, language dominance, as well as L1 attrition (Dewaele, 2004a, 2010a; Kim & Starks, 2008; Pavlenko 2005a), these issues were discussed extensively with the participants in order to understand any possible links.

Language proficiency – the level of competence and fluency – and language dominance – the most accessible and most highly activated language (Harris *et al.,* 2006) – were not assessed. Only perceived language skills in Russian and English were discussed with the participants, as in other studies on multilingualism and emotions (see Dewaele, 2004a, 2004b, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2010b, 2015b, 2016a; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013; Pavlenko, 2004a; Resnik, 2018a). Similarly, L1 attrition, namely the progressive erosion in an individual's L1 competence (Schmid, 2008), was not assessed. However, when talking about their language skills, many participants referred to the gradual loss of competence in Russian that started after migration.

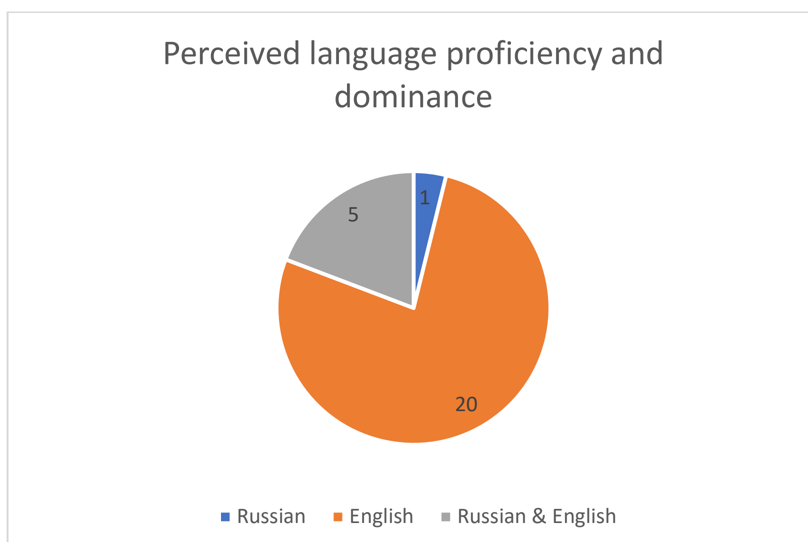

Figure 7.1: Self-reported language dominance and competence.

Twenty participants considered themselves to be more competent in English, five stated that they felt equally competent in Russian and English, while only one felt more competent in Russian. In addition, many participants, felt that they had forgotten Russian, although to different extents. A minor number of participants felt that they had completely forgotten this language, and were now re-learning it at university, while others self-reported attriters had different perceptions; they mainly acknowledged that they often lacked vocabulary because they did not use Russian as often as before, or that their passive skills were more developed than the active ones, especially when it comes to writing or to infrequent vocabulary. Some also stated that they felt they used a language which was outdated, or that they constantly had to translate from English, or that they were aware of their mistakes when speaking Russian. Table 7.2 below summarises the participants' self-perceptions on language competence, language emotionality and the main spheres of emotional expression discussed (happiness, anger and swearing, parent-child communication) and presented in the following sections. As language skills in the participants' two languages might shed light on their preferences for emotional expression and language emotional resonance, the possible links among these factors are discussed in the next chapter.

Name	Perceived language dominance/ competence	Perceived language emotionality	Language preference for anger & swearing	Language preference for positive feelings	Language preference for parenting
Bogdan	EN	N/A	EN	RU & EN	RU & EN
Boris	EN	RU	RU	RU	RU
Elena	EN	RU	N/A	N/A	RU
Eleonora	RU & EN	RU	RU & EN	RU	RU
Eva	EN	EN	EN	EN	EN
Igor	RU & EN	RU & EN	RU & EN	EN	N/A
Inna	EN	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Julia	EN	RU	EN	EN	RU & EN
Kirill	EN	RU	EN	RU	RU
Larisa	EN	RU	EN	N/A	RU
Leonid	EN	N/A	EN	EN	RU & EN
Maksim	EN	RU	RU	RU & EN	RU
Maria	RU	RU	RU & EN	RU & EN	RU
Maya	RU & EN	RU	RU & EN	RU & EN	RU & EN
Nikita	EN	RU	N/A	EN	EN
Oleg	EN	RU	EN	EN	RU
Olga	EN	RU	EN	RU & EN	RU
Pavel	EN	RU & EN	EN	EN	EN
Tanya	EN	EN	EN	EN	RU
Valentina	RU & EN	RU & EN	RU & EN	RU & EN	N/A
Valeria	EN	RU	EN	EN	EN
Vera	RU & EN	RU	RU	EN	RU
Veronika	EN	RU & EN	EN	EN	RU & EN
Viktoria	EN	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Vladimir	EN	RU	EN	N/A	RU
Yana	EN	RU	RU	EN	RU
Total	**RU: 1** **EN: 20** **RU & EN: 5**	**RU: 16** **EN: 2** **RU & EN: 4** **N/A[5]: 4**	**RU: 4** **EN: 13** **RU & EN: 5** **N/A: 4**	**RU: 3** **EN: 12** **RU & EN:6** **N/A: 5**	**RU: 13** **EN: 4** **RU & EN:5** **N/A: 4**

Table 7.2: Participants' self-perceptions on language dominance and competence, language emotionality and emotional expression (anger and swearing, happiness, parent-child communication).

[5] Here and in the following tables, some sections are indicated as "Not Available". This means that the participant did not discuss this topic or could not give a consistent answer.

7.4. Addressing RQ2: language emotional resonance

One of the main topics discussed with the bilingual participants was language emotional resonance (see RQ2), namely their understanding of whether they perceived one of their two languages as more emotional or emotionally richer, and the factors which could explain these perceptions.

Figure 7.2: Perceptions on language emotional resonance.

Sixteen participants reported a higher perceived emotionality and richness for Russian. Four stated an equal emotional resonance for both languages, while two said that they felt a stronger connection with and emotionality for English. A small number of participants (4) were not able to give a definite answer or contradicted themselves during the interview.[6]

Sixteen participants considered Russian to be richer, or more emotional and poetic, whether in speaking, listening or reading. Various participants mentioned that the greater richness they perceived for their native language was due to the greater breadth of Russian vocabulary available, both in the spoken and written language. In fact, some

[6] In the following sections, most of the time the number of participants mentioned does not amount to their total (26). This is because not all topics were discussed with all the participants. Furthermore, in cases where some participants contradicted themselves, their answers were not counted.

argued that, on a daily basis, a broader variety of terms is employed in Russian compared to English:

1. мы больше включаем наш словарный запас, а когда по-английски разговариваешь, […] это больше, как-то, такой обычный разговор, где потерялось вот это богатство английского языка.

   we turn on our vocabulary set more, while when you speak English, […] it's more, something like a normal conversation, where this richness of the English language is lost.

   (Vera).

Seven participants described Russian as very "descriptive", especially in terms of literature. For example, some felt that they appreciated the classics in Russian more – "I just like the... words" (Maya) – as "descriptions are a lot more vivid" (Vladimir). Also, four participants considered Russian to be richer and more suitable to describe emotions – "in Russian usually there's a lot of words for emotions" (Maya), as opposed to English, which can be perceived as "dry" (Boris). Furthermore, some mentioned the abundance of emotion terms available in Russian. In particular, these observations concerned Russian literature, or written compositions in general, filled with emotion words, therefore conveying to them more "passion" (Maya). One participant, Julia, explained that this abundance of emotion vocabulary in Russian also helps define emotions more precisely. In this regard, Julia used as an example the noun *disappointment*, which in Russian is translated as *razočarovanie*, a word bearing a double connotation:

2. вчера мы обсуждали слово *disappointment*, что переводится оно как *разочарование*. Но в русском, ты должна быть очарована чем-то, чтобы разочароваться, а в английском, ты можешь быть и не очарован, чтобы быть *disappointed*, да?

   Yesterday we were discussing the word disappointment, which is translated as razočarovanie. But in Russian you have to be enchanted [očarovana] by something, to get disenchanted/disappointed [razočarovat'sja], while in English you can also be not enchanted [očarovan] to be disappointed, right?

Another participant, Olga, explained that Russian evoked an emotional reaction for her, because she associated it with her childhood and her family, while English had solely an instrumental value for her:

3. [Russian] was the language of my childhood and family, because when I'm reading in Russian or watching movies in Russian, I have the associations of my childhood and my family, so […] I'm more involved in a sense, whereas with English, English is.. I mean, language is a tool, but English to me feels

more like a tool, rather than something that you would associate strongly with emotions, if that makes any sense.

Eleonora associated the higher emotionality that this language had for her to the greater emotionality of its people:

4. Богаче язык, но я думаю, что это ещё идёт от того, что люди сами эмоциональные больше, потому что, поэтому язык богаче, потому что, знаешь, у них больше как-то эмоций.

   It's a richer language, but I think it also comes from the fact that people themselves are more emotional, because, therefore, the language is richer, because, you know, they have somehow more emotions.

The Russian language was also defined as more "beautiful" by four participants (Kirill, Vladimir, Boris and Valeria). In addition, Russian was sometimes defined as more personal:

5. просто это твоё, как-то часть тебя.

   it's just yours, in a way a part of yourself.

   (Eleonora),

or a language which had a pleasant sensation, both when listening to it and when speaking it, as opposed to English, which, instead, was at times perceived as distant:

6. английский, он как-то, *it's foreign to me*, знаешь, он всё равно для меня как-то, да, не моё.

   English, it's somehow, it's foreign to me, you know, anyway for me it's somehow, yeah, not mine.

   (Eleonora).

Three participants regarded English as more suitable for business, because it is "utilitarian, very to the point, succinct" (Larisa), "more precise, laconic and rational" (Igor),[7] while Russian can be viewed as more "interpretative" and "the way that it's used to express things are more abstract" (Larisa).

At the same time, they acknowledged that their feelings might be biased and their judgements on language emotionality might depend on their personal histories and experiences, because it was their family language, the language of their childhood – "it makes me feel like at home when I hear it", stated Valeria. In fact, they recognised how

[7] This interview was in Russian and the sentence pronounced by this participant was "намного точнее, лаконичнее, рациональнее".

the books they read and were read to them by family when they were children, their words and the language itself might have had a stronger impact on them because they were connected to their memories and more carefree years of their life:

7. it does bring back a lot of memories when I hear it spoken and just like, yeah, uhm, it makes me feel like at home I hear it uhm, and it's very comforting.

   (Valeria).

Russian was also considered by some participants as more appropriate to talk about emotional and intimate topics:

8. он больше душевный, так скажем, чё-то как-то легче чувствуется, когда говоришь на нём.

   it is more soulful, let's say, something, somehow it feels lighter when you speak it.

   (Kirill).

Russian was also considered by some participants as sweeter, something touching their heart – or their soul (duša) – more than English:

9. когда у меня были в прошлом какие-то там отношения с кем-то и мне бы писали какие-то приятные слова на русском языке, […] это прямо, ну как бальзам, по душе протекает, очень.. да, приятный язык в этом плане.

   when I had some relationships in the past with someone and they would write to me some nice words in Russian, […] It's just like a balsam flowing through your soul, yes, a very pleasant language from this point of view.

   (Boris).

Russian was considered as sweeter also because of the ability to play with the language, invent new words and use a variety of diminutives, which gave the opportunity to resort to one's whole creativity:

10. по-русски легче вот придумывать слова знаешь, очень много слов которых не существует, но мы их используем, там тоже "уци пуци", тоже "мой хоросенький", […] по-русски там "хороший" и "ты мой хоросенький", […] по-английски "*cute, oh you're so cute*", оно как-то слово не меняется и звучит по-одинаковому, мне легче вот это всё на ходу придумывать по-русски, чем по-английски.

    In Russian it's easier to invent words, you know, there are a lot of words that don't exist, but we use them, also "utsy putsy", and "my little sweet", […] in Russian there's "sweet" and "you are my little sweet", […] in English "cute, oh, you're so cute", in a way the word doesn't change and it sounds the same, it's easier for me to invent all this in progress in Russian, rather than in English.

(Vera).

Six participants labelled Russian as “more direct”, explaining that the same idea, which would be expressed in Russian in a couple of words, would be illustrated in English in a long sentence – “with one word you can say so much” (Elena). As an example, Tanya compared the tendency to use indirect requests in English to the prevalent use of direct orders in Russian:

11. here you can say “could you please pass me the salt?”, but in Russian you would just say *“дай соль”* [give the salt], you can say “*пожалуйста дай соль”* [please give the salt].

Sometimes this conciseness brings with it an implicit value:

12. I feel like when I speak Russian, it has more meaning, so I say less, but it means kind of more.

    (Veronika).

On the other hand, two participants felt that English had a greater emotional resonance and richness for them, explaining that this perception was probably due to their education in English and their higher competence in it. Having done all their studies in English, being more fluent in this language and using it all the time allowed them to fully appreciate it, which they could not say about Russian.

13. I'm studying like publishing and... so I do a lot of editing and writing and that sort of thing, uhm, so, and I read a lot, so for me like, you know, I fully experience the richness of the English language, uhm, whereas I don't get this much opportunity to do that in Russian.

    (Eva).

Four participants did not report any differences in emotionality between these two languages, arguing that they can both be perceived as equally rich and emotional. Valentina, for example, explained that having lived almost all her life with both languages, it was hard to distinguish them and to determine whether they bore a different value:

14. It's, it's really, it's kind of hard for me to say, because I feel like.. it's all kind of jumbled up in my head, so I kind of switch between the two quite a bit.

7.5. Addressing RQ3: emotional expression

With regard to emotional expression, the themes covered with the participants during the interviews were mainly inspired by previous research and concerned with the expression of anger (Dewaele, 2006) and swearing (Dewaele, 2004a, 2010a, 2010b, 2016b; Pavlenko, 2005a), positive feelings (Caldwell-Harris *et al.,* 2012), and the language used with children (Pavlenko, 2004a). Considering the centrality of these topics to address the third research question, in the following sections, the most attention is devoted to these three themes. However, subsequently, other topics related to multilingualism and emotions were discussed, in particular, feelings of difference when speaking different languages (Dewaele, 2016a; Dewaele & Nakano, 2013; Koven, 1998, 2001, 2004; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2018a, 2018b) and identity (Rumbaut, 1994, 1997, 2004; Rumbaut & Ima, 1988) – which are also briefly presented here.

7.5.1. Anger and swearing

When expressing their own feelings, both positive and negative, most participants declared their preference for using English. Half participants (13) said that they would express their anger in English, four participants affirmed that they preferred Russian for this sphere, while five asserted that they used both languages depending on the context.

Figure 7.3: Language preference to express anger and swearing.

Some explained that English was their default language; they thought in it most of the time, therefore their outbursts of rage would also come out naturally in English. As far as swearing is concerned, many participants admitted that, since they used Russian mainly at home with family, these kinds of expressions – swearwords and any sort of vulgar vocabulary – has never been common in this environment. Also, some acknowledged that they did not know many swearwords in Russian, as they left their native country when they were children, so that was not the kind of vocabulary they would commonly hear and use at that age. In some cases, even when Russian swearwords were learned later in adulthood, they were not naturally employed, as they did not carry any emotional connotation:

15. it wasn't until I went back, I think when I was 17, that I learnt the swearwords, but at that point they're not attached to the emotions anymore, they're just words, that I can learn in any other language […], but I wouldn't instinctively use them.

    (Oleg).

Eight people, instead, mentioned that they perceived Russian swearing as too strong:

16. *Russian swearing has real venom, real power,* […] у этих русских слов есть, да, очень большая сила.

    Russian swearing has real venom, real power, these Russian words have a, well, a very strong power.

    (Boris).

This perceived strength and vulgarity can make some feel uncomfortable about using these words, as opposed to English swearing, which sounded less "serious":

17. for me to swear in Russian is really... it feels very, like "uuuh", you know, "don't say that!", but in English I swear a lot, but it's not, it's almost not as serious, it's like, just, you know, "bla bla".

    (Valentina).

Because of the perceived strength of Russian swearwords, switching to English during a conversation in Russian might be preferred, as explained by Igor, who recounted doing it in the presence of his mum, not to offend her:

18. а вот, допустим, это тоже культурно обоснованно, но при родителей например, ну, не при родителей, скажем при маме, а ну как-то ругаться по-русски при маме, это, ну как-то не то, некомфортно, […] но по-английски у меня нету никакого чувства, потому что, ну это как бы, ааааа, ну не моё эмоциональное восприятие, это её эмоциональное восприятие, она к этому нормально абсолютно относится, то есть, если

я с кем-то говорю тоже bilingual, ну билингвистическому человеку по телефону, а мне надо на него наорать матом, я сразу перехожу на английский, и допустим, если мама меня может слышит, и абсолютно нормально могу выкрикнуть как угодно.

well, let's say, it is also has its cultural basis, but with my parents for example, well not with my parents, let's say with my mom, well somehow to swear in Russian in the presence of my mom, that is, well, somehow it's not right, uncomfortable, […] but in English I don't have any feeling, because, well, it's as if, uuuuhm, well, not my emotional perception, it's her emotional perception, she reacts absolutely normally to this, that is, if I'm talking to someone also bilingual, well, to a bilingual person on the phone, and I have to yell some swearwords to him, I immediately switch to English, and let's say if mom maybe can hear him, and absolutely normally I can shout out whatever I want.

Eleonora affirmed that sometimes English swearwords might come out as a first reaction, followed by Russian ones:

19. Я думаю, что наверное первым бы английский наверное вышел немножко, а потом одинаково как-то, но первым бы наверное английский, просто °*f**** я бы сказала, знаешь, а потом может быть я бы начала остальной мат говорить по-русски, вот так как-то да, оба они, оба у меня очень *interchangeable*, как это сказать, да.

    *I think that probably the first that would come out would be English probably a little, and then somehow the same, but probably the first would be English, just °f*** I would say, you know, and then maybe I would start telling the rest of the swearing in Russian, well, somehow, yes, both of them, both of them are very interchangeable for me, how to say it, yes.*

Three participants declared that they swore predominantly in English, at least as an immediate reaction, because, following what was argued by others, it seemed quicker. However, when they could not convey all their fury, when English "doesn't sound as angry" (Maya), they would revert to Russian, as explained in detail by Valentina:

20. It depends on the level of seriousness […] it's usually English, but if I get really angry, […] then I just switch to Russian, if it's swearing or not, it just triggers that, you know, other things that sort of bring up emotional connections to my past […].The reason that I know about the anger is because sometimes when I would have arguments, hahaha, mainly with my ex, I would notice that when I get really frustrated or really <u>really,</u> I just can't, like, my English just goes out of the window, and it's Russian, and then it's like, I can't even deal with it, so that's how I noticed it, and then I'm like "I can't talk to you anymore because my English is not working right now", haha. Or if I'm really upset, like, something really serious happened, I know that that was just, you know, Russian, it switched back to, you know, when something is really serious, you go back to your basics, kind of thing.

Anger and swearing can also be situational, and this form of expression can depend on the language the participants were using when an event triggering a reaction takes place, or the language normally used with that interlocutor.

Four participants who reported a preference for expressing their anger and swearing in Russian had diverse explanations. On the one hand, Russian was for some of them the default language, as they were immersed daily in a Russian environment, therefore these kinds of reactions were naturally expressed in Russian. On the other hand, Russian gave them the opportunity to understand better both the illocutionary and the perlocutionary effect of the words used, namely, to discern their degree of offensiveness and which words to choose depending on their scope:

21. […] по-русски оно, как-то ты чувствуешь язык лучше и ты знаешь, что ты это скажешь и это будет не так обидно, по-английски я просто не знаю как это сказать, я знаю слово, но я не знаю как это сказать, чтобы вышло.. аа, какое предложение ты бы ни ставишь, чтобы оно не было так обидно, например, или наоборот.

    […] In Russian it's, somehow you feel the language better and you know that you will say that and it's going to be not so offensive, in English I just don't know how to say it, I know the word, but I don't know how to say it, so that it comes out.. uhm, depending on the sentence you produce, so that it's not so offensive, for example, or the opposite.

    (Vera).

7.5.2. Positive feelings

As is the case for anger and swearing, most participants (12) reported that they communicated their happiness in English more naturally, while only three asserted that they preferred Russian for this, and six did not report any preference, saying that they used either language according to the situation and the interlocutor.

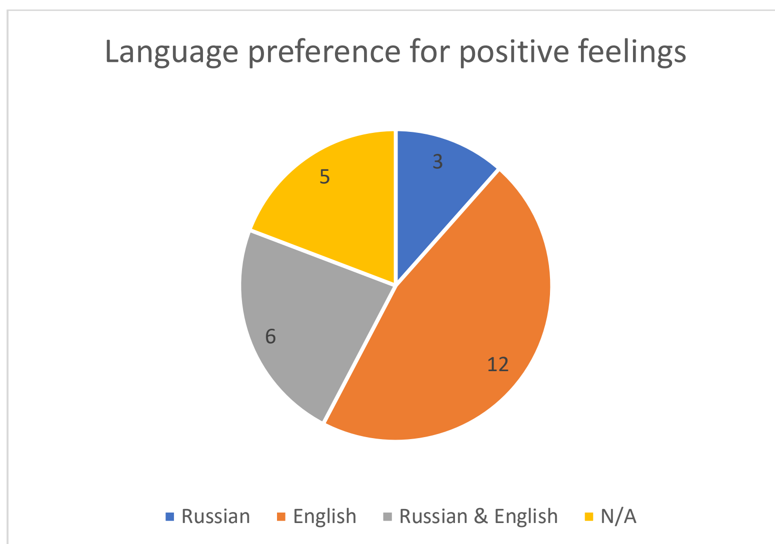

Figure 7.4: Language preference to express positive feelings.

Seven participants explained that they would instinctively externalise their joy in English, as this was their dominant language and consequently, most of their thinking happened in this language. In addition, a few mentioned that English was the only option, as their low competence in Russian would not allow them to express themselves properly. Two participants, also among those who reported the same level of competence in the two languages, noted that they usually manifested happiness in English, because they had become used to "happy reactions" in this language, as explained by Vera:

22. Наверное по-английски, я не знаю почему, но по-английски, вот я сейчас думаю, это "*Wow, oh my God! This is amazing!*" наверно потому что это, вот эти вот там последние восемь лет я жила в Австралии, и вот это вот радость очень много её слышала и я привыкла к этому, привыкла к этому, потому что я не привыкла, например, слушать как австралийцы там матерятся или что-то ругаются, я не привыкла, а вот как радуются там в школе, и вот эти уже фразы ты знаешь, ты чувствуешь их, ты знаешь как их используют, и в голове это сразу по-английски "*Oh wow! I would love to see it*", оно легче как произносится, чем "О как красиво" хаха. Я не знаю почему.

    Probably in English, I don't know why, but it's in English, now I think it is "Wow, oh my God! This is amazing!" probably because it's, well, these past eight years I've lived in Australia, and see this joy, I've heard a lot of it and I got used to it, I got used to it because I'm not used, for example, to listening to how Australians swear or they insult about something, I'm not used to it, but how they get happy there at school, and well, now these phrases you know, you feel them, you know how they are used, and in my head it's immediately in English "Oh wow! I would love to see it", it's easier to pronounce than "О как красиво" ["Oh how beautiful"] haha. I don't know why.

Of a similar opinion was also Julia, who explained that positive words did not come out easily in Russian.

23. Есть слова, которые, мне приходится общаться с людьми там, то есть, мне приходится говорить хорошие слова, но когда я их произношу, я чувствую фальшивость в себе, потому что "это замечательно, это невероятно, это так круто", ты говоришь по-русски.. но то же время, ты чувствуешь, как будто ты читаешь какую-то книгу, как-то с тобой не происходит, да, *even though you mean it,* но всё равно, не знаю.

    There are words that, I have to communicate with people there, that is, I have to say good words, but when I pronounce them, I feel fake in myself, because "this is wonderful, this is incredible, this is so cool," you say it in Russian .. but at the same time, you feel as if you are reading some kind of book, somehow it doesn't happen to you, yes, even though you mean it, but anyway, I don't know.

The expression of happiness can also be situational, according to six other participants, which means that the language that these respondents would use depended on the language they were using before. Similarly, the language they would use in a particular context was related to their interlocutors, with whom they usually used either Russian or English – for example, when at home, they would express their happiness in Russian, because this was the language used in the family, therefore this environment triggered all sorts of reactions in Russian, but they would do it in English when speaking with friends, as this was the language they normally used outside the family.

7.5.3. Parent-child communication

Language use with children was also discussed extensively, although only four participants had children at the time of the interview, so for the majority the discussion was hypothetical. Thirteen said that they chose, or would choose, to raise their children in Russian (all four participants who did have children at the time of the interview used this language with them). Four affirmed that they would use English, while five would opt for a mixture of Russian and English.

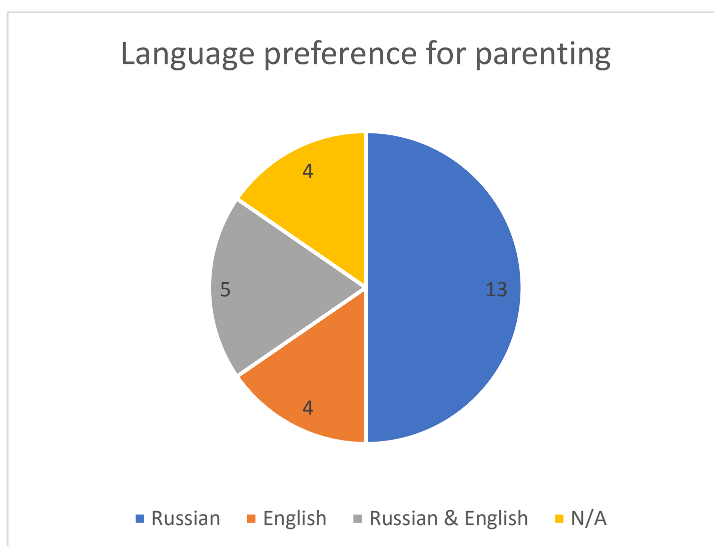

Figure 7.5: Language preference for parent-child communication.

Cultural and language maintenance was one of the main arguments for choosing Russian with children. As they acknowledged that a language represents a big part of national and cultural identity, various participants argued that it would be unreasonable not to pass on Russian to their children, as it would deprive them of their heritage, and of a connection with the environment their parents and ancestors grew up in which shaped them as much as the language did:

24. I feel like, if you are, if you do have that heritage, even though you were born in another country, I feel it's still important to maintain a piece of that heritage, a piece of that memory, if that makes sense [...] and even to know where, where you are, where you came from, what, you know, how was your, you know, how were your parents defined, what made them, what environment that they grew up in, uuh, because that's something that o: that makes a person and, I think, if you remove that…

    (Vladimir).

Sometimes the choice to raise their children in Russian was justified primarily for instrumental reasons. Most participants discussed the benefits of bilingualism and the possibilities that knowing another language could offer to their children in the future, so they considered it senseless not to offer them this opportunity:

25. так грустно, если ты можешь это поддерживать и это почему нет потерять свою культуру, потерять второй язык, я думаю это всегда на пользу, ну нужно этим заниматься, как и всё, а не что через 10 лет скажут “не получилось”, хаха, нужно что-то делать, хаха.

It’s so sad if you can support it and why not, losing your culture, losing a second language, I think it is always useful, well, you need to work on it, as for everything, not that in 10 years they will say “it didn't work”, haha, you need to do something, haha.

(Eleonora).

Some participants, however, admitted that they their language skills in Russian had regressed, therefore they had to work on them in order to use the language with their children:

26. with the children... I do, you know, I had to teach myself to speak Russian again.

    (Elena).

Tanya explained the desire to pass on the heritage language to her child was stronger than her “instinct”, which otherwise would mean she reverted to her dominant language, English:

27. I definitely speak to him in Russian only because I want him to maintain it, it doesn't come naturally to me whatsoever. I catch myself speaking to him in English a lot. So I'm like: “speak in Russian, why do you do it?” So, it's definitely something I have to constantly remind myself, and it's so much more easier for me to find words in English to describe what I'm doing, or, you know, anything like that. Russian is hardship for me.

Others advanced more emotional and affective reasons. Firstly, seven informants argued that they naturally used, or would use, Russian, because this is what “feels right” (Boris),[8] as they have always spoken Russian in a family environment, so using English at home “would feel foreign” (Vladimir). Secondly, three respondents mentioned that Russian was for them associated with childhood and childhood memories:

28. if it’s something that I would talk to my dad about, my brain starts talking to my dad in my mind in Russian, so it's like, some sort of childish thing that I might need advice for from a parent.. then yeah, like, I'd call my dad, and I would be, like, complaining in Russian, so obviously I'd be thinking about it in Russian, and it's kind of like a child-to-father relationship. So definitely my child-to-parent relationship […] happens in Russian.

    (Larisa).

Larisa continued, arguing that as a consequence, she would instinctively reproduce with her own children what she had experienced and heard in her own childhood – “[i]t's very

[8] The original, in Russian, was “чувствуется правильно”.

likely that I would channel my mother". Olga explained that this connection was not only shaped by her own childhood memories, but also by seeing her sister growing up:

29. I speak Russian to my sister, who is 8 years younger than me and so when she was growing up, I'd speak only Russian to her, so I have that association with little kids in Russian, so it would be a bit strange for me to use English.

For one respondent, Oleg, having a child also increased his associations with his own childhood, to the point that memories in Russian have re-emerged:

30. [having a child] brings up your memories of your childhood, that would never surface without it [...] he brings me back to that age, there's certain things that he does, where I suddenly get a flash of memories, of emotions from that, when I was one and a half years old, […] and I was in Russia back then, I didn't know any English, so all of my childhood was in Russian, and when I was speaking to him, I was speaking, like, from my childhood, of course it's gonna be in Russian, 'cause I don't know any English childhood, so yeah, it's because it takes you back to your roots and whatever your first language is, that's what you're default to.

By contrast, four people affirmed that they would choose English because it was their dominant language, and since their life and thoughts were predominantly in English, this is the default language they would use also with their children. Leonid had the opposite to Olga's experience growing up with his sister:

31. When my sister was growing up here, I looked after her quite a lot and so, she was quite young, so I almost, like, you know, I saw her childhood in an English speaking society as well, and I was only maybe 10 at the time, so it's quite... when I think about childhood, I don't necessarily think about it in a Russian way, a lot of my memories from childhood are in Russian, ah, like, and based in Belarus and, but again, like, just the idea of childhood, because I saw it also through my sister, uhm, I'd, it would, I think I would have to force myself, like if it's a particular day that's only in Russian, uhm, I'd have to say, like, just remember not to speak any English today, because it would be very tempting, haha.

    (Leonid).

Five respondents, instead, envisaged employing both languages with their prospective children. On the one hand, they acknowledged the importance of English, therefore they would not exclude it as a family language, also considering that they did not know what their future partner's language would be. On the other hand, adducing the same reasons discussed above – cultural and linguistic maintenance, and the value of a second language – they would also like to pass on Russian to their children. Julia alluded

to her habitual code-switching practices which she would maintain in a parenting situation. She would not feel comfortable sticking to one language only:

32. я бы с ними общалась и на русском и на английском, просто общалась как мне легче, одно слово выходит за другими, и иногда просто меняешь языки.

    I would communicate with them both in Russian and English, I'd just talk as it's easier for me, one word comes after the others, and sometimes you just change the languages.

As only four participants had children at the time of the interview, some of them discussed another type of "baby talk", namely conversing with little children and animals. This topic was marginally debated with only fourteen respondents, and eight mentioned that they used Russian for this type of talk. Some participants pointed out that this particular type of emotional expression did not always coincide with hypothetical language choices for parenting. One of the arguments advanced to support the preference for Russian for this "baby talk" was instinct:

33. Oh, you know what else I do in Russian? This is amazing, I talk to animals in Russian, like, I have, I have a cat, she is in Melbourne now, you know, obviously when I was living there, I can only speak to her in Russian, and I speak to babies in Russian, like, babies, who I know don't understand me and I'm just talking at them, like these monologues, these cu: cuty monologues, or, like, if I see a cute animal, all the diminutives come out in Russian, I hardly ever said "oh, that's so cute", I'm like *"ох, какой сладкий, ох, давай я тебя поцелую" ["oh, how sweet, oh, let me kiss you"],* you know all these things, always come out in Russian, and impulsively, like, these are all the words that my boyfriend also says in Russian, because I speak to them, to my cat.

    (Larisa)

Two participants suggested that their language behaviour with animals was indeed a distinctive sphere of expression. They admitted using Russian with animals, but English with children:

34. единственное у меня, где полный диапазон эмоций, это животные. […] У меня две собаки дома, я с ними общаюсь по-русски, ну потому что так легче, […] я там с ними играю, там глажу, и так далее, я с ними, вот, эмоциональный язык, "ты мой сладкий, ты мой хороший", у меня естественно.. полностью он идёт русский, но с другой стороны, это наверно оголовки детства, которые ты уже прошёл на русском.

    for me the only thing where I have a full range of emotions is animals. […] I have two dogs at home, I talk to them only in Russian, well, because it's easier. I play with them, I pat them and so on, and with them, well, the emotional language "you're my sweetie, you're my darling", for me

naturally.. it goes completely in Russian, but on the other hand, they are probably remainders from childhood, that you lived in Russian.

(Igor).

When talking to someone else' children, conversely, Igor continued, he considered mainly their understanding, therefore he used English:

35. с детьми я обычно общаюсь на английском, потому что это здешние дети, и они уже почти по-русски не говорят, просто так легче.

    With children I usually speak English, because they are local kids and they almost don't speak Russian anymore, it's just easier like that.

7.6. Feelings of difference when speaking Russian and English

Another topic which was discussed extensively with the participants concerns their feelings of difference when using one language or the other. Although this discussion is not central to answer RQ2 and RQ3 as it does not deal specifically with language emotionality and emotional expression, it nevertheless refers to the broader issue of bilinguals' expression in different languages. In fact, feeling different when speaking one language or the other may impact also on the way bilinguals express emotions in different languages.

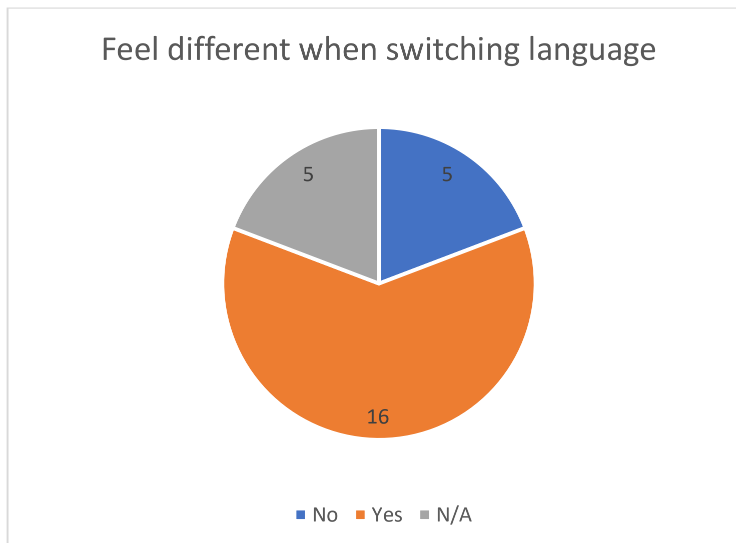

Figure 7.6: Perceptions on feelings of difference when switching languages.

Overall, the majority of participants, 16 out of 26, declared that they felt different when using their various languages, although to different extents, five affirmed that they did not feel any difference when speaking Russian or English, while the other five did not discuss this topic or could not give a decided answer.

The main cause reported for these feelings of difference was language fluency. Seven participants explained that they felt slightly restrained in Russian (but also in English, for the only participant who reported a higher competence in Russian), because of their perceived L1 attrition; they were aware that they lacked vocabulary, they could not pick the exact words, or they did not know all their nuances:

36. maybe I feel a little bit more reserved when I'm in Russian, 'cause again might, maybe my vocabulary just isn't there, so maybe I sit and kind of listen more, as opposed to me just talking, excessively when I'm in English, haha.

    (Bogdan).

On the same line, others noticed that their Russian was slightly outdated and structured, sometimes it could even sound childish, as their skills and vocabulary had not progressed and evolved much since they left their native country. All these elements made them feel slightly uncomfortable and under pressure when using this language, especially if it was outside the “comfort zone” of their family.

37. Yeah, I feel like my tongue is tied [in Russian] and things formulating in my brain that I can't express and that's frustrating but also just the actual... uhm, even just the sentence structure, hearing my cousins and their friends and my half-brother speak, their, I guess maybe it's, maybe, you know, mine is very outdated as well, because the people that I speak to here, but their vocabulary and the way that they say.. like they formulate a sentence is uuh, it's not how I've known it to be.

    (Leonid).

On the other hand, the stronger language, English for most of them, Russian for one of them, could be manipulated better, used it to its full potential, knowing that their messages will have exactly the effect they had intended. This is what Maria felt about English, her weaker language, and how she wished people saw her in her stronger language, Russian:

38. Потому что, в смысле, на английском я не могу так себя выразить, как бы таких слов подобрать, то есть как бы, я этот язык не могу прочувствовать, понимаете, потому что это мой второй всё-таки, вот и.. да и из-за этого то что я не могу так себя выразить как бы, вот по-английски мне кажется меня люди по-другому немного понимают, хотя когда если я по-русски с ними поговорю, если бы они говорили по-

русски, вот то они бы увидели меня совсем другой , но этого никогда не случится, потому что они не понимают хаха, это так с друзьями в основном.

Because, I mean, in English I cannot express myself in such a way, well, choose such words, that is, I can't feel this language, you understand, because this is my second language after all, well and.. yes, and because of this, the fact that I cannot express myself in this way, so, well, in English it seems to me that people understand me a bit differently, although when I speak Russian to them, if they spoke Russian, well they would see me completely different, but this will never happen, because they do not understand haha, it's like that with friends mainly.

This argument – a sensation of restraint due to lack of fluency – was brought up also by some respondents who did not perceive a "split" in their personalities. Pavel, for example, admitted that, because of his L1 attrition, he was not able to express himself and his thoughts fully, at the same speed and with the same vocabulary variety in Russian as he would in English.

39. мне надо чуть-чуть больше думать [на русском], я думаю, я сейчас более интеллигент назвучу на английском, чем на русском, но, но нет, от ситуации, и я думаю, что я тот же человек.

    I need to think a little more [in Russian], I think now I'll sound more intellectual in English than in Russian, but, but no, it's by situation, and I think I'm the same person.

In addition, Kirill explained that different interlocutors and different situations, taking place either in Russian or English, required him to behave in different ways, which did not depend on the language used, but rather on the circumstances (for example, formal or informal, serious or gregarious). Despite this self-awareness, he recognised that the same *persona* was acting regardless of the language employed in the diverse situations of his life:

40. как бы, да и нет, это зависит от кого, если я нахожусь, если я нахожусь около, там, друзей родителей русских, я буду говорить с ними на русском, но буду чувствовать себя напряжённым, потому что, как бы, я этих людей не знаю и не могу разговаривать, как я бы с друзьями, и то же самое с австралами, если я нахожусь, там, с подружки родителями, я с ними буду говорить культурно и буду, как бы, никуда не вмешаться и буду меньше говорить, чтобы сказать ничего плохого, ну, не то что плохого, но сказать ничего лишнего, поэтому считая в какой группе нахожусь, и как комфортно себя чувствую в этой группе и где-либо, а если вопрос если я думаю есть ли два разных человека, когда говорю на английском и на русском, то.... ммм, нет, я думаю, что я такой же, как на русском и такой же на английском.

well, yes and no, it depends on whom, if I am, if I find myself with, you know, my parent's Russian friends, I will speak with them in Russian, but I will feel tense, because, well, I don't know these people and I can't talk like I would with my friends, and the same thing with Aussies, if I am, you know, with my girlfriend's parents, I will speak to them in a civilised way and I will not, well, interfere anywhere and will speak less not to say anything bad, well, not bad, but not to say anything unnecessary, so considering what group I am in, and how comfortable I feel in this group and somewhere, but if the question is if I think there are two different people when I speak English and Russian, then.... uhm, no, I think I am the same in Russian and the same in English.

For some participants, Russian was associated with a sense of comfort, even combined with the unease described above as a result of lack of fluency. In fact, this was the family language, therefore a few participants reported "feel[ing] home" (Yana) when speaking it, because "it brings back memories" (Valeria) and it reconnected them to their life in their country of origin.

41. Maybe one is like my personal, more private language and one is my more, you know, speak-to-the-world kind of language.

    (Bogdan).

Three participants reported feeling more serious when speaking Russian, as opposed to a more casual and outgoing behaviour when using English:

42. Veronika: I think when I speak Russian I'm more serious uhm, and when I speak English I'm like more, kind of.. just relaxed and very like... I don't know, talkative, but in Russian I'm more like just concise and just plain, I guess, yeah.

    Me: Plain?

    Veronika: Yeah, like just not, not very, like, I don't laugh as much unless I'm like, talking to my friends or something, whereas I think if I were to speak in English, I would laugh more like, I don't know, I just feel like I'm more, like, outgoing.

Another participant, Inna, explained that, despite acknowledging some feelings of difference when speaking one language or the other, it was hard for her to explain them. In fact, having lived almost all her life with these two languages, she considered them as too ingrained into her mind and personality for her to differentiate them, so it would be "hard to imagine what it would be to speak English without the Russian". However, she continued by illustrating her conscious feelings of difference when speaking Spanish, a language learnt recently, in which she felt less serious and more playful:

43. I definitely noticed that between Spanish and English, I wonder between Russian and English.

Another participant, Oleg, affirmed that this split was definitely sharp:

44. It's literally like having two people in your head [...] It's, yeah, literally there's a switch, there's two personalities in there, one of them.... there's the one that developed in English and there's one that developed in Russian, it's the narrative, it comes to your internal narrative, that's what determines your personalities I think. And there's an internal narrative that I have in Russian, that's much more emotionally loaded, and that's probably a lot more immature, because, you know, I didn't get to develop much past 8, and then there's the internal narrative that I have in English that is missing a childhood, but it's much more mature and logical [...]It really is, there's two different personalities. And I suppose I try and leverage whichever one I need at the time, but it's difficult because it's like.. at times there's a mismatch between the one I need and the one that I get.

According to Oleg's words, this inner conflict did not allow him to express fully all the sides of himself:

45. For example if I, in any relationship that I get into with an English speaking person.. […] I'm not as emotional as I should be, I don't have that richness of... that depth to me, that, that personality that people want to see, and people feel like even that I'm holding something back, or that I really am just empty inside, when, really, it's not that I'm empty, it's just that that part of me is in a different language and I can't express that to them.

Finally, Larisa commented on the fictional narrative. She observed that she would have described the movie character differently, had she carried out the task in Russian:

46. I think if I was using Russian, […] I would even use, like, a Russian mentality to describe the situation how had I be using the Russian language.. yeah, because, in English it's, like, "yeah he's angry, he's frustrated, oh well it's his fault". I think if I was using these words in Russian it'd be like.. *"Ну чт: потому что он дебил! Хаха, он идиот! хахаха" ["So wha: because he's stupid! Haha, he's an idiot! hahaha"].* In English I'm like "Okay, this guy is a little bit stupid, you know, but whatever, who cares". But if I was looking at it from a Russian perspective and the Russian language.. Like, he really messed up and I would be looking at it more like *"Он выглядит как тупой идиот! ахахах" ["He looks like a dumb idiot! hahaha"],* it wouldn't be like "Oh he looks a bit confused hahahaha".

7.7. Perceptions of identity

As identity represents a vast area of research, deserving an analysis on its own, this issue had not originally been anticipated as a focus of investigation for the present research. However, identity and identity conflicts were brought up spontaneously by thirteen participants when discussing their feelings of difference or as a matter per se. Given the importance of concerns such as identity for any bilingual and any migrant, and its connections with language skills, these issues are inevitably related also with emotions and are therefore presented here.

Three participants affirmed that they felt "more Australian" and reported a stronger connection with this country and its mentality, while, another five participants said that they felt a stronger connection with their home culture, and that they felt "more Russian". Between these two extremes there were participants, who discussed identity issues, but would not position themselves decidedly on one side or the other.

Two participants emphasised the "synthesis" between their native and new culture and mentality, and how they have tried to harmonise the two in a blended identity:

47. I try to incorporate certain elements of the culture into my life, to remind me of those, you know, warm memories […]

    following how things are changing, and also integrating more into the Australian way of life, I think that that's a better way to maintain your... I guess, the roots of your culture as well.

    (Valentina).

Four participants discussed their identity conflicts, current or past:

48. Me: So, you still feel that you've got a double identity, or not even double?

    Oleg: One and a half I guess, haha yeah, in the same way as, the 1.5 generation, yeah, there is still..

    Me: 1.5, you mean the half is the Australian one, or..?

    Oleg: it's hard to tell, yeah, 0.75 I'd say haha. I don't have a whole identity anywhere. That's kind of, actually, that's probably how to describe it, I don't really fit in here, and I don't really fit in there, if I get back there either.

In the case of Igor, identity conflicts coincided with changes in the way he used to identify himself and how he has identified himself recently:

49. Да, я вот, уже после 30, я всегда считал что я хоть Австралия меня не использовала, что полностью русский, у меня там был взрыв патриотизма, ну молодой патриотизм и так далее, я только вот после 30 понял, что я гораздо больше уже австрал, чем русский, у меня очень

мало общего с теми, с новоприбывшими, так, ну в менталитете, у меня больше австралийское восприятие.

Yes, so, already after 30, I always thought that Australia didn't exploit me, that I'm completely Russian, I had an explosion of patriotism, well, young patriotism and so on, only after 30 I realised, that I am already much more Australian than Russian, I have very little in common with those, with the newly arrived, well, in the mentality, I have more of an Australian perception.

Viktoria discussed her conflicts with regards to her situation as a child migrant, and how this has affected her identity perception:

50. Ну, мне интересно, как я думаю о себе как иммигрант, потому что быть *детский иммигрант, это очень-очень, да, как-то *непонятный.. понимание. […]

    это не как взрослые, а не как дети, которые не помнят ничего, это чего-то в середине, и для меня, я чувствую, как будто моя жизнь началась в Австралии, как будто я родилась опять, но у меня, ну, моё тело, моя душа до сих пор русская, что я не понимаю.

    Well, I'm interested in how I think about myself as a migrant, because being a child migrant is very, very, yes, somehow it's an unclear interpretation. […]

    It's not like adults, not like children, who don't remember anything, it's something in between, and for me, I feel as if my life started in Australia, as if I was born again, but I have, well, my body, my soul is still Russian, which I don't understand.

Three participants alluded to the relationship between their identity conflicts and language. Viktoria, who was re-learning Russian at the time of the interview, considered Russian language as a crucial element to reaffirm her Russian identity:

51. почему-то для меня язык – очень главный *ingredient* иметь *connection to Russia,* […] чтобы люди меня приняли как свой человек в России, мне нужно знать русский язык.

    For some reason for me language is an important ingredient to have a connection to Russia […] for people to accept me as one of them in Russia, I need to know the Russian language.

Vladimir explained his conflicts, when discussing his feelings of difference when speaking his two languages:

52. When I speak English I feel, I don't feel like a local, I don't know why but I, yeah, I don't feel a Russian at the same time, if that makes sense. [...]

    When I speak English I can't, you know, I can't, you know, I can't relate to.. a lot of the kids who grew: grew up here, just because it's, I feel like I grew up in a different culture, in a different environment, maybe it's because I grew up in Russia, maybe it's because we emigrated so much, uhm, even though I can speak English pretty well, I still feel I don't, I don't feel like a local. […]

> It doesn't feel as unnatural when I talk to, you know, those two guys in Russian, I just feel like my language skills are not up to the standard to converse with them, on the same level.

7.8. Concluding remarks

In this chapter I presented the debriefing interviews held with the bilingual participants. The aim of these interviews was to address RQ2 and RQ3, investigating the participants' language emotionality and language preference for emotional expression. From the discussion on language emotional resonance and emotional expression, it emerged that most participants perceived a stronger emotionality for Russian, but they preferred to express their emotions in English, except when they communicated with children. Most participants recognised also that they felt different when speaking Russian and when speaking English, and some discussed their perceptions of their identity and conflicts. These analyses lay the foundation for the discussion presented in the next chapter, where I review the results presented here in light of previous research and point at the peculiarity and liminality that the group of bilinguals examined for the present study shows for their relationship with their two languages.

CHAPTER 8: Language emotional resonance and preferences for emotional expression: discussion[9]

8.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter I presented the results of the debriefing interviews held with the bilingual participants. In this chapter I discuss these results in light of previous research, connecting the participants' perceptions and preferences with the factors which might have influenced them, and pointing out the peculiarities of these results and of the category of bilinguals analysed for this study, 1.5ers. Firstly, I address the second research question and I discuss the participants' perceptions on language emotionality, how these results coincide with and how they differ from previous studies on this topic, and I give possible explanations for these similarities and differences. Following this, I address the third research question, namely language preferences and choices for emotional expression. I review all the spheres examined in the previous chapter (mainly anger and swearing, happiness, parent-child communication, but also feelings of difference when switching languages, identity issues), once again contrasting these results with previous research and highlighting what they show about the peculiarities of the group under examination.

8.2. Answering RQ2 and RQ3

The second research question aimed at understanding whether the group of Russian-Australian 1.5ers under investigation perceived any differences in the emotional resonance of Russian and English. As 1.5ers acquire both their languages during childhood, it was anticipated that the two languages would have the same emotional resonance for them (Harris *et al.*, 2006). If any differences in emotionality were to be found, these differences were expected to depend on language proficiency (Harris, 2004), namely the stronger language was expected to be perceived as more emotional and richer. The results presented in the previous chapter have shown that, firstly, contrary to expectations, only four participants perceived equal emotional resonance for the two languages. Sixteen participants reported a higher emotional resonance for Russian, and

[9] As stated in Chapter 7, this chapter also discusses material already presented in Venturin (2019), published by the *Heritage Language Journal* in August 2019, as well as materials submitted for publication to the *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* in October 2019.

two for English – the remaining five could not give a definite answer or they contradicted themselves during the interview. Furthermore, contrary to expectations, for most participants language emotional resonance was not related to their perceived language skills.

The third research question examined language preferences and choices for emotional expression. Different spheres were included into the wide umbrella called "emotional expression", but the overall assumption was that the language chosen to express emotions would once again depend on language proficiency (Dewaele, 2006, 2009, 2010a; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a) or, alternatively, on language emotionality (Dewaele, 2010a; Dewaele & Qaddourah, 2015; Pavlenko, 2004a). This means that those participants who reported a higher competence in one language over the other were expected to favour the stronger language to express their emotions. Alternatively, it was assumed that one language would be favoured over the other to express one's feelings, if this language was perceived as more emotional. As expected, language choice for emotional expression showed an overall relationship with perceived language competence, although other factors come into play (see discussion below). However, language choices for the different spheres of emotional expression did not show a particular connection to language emotionality, except in the sphere of parent-children communication. These are the general trends; yet, the results of this study are complex and not unequivocal. Their implications are discussed in the following sections.

8.3. Answering RQ2: language emotional resonance and perceived language competence

Sixteen participants said that they perceived a higher emotionality and richness for Russian, in line with various studies, which considered the L1 as "the language of involvement", as opposed to the L2, regarded as "the language of detachment" (Amati-Mehler *et al.,* 1993; Anooshian & Hertel, 1994; Bond & Lai, 1986; Gonzalesz-Reigosa, 1976; Marcos *et al.,* 1973a; Marcos *et al.,* 1973b; Rozensky & Gomez, 1983). However, this belief is not only very outdated, but generally true for late bilinguals, not necessarily for early, for whom language emotionality largely depends on proficiency and dominance (Dewaele, 2004a; Harris, 2004; Harris *et al.,* 2006; Pavlenko, 2005a). In fact, Harris (2004) pointed out that when two languages are learned in childhood, they may have the

same emotionality and the "L1 is more emotional thesis" (p. 241) is valid only when this is also the most proficient language. However, Harris and colleagues (2006, p. 276) specified that, although there can be a correlation between proficiency and emotionality, this does not imply a causal relationship.

The results of this study showed various combinations of self-reported competence and emotional resonance. On the one hand, Harris' hypothesis found some support from the two participants who felt more competent in English, and had a higher emotionality for it, by the one participant who felt more competent in Russian and perceived this language as more emotional, and by the two who felt equally fluent, and felt the same emotionality for both languages. On the other hand, twelve participants considered English as their strongest language and reported a higher emotionality for Russian, a result which challenges Harris's theory. Nevertheless, Harris (2004) and Harris et al. (2006) tested language emotionality by measuring skin conductivity and investigating responses to specific emotion-laden words (taboo words, insults, reprimands, endearments), while the present study relies on self-perceptions. Although there might be points in common between the results, we should be cautious in comparing studies employing such different methods of elicitation.

In addition, this study supports Dewaele's (2004a, p. 101) and Pavlenko's (2004a, p. 187) theory on the retained emotional resonance of the L1, even for LX-dominant speakers, whose L1 has most likely attrited to some degree. The higher emotionality of the L1 might be interpreted through the *emotional contexts of learning hypothesis* (Harris *et al.,* 2006). According to this theory, since learning is associative and linked to the context, languages learned and used in particularly emotional environments maintain a strong emotional impact (p. 272). This is especially true for the L1, a language acquired in childhood in deeply emotional environments (Harris *et al.*, 2003, p. 573)[10]. When justifying the higher emotionality that they perceived for Russian, many participants mentioned their family, "sweet" childhood memories and the connections between these aspects and Russian, as described by Olga (see quotation 3, in Section 7.4). Following Harris and colleagues (2003), Dewaele (2004a) argued that, because of the neural connections established in early and middle childhood "[t]he L1 recedes to the deepest

[10] However, as explained in Section 3.3.1, for childhood bilinguals two languages might have the same emotionality (Harris *et al.,* 2006, p. 277), and also an LX, even when learned late in life, might have a high emotional arousal, when it is associated with emotional contexts.

layers of the self […], and maintains an unseen/unheard presence in the inner speech of the individual" (p. 101). Various participants of the present study, in fact, similarly to Dewaele's observations, described their skills in Russian as very low, although to different extents, yet they discussed the higher emotional resonance of this language.

Other factors, apart from language skills, may influence bilinguals' perceived emotional resonance of the L1 and L2, for example, the age of onset of bilingualism – partially discussed above with regard to early acquisition and proficiency – length of exposure to the L2, language use with family and friends (Caldwell-Harris *et al.,* 2012; Pavlenko, 2005a). Therefore, in the next section I discuss these factors, looking also at inter-individual differences (see Table 5.1 and 5.2 in Section 5.2 and Appendix 5 for a summary of the participants' biographical information, and Table 7.2 in Section 7.3 for their perceptions on language emotionality).

8.3.1. Language emotional resonance: is it only a matter of language skills?

Differences in emotionality perception may be linked to factors other than perceived language competence. The L1 may be perceived as more emotional because it is the language used in the family, as found by Anstatt (2017), who noted "the loyal and emotional relationship towards Russian" (p. 219) of her Russian teenagers living in Germany. Examining these speakers, who belonged to the second, 1.5 and 1.75 generation, and their attitudes towards their L1, Russian, and their L2, German, Anstatt observed that, despite being more fluent in their L2, they considered this language as "more neutral" (ibid.), in the same way as it emerged in the present study. In this study, the association between the L1 and the family was mentioned by a few participants (for example see quotations 3 and 7 in Section 7.4). Most participants who perceived a higher emotionality for Russian still used this language within their families, with the exception of Valeria, who reported a higher emotionality for Russian, although she did not use this language at home anymore.

Cultural factors may be another possible explanation for this substantial preference for Russian. In Section 2.6.1 I described the value that Russian expatriates and their descendants put on their community language, even when they do not master it to fluency (Kouzmin, 1988), since it is considered a "carrier of a cultural heritage" (Garner, 1988a, p. 46). Therefore, the idea of higher emotional resonance attributed to Russian

might have been instilled by the environment in which the participants grew up (family members, friends, other members of the community). For example, Eva, who recounted her experience in a Russian Saturday school she attended in Melbourne for a few years, mentioned the way her teachers would constantly praise the richness of this language.

Although other factors, such the age of onset of bilingualism and length of exposure to the L2 may affect language emotional resonance, there was no relationship with the strong emotional connotations attributed to Russian by the participants in this study. As 1.5ers' onset of bilingualism comprises a wide age range – there are considerable differences in language development between a 6-year old and 12-year old – an earlier or later onset of bilingualism might be related to differences in language emotional resonance. However, considering the participants' biographical information (see Table 5.1 and 5.2 in Section 5.2), a preference for Russian was widespread both for participants who left their home country later (such as Eleonora and Julia, who migrated at 12), and for those who left at an earlier age (for example Boris, Olga, Valeria, who left at 6). Similarly, there was no evident connection between perceived language emotionality and longer or shorter exposure to English – for example, Maya, Maria and Vera had lived in Australia for only 7-8 years at the time of the interview and reported a higher emotional resonance for Russian, similar to Oleg and Elena, who had been exposed to English for 24 and 28 years respectively.

8.3.2. Participants' views on language emotionality and richness

Some participants provided their own insights into language emotionality and richness and the reasons behind their perceptions, contributing with valuable explanations on this topic. Some associated the emotionality of Russian language to the pleasure they felt when playing with Russian diminutives (see quotation 10 in Section 7.4). This resembles Wierzbicka's (2004) account, describing the feelings she experienced when talking about her granddaughter to her English-speaking friends. Wierzbicka admitted that she felt "stuck for words" (p. 100), as she struggled to find the right words to portrait her granddaughter in English. She argued that, not only her L1, Polish, had a stronger emotional resonance for her, but also it includes a wide range of diminutives, which allowed her to speak in a warmer and more loving way, more suitable to talk about a baby. Wierzbicka (1984, 2003) has devoted a great deal of her research to the pragmatics

of diminutives in Russian, as well as in her native Polish and in Australian English, discussing their different uses and meanings. She also analysed all suffixes used in these three languages for nicknames (Wierzbicka, 1992), examining all their different connotations, positive and negative. The richness in diminutives which some languages offer has also been observed by Pavlenko (2004a, 2005a). Supporting her statements with quotations from the Bilingualism and Emotions Questionnaire (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003), Pavlenko (2005a, p. 120) argued that some multilinguals sometimes choose to revert to an LX, if this language offers a wider repertoire of diminutives and terms of endearments than their L1, which, conversely, does not allow them to fully express their feelings.

Kirill considered Russian as more "*duševnyj*", more intimate and suitable for emotional topics (see quotation 8 in Section 7.4). Kirill's quotation supports Dewaele's (2004a) claims in relation to the emotional weight that the L1 maintains for personal topics, regardless of his language competence. Kirill also alluded to a sensation he felt when speaking this language ("it feels lighter when you speak it"),[11] an opinion shared by Eleonora (see quotation 5 in Section 7.4), who considered Russian language as "her own". Furthermore, Kirill used the adjective *duševnyj* a few times during the interview to describe Russian language or its suitability for "duševnye conversations". This adjective, derived from the noun *duša*, indicates anything that has to deal with one's soul and inner world, and it can be translated into English as *soulful, heartfelt, heartwarming, emotional, sincere*. However, this word does not have an exact translation equivalent – it is a case of conceptual non-equivalence between Russian and English (see Pavlenko, 2003b, 2011, 2014), investigated by Dey (in preparation/personal correspondence). As discussed in Section 3.2.2, the word *duša*, literally meaning *soul* in English, is a central concept for Russian culture (Wierzbicka, 1989, 1990, 1992, 1997). It refers to the human spiritual, moral and deepest source and repository of feelings (Wierzbicka, 1989, p. 51), and this word is used very frequently in Russian texts, as well as in spoken language. *Duša* is usually translated into English texts not only as *soul*, but also, and more commonly, as *heart* or *mind*, although it is often avoided in English translations (p. 41). During the debriefing interviews in Russian, the participants used the word *duša* quite often (the term was used 13 times by 6 participants) to refer to their own identity, feelings or in collocations. Conversely, during the interviews in English, no participant mentioned the

[11] As this interview was in Russian, the oginal was "как-то легче чувствуется, когда говоришь на нём".

concept of *soul* (or *heart*), although the word *mind* was used various times (11 times by 7 participants). This language use shows that the participants' speech, both in English and Russian, conformed to the respective language and cultural norms.

Boris commented on his previous romantic relationships (see quotation 9 in Section 7.4) and how the use of Russian in these circumstances had a stronger impact on him. Boris's statement reconnects partially to studies on multilinguals' language use and perceptions in romantic relationships (Caldwell-Harris *et al.,* 2013; Dewaele, 2008; Dewaele, 2018; Dewaele & Salomidou, 2017; Gareis & Wilkins, 2011; Kline *et al.,* 2008; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2019; Seki *et al.*, 2002; Wilkins & Gareis, 2006; Zhengdao Ye, 2004). Dewaele (2008) looked at the connections between the perception of the phrase "I love you" in multilinguals' different languages and other variables, such as language dominance and proficiency, L2 context and age of acquisition, socialisation and others, and he noticed that half his respondents perceived a higher emotional weight for this phrase in their L1. However, he also noted that this phrase in L1 can lose its strong emotional connotation for people who acquired an LX early and in a natural environment. This does not seem to be the case for Boris, who started learning English, at 6, and has been exposed to it for more than 20 years. Although it is hard to draw any conclusions drawing on only one statement, this suggests – as advocated also by Dewaele (2008, p. 1775) – that research in the area of bilingualism and emotions should focus more attention on intimate and personal topics, if it really aims at incorporating an emic perspective.

8.4. Answering RQ3: discussion on emotional expression

Section 8.2 shows that most participants preferred to express their emotions, both positive and negative, in English, which was also the language most of them perceived as stronger. However, in parenting situations, language emotionality seemed to play a more important role than self-reported competence. The following sections focus the discussion on the expression of anger, positive feelings and parent-child communication.

8.4.1. Discussion on anger and swearing

Half participants explained that they preferred to express anger and swearing in English, in line with previous research, which showed that an L2 can be preferred for this sphere,

when this language was acquired in a naturalistic environment, at an early age, after a long period of L2 socialisation and if this is the most proficient and dominant language (Dewaele, 2004a, 2006, 2013; Dewaele & Qaddourah, 2015). This was the case for thirteen participants. However, in contrast to Dewaele and Qaddourah (2015), the participants here preferred the L2 to express anger, which was not related to its emotional resonance, as most of them reported a higher emotionality for the L1.

Swearwords in L2 can be preferred, as they give a sense of distancing, it was argued by Pavlenko (2005a, p. 140), therefore speakers might feel less guilty and less offensive when using them. English swearwords – Eleonora stated (see quotation 19 in Section 7.5.1) – come out first and faster, which is also what was observed by Piller (2002, p. 155) in her analysis of bilingual couples and the way they deal with arguments. Often the L2 diminishes the illocutionary force for the speaker (Dewaele, 2004a, p. 103) and it gives a sense of liberation from L1 taboos (Pavlenko, 2006, p. 21). The power of swearwords in L1 has attracted considerable research, and the results of the present study concur with it. In fact, taboo words and swearwords elicit greater arousal in L1 than in L2 (Eilola & Havelka, 2011; Harris *et al.,* 2003) and are perceived as stronger (Dewaele, 2004a, 2010a), as confirmed by various participants in this study.

Three participants (Boris, Kirill and Yana) said that they preferred to express their anger in Russian, despite feeling more competent in English, and the highest emotional resonance of Russian might be one of the reasons for this preference. Another possible explanation might be that Russian is the language that they used not only with their family, but also predominantly with friends (as affirmed by Boris and Kirill, although not by Yana). In fact, it is possible that they used these "bitter" words mainly with peers, therefore mostly in Russian, and consequently that they associated these words to Russian.

When it comes to swearwords, another connection between perceived language skills and the perception of swearwords can be noticed for participants, such as Igor, Maya, Valentina, Eleonora, who rated themselves as equally competent in Russian and English and stated that they swore in both languages, but also that they code-switched to swear, voluntarily or involuntarily. As they left their native country later than other participants, at 11-12 years old, and they attended almost all primary school in Russian, it is likely that they reached high fluency in this language by the time they migrated. Because of their age at the onset of bilingualism, it can be assumed that they have

experienced moderate L1 attrition (see Köpke & Schmid, 2004; Schmid & Dusseldorp, 2010), as compared to other participants with an earlier age of onset. Therefore, it is likely that when they migrated these participants had reached a deeper understanding of these words, when and how to use – or not to use – them. In fact, other participants who migrated at an earlier age affirmed either that they did not know many swearwords in Russian, or that they learned them only later, many years after migration (see quotation 15 in Section 7.5.1).

As far as swearing is concerned, eight mentioned that swearing in Russian was perceived as too strong for them, so they avoided these expressions. The non-correspondence between perception and use of swearwords – stronger in L1, used in L2 – is exactly what was observed also by Dewaele (2010a, p. 611) and Kim and Starks (2008, p. 311). Moreover, Harris and colleagues (2003) found that L1 taboos and swearwords elicited a higher emotional arousal for bilinguals, although specifically for late bilinguals, who acquired their L2 after the age of 12. The participants of this study, by contrast, were all exposed to the L2 by this age, yet these words in their two languages did not bear the same emotional charge.

The strength of L1 swearwords may induce some to consciously switch to the L2, as explained by Igor, who recounted switching to English when he wanted to curse on the phone with his Russian friends, in the presence of his mum, not to offend her (see quotation 18 in Section 7.5.1). Igor observed that the preference for English swearwords can be due to cultural constraints, as illustrated also by Dewaele (2010a, p. 121). In some societies, including Russia, the use of swearwords is considered as extremely unacceptable, and therefore highly stigmatised and rare (Dewaele, 2010b, 2015a; Dewaele & Qaddourah, 2015; Pavlenko, 2005a). Furthermore, in Russia, swearing in front of a woman is very disrespectful, as recalled by an anecdote described by Pavlenko (2005a, p. 235)[12]. Hence, in cases where swearwords are considered as taboos for cultural reasons, they may be avoided and L2 swearwords may be preferred because no sense of shame and guilt is attached to them (Dewaele, 2010a, 2010b, 2015a; Dewaele & Qaddourah, 2015).

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[12] Pavlenko (2005a, p. 235) recalled an episode happened in a university in the United States, where an American colleague, L2 speaker of Russian, started cursing the printer in Russian in front of her. Although most likely the colleague just wanted to show off his Russian language skills, Pavlenko explained that she perceived this behaviour as extremely offensive, as in Russian culture swearing in front of a woman is considered as highly inappropriate.

Kim and Starks (2008), who analysed a group of Korean-New Zealander bilinguals with a slightly later age of onset of bilingualism – 12-13 years old, argued that the relationship between language and expression of emotions is distinct for adolescents, and this relationship has to do with their L2 socialisation:

> From the moment they encounter their L2 peer culture, adolescents have to deal with their emotions without support from their L1. […] While their L2 socialization continues in this way, their L1 socialization, mainly limited to intimate relationships – family or close friends / acquaintances – might remain "primitive" or delayed. This might lead them to perceive the L2 as more appropriate and the L1 as more hurting and uncomfortable for the expression of intense emotions (p. 316).

A few participants mentioned that they swore in both languages, but switched to Russian when they could not control themselves (see quotations 19 and 20 in Section 7.5.1). This instinctive code-switching to the L1 in case of extremely strong outbursts was noticed and described also by Pavlenko (2005a) and Dewaele (2010a). Both argued that a bilingual might switch to another language, be it the L1 or the L2, in case of strong emotional arousal, positive or negative, regardless of whether their interlocutor would understand them or not. Pavlenko (2005a, p. 133) explained that switching to a language that the interlocutor does not understand can protect the speaker from offending the other person, and consequently the speaker himself from feeling guilty, but it can also give the speaker a sense of satisfaction (p. 147). However, judging by Valentina's observation, her code-switching to Russian did not appear to be a conscious strategy, but rather an impulsive reaction coming from a sudden emotional surge, which made her lose the ability to use English. This inability to communicate one's anger in the L2 resembles some of Dewaele's (2010a, p. 206) quotations from his respondents, who experienced the same frustration. Dewaele (2010a, p. 210) argued that a speaker might become more self-centred and consequently feel the need to focus on their own feelings and perceptions, rather than the interlocutor's. Dewaele explained also that "strong emotional arousal can block the output in the L2" (p. 212) and argued, harking back to personal correspondence with François Grosjean, that this phenomenon can happen also when a bilingual is in a *monolingual mode* (see Grosjean, 2001, 2012).[13] Dewaele (2010a, p. 210) suggested that

[13] According to Grosjean (1998, 2001), when speaking with monolinguals, or with people who do not share the same language combinations, bilinguals are in a *monolingual mode*; one of the languages (the target language) is active to a higher degree, while the other, non-target language, is latent, but it cannot be completely switched off .

this code-switching could be interpreted as a momentary lack of inhibitory control of the other latent language. However, he continued, in line with Pavlenko (2005a), this phenomenon entails a reversal to the dominant or more proficient language and, following Grosjean's suggestion, he admits that it could be explained also through the Complementarity Principle (Grosjean, 1997, 2010, 2016). This theory postulates that a bilingual competence in his or her languages depends on the contexts, purposes and people these languages are acquired and used with (Grosjean, 1997, p. 165). Therefore, a bilingual is not equally proficient in all spheres of life in both languages, but competence in one language for some domains complements with competence in another language for others. Following this principle, a person might revert to the stronger language in case of an emotional outburst because of lack of appropriate terms in the language used at the moment, and to be sure that the message will have the desired illocutionary effect (Dewaele, 2010a, p. 213). It is hard to determine whether this interpretation suits the specific case of Valentina. On the one hand, she reported equal fluency in both her languages, which might induce us to discard this explanation in her case. However, self-reported competence is not an exact measure, hence Valentina may actually be still more fluent in Russian and thus revert to this language for emotional outbreaks. Alternatively, we could validate Valentina's own interpretation, who explained that a strong emotional arousal re-establishes "emotional connections with the past" and brings one "back to the basics". Otherwise, we could also argue that sudden emotional arousal might prompt one to resort to the emotional expressions which carry the highest emotional connotation, irrespective of one's language skills.

8.4.2. Discussion on positive feelings

The field of bilingualism and emotions has so far focussed mainly on the expression of anger and very few studies have investigated positive emotions (see, e.g., Caldwell-Harris *et al.,* 2012, 2013; Dewaele, 2008; Dewaele & Salomidou, 2017). Similarly to the expression of anger, twelve participants argued that they preferred to express happiness in English. This preference may be explained by the fact that English was the participants' strongest and dominant language, learnt early and in a naturalistic environment, after a long period of L2 socialisation (Dewaele, 2006, 2010a). Caldwell-Harris and colleagues

(2012) examined the emotional resonance of early and late[14] bilinguals' L1 and L2 and found that early bilinguals rated anger expressions stronger in L1, while positive expressions were considered stronger in L2. Similarly, twelve participants in the present study associated happiness to English, while they perceived Russian swearwords and angry emotional outbreaks in the L1 as more powerful. According to Caldwell-Harris' research team, these perceptions could be related to language use, and the fact that their respondents employed the L1 mainly at home. This context, characterised by authoritarian relations, might favour the retrieval of negative and bitter expressions in the L1, rather than positive, which are usually retrieved in the language used with friends, who, for early bilinguals, are usually L2-speaking peers (p. 392). However, the above-mentioned study examined solely the *perception* of angry and positive expressions, and not their preferences of use, therefore any comparison with the results of the present study should be taken with caution.

Another possible explanation might be related to the differences between the two cultures under examination. Vera explained that she got used to "hear how Australians get happy" (see quotation 22 in Section 7.5.2) and consequently English expressions of joy pour out of her mouth more easily than Russian ones. Vera's, as well as and Julia's (see quotation 23 in Section 7.5.2) words can be reconnected to Larina's (2013; Larina, Ozjumenko, & Išankulova, 2011) account on positive thinking, typical of Anglo cultures. Larina (2013) argued that the emphasis that these cultures put on positivity is reflected also in the English language, which privileges affirmative and optimistic expressions, proverbs and vocabulary, as opposed to Russian, which endorses an abundant use of negations in sentences and word formations, and considers complaints "as an integral part of life" (Gladkova, 2007, p. 141). The emphasis that Anglo cultures put on positivity is evident also in interpersonal communication, which Larina (2013, p. 102), from a Russian perspective, describes as following:

> A clear example of positivity in communication is the tendency to give overstated evaluations of the interlocutor, as well as of anything happening and observed, which is related to another strategy of politeness – *exaggerate*.[15]

[14] Caldwell-Harris et al. (2012) considered as early bilinguals people born in the United States from Russian-speaking parents, or who migrated by the age of 9, and as late bilinguals people who migrated after 10.

[15] My translation.

This positivity might be the reason why Vera asserted that positive comments are easier to pronounce for her in English, and why in Russian they might sound as "fake", as stated by Julia. Larina and colleagues (2011) highlighted the fact that these different communicative styles confirm the relationship between language, cognition and communication, namely that the use of one language rather than the other, in this case either English or Russian, prompts also the use of a certain communication style – positive and affirmative, or vice versa, negative.

The expression of happiness can also be situational, according to other participants, which means that the language they would use depends on the language they were using at the time of this emotional surge, in other words, on the language mode (Grosjean, 2001) they were in – namely whether they were in a Russian monolingual mode, in an English monolingual mode, or in a bilingual mode. Some participants clarified that the language they would use in a particular context was related also to their interlocutors, with whom they used either Russian or English, as noticed also by Pavlenko (2005a, see also Section 3.3.2).

8.4.3. Discussion on parent-child communication

Thirteen participants said that they used or would use Russian with their children. Here I focus on the four participants who had children at the time of the interview and used Russian with them, as with the others this discussion was hypothetical. While previous research (Pavlenko, 2004a) found that language choice for parenting is mostly influenced by language dominance, the results of this study did not show a link between this sphere of emotional expression and perceived dominance and competence. In fact, three out of the four participants who described their parenting practices in Russian reported a higher competence in English, and one felt that she was equally fluent in both languages. As far as language emotionality is concerned, the results here showed a possible link between with the language chosen for parenting; Russian, perceived as more emotional by sixteen participants, was also the language that the participants preferred to communicate in with their children. Conversely, Pavlenko (2004a, p. 200) did not find any correlation between perceived emotionality of the L1, and its use with children, especially for L1 attriters. However, she acknowledged that the L1 still plays a role in parenting, as some people

"feel they are losing the emotional connection to children who grow up in a language different from their own" (p. 201).

The primary reasons for choosing to raise their children in Russian were instrumental. The benefits of bilingualism, in terms of cognitive advantages, as well future opportunities for their children, were among the most commonly mentioned motivations to pass the L1 down to their children, as observed by previous studies (see, e.g., Döpke, 1992; Okita, 2002; Piller, 2001a), together with the desire to maintain a bond with one's cultural legacy.

Oleg (see quotation 30 in Section 7.5.3) strongly associated Russian with childhood and childhood memories, and considered using this language with his child as the only option. This explanation may be connected to the emotional context where this language was learned, as postulated by Harris and colleagues (2006), and the strong bonds created during childhood through the L1. At the same time, this may be a peculiarity of this generation of speakers, and the associations that 1.5ers make with childhood memories in L1 may be stronger than for other generations. First-generation migrants live both their childhood and part of their adult life in L1, and usually maintain a strong connection with and use of this language (Simpson, 2018; Simpson & Whiteside, 2015). Conversely, 1.5ers experience childhood in L1 but subsequently are immersed in an L2 environment, so they usually live their adulthood mainly through their L2 (Danico, 2004). As they may have limited adulthood memories in L1, childhood memories in L1 may be so strong for 1.5ers, as these are often the only memories they have in this language.

8.5. Discussion on feelings of difference when switching languages

Sixteen participants said that they felt different when speaking Russian and English, although they gave different motivations. Many of them attributed their feelings of difference to their limited competence. McWhorter (2014) claimed that limited proficiency is the unambiguous reason why multilinguals feel different when speaking their various languages. However, he referred to incomplete proficiency in a LX, which he explained as a consequence of late acquisition. His considerations may possibly be relevant for many multilinguals who are dominant in L1, but they cannot apply to most participants in this study, who referred to the limited proficiency in the L1 as the cause of these impressions. Furthermore, Dewaele (2016a) opposed McWhorter's (2014) claims,

as he found no statistically significant correlation between feelings of difference and limited proficiency.

Leonid acknowledged that his Russian was "outdated" (see quotation 37 in Section 7.6), an observation made also by Koven's (2001, p. 521) participants. Koven (1998, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2007) analysed a small group of early French-Portuguese bilinguals, raised in France by Portuguese parents, and investigated how they expressed themselves differently according to the language used. Koven (2001) described her participants' frustration at speaking an old-fashioned Portoguese. This realisation usually occured during trips to the parents' country of origin and when having contacts with family members who were still living there, as described by Leonid. These interactions instilled mixed feelings of shame and desire to conform to their peers' language (p. 521).

Three participants recognised that they felt more serious in Russian (see quotation 42 in Section 7.6). Seriousness was one of the five factors investigated by Dewaele and Nakano (2013), whose respondents also reported a higher degree of seriousness in their L1. Nevertheless, Dewaele and Nakano's results differed slightly from those reported here. Their participants felt more serious in languages they were more proficient in, which they usually also acquired early in life (p. 114) – however, Dewaele and Nakano did not find any correlation between age of acquisition and feelings of difference. By contrast, the participants of this study described a higher sense of seriousness for Russian, a language they acquired at an early age, although most of them perceived it as the weakest language. Dewaele and Nakano noted that many participants could not define how they felt during these shifts. They argued that when two languages are mastered at a high level, these shifts are less perceptible, as code-switching between the two languages is very frequent and often happens inadvertently (p. 118). This is also what Inna remarked (see quotation 43 in Section 7.6), who acknowledged that she was able to define her feelings of difference in relation to Spanish, her L5, but not in relation to Russian and English, probably alluding to the fact that, for these two languages, feelings of difference lay on a subconscious level. This association, namely the L1 equated to seriousness and composure, as opposed to the L2, a synonym for freedom and carefreeness, was noticed also in Koven's analyses (1998, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2007), who argued that bilinguals can reveal "culturally specific types of persona" (Koven, 2001, p. 514) in their different languages. Koven's participants, in fact, showed themselves as more assertive in French, their social language, used with friends, while in Portuguese, their family language, they

were more passive and courteous. This opposition, i.e. family language versus social language, or "speak-to-the-world language", as defined by Bogdan (see quotation 41 in Section 7.6), could explain this personality shift and the feelings associated with it. Moreover, in line with what was argued by Caldwell-Harris and colleagues (2012, p. 390), and explained above in Section 8.4.2, the family language may be associated with hierarchical relations, therefore to a higher degree of seriousness, restraint and moderation. Conversely, the language used for social life may be associated with a higher degree of freedom, self-expression and "rowdiness". Alternatively, this personality change may be attributed to Cultural Frame Switching (Benet-Martínez *et al.*, 2002; 2006; Hong *et al.*, 1997, 2000, 2001), a common phenomenon according to which bicultural bilinguals have the ability to shift between different cultural mindsets in response to different culture-specific cues, language being one of these triggers (Luna *et al.*, 2008; Ramírez-Esparza *et al.*, 2006). We can argue that, when using Russian, the participants of this study "wore" their Russian Cultural Frame and reacted to situations in a way that is appropriate to this culture, while when speaking English, associated with their Australian Cultural Frame, they switched to a behaviour that suited this culture.

Similarly, Larisa explained that had she carried out the movie task in Russian, she would have used a "Russian perspective" to portray the movie main character (see quotation 46). Larisa's observations can also be linked to Koven's (2001) arguments on bicultural bilinguals' different identities and the fact that they might show different cultural selves in their two languages. Considering the sociolinguistic contexts where bilinguals use their various languages, as well as the sociolinguistic practices with which the speakers are familiar, they can propose different selves, reflecting their different roles in the two societies. They might present stories according to the image of themselves they want to convey, as well as to what their social context expects from them, following their "socially recognized personas" (p. 515). Larisa's consideration can be reconnected also to Cultural Frame Switching. Using English most likely prompted her to activate her "Australian side" and to react to the movie according to the interpretative lenses offered by this culture and her Australian cultural identity – her judgements of the movie character were neutral and detached. Conversely, as she argued, had she described the movie in Russian, she would have probably seen it through her Russian Cultural Frame – and she claims that she would have been harsher and more critical.

Kirill explained that he did not perceive two different personae (see quotation 40 in Section 7.6), but that his different behaviour in different languages depended on the context and interlocutors. His observations reconfirmed what was already noticed by Grosjean (2010, p. 215), who argued that a shift in situation entails a shift in behaviour, independent of the language employed.

According to Oleg's words (see quotation 44 in Section 7.6), this split in personality can be clear-cut and difficult to manage at times. Oleg described a conscious inner conflict, which seemed unsolvable: his mature, elaborate self in English and his emotional one in Russian fail to integrate and to complete each other. A rift developed, which did not allow him to fully express each manifestation of himself.

To conclude this section, it is important to mention that the different reasons given by the participants on their feelings of difference when switching languages might be due to the relatively vague question itself. As observed in previous studies (Dewaele, 2016a; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2018a, 2018b), asking participants whether they "feel different" can prompt a variety of interpretations of the issue.[16] For the present research, some respondents considered this question very generally, while others examined this topic analytically and meticulously, digging into their personality and personality changes. As a consequence, this discussion turned out to be rather varied, as it touched upon various levels of analysis. As shown, we can state that the results of this study are in line with previous research, which has shown that most multilinguals perceive some sort of differences when speaking their various languages (Dewaele, 2016a; Dewaele & Nakano, 2013; Grosjean, 2010; Kovem 1998, 2001, 2002, 2004; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2018a, 2018b). Since the participants of this study represented a quite homogeneous group in terms of age of onset of bilingualism, who acquired their two languages in childhood, these results support Dewaele (2016a, p. 104), who claimed that feelings of difference do not depend on late acquisition of an LX, as McWhorter argued (2014).

Furthermore, research on feelings of difference have mostly focussed on speakers dominant in L1 (Dewaele, 2016a; Dewaele & Nakano, 2013; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2018a, 2018b). The underlying assumption that seems to emerge from these studies is that the only switch that is conceived is the one from the L1 to an LX. My understanding of this assumption is that it contains a hidden bias, which infers that one can fully "feel

[16] For the present research, this question was formulated as "Do you feel different when you speak Russian and when you speak English?"

authentic" only when using the L1, while using the LX inevitably means detaching oneself from the "normal condition". Although this might be true for some, it is an assumption that does not consider the complexity of the issue, as well as of acquisition histories and contexts, of differences in language competence and dominance, which are particularly relevant for a complex category of bilinguals, such as 1.5ers. This generation of speakers, as well as other LX-dominant and L1+LX-dominant bilinguals are likely to consider an LX as the "baseline" and the L1 as the "other" language, therefore offering a novel perspective on this issue.

8.6. Discussion on identity

As identity, its inherent conflicts, and the relationship with language are a complex and intricate topic, deserving a full analysis on their own, they were not planned as a theme of investigation for the present study. Furthermore, identity is an especially intricate issue for Russian speakers, who often share the same cultural background, but have a different ethnicity – ethnic Russians as opposed to Russian Jews – a crucial element influencing their identity formation and language maintenance (Isurin, 2011; Isurin & Riehl, 2017). However, considering the connections that these topics have with emotions – in fact, a great deal of emotion emerged from the participants' words – several participants raised these issues, showing that their feelings about their identity stood along a continuum, from a higher degree of identification with the native culture to a closer assimilation to the new society. Three participants – Eva, Larisa and Igor – declared that they felt "more Australian", while another five – Boris, Eleonora, Kirill, Maya, Vera – affirmed that they felt a stronger connection with their home culture, and that they felt "more Russian". In addition, five participants described some sorts of identity conflicts, or they recounted that their feelings about their identity had changed over time.

Oleg, for example (see quotation 48 in Section 7.7) suggested that having a multiple identity, commonly a normal phenomenon for bicultural bilinguals (Cummins, 1996; Norton & Toohey, 2002), gave him a sense of inadequacy. Instead of having harmonised different components of the Russian and Australian cultures into a multiple identity, he felt that he did not belong to either of them, which left him in a "limbo" of incompleteness when he tried to identify with either his native or his adoptive country.

Judging by his words, Oleg seemed to feel *marginalised*, in the sense that this term has in Berry's (1997, 2003, 2005) *acculturation model*.[17]

Differently from Oleg, Valentina's words (see quotation 47 in Section 7.7) demonstrated the attempt to blend, within her identity, her background and "the Australian way of life", namely her strive for *integration* (ibid.).

Igor (see quotation 49 in Section 7.7) described his conflicts, and how his identity has gone through different phases. Initially he rejected Australian values and felt closer to Russian culture, therefore adopting the *separation* strategy, following Berry's model. Subsequently, he moved away from what he defined as "young patriotism", as he embraced more closely the Australian mentality. From his words, however, it is hard to understand whether he has now rejected any connections with his background – which would lead him to *assimilation* – or whether he has solved his conflicts and harmonised the two sides of his identity, which would lead him to *integration* (ibid.).

Other participants, such as Viktoria and Vladimir, discussed their conflicts in relation to their languages. Thinking of her future identity, her "imagined identity", following Norton's concept (2013a), Viktoria (see quotation 51 in Section 7.7) affirmed that Russian was a crucial part of it; the main reason why she wanted to relearn this language appropriately was to feel part of the "imagined community" (Anderson, 1991) with which she felt connected.

Vladimir (see quotation 52 in Section 7.7) described his conflicts when using the two languages, and a sort of mismatch between his competence and the perception of his identity. In fact, when using English, now his primary language (Benmamoun *et al.*, 2013a), he explained that his skills were appropriate, although he could not fully connect with his interlocutors. Conversely, when speaking Russian, he felt an affiliation to his interlocutors, although he perceived that he lacked adequate competence.

The conflicts described by these participants resemble Rumbaut's (1994, 1997, 2004; Rumbaut & Ima, 1988) accounts on 1.5ers residing in the United States, whom he investigated through longitudinal studies. Although identity is a complex and dynamic

[17] According to this model, described in Section 2.5.2, the process of acculturation every migrant goes through when adapting to the new society can lead to four different outcomes – *marginalisation, separation, assimilation, integration* – depending on how much one maintains of their own cultural heritage and how much one absorbs from and relates to the new society and its values (Berry, 1997, 2003, 2005).

process for any migrant (Block, 2006; Kanno, 2003; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004), Rumbaut highlighted that one of the striking peculiarities of this generation are their fluctuating and conflicting perceptions of identity (1997, pp. 497-498, 2004, p. 1198). Also, Rumbaut (1994, p. 780) noticed that 1.5ers' identity perceptions are related to language preference and use with family and, above all, friends. Namely, he noted that those speakers who had many friends from the same cultural background tended to prefer their L1 and to identify by national origin, while those who associated with peers from various backgrounds preferred their L2 and identified themselves with their country of immigration and L2 community. The cases presented here, however, did not show the same relationship. Igor, for example, who used Russian with his family and also mainly with his friends, mentioned that he felt a closer connection with his L2 community. Conversely, Viktoria and Vladimir, who used predominantly English with their friends – Viktoria also within the family – reported a preference for their "Russian side" and the desire to reconnect with their L1 community.

These considerations, albeit not numerous, reaffirm the role played by language in bilingual identity construction, particularly, the relationship between language proficiency and identity. Those participants, such as Valentina and Igor, who reported an equal competence in both languages, seemed to have reconciled their identity issues, despite having gone through different phases and conflicts, as stated by Igor. Others, Oleg, Viktoria, Vladimir, who have reported different levels of attrition, seemed to have the strongest desire to reconnect with their L1 community, their original identity, and the language itself as a reflection of their identity. In other words, the participants' reflections seem to suggest that, as language plays an important role in identity construction (Norton, 2006, 2013a, 2013b; Omoniyi, 2006; Weedon, 1997), and the L1 leaves an important mark in multilingual lives, even when it is attrited (Dewaele, 2004a; Pavlenko, 2004a), if L1 competence is (partially) lacking, strong identity conflicts may arise. In these cases, in fact, the individual does not have the possibility to fully harmonise all the pieces of the puzzle which compose their identity. Conversely, language competence may allow realistic choices of affiliation and a harmonious "synthesis" of all facets of the kaleidoscope represented by one's identity.

8.7. Concluding remarks

In this chapter I discussed the data collected through the debriefing interviews with the bilingual participants and presented in Chapter 7, examining how the findings of the present study address RQ2 and RQ3, and comparing them with previous research. For language emotional resonance, the results of this study showed that most participants, despite having learned English, their chronological L2, during childhood, still perceived Russian, their chronological L1, as more emotional, even though for most of them this was not their strongest language. This result can be connected to different factors, highlighted by previous studies, although not completely aligning with any of them. On the one hand, the powerful emotional resonance of the L1, even when it is not the dominant language, has been reiterated several times (see, e.g., Dewaele, 2004a; Pavlenko, 2005a). On the other hand, since perceived language competence did not explain the emotionality of Russian for the participants of this study, other possible connections were highlighted. A possible explanation, pointed out also by previous research (Anstatt, 2017; Harris *et al.*, 2003; Dewaele, 2004a), is that the L1 was considered to be more emotional, because it was the language of childhood and the family, and was, therefore, connected to childhood memories. In other words, childhood memories resonating in Russian, together with the desire to reconnect with this language, often partially abandoned during adulthood, might have induced the participants to feel a stronger connection with it than they do with English, a language that they used more often and felt more competent in.

As for the third research question, addressing language preferences and choices to express emotions in various spheres, 1.5ers have been shown to be at the same time similar, yet dissimilar from other multilinguals. In line with other studies (Dewaele, 2004a, 2006, 2009, 2010a; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a), language choices for emotional expression, in various spheres, are connected to perceived language dominance and competence. However, in contrast to previous research (Dewaele, 2010a; Dewaele & Qaddourah, 2015; Pavlenko, 2004a), no particular connection was found between emotional expression and language emotional resonance, except for the sphere of parenting.

The findings of this study have shown that they both support and contrast with previous results with regards to multilinguals' feelings of difference when switching languages. While previous research has shown that multilinguals tend to feel different

when using an LX learned late in life (Dewaele, 2016a), most participants in this study described their feelings of difference when using the L1. Similarly, while most bilinguals investigated in previous research feel more serious in the L1 (Dewaele & Nakano, 2013), which is usually the language most bilinguals feel more proficient in (Dewaele, 2010a), many participants of this study reported the same feeling in relation to the L1, although this is their weakest language.

In summary, one of the main aims of this discussion was to demonstrate how such an apparently homogeneous group, in terms of cultural background, languages spoken, age of onset of bilingualism, was in fact so heterogeneous for many aspects, regarding not only their language learning trajectories and language use, but also, and most importantly, their relationship with their two languages, which affected other spheres too, for example their identity.

To bring together the findings of this study, in the following, concluding chapter of this thesis, I present the results of the combined analysis of the two datasets, which aimed at exploring possible relations between the participants' emotional speech and use of emotion vocabulary, investigated by RQ1, language emotional resonance and emotional expression, investigated by RQ2 and RQ3, and their language learning histories and use. I also summarise the findings of this study, showing where they are situated in the broader research area of bilingualism and emotions, and how they contribute to a better understanding of this sphere and of the 1.5 generation.

CHAPTER 9: Conclusion

9.1. Introduction

This chapter brings together the findings obtained through the two methods of data collection, fictional narratives and semi-structured debriefing interviews. To conclude this thesis, I reaffirm the peculiarities of 1.5ers, underscoring once again why they deserve their own place in the scholarly literature. Finally, I delineate the limitations encountered for the present study, and I give suggestions for future research.

9.2. Combined analysis of the two datasets: are there any connections between RQ1, RQ2 and RQ3?

In order to explore possible connections between the participants' emotional speech and use of emotion vocabulary displayed in the fictional narratives and examined by RQ1, language emotionality and emotional expression, examined by RQ2 and RQ3, and their biographical information and language use, I conducted a combined analysis of the two datasets. The aim of this analysis was to understand whether the participants' perceptions on language emotionality and emotional expression, their emotional speech, and their language histories and use showed some inter-relationships. Also, it aimed at exploring whether some patterns were shared by some participants.

Each participant was analysed individually for the following factors (see Section 4.6.2.3 for a detailed explanation of this analysis), and similarities among the participants who used the same language for the fictional narrative were sought.

a) Percentage of emotion adjectives used in the fictional narrative;
b) Percentage of emotion verbs used in the fictional narrative;
c) Percentage of emotion nouns used in the fictional narrative;
d) Percentage of emotion adverbs used in the fictional narrative;
e) Number of figurative expressions referred to emotions;
f) Number of references to the body;
g) Perceived language emotionality, with 1= English, 2= equally emotional, 3= Russian;
h) Language preference for anger and swearing, with 1= mostly English, 2= both/depends, 3= mostly Russian;

i) Language preference for positive feelings, with 1= mostly English, 2= both/depends, 3= mostly Russian;
j) Language preference for parent-child communication, with 1= mostly English, 2= both/depends, 3= mostly Russian;
k) Age of onset of bilingualism, with 1= aged 6-7, 2= aged 8-10, 3= aged 11-12;
l) Length of exposure to English, with 1= exposure of 21+ y., 2= 14-20 y., 7-13 y.;
m) Number of years of school in Russia, with 1= 0-1 y., 2= 2-3 y., 3= 4-5y.;
n) Language used at home, with 1= mostly English, 2= both, 3= mostly Russian;
o) Language used with friends, with 1= mostly English, 2= both, 3= mostly Russian;
p) Perceived language dominance and competence, with 1= English, 2= equally competent, 3= Russian.

Table 9.1 shows the results of this analysis for all the participants who elicited fictional narratives in Russian (BR group), while Table 9.2 refers to those who elicited fictional narratives in English (BE group). The analyses of the two groups are presented separately in the following two sections. The two tables highlight also those participants who shared similar features – their names are circled in the same colour and the factors in which they had some characteristics in common are highlighted in yellow. In order to be considered as similar, the participants had to share some features from at least five factors: two factors related to RQ1, two factors related to RQ2 and RQ3 and one factor related to biographical information and language use.

9.2.1. Fictional narratives in Russian

	% of emotion adjectives	% of emotion verbs	% of emotion nouns	% of emotion adverbs	No. of figurative expressions	No. of references to the body	Perceived language emotionality	L. preference for anger & swearing	L. preference for positive feelings	L. preference for parenting	Age of onset of bilingualism	Length of exposure to English	No. of years of school in Russian	Language used at home	Language used with friends	Perceived language dominance
Boris	42	33	21	4	0	0	3	3	3	3	1	1	1	3	3	1
Eleonora	28	53	13	6	0	0	3	2	3	3	3	1	3	3	3	2
Eva	37.50	37.50	0	25	2	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
Igor	31	17	39	13	1	7	2	2	1	N/A	3	1	3	3	3	2
Inna	32	47	0	21	2	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	1	1	1	3	1	1
Julia	12.50	50	25	12.50	7	0	3	1	1	2	3	1	3	3	1	1
Kirill	0	73	27	0	2	3	3	1	3	3	2	2	2	3	3	1
Maksim	13	39	44	4	1	1	3	3	2	3	2	2	3	3	1	1
Maria	50	29	21	0	3	0	3	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	2	3
Pavel	56	25	6	13	0	0	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	1	1
Tanya	45	45	10	0	0	0	1	1	1	3	2	1	3	2	1	1
Vera	26	5	69	0	1	7	3	3	1	3	2	3	3	3	3	2
Viktoria	31	31	35	3	1	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	1	1	1	1	1	1
Vladimir	78	18	4	0	1	19	3	1	N/A	3	2	2	2	3	1	1

Table 9.1: Combined analysis for the BR group based on the 16 factors considered.

Table 9.1 shows that, among the participants who elicited fictional narratives in Russian, only Boris and Vladimir, Kirill and Maksim (and, to a lesser extent, Eleonora), Eva and Tanya (and, to a lesser extent, Pavel) presented similar features on various factors. Kirill and Maksim, and partially Eleonora, showed that their emotional speech and use of emotion vocabulary used in the fictional narrative were very similar and "Russian-oriented". Kirill and Maksim used mainly emotion verbs and nouns, a feature which is typical of Russian emotional speech (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Pavlenko, 2002a, 2002b; Wierzbicka, 1992, 1999), and Eleonora used a lot of verbs and a fair number of adjectives. They also used some figurative expressions referred to emotions and references to the body. The same can be said about their perceptions on language emotionality and their preferences to express emotions, spheres where they preferred Russian (however, Kirill favoured English to express anger, Eleonora used both languages in this sphere and Maksim used both languages for positive feelings). In other words, their emotional speech may have been influenced by their language perceptions and preferences. At the same time, these aspects may have been affected also by the language used in the family, Russian (Kirill and Eleonora used mainly Russian also with friends) and, possibly, by other elements of their personal histories. In fact, they had a late age of onset of bilingualism (between the ages of 9 and 11) and did some or almost all primary school in Russian, which, presumably influenced these participants' skills in this language (even though Maksim and Kirill felt more fluent in English, while Eleonora felt equally fluent in both languages). In other words, it is likely that their relatively late onset of bilingualism, their schooling in Russian and the fact that they still used Russian at home have contributed to the maintenance of a "Russian way" to describe emotions. Similarly, their emotionality perceptions and preferences, still leaning toward Russian, may also have had an impact on their use of emotion words.

Eva, Tanya and Pavel represented an opposite example, indicating that their emotional speech and perceptions on language emotionality were more "English-oriented". Eva and Tanya used a high number of adjectives and verbs, and a low number of nouns in their fictional narratives. Similarly, Pavel used a high number of emotion adjectives, which might indicate that his emotional speech in Russian has been restructured in favour of a passive stance, typical of English emotional speech. Tanya and Eva were very similar also with regards to language emotionality and emotional

expression; they preferred English in all these spheres, the only incongruency being referred to the language used with children – Tanya used Russian, while Eva would use English. On the same line, Pavel stated a preference for English when expressing his emotions and no particular predilection in terms of language emotionality. They have been exposed to English for more than 20 years, they used a mixture of English and Russian with their family, mainly English with friends, and felt more competent in English. In other words, their use of Russian was nowadays reduced, and they did not perceive a strong connection with this language anymore, which may have had an impact on the restructuring of their emotional speech.

Similarly, Boris's and Vladimir's emotional speech did not adhere completely to Russian standards, as their fictional narratives contained a predominance of emotion adjectives and a fair number of verbs, which indicates that their conceptualisation of emotions seems to have restructured in favour of a passive stance. This might be due to their higher self-reported competence in English. For Boris, this might be motivated also by the fact that he had an early age of onset of bilingualism – he migrated at the age of 6 – and he did all his schooling in English in Australia. However, for these two participants, no connection can be traced between these aspects and their perceptions of language emotionality and their choices for emotional expression. In fact, they both expressed a preference for Russian in terms of language emotionality and to express their emotions – Boris for all spheres of emotional expression, Vladimir only for parenting situations. These preferences are most likely due to the fact that Russian was the language they still used in the family.

For other participants, connections can be traced between their use of emotion vocabulary and their biographical information, although these elements do not seem to be related to language emotional resonance and emotional expression. Julia and Igor, who, similarly to Maksim, Kirill and Eleonora, have maintained the use of Russian in the family, attended almost all primary school in their native country and migrated to Australia at the age of 12, described the movie scenes following the norms of Russian emotional speech; Julia used mainly emotion verbs and nouns, Igor used a wide variety of morphosyntactic categories (adjectives, nouns, verbs and also adverbs). In other words, their fictional narratives showed that their emotional speech has not been restructured in favour of a passive conceptualisation of emotions. However, no strong connection can be made between this sphere and language emotionality and preferences. In fact, Julia

acknowledged that Russian had stronger emotional resonance for her, but she preferred to express her emotions in English and, if she had children, she would use both languages with them. Igor stated that Russian and English had the same emotionality for him, used both languages to express anger, and mainly in English to express positive feelings.

9.2.2. Fictional narratives in English

	% of emotion adjectives	% of emotion verbs	% of emotion nouns	% of emotion adverbs	No. of figurative expressions	No. of references to the body	Perceived language emotionality	L. preference for anger & swearing	L. preference for positive feelings	L. preference for parenting	Age of onset of bilingualism	Length of exposure to English	No. of years of school in Russian	Language used at home	Language used with friends	Perceived language dominance
Bogdan	62	16	16	6	2	0	N/A	1	2	2	1	2	1	3	1	1
Elena	34	21	45	0	4	7	3	N/A	N/A	3	2	1	2	2	2	1
Larisa	82	4	14	0	0	1	3	1	N/A	3	2	1	3	3	1	1
Leonid	19	0	81	0	1	0	N/A	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1
Maya	49	32	19	0	2	2	3	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	1	2
Nikita	83	7	10	0	1	0	3	N/A	1	1	1*	1	3 *	2	1	1
Oleg	71	12	17	0	0	0	3	1	1	3	2	1	2	2	1	1
Olga	11	0	89	0	1	0	3	1	2	3	1	2	1	3	1	1
Valentina	69	27	4	0	0	0	2	2	2	N/A	3	2	3	3	1	2
Valeria	75	12.50	12.50	0	1	0	3	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
Veronika	86	9	5	0	0	1	2	1	1	2	1	3	1	3	1	1
Yana	70	15	15	0	2	1	3	3	1	3	2	2	2	3	1	1

Table 9.2: Combined analysis for the BE group based on the 16 factors considered.

As described above for the BR group, in the BE group, similar features were shared only by a small number of participants: Nikita, Valeria and Veronika, Oleg and Yana, Bogdan and Maya (and, partially, Elena). The retellings elicited by Nikita, Valeria and Veronika followed the English norm – they contained a majority of emotion adjectives, and a low number of verbs and nouns. However, their language emotionality perceptions and their preferences to express emotions indicated that some of these spheres were not completely "English-dominated". Nikita and Valeria, in fact, perceived a higher emotionality for Russian, while Veronika explained that both English and Russian had the same emotional resonance for her. In terms of emotional expression, all three preferred English to express positive emotions, a language that Valeria and Veronika favoured also to express anger. Nikita and Valeria would use English with their future children, while Veronika stated that she would use both languages. They shared a similar age of onset of bilingualism (around 6-7 years old), and they all felt more fluent in English. Valeria and Veronika started school in Australia, while Nikita did almost all primary school in Russian and English.[1] Although they were expected to have been influenced by English more than those participants with a later onset, this factor did not seem to have impacted on the emotionality of Russian, or, only to a certain extent, for Veronika.

Similar points can be made about Oleg and Yana, whose fictional narratives followed the English norm – they contained a lot of emotion adjectives and few emotion nouns. However, they perceived higher emotionality for Russian and this was the language they used or would use with their children, but both used English for positive feelings. They did two years of schooling in their native country, felt stronger in English and used mainly this language with their friends. The main difference with the three participants described in the previous paragraph is a later age of onset (8 years old for Oleg, 9 for Yana).

The fictional narratives elicited by Bogdan, Maya and Elena can be considered "between" the English and Russian norms in terms of emotion words. Bogdan and Maya

[1] As explained in Chapter 5, Nikita's age of onset of bilingualism is 6 years old, when he started moving back and forth between the United Kingdom and Russia and attending school in both countries. From the age of 12, his schooling switched mainly to English, as starting from this age he would visit Russia only for shorter periods and often he would not attend school there. However, he moved permanently to Australia at the age of 15.

used a predominance of emotion adjectives, but also a fair number of emotion verbs and nouns, and a few figurative expressions. Their preferences for emotional expression can also be defined as "in-between", as they explained that they used both languages in all spheres (although Bogdan favoured English when it comes to anger). Also, Maya felt equally competent in both languages, while Bogdan felt more competent in English, although both still used Russian at home, and English with their friends. The fact that their emotional expression was "blended" may have had an impact on their emotional speech, which presented some features suggesting that it has not completely adapted to the English norm. Similarly, Elena elicited an average number of emotion adjectives and verbs, and a lot of emotion nouns in her narrative. In addition, Elena used a lot of figurative expressions and made frequent reference to the body. The fact that Russian had a higher emotionality for her and that this was the language she used with her children and family, combined with the fact that she did a few years of schooling in this language, might have had an impact on her emotional speech in English, in particular on the fact that it still presented some "Russian features".

The group that elicited fictional narratives in English was, to a certain extent, easier to analyse, as the English retellings were more homogeneous than those in Russian, and presented the features anticipated and described in the scholarly literature, namely a predominance of emotion adjectives (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002; Pavlenko, 2002a, 2002b). On the other hand, the fact that most participants used morphosyntactic categories as expected, and that the English language offers less possibilities in terms of grammatical categories available to describe emotions can be considered also a drawback for this analysis. In fact, because of these reasons, it was hard to understand whether the bilinguals' use of emotion words had some relationship with their language emotional resonance and their preferences to express emotions, or whether their emotional speech simply followed language constraints.

Furthermore, another possible obstacle to this analysis was the participants' almost unanimous preference for Russian in terms of language emotionality and for parenting situations, and for English to express other emotions. Such homogeneity, regardless of the language used in the retellings, made it hard to delve into possible connections between these elements and the participants' emotional speech.

9.3. Limitations

This study had a number of limitations. Firstly, although language competence in Russian and English, language dominance, as well as possible L1 attrition, were discussed extensively, these variables were not assessed formally, but were self-reported by the participants. Although self-reports have been shown to correlate highly with other measures of proficiency (MacIntyre *et al*., 1997), and have been employed largely in this research area (Dewaele, 2004a, 2004b, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2015b, 2016; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012a, 2012b, 2013; Pavlenko, 2004a; Resnik, 2018a), more rigorous proficiency measures are needed in future studies, especially for 1.5ers, whose language skills are very heterogeneous (Frodesen, 2002; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Also, this study did not measure other variables, such as bicultural identity (Benet-Martínez *et al.,* 2002; Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Comănaru, Noels, & Dewaele, 2018; Haritatos & Benet-Martínez, 2002; Ramírez-Esparza & García-Sierra, 2014), personality traits and emotional intelligence (Dewaele, 2008, 2016; Dewaele & Nakano, 2013; Dewaele & Salomidou, 2017; Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2012b, 2013; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2018a, 2018b; Wilson, 2008, 2013), which are often employed in bilingualism research and could provide with additional insights on the findings of this study.

Secondly, as far as the fictional narratives are concerned, the bilingual participants produced data in only the language of their choice, hence the use of emotion vocabulary was examined only in either Russian or English, and it could not be compared to the other language. This followed others and avoided the practice effect of telling the same story twice (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2002, 2003; Pavlenko, 2002a, 2002b, 2003a, 2003b, 2008b, 2010; Pavlenko & Driagina, 2007; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2002).

Furthermore, the participants were shown the entire short movie first, and subsequently nine screenshots from it, and they were asked to describe these stills focussing on the movie characters' actions and feelings. The choice of having the participants retell from the screenshots, and not re-narrate the entire movie, had its pros and cons. The main advantages were that it avoided memory issues and elicited a high proportion of emotion words. On the other hand, asking the participants to focus on the events and feelings depicted in each still may have prompted them to think of the emotion words they were using, which does not fully reproduce natural speech. The use of stills

produced “fragmented” retellings, rather than a unique linear narrative.[2] In addition, retelling a sequence of stills most likely prompted the participants to repeat the same style of description for all scenes. This could be the reason why some participants used the same morphosyntactic category throughout all the narrative. In addition, the use of stills and the instructions given to the participants might have been one of the reasons why some participants described the movie in a somewhat “static” way.

This study presents data collected in two languages, Russian and English, the participants’ chronological L1 and L2. For the second task, ten participants conducted the debriefing interview in Russian and sixteen in English. Possible differences in the way the participants presented themselves and discussed their relationship with their two languages in Russian and English have not been considered for the present research. However, previous studies have shown that the language of retelling may affect the way multilinguals narrate events and present themselves (Koven, 1998, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2007; Marian & Kaushanskaya, 2004; Marian & Neisser, 2000).

9.4. Contributions of the present study and suggestions for future research

The aim of this study was to have a deeper understanding of the distinctiveness of this particular generation of bilinguals, 1.5ers, in terms of their use of emotion vocabulary and their relationship with their two languages. Acknowledging the liminal status of these bilingual speakers, their peculiarities in terms of language acquisition, proficiency and use, and how these factors are likely to affect their relationship with their languages, perceptions about their languages, and language use, this study has attempted to fill this gap in the scholarly literature. To date, bilingualism and emotions have been examined mainly in late bilinguals, rather than in this “in-between” category. The choice to focus on the generation 1.5 was motivated not only by the paucity of research devoted to this group of speakers, but also by the fact that, by virtue of their “liminal” characteristics, these speakers might offer a new perspective on the relationship between languages and emotions. Also, previous research has mainly examined speakers with different language learning trajectories. This study was the first to investigate a group of bilinguals belonging to this specific generation and how they resembled and differed from other speakers in

[2] The pauses occurred when moving from one still to the next one were subtracted from the duration count.

terms of languages and emotions. The choice to focus on relatively homogeneous participants with regards to languages and background provided the opportunity to control cultural factors, as a variety of emotion concepts can be language- and culture-specific (Panayiotou, 2006; Sachs & Coley, 2006; Wierzbicka, 1992, 1997, 1999) and emotional expression can vary enormously from one culture to another (Dewaele, 2015a; Kitayama & Markus, 1994; Kövecses, 2003). The study gave voice to the participants' words, considering each of them as unique individuals with their own perceptions and histories, offering an emic perspective on their experiences.

Although this study examined a group of bilinguals with a homogeneous background and similar socio-histories – all were born in a Russian-speaking country, grew up with Russian only as L1 and learned English as L2, after migration, at school and in a naturalistic context – its findings showed that these speakers were quite heterogeneous in many respects.

While previous research on bilingualism and emotions has analysed either bilinguals' use of emotion vocabulary, or their perceptions on language emotionality and preferences for emotional expression, the present study, instead, was the first to investigate possible connections between these aspects.

The results of this study have several implications for future research directions within the area of bilingualism and emotions. Firstly, they suggest pursuing the investigation on the relationship between languages and emotions for the 1.5 generation, as these bilinguals might shed new light on the opposition between emotional versus rational expression and the languages used in these spheres. Secondly, they point that the whole continuum of late and early, sequential and simultaneous bilinguals, heritage speakers belonging to first, 1.5 and second generations of migrants should be investigated and compared with each other. These comparisons would allow for a better understanding of the role that the age of onset of bilingualism has in the use of emotion vocabulary, as well as in perceptions of language emotionality and emotional expression. These results suggest also investigating further the expression of positive feelings, countering the current trend in the area, which has so far predominantly concentrated on negative feelings.

While most studies in the area of bilingualism and emotions have focussed on multilinguals who are dominant in their L1 (Dewaele, 2010a), the present findings

reaffirm the necessity to focus attention on LX-dominant multilinguals. They also indicate that potential L1 attrition should be considered as a variable per se, rather than "the other face of proficiency", as it may be the cause of many fragmented feelings.

Despite sharing similar characteristics in terms of language acquisition trajectories, this group of 1.5ers was heterogeneous. Future research might further narrow the object of investigation and opt for case studies, which could offer a more in-depth emic perspective, by delving into the participants' language and personal histories and their complexities more exhaustively. Such studies could examine what factors, other than proficiency, affect the way these speakers present themselves, e.g. whether they would talk about themselves in a more serious way in their L1, because this is the language of their family, and in a more light-hearted way in their L2, because this is the language used with their peers.

In addition, these results suggest pursuing the investigation of these speakers' language dominance and L1 and L2 proficiency. The scarce scholarly literature devoted to the 1.5 generation has mostly examined these speakers' L2 skills (mainly English skills, since these studies emerged in the USA), pointing often at their pitfalls in their academic English (Asher, Case, & Zhong, 2009; Harklau, 2003; Reid, 1998, 2005; Thonus, 2003), or lack of academic fluency both in L1 and L2 (Asher, 2011). Although these issues should be addressed, the results of this study recommend concentrating also on 1.5ers' L1 skills. Their L1 competence, in fact, should be supported, as inner conflicts might emerge, when L1 proficiency is perceived as inadequate to interact with peers from the same cultural background. Therefore, this study suggests giving attention to 1.5ers not only in terms of linguistic research, but also in relation to teaching pedagogies. As their linguistic and cultural competence in their native language and culture is not comparable to either first or second-generation migrants (Danico, 2004), specific language programs, targeted to their "liminal" skills, should be implemented to support their L1 development.

9.5. Final thoughts

The analysis of the data collected for the present project has reconfirmed that the relationship between bilinguals' "words from the heart" and the way they are expressed in different languages is an intricate issue, depending on a combination of factors, most of which are very personal and related to individual experiences. In examining the

emotional speech, language emotional resonance and emotional expression for this group of 1.5ers, it has emerged that the L1 occupies an unstable, changing, yet essential place in their lives. The methods here provided the opportunity "to zoom in" on the participants, their particular language use, experiences, views and to further understand this "invisible", to date, generation of speakers.

My hope is that 1.5ers will not be considered only for what they are *not* – they are neither first generation, nor second generation – but for what they *are* – a generation per se, varied, blurred and heterogeneous. These characteristics render the analysis of this generation challenging and at the same time extremely intriguing.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview structure for bilingual participants

English version

- How old were you when you arrived in Australia?
- How many years of schooling did you attend in your home country?
- What did you study here in Australia?
- Do you speak other languages apart from Russian and English?
- Did you live in other countries apart from Russia and Australia?
- Do you feel you are more proficient in Russian or in English?
- Which language do you prefer to use, Russian or English?
- Do you use both your languages on a daily basis?
- Do you use your native language also for work?
- Who do you use your different languages with?
- Do you feel these two languages are confined to different spheres of your life?
- Have you got many Russian friends?
- Do you think it is important to maintain your native language and culture?
- Do you read and watch TV in Russian and participate in events in your community?
- Which language do you find more emotional, Russian or English? (Dewaele, 2004a)
- Which language do you find richer and more expressive? (Dewaele, 2004a)
- Do you prefer to express your feelings in Russian or in English? (Dewaele, 2004a)
- For example, when you get angry, do you find it easier to express yourself in Russian or in English? (Dewaele, 2006, 2013; Dewaele & Qaddourah, 2015)
- And when swearing? (Dewaele, 2004b, 2010a, 2010b, 2015a)
- What about when you are extremely happy? (Caldwell-Harris *et al.,* 2012)
- Do you prefer to use one language rather than the other when talking about personal and emotional topics? (Dewaele, 2004a)
- If you have/had kids, which language do/would you use with them? (Pavlenko, 2004a)
- Do you think your inner thinking is in Russian, in English or a bit of both? (Dewaele, 2015b; Larsen *et al.,* 2002)

- Do you feel different when speaking Russian and when speaking English? (Koven, 1998, 2001; Dewaele, 2016, Dewaele & Nakano, 2013; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2018a, 2018b).

Russian version

- Сколько Вам было лет, когда Вы переехали в Австралию?
- Сколько лет Вы учились в школе в родной стране?
- Что Вы изучали в Австралии?
- Вы говорите на каких-нибудь языках, помимо русского и английского?
- Вы жили в других странах, помимо России (Советского Союза) и Австралии?
- По Вашим ощущениям, Вы больше владеете русским или английским языком?
- Каким языком Вы предпочитаете пользоваться, русским или английским?
- Вы пользуетесь обоими языками повседневно?
- Вы пользуетесь родным языком также для работы?
- С кем Вы общаетесь на этих языках?
- Вы чувствуете, что эти два языка ограничены в разных сферах Вашей жизни?
- У Вас много русскоговорящих друзей?
- Как Вы считаете, сохранять родной язык и культуру – это важно?
- Вы читаете и смотрите телевизор на русском языке и участвуете в мероприятиях в своем сообществе?
- Какой язык Вам кажется более эмоциональным, русский или английский (Dewaele, 2004a)?
- Какой язык, по-Вашему, богаче или более экспрессивен (Dewaele, 2004a)?
- Вы предпочитаете выражать свои чувства на русском или на английском? (Dewaele, 2004a)
- Например, когда Вы сердитесь, Вам легче выразить себя на русском или на английском? (Dewaele, 2006, 2013; Dewaele & Qaddourah, 2015)
- А когда Вы ругаетесь? (Dewaele, 2004b, 2010a, 2010b, 2015a)
- А когда Вы очень рады? (Caldwell-Harris *et al.,* 2012)
- Вы предпочитаете одни язык другому, когда Вы говорите на личные или эмоциональные темы? (Dewaele, 2004a)
- Если у Вас есть/будут дети, на каком языке Вы говорите/будете говорить с ними? (Pavlenko, 2004a)

- Вам кажется, что Ваша внутренняя речь - на русском, на английском или на том и на другом? (Dewaele, 2015b; Larsen *et al.,* 2002)
- Вы по-разному себя ощущаете, когда Вы говорите на русском и когда на английском? (Koven, 1998, 2001; Dewaele, 2016; Dewaele & Nakano, 2013; Panicacci & Dewaele, 2018a, 2018b).

Appendix 2: Recruitment strategies

I contacted and posted leaflets:

- On various Facebook groups and pages (Russians in Melbourne, Russians in Australia, Russian Melbourne, Russian Women's Network Melbourne, Avstralia Novosti i Sovety [Australia News and Advice]), as well as on Vkontakte, a Russian social network, similar to Facebook, on a group called 'Russkie v Mel'burne' [Russians in Melbourne];
- In a few Russian delis in the south-eastern suburbs of Melbourne, where most Russian speakers live;
- All public libraries in the same areas that allowed me to do so (the libraries in Saint Kilda, Brighton, Bentleigh, Hampton, Phoenix Park, Carnegie, Elsternwick, Caulfield);
- I emailed my call for participants to all Russian Orthodox churches in Melbourne and one Russian Catholic church, to all Russian senior clubs and all Russian organisations I am aware of.

Particularly, I received positive feedback and support from:

- The Russian Ethnic Representative Council (RERC) of Victoria;
- The association coordinating various social network groups and pages of Russian speakers in Australia, that kindly posted my research description on their website and on their Facebook page (see link: http://www.avstralia.com.au/announcements/language-use-narratives-early-russian-english-bilinguals/);
- The association advertising Russian community entertainment in Australia (http://communityentertainment.com.au).

Through the University of Melbourne:

- I posted a notice on the University portal twice (in February and May 2017);
- I contacted the RHD departments of all the other faculties within the University and, those that agreed, published my flyer on their newsletter;
- I posted some flyers in the public spaces allowed within the University;
- I posted on the Facebook group of the Melbourne University Russian Society;

- My flyers also were distributed during all Russian classes of all levels, in case there were some potential respondents or if they had relatives or acquaintances who fitted my criteria.
- I was helped also by my Russian-speaking friends, who passed on my call for participants to other relatives and friends who fitted my criteria, or started a long chain of referrals in their circles of Russian-speaking acquaintances. In addition, some friends posted my leaflet in some Orthodox churches, and others working in Saturday and Sunday Russian schools offered to distribute my flyer to their students' parents, hoping they would pass it on to other acquaintances.

The University of Melbourne, School of Languages and Linguistics

Recruitment criteria for a linguistic research project (for bilinguals)

Project title: "Language use and narratives in Early Russian-English bilinguals"

Researchers: Prof. Gillian Wigglesworth (Principal Researcher), Prof. Robert Lagerberg (Co-Researcher), Beatrice Venturin (Student Researcher)

I am a PhD student at the School of Languages and Linguistics of the University of Melbourne, working on a research on Russian-English bilingualism. I am looking for people, living in the Melbourne area, aged between 18 and 40, who were **born in a Russian-speaking country, grew up speaking only Russian** and **moved to Australia in their childhood between the age of 6 and 12**, who would be keen to participate in my project and could spare me approximately 45 minutes of their time.

Firstly you will watch a short-movie (4-minute long), then you will be asked to describe **orally** some of its scenes and finally you will have a short interview with the researcher. You will decide with the student researcher whether you are going to complete the task in Russian or in English. **The whole process should take approximately 45 minutes**.

A $30 reimbursement will be given to you for your time.

If you are interested in participating or you would like further information, please contact Beatrice Venturin at bventurin@student.unimelb.edu.au or 0XXX XXX XX6.

Thank you,

Beatrice Venturin

Имена исследователей: Gillian Wigglesworth (главный исследователь), Robert Lagerberg (соисследователь), Beatrice Venturin (студентка-аспирантка).

Студентка-аспирантка на факультетe языков и лингвистики Мельбурнского Университета, работающая над докторской диссертацией по теме русско-английского билингвизма, ищет участников для своего исследования. Необходимы люди, живущие в Мельбурне, от 18-ти до 40-ка лет, **рождённые в русскоязычной стране,** которые **выросли говоря только по-русски, но переехали в Австралию в детстве, в возрасте от 6-и до 12-ти лет, которые хотели бы** поучаствовать в проекте. Весь процесс займет не больше 45 минут Вашего свободного времени.

Исследование состоит из следующих этапов: сначала Вы посмотрите короткий 4 минутный фильм без звука, потом Вы **устно** опишите некоторые сцены из фильма

и в заключение будет небольшое интервью с исследователем. На каком языке будет выполняться задание (русском или английском), Вы будете заранее обсуждать с исследователем. **Вся сессия занимает примерно 45 минут**.

Затраченное Вами время будет компенсировано ($30).

Если Вы заинтересованы поучаствовать или хотите получить больше информации, пожалуйста свяжитесь с Beatrice Venturin по email: bventurin@student.unimelb.edu.au or 04XX XXX XX6.

Заранее благодарю,

Beatrice Venturin

Looking for early Russian-English bilinguals

I am a PhD student at the School of Languages and Linguistics of the University of Melbourne, working on a research on Russian-English bilingualism. I am looking for people (aged approximately between 18 and 4) who were **born in a Russian-speaking country, grew up speaking only Russian** and **moved to Australia in their childhood between the age of 6 and 12**, who would be keen to participate in my project. Firstly you will watch a short-movie (4-minute long), then you will be asked to describe **orally** some of its scenes and finally you will have a short interview with me. You will decide in advance whether you are going to complete the task in Russian or in English. **The whole process should take approximately 45 minutes**.

Every participant will be reimbursed with $30 for their time.

If you are interested in participating or you would like further information, please contact me at bventurin@student.unimelb.edu.au or 04XX XXX XX6.

Thank you,

Beatrice

Мельбурнский Университет, Факультет языков и лингвистики

Критерии для участия в лингвистическом исследовании

Название проекта: "Языковой и нарративный стиль ранних русско-английских билингвов"

Имена исследователей: Gillian Wigglesworth (главный исследователь), Robert Lagerberg (соисследователь), Beatrice Venturin (студентка-аспирантка).

Студентка-аспирантка факультета языков и лингвистики Мельбурнского Университета (Австралия) ищет участников для своего исследования.

Необходимы **носители русского языка**, в возрасте от восемнадцати до сорока лет, которые хотели бы поучаствовать в проекте. Весь процесс займет не больше 30 минут Вашего времени. Исследование посвящено русско-английскому двуязычию (билингвизму), и я ищу носителей русского языка, чтобы сравнить их речь с речью участников-билингвов, живущих в Мельбурне.

В идеале ваш основной язык должен быть русским, Вы не владеете иностранным языком (или не выше начального уровня), и Вы не подвергались влиянию иностранного языка на родной в течение длительного периода времени.

Вся сессия занимает примерно 30 минут. Исследование состоит из следующих этапов: сначала Вы посмотрите короткий 4-минутный фильм без звука, потом Вы **устно** опишите некоторые сцены из фильма и в заключение Вы заполните короткую анкету.

Во-первых, вы будете смотреть короткометражный фильм (длительностью 4 минуты), после чего вас попросят рассказать о некоторых его сценах и, наконец, вы заполните короткий опросник.

Затраченное Вами время будет компенсировано (1250 р.=AU$ 30).

Если Вы желаете поучаствовать или хотите получить больше информации, пожалуйста, свяжитесь с Беатриче Вентурин: beatrice.venturin@unimelb.edu.au.

Заранее благодарю,

Beatrice Venturin

The University of Melbourne, School of Languages and Linguistics

Recruitment criteria for a linguistic research project (for English monolinguals)

Project title: "Language use and narratives in Early Russian-English bilinguals"

Researchers: Prof. Gillian Wigglesworth (Principal Researcher), Prof. Robert Lagerberg (Co-Researcher), Beatrice Venturin (Student Researcher).

I am a PhD student at the Faculty of Arts (School of Languages and Linguistics) of the University of Melbourne. I am looking for **English native speakers, aged between 18 and 40,** who would be keen to participate in my project and could spare me **half an hour** of their time. My research is on bilingualism and I am looking for English native speakers so that I can compare their speech to the speech of the bilingual participants.

Ideally your main language has always been English, you have not mastered a foreign language to intermediate or advanced level, nor have you been exposed to a foreign language for an extended period of time.

The whole process should take approximately 30 minutes. Firstly, you will watch a short-movie (4-minute long), then you will be asked to describe some of its scenes and finally you will complete a short questionnaire.

You will be reimbursed with $30 for your time.

If you are interested in participating or you would like further information, please contact Beatrice Venturin at bventurin@student.unimelb.edu.au .

Thank you,

Beatrice Venturin

Appendix 3: Ethics clearance

The University of Melbourne, School of Languages and Linguistics

Plain Language Statement (for bilinguals)

Project title: "Language use and narratives in Early Russian-English bilinguals"

Researchers: Prof. Gillian Wigglesworth (Principal Researcher), Prof. Robert Lagerberg (Co-Researcher), Beatrice Venturin (Student Researcher).

Thank you for your interest in participating in this research project

This project is being conducted by Prof. Gillian Wigglesworth, Prof. Robert Lagerberg (Supervisors) and Beatrice Venturin (PhD Student) at the School of Languages and Linguistics of the University of Melbourne.
The aim of this study is to investigate the way early bilinguals (people who were born in a Russian-speaking country and who migrated to Australia in their childhood), use their two languages, Russian and English, how they describe events and behaviours and how they perceive their two languages.
The whole process should take approximately 45 minutes. You will watch a short-movie (approximately 4-minute long), afterwards you will be shown 9 scenes from it and you will be asked to describe them, either in Russian or in English, according to your previous agreements with the student researcher. After that, you will have a short interview with the student researcher, when you will be asked about your language use in general. You can interrupt the movie and the audio-recording at any time; the student researcher will be there to answer any questions you might have.
You will receive a $30 reimbursement for your time.
If you wish to withdraw from the project, you can do it at any time, without explanation. Your audio-recording will not be associated to your name. To protect your identity and to ease the research process, you will be assigned a pseudonym, which will be used also for the data analysis. The information you provide will be kept confidential and will be viewed and analysed by the researchers mentioned above only. All the data will be stored in a secure location at the School of Languages and Linguistics (University of Melbourne). The results of this project will be used for the PhD thesis of Beatrice Venturin and might be appear in academic publications and conferences.
More information: If you require further information, have any concerns or you would like to be emailed the results of the research after thesis completion, do not hesitate to contact Beatrice Venturin at bventurin@student.unimelb.edu.au .
This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of The University of Melbourne. If you have any concerns or complaints about the conduct of this research project, which you do not wish to discuss with the research team, you should contact the Manager, Human Research Ethics, Office for Research Ethics and Integrity, University of Melbourne, VIC 3010. Tel: +61 3 8344 2073 or Email: humanethics-complaints@unimelb.edu.au . All complaints will be treated confidentially. In any correspondence please provide the name of the research team or the name or ethics ID number of the research project.

The University of Melbourne, School of Languages and Linguistics

Consent form for persons participating in a linguistic research project

Project title: "Language use and narratives in Early Russian-English bilinguals"

Name of participant: ____

Names of researchers: Gillian Wigglesworth (Principal Researcher), Robert Lagerberg (Co-Researcher), Beatrice Venturin (Student Researcher).

1. I consent to participate in this project, the details of which have been explained to me and outlined in the plain language statement provided.
2. I understand that:
    a) after I sign and return this consent form, it will be retained by the researchers;
    b) my participation will involve watching a short movie and participating in an interview about the movie and my language use which will be audio-recorded;
    c) by signing this form I consent to being audio-recorded;
    d) the recordings of the interview will be used for the purposes of this research project;
    e) the project is for linguistic research purposes only;
    f) the audio-recording of my interview will be stored at the University of Melbourne for 5 years. After this period all data will be destroyed;
    g) I am free to withdraw from the project at any time, without explanation;
    h) my name will not be attached to or associated with the recording. All the information provided will be treated anonymously and pseudonyms will be used to ensure confidentiality of personal information;
    i) the data emerging from the project will be used, anonymously, for the student's PhD thesis and might be used for publications or conference talks;
    j) upon request, I can be forwarded a brief summary of the findings once the PhD research project has been completed.

Date:____________________ Participant's signature ________________________

Мельбурнский Университет, Факультет языков и лингвистики

Заявление на проведение лингвистического исследования

Название проекта: "Языковой и нарративный стиль ранних русско-английских билингвов"

Имена исследователей: Gillian Wigglesworth (главный исследователь), Robert Lagerberg (соисследователь), Beatrice Venturin (студентка-аспирантка).

Благодарим Вас за проявленный интерес к участию в этом исследовательском проекте

Проект проводится под руководством профессора Gillian Wigglesworth, профессора Robert Lagerberg (руководители) и Beatrice Venturin (студентка-аспирантка) на Факультете языков и лингвистики Мельбурнского Университета.

Целью данного исследования является изучение использования русско-английскими билингвами двух языков в речи. Мы просим Вас принять участие, потому что мы хотим сравнить речь билингвов, живущих в Мельбурне, с речью носителей русского языка, чтобы понять, отличается ли она от речи носителей и если да, то каким образом.

Вы посмотрите короткометражный фильм (минуты 4), и после этого Вам будет показано 9 сцен из фильма. От Вас требуется описать их, и студентка-аспирантка будет записывать Ваше описание на диктофон. После этого Вы заполните небольшую анкету некоторыми биографическими данными. Вы можете прервать фильм и аудио-запись в любое время; студентка-аспирантка будет с Вами, чтобы ответить на любые вопросы, которые могут возникнуть. Весь процесс займёт минут 30.

Вы получите компенсацию в размере 1250 рублей (30 AU$) за Ваше время.

Если Вы хотите отказаться от проекта, Вы можете это сделать в любое время, не объясняя причин.

Ваша аудио-запись и Ваша анкета не будут привязаны к Вашему имени. Чтобы защитить Вашу личность и облегчить процесс исследования, Вам будет дан псевдоним, который будет использоваться также для анализа данных. Предоставленная Вами информация конфиденциальна и рассматривается и анализируется только упомянутыми выше исследователями. Все данные являются собственностью Факультета языков и лингвистики (Мельбурнского Университета) и закрыты для публичного доступа. Результаты этого проекта будут использованы для докторской диссертации Beatrice Venturin и могут появиться в научных публикациях и конференциях.

Дополнительная информация: Если Вам потребуется дополнительная информация, возникнут проблемы или Вы хотели бы получить по электронной почте результаты исследования после завершения диссертации, обращайтесь к Beatrice Venturin: beatrice.venturin@unimelb.edu.au .

Этот исследовательский проект был одобрен Комитетом по этике исследований Мельбурнского Университета. Если у Вас есть какие-либо вопросы или жалобы по

поводу проведения данного исследовательского проекта, которые Вы не хотите обсуждать с исследовательской группой, Вы можете связаться с руководителем по этике исследований, Бюро по вопросам этики и добросовестности, Мельбурнского Университета, 3010, Виктория, Австралия. Тел: +61 3 8344 2073 или по электронной почте: humanethics-complaints@unimelb.edu.au. Все жалобы будут рассматриваться в конфиденциальном порядке. В любой переписке просьба сообщить название исследовательской группы, имя или идентификационный номер этики исследовательского проекта.

Мельбурнский Университет, Факультет языков и лингвистики

Согласие на участие в лингвистическом исследовании

Название проекта: "Языковой и нарративный стиль ранних русско-английских билингвов"

Имя участника: ____

Имена исследователей: Gillian Wigglesworth (главный исследователь), Robert Lagerberg (соисследователь), Beatrice Venturin (студентка-аспирантка).

1. Я даю согласие на участие в этом проекте, детали которого были мне объяснены и изложены в порученном мне заявлении на проведение лингвистического исследования.
2. Я понимаю, что:
   a) после того как я подпишу и верну эту форму согласия, она будет доступна исследователям;
   b) мое участие заключается в просмотре короткометражного фильма, в участии в интервью, которое будет записано на диктофон и в заполнении анкеты;
   c) подписав эту форму, я даю согласие на то, что меня будут записывать на диктофон;
   d) ответы из анкеты и записи интервью будут использованы для целей данного исследовательского проекта;
   e) проект имеет только лингвистические исследовательские цели;
   f) аудио-запись моего интервью и моя анкета будут храниться в Мельбурнском Университете в течение 5 лет. По истечении этого периода все данные будут уничтожены;
   g) я могу отказаться от проекта в любое время, не объясняя причин;
   h) мое имя не будет привязано к аудио-записи или анкете. Вся предоставленная информация будет рассматриваться анонимно и для обеспечения конфиденциальности личной информации будут использоваться псевдонимы;
   i) данные, полученные в ходе проекта, будут использованы анонимно, для студенческой докторской диссертации и могут быть использованы для публикаций или конференций;
   j) по запросу, я могу получить краткое изложение результатов, после того как докторский исследовательский проект будет завершен.

Дата:____________________ Подпись участника ____________________________

The University of Melbourne, School of Languages and Linguistics

Plain Language Statement (for English monolinguals)

Project title: "Language use and narratives in Early Russian-English bilinguals"

Researchers: Prof. Gillian Wigglesworth (Principal Researcher), Prof. Robert Lagerberg (Co-Researcher), Beatrice Venturin (Student Researcher).

Thank you for your interest in participating in this research project

This project is being conducted by Prof. Gillian Wigglesworth, Prof. Robert Lagerberg (Supervisors) and Beatrice Venturin (PhD Student) at the School of Languages and Linguistics of the University of Melbourne.

The aim of this study is to investigate the way Russian-English bilinguals use their two languages. We are asking you to be involved because we want to compare the speech of bilinguals to the speech of English native monolingual speakers, to see if it is any different and how.

You will watch a short-movie (approximately 4-minute long) and afterwards you will be shown 9 scenes from it, you will be asked to describe them and the student researcher will audio-record you. After that, you will complete a short questionnaire with some biographical information. You can interrupt the movie and the audio-recording at any time; the student researcher will be there to answer any questions you might have. The whole process should take approximately 30 minutes.

You will receive a $30 reimbursement for your time.

If you wish to withdraw from the project, you can do it at any time, without explanation.

Your audio-recording and your questionnaire will not be associated to your name. To protect your identity and to ease the research process, you will be assigned a pseudonym, which will be used also for the data analysis. The information you provide will be kept confidential and will be viewed and analysed by the researchers mentioned above only. All the data will be stored in a secure location at the School of Languages and Linguistics (University of Melbourne). The results of this project will be used for the PhD thesis of Beatrice Venturin and might be appear in academic publications and conferences.

More information: If you require further information, have any concerns or you would like to be emailed the results of the research after thesis completion, do not hesitate to contact Beatrice Venturin at bventurin@student.unimelb.edu.au .

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of The University of Melbourne. If you have any concerns or complaints about the conduct of this research project, which you do not wish to discuss with the research team, you should contact the Manager, Human Research Ethics, Office for Research Ethics and Integrity, University of Melbourne, VIC 3010. Tel: +61 3 8344 2073 or Email: humanethics-complaints@unimelb.edu.au . All complaints will be treated confidentially. In any correspondence please provide the name of the research team or the name or ethics ID number of the research project.

The University of Melbourne, School of Languages and Linguistics

Consent form for persons participating in a linguistic research project

Project title: "Language use and narratives in Early Russian-English bilinguals"

Name of participant: ____

Names of researchers: Gillian Wigglesworth (Principal Researcher), Robert Lagerberg (Co-Researcher), Beatrice Venturin (Student Researcher).

1. I consent to participate in this project, the details of which have been explained to me and outlined in the plain language statement provided.
2. I understand that:
   a) after I sign and return this consent form, it will be retained by the researchers;
   b) my participation will involve watching a short movie, participating in an interview which will be audio-recorded, and completing a questionnaire;
   c) by signing this form I consent to being audio-recorded;
   d) the responses from the questionnaire and the recordings of the interview will be used for the purposes of this research project;
   e) the project is for linguistic research purposes only;
   f) the audio-recording of my interview and my questionnaire will be stored at the University of Melbourne for 5 years. After this period all data will be destroyed;
   g) I am free to withdraw from the project at any time, without explanation;
   h) my name will not be attached to or associated with the recordings or the questionnaires. All the information provided will be treated anonymously and pseudonyms will be used to ensure confidentiality of personal information;
   i) the data emerging from the project will be used, anonymously, for the student's PhD thesis and might be used for publications or conference talks;
   j) upon request, I can be forwarded a brief summary of the findings once the PhD research project has been completed.

Date: _________________ Participant's signature _________________________

Appendix 4: Questionnaires for monolingual participants

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ENGLISH MONOLINGUALS

Sex: ☐F ☐ M ☐ Prefer not to say

Age: ___________________

Have you ever lived overseas? For how long?

____

____

Level of Education: ☐ High School ☐ Vocational ☐ BA ☐ MA ☐ PhD

Other languages known: Level:

- ____________________ ☐Beginner ☐Intermediate ☐ Fluent
- ____________________ ☐Beginner ☐Intermediate ☐ Fluent

АНКЕТА ДЛЯ РУССКОГОВОРЯЩИХ

Пол: ☐ Ж ☐ М

Возраст: _______________________________________

Вы когда-нибудь жили за рубежом? Как долго? ____

Владение иностранными языками: Уровень:

- ________________________ ☐ Свободный ☐ Средний ☐ Базовый
- ________________________ ☐ Свободный ☐ Средний ☐ Базовый

Уровень образования: ☐ Школьное ☐ среднее специальное
☐ бакалавриат ☐ магистратура ☐ аспирантура

Appendix 5: Biographical information

1.5ers / bilinguals

Name	Gender	AoO	Age in 2017	Length of exposure to EN	Years of school in RU	RU school in AU/ NZ	Education	Born in
Bogdan	Male	6	25	19	0	No	BA	Russia
Boris	Male	6	27	21	0	Yes	MA	Latvia (USSR)
Elena	Female	9	37	28	2	No	BA	Ukraine (USSR)
Eleonora	Female	11	33	22	4.5	Yes	BA (2)	Kazakhstan (USSR)
Eva	Female	7	32	25	0.5	Yes	MA (ongoing)	Moldova (USSR)
Igor	Male	12	37	25	5	No	BA (2)	Russia (USSR)
Inna	Female	6	29	23	0	Yes	MA	Kazakhstan (USSR)
Julia	Female	12	33	21	4.5	No	BA (2)	Ukraine (USSR)
Kirill	Male	9	27	18	3	No	BA	Ukraine (USSR)
Larisa	Female	10	33	23	5	No	MA	Moldova (USSR)
Leonid	Male	7	32	25	1	Yes	PhD	Belarus (USSR)
Maksim	Male	10	25	15	4	No	BA	Russia (USSR)
Maria	Female	12	19	7	5	No	BA (ongoing)	Russia
Maya	Female	11	18	7	4	Yes	VCE (ongoing)	Russia
Nikita	Male	6 (15)[1]	41	35	5	Yes	PhD	Russia (USSR)
Oleg	Male	8	33	24	1.5	No	BA	Russia (USSR)

[1] Nikita moved permanently to Australia when he was 15, but he started moving back and forth between the United Kingdom and Russia when he was 6.

Olga	Female	6	20	14	0	Yes	BA (ongoing)	Russia
Pavel	Male	9	32	23	2	No	BA	Russia (USSR)
Tanya	Female	10	36	26	5	Yes	BA	Ukraine (USSR)
Valentina	Female	11	27	16	4	Yes	VCE - BA (not finished)	Russia (USSR)
Valeria	Female	6	20	14	0	Yes	BA (ongoing)	Russia
Vera	Female	10	18	8	4	Yes	BA (ongoing)	Russia
Veronika	Female	7	18	11	0	No	BA (ongoing)	Russia
Viktoria	Female	6	27	21	0	Yes	MA	Russia (USSR)
Vladimir	Male	9	24	15	3.5	Yes	PhD (ongoing)	Russia
Yana	Female	9	24	15	2	No	School	Russia

Russian monolinguals

	Name	Gender	Age in 2017	Education
1	Alexandra	Female	19	BA (ongoing)
2	Alexey	Male	32	MA
3	Alina	Female	31	MA (2)
4	Alla	Female	32	School
5	Artur	Male	28	MA
6	Diana	Female	28	MA
7	Fjodor	Male	27	MA
8	Galina	Female	37	BA
9	Ivan	Male	29	MA
10	Konstantin	Male	24	MA
11	Liudmila	Female	28	MA
12	Margarita	Female	22	BA
13	Marina	Female	30	MA
14	Mikhail	Male	36	MA

Australian-English monolinguals

	Name	Gender	Age in 2017	Education
1	Alison	Female	20	BA (ongoing)
2	Brenda	Female	34	PhD (ongoing)
3	Carly	Female	19	BA (ongoing)
4	Fiona	Female	22	BA (ongoing)
5	George	Male	33	MA
6	Hayden	Male	39	MA (ongoing)
7	Joanne	Female	20	BA (ongoing)
8	Joshua	Male	29	MA (ongoing)
9	Laura	Female	39	MA (ongoing)
10	Rachel	Female	25	MA (ongoing)
11	Robert	Male	26	MA (ongoing)
12	Sharon	Female	18	BA (ongoing)

Appendix 6: Transcriptions

Conventions

Transcription conventions adapted from Azevedo *et al.* (2017).

..	Pause
…	Long pause
(word)**:**	Word is cut
_	emphasis of word (underlined)
°	marked softness in tone
haha (in Russian: ахах)	Laughter
hahaha (in Russian: ахахах)	Long laughter
hahahaha (in Russian ахахахах)	Very long laughter
uhm (in Russian: мм)	Interjection
uuhm (in Russian: ммм)	Interjection
aah (in Russian: ааа)	Interjection
aaah (in Russian: аааа)	Interjection

Sample of transcription – Fictional narrative in English (M.)

Still 1:

Uhm, so, in this still we see his.. probably ex-girlfriend, uhm, shouting at him and telling him off. She looks very angry, uhm.. yeah.

Still 2:

Ah, in this one, uhm, he's, he's listening to her, he looks, he looks quite uhm, sad, he doesn't look like he understands what's the reason behind it, and, yeah, he looks really sad, he doesn't look very angry at all. He's probably suffering from this, well, yeah.

Still 3:

Uhm, in this one, he.. is leaving after his girlfriend publicly, uhm, humiliated him pretty much, and, this.. aah. a person on a bike is.. laughing at him because, well, he thinks it's, like, pathetic that he got humiliated by his girlfriend, so.. the main character guy's, he looks very sad and distressed about it, he's probably feels like he's.. like, pathetic in a way, because he's worthless or something, cause he got humiliated by his girlfriend, and yeah he looks very sad.. about that, yeah.

Still 4:

Uhm, I think, ah yeah, I think this is when he's, he sees a woman who.. who smiles at him, as she's getting on the.. tram, and, I think this is when he starts visualising that their, that they, that they could have, like, an amazing life together and like, and marry and.. have children, he probably.. interpreted that smile as, like, that she, ah, has a romantic interest in him and clearly from the fact that she looks very beautif: very beautiful he has some sort of interest in her, uhm, so, I think this is when he realises that he starts like that, like strange woman, haha strange woman aah, in.. yeah, he looks very, like, quite happy, uhm, yeah, daydreaming, haha

Still 5:

Uhm, this is eeh, he.. he's very angry because he, the.. the button, this, the red light is still on and he can't wait for the green light and he knows he's going to miss the.. tram and then miss the woman so he's quite frustrated and uhm, trying to take it out on the lamp, lamp post @@ uhm, he's quite distressed and.. right now he's probably very immersed into trying to get to that woman, he sees that as.. his like.. sort of last.. hope. I wouldn't, I wouldn't make that assumption but aah, he's very angry because he can't, he'll be late to get to that woman, yeah.

Still 6:

Haha, uhm, yeah, in, in here he, he, this is when the, uhm, the green light is finally on and.. haha, he's, he looks very very happy because, he finally gets to uhm, like, he, he thinks he's still going to make it and, he.. he's very excited that, like, he has time to get to the woman and then he, haha, finally got the green light because it took ages, haha, yeah.

Still 7:

And, this is the, when he meets the woman, this is the woman's boyfriend uhm, when the main character, like, gets to the woman, he gets too close to her, he probably feels like, he probably thinks that she has an attachment but she doesn't and this is the.. the, her boyfriend sh: shouting at him, he obviously looks very angry.. aah, be: because he thinks that the main character is actually trying to assault his aah, girlfriend, probably trying to, like.. get something from her, because he got very close, so he's probably saying something and then later we know that he punches him, so.. eeh, yeah, he looks quite haha, angry haha, and scary, yeah.

Still 8:

Uhm, this is when aah, he, the main character is being shouted at and.. like it's obvious that he doesn't.. quite understand why he's being shouted at again, he isn't really.. comprehending what's going on and.. he probably already had decided that the woman doesn't have a boyfriend, so, it's, like, the reality is crushing round him and he's realising that he was actually completely wrong and that his.. dreams are.. just that, dreams, and.. he's probably also aah.. making that expression because when someone shouts at you, it's quite loud and.. not haha, very nice to listen to, so, he looks very, like, disappointed and confused here and he realises that he was wrong and.. like all hi: his dreams are haha, ruined now, yeah.

Still 9:

And, ah, this is when he.. sees.. aah, another woman uhm, running by him, I don' quite remember, but I think this is when he uuhm, as she runs.. by he.. looks at her and uhm, this is like, right before he realises that maybe she could also be.. maybe she's also the woman of his dreams so.. it's like the second before he realises that, so he, there's a bit, so there's some hope in his eyes, sort of, like, that maybe he still has a chance.. yeah.

Duration: 05:46

Sample of transcription – Fictional narrative in Russian (E.)

Still 1:

Ну женщина кричит на него ругает парня аа.. Она явно злится почему-то по какому-то поводу и.. может она с ним расстается наверно, вот так, ахах.

Still 2:

Он, ну парень там аа.. он т: она на него кричит, он явно мм.. как, как это сказать мм.. в недопонимании может немножко растерянный немножко мм.. пытаться наверно понять в чём дело как всегда мужчины ахах, не могут понять почему женщина кричит ахахах, мм.. растерянный, я бы сказала и какое-т: недопонимание, может взволнованный немножко взволнованный, конечно, вот так вот.

Still 3:

Этот мальчик на велосипеде смеется надо парнем, мальчик конечно видел только предыдущую сцену что девушка на него кричала и по-моему по лицу даже чё-то его ну оттолкнула его рукой то что парень, мальчик смеется над ним, а парень наверно, ему наверно стыдно, я думаю который уходит от.. ну только что от ссоры, я думаю что ему наверно стыдно и потерянный и ему стыдно и грустный вот конечно грустный.

Still 4:

Ааа тут он, ахахах, ахах тут он увидел только что новую девушку и я думаю что он обрадовался и я думаю что первое что он почувствовал это ахах сексуальное возбуждение ахахах наверно, вот так вот ну как у него наверно счастье у него как надежда какая-то появилась вот так ахахах, ахах.

Still 5:

Тут он.. а это когда он расстроился что он упустил свой шанс видно по-моему трамвай уехал и тут он это как-то расстроился и я не думаю что он плачет но расстроенный, вот так вот ахахах.

Still 6:

Ммм даже не помню что тут было, но он счастливый на картинке он очень счастливый но я не помню почему

Me: Это опять у светофора да, когда

Ааааа это когда он ждал светофор, да, что трамвай уехал с девушкой так это когда светофор включился наконец-то на зеленый свет что он может наконец-то опять ну как догонять её, так что он очень очень очень обрадовался этому ахахах.

Still 7:

А он тут он, мужчина.. ругает его он злится потому что он сделал предложение его девушке я думаю, хотя я не знаю когда он успел кольцо купить ахахах, но да ну злость да надо же это чувство да злится он ругает его потому что он как на его территорию зашел ахах.

Still 8:

Ммм опять он потерянный мм расстроенный потерянный в недопонимании немножко.. так вот я бы сказала ахахах. Я вижу у него часто это происходит ахахахах

<u>Me:</u> Он же мужчина ахах.

Ахах ну да, ахахах какие-то цикли происходят не понимаю.

Still 9:

А тут он ну по-моему я не знаю если он увидел опять новую уже девушку блондинку по-моему он просто за ну я бы сказала по картинке он в раздумье, думает он, наверно анализирует то что всё что произошло предыдущее, как-то так.

Duration: 04:00.

Sample of transcription – Debriefing interview in English (V.)

Me: You said that you went to New Zealand when you were?

V: So I was born in 92, we emigrated to New Zealand in 2001, so I would have been 9.

[...] and then we emigrated to Melbourne, Australia, end of 2008 [...]

Me: So when you were there, in Ivanovo, so you went to school, I guess.

V: Yes I went to two school until the fourth class I believe, Russian equivalent, uhm, and the school that I went to was called, you know, it's an English school, ah, so they taught us all subjects in Russian [...] but we had in addition to that, an English class, that we had to attend and [...]

Me: So, when you arrived here you could..

V: No, I couldn't speak English, no, no. [...] so I had to attend, you know, English Second Language classes and then, throughout my primary school and then.

Me: So which class did they put you, when you arrived, again 4-5?

V: Yeah, I don't remember to be honest, uhm. I did three years of primary I believe.

[...]

I didn't finish my High School in New Zealand, I got up to Year 11 New Zealand equivalent, so, that's penultimate year, but I left at the beginning of that, and here, we emigrated to Australia during that time, they put me in Year 11 here, uhm, and yeah, then I spent two years in high school yeah.

Me: And then you did all your uni here.

V: Yeah.

Me: So, you emigrated with your family, I guess,

V: Just parents and sister yeah.

Me: So, you got a sister.

V: Yes, I do.

Me: So at home you still speak Russian I guess..

V: Yes, we speak Russian at home, but, you know it's, the level of Russian that we... aah, the level of Russian that we talk is you know "Oh, how was your day?" you know, talking about our plans, talking about how our day was, and maybe discussing some current events, aah, and yes, everyday conversing, yes.

Me: And you say that because you feel that you are more proficient in English or?

V: I think so yeah, obviously, I'm more proficient in English, ah, just because I spent so much time in an English speaking country, uhm, but, you know, I still, I still maintain my Russian, aah, I guess thoughts, still interested in Russian current events, we still talk to our family there, uhm, I did, so when we arrived in New Zealand, we did Russian School on Saturdays, so that would have been 2 hours of classes or something, uhm, then, for my Year 12 I also did Year 12 Russian.

Me: as a VCE?

V: As a VCE level subject [...]

Me: And you said you've got Russian friends, you still participate in events, or something?

V: We still have Russian family friends obviously, Ukrainian family friends who we talk to, but I can't say that I have, you know close Russian friends, who I call up and, you know, talk about, aah, you know, to catch up or something, 'cause.

Me: Ok it's mainly related to your family.

V: Yeah mainly related to family exactly. I mean, there are one or two people who I meet at uni, who are.. have a Russian background, uhm, but I can't say that I hang out with them everyday and yeah.

Me: Do you go to the events, do you participate in the community or? When you say events, you mean family events?

V: Family events for sure, but when I started uni here, I took, I'd play quite a big part in the Russian Society, so the Melbourne University Russian Society, we tried to encourage and promote Russian culture on campus, it was not always successful, but it was still, I still got involved quite a lot in that, which was really good, and so through that I got to meet quite a lot of Russian people, or people studying, learning Russian, aah, yeah, and then you know, when Maslenitsa, or, other Russian events take place and Melbourne events, definitely I take interest in those, ah.

Me: And do you watch TV in Russian? do you read?

V: I try to read Russian, just going you know, at the moment I'm just going through the classics, if that makes sense.

[...] I started rereading Pushkin again, so you know *Руслан и Людмила и так далее*, because I can feel, you know, as you probably heard, my.. descriptive skills are sort of lacking, kind of, want to maintain those, uhm, yeah. Could also be important for my future career, just because engineering is a field where you do a lot, you have to assert your point of view, you have to explain various concepts, and I feel that at the moment I'm not capable of doing that properly, just because that skill is lacking on a Russian side of it.

[...]

Me: I was interested when you said "I try to maintain my thoughts, I try to maintain my language and my thoughts in Russian", what do you mean, that you try to force yourself to think in Russian or what?

V: I try to sort of read aah, obviously read in Russian, aah, and I write letters to you know my grandparents in Russia and aah.. but, as to, to answer your question I guess, aah, what I meant by that is, you know just get an understanding of, you know, the events happening around the world from a perspective of a Russian person rather than a Westerner, if that makes sense. Or to, you know, to understanding Russian culture not from the perspective of, you know, a foreigner, but as, you know, as a person who was actually born there and as a person who has Russian roots.

Me: So, it's cultural I would say [...]

V: Yeah, I don't want to get too detached from the culture, that's for sure.

Me: Or to get too Westernised..

V: Well, I..I got to say I am quite a bit Westernised, but yeah, I still try to maintain my Russian heritage, my Russian roots, I mean, yeah, I am, I became really interested recently in, you know, tracing my family tree and, you know, trying to understand where my, aah, you know, grandparents and their parents and ancestors came from, because yeah, you know, I feel like that is something that I guess defines me, if that makes sense, I don't want that part of me to disappear, yeah, so, yeah.

Me: So, you said that you want to keep the language and the culture, so, well, I guess you don't have kids, do you?

V: I don't.

Me: But if you had kids, you would like to pass them your language and culture?

V: Yeah, definitely I would, I think, it's again, I think, it's an important part, I mean, you see a lot of... aahm.. like, both in New Zealand and Australia we met a lot of people who, you know, Russians to, or Ukrainians, Kazakhs who emigrated to New Zealand, Russia, aaah, Australia and then the kids were born there, but the kids don't speak Russian and the parents, you know, a lot of the time converse between themselves in Russian, I think it's, you know, participate in that, I just feel it's a bit, it's, I just find it really strange, if that makes sense, and, I feel like, if you are, if you do have that heritage, even though you were born in another country, I feel it's still important to maintain a piece of that heritage, a piece of that memory, if that makes sense [...] and even to know where, where you are, where you came from, what, you know, how was your, you know, how were your parents defined, what made them, what environment that they grew up in, aah, because that's something that o: that makes a person and, I think, if you remove that,

Me: Yeah, it's part of the identity.

V: Yeah, it's part of the identity.

Me: Otherwise they would be, maybe I'm too extremist, but in a nowhere land.

V: Yeah, exactly.

Me: So, you would speak Russian to them, I guess?

V: Yeah, I would definitely want, I would definitely do, unless my partner spoke another language, in which case we would have to..

Me: Negotiate haha.

V: negotiate haha the system, yeah.

Me: How would it be? would it be natural for you to speak to your children in Russian [...]?

V: As I mentioned, like at home we talk Russian, we talk about you know, make plans in Russian, we you know, talk about our day in Russian, and that comes, it just feels natural, I guess uhm, and it would feel foreigner if we started speaking in English amongst ourselves, aah, so I guess I would want to, you know, to maintain that if I did have kids and, you know, talk, continue that aah aspect of, aah, yeah, our: my culture, if that makes sense.

Me: when you think I guess, is it that you think in a language most of the time, or is it situation-dependent [...]?

V: I definitely agree with that, people always ask, you know, "what language do you think in?", and I can never answer because it's so jumbled, but yeah, I have to agree, when I think about uni or homework or work, I usually tend to think in English, but at home I do find, I don't know, I think I have Russian thoughts, if that makes sense, like, you know, I talk to my head, like I talk to myself in Russian, uhm, whilst if I find myself at uni, in a college, or you know, work, yeah, I think my thoughts are in English.

[...]

Me: Do you feel that Russian is confined to your family sphere only, and English is all the rest?

V: Uhm, you mean the language?

Me: Yeah.

V: Ah, I think when I read Russian literature, I think in Russian as well.

Me: Ah, again.

V: Again situational, ah, but yeah, I think, just because I am.. living in a western country, in an English-speaking country, most of the environment that I encounter is... English, [...] so that would make sense that I think in English the rest of the time.

Me: Since you said that you read also classics in Russian, and so on, in terms of languages, so English and Russian, do you find that one of the two is richer, slash more emotional, slash all the things that have to deal with my topic? I say, because you read, but also in spoken language.

V: I have to agree, I think you can express, like, when you read, say, Russian again classics, feels like it's a lot, I don't know, it's descriptive in another way, aahm, feels like it's more you know, beautiful, it that makes sense, when you read it in, I think descriptions are a lot more vivid when you, when I read them in Russian aah, maybe because, you know, I grew up on those novels so, you know, my parents used to read them to me, aah, yeah. sorry what was the question again?

Me: Yeah, if you find that in a difference in the way they are emotional, if one of the two is more poetic or is it the same? you said in written language, what about spoken language?

V: Spoken language...

Me: Or even for yourself, if you have to describe your emotions, is it easier to do it in English, in Russian, no difference?

V: I think it's definitely easier to describe it in English just because my vocab is a lot more rich in English than Russian. but I think, I don't really know, I don't really know how to answer that to be honest.

Me: And what about instinctive reactions, like, if you are for example really happy and you have this instinctive reaction, does it come out in English, in Russian, it depends on the situation?

V: Again situations.

Me: Situation. So, you mean if you are at home, you are in Russian.

V: Yeah, yeah, I think, it's maybe because you're speaking the language and you're maintaining that language in your reaction.

Me: Yeah, your thoughts keep going in that language and so then you.. but if you are by yourself, well, it depends on the previous things or?

V: Yeah.

Me: What about when you're angry? Is it the same? or also about swearing, do you instinctively?

V: I think, when, you know, when uni work doesn't go according to plan, I think I sw: tend to swear in English aahm, yeah.. yeah.

Me: Do you swear in Russian?

V: I don't know, it's kind of weird because I tend not to swear in Russian, maybe it is because I primarily talk to aah, my parents and, you know, my sister and my family in Russian, but in English is, you know, is this is different aah, yeah.

Me: Also because I think when you left, you were a child and you didn't swear much.

V: Yeah definitely. Exactly.

Me: Do you feel that Russian swearing are?

V: A lot more colourful? Yes.

Me: And so you tend to say "I don't wanna use them because they are a really too much"?

V: Yeah, I think it's, I think it's the same, but I think it's a lot more expressive in Russian.

Me: So that's why you say you don't use them or? Because some people say they are a really strong, if I have to *послать* someone haha, it's really too strong in Russian.

V: Yeah, it feels a lot more vulgar, I don't know why, than English. Maybe I've just been desen: you know, desensitised to the English swearing, but yeah, it feels much more vulgar in Russian than it does in English, yeah.

Me: Things that are connected to childhood, like, animals do you have the tendency to use Russian, if you see a little dog you say "Uh" haha, I don't know if men do that?

V: Yeah, yeah, haha I got that.

Me: Do you do it in Russian, do you do it in English or?

V: I think in English, yeah, yeah, it's something, you know, if I see...

[...] Yeah I think it's primarily English, yeah, strangely enough.

Me: Do you feel different when you speak Russian and when you speak English?

V: Yes I do, yeah.

Me: What do you mean?

V: Yeah, you can kind of feel it, you can, you know, you can ... feel sort of a different part of yourself I guess, if that makes sense, uhm, a different part of your identity talking then, so when I talk to the, some of the, you know, some of the PhD students who are also Russian in the electrical engineering department I.., yeah, it just feels a lot, a little bit different to when I speak in English uhm, and maybe, you know, I was, and I was thinking about this, maybe it is because, you know, I'm trying to remember... you know, my life

back in Russia and sort of associate myself to what they are talking about, because, you know, both of them are only recently, aah emigrated here so, aah, they talk about how their university was in Russia, you know, what they did over there, what.. and maybe I'm just trying to, I'm trying to, all the time that I talk to them I try to remember, to recall, you know, what I know about the city, you know, Moscow in this particular case, or how the culture there is like, you know.. yeah, just based on my, you know, both my perspectives having grown up there and, you know, maybe the stuff that I read on the news and then the books.. So yeah, I can, it feels different when I talk Russian then when I talk English, and just different to explain, but I think that's the reason why, because I try to recall what it was like to live in Russia as a Russian, I guess.

_Me:_ Ok, so it's a cultural thing?

_A:_ Yeah.

_Me:_ So is it as if you are using your Russian identity in that particular occasion?

_V:_ Yeah, I think so.

[...]

_Me:_ And when you speak English instead?

_V:_ Yeah, I don't know, when I speak English I feel, I don't feel like a local, I don't know why but I, yeah, I don't feel a Russian at the same time, if that makes sense.

_Me:_ Ok, so you mean that, when you say you don't feel like a local, you mean that you're using the language, so you're using English, but you are not, but you're still using your double identity?

_V:_ Yes, I think so.

_Me:_ That's what you mean so that you can feel the influence of your background?

_V:_ Yep, yep. I can definitely feel, you know I, I may not have, you know, too big of an accent, but I still feel like..

[...]

But, yeah, when I speak English I can't, you know, I can't you know, I can't relate to.. a lot of the kids who grew: grew up here, just because it's, I feel like I grew up in a different culture, in a different environment, maybe it's because I grew up in Russia, maybe it's because we emigrated so much, ahm, even though I can speak English pretty well, I still feel I don't, I don't feel like a local.

_Me:_ So you still feel in between?

_V:_ Yeah, I feel in between, yeah.

_Me:_ And do you feel in between then when you speak Russian?

V: Ah, it's hard to say, it's hard to say, it doesn't feel, it doesn't feel as unnatural when I talk to, you know, those two guys in Russian, I just feel like my language skills are not up to the standard to converse with them, on the same level.

Me: Ok, so in terms of mentality you say "ok we understand each other"..

V: But yeah, when I try to express then I can't, I can't do it properly and that's partly why I want to, you know, maintain my Russian and you know, I'm rereading the Russian books when I have the time, yeah.

[...]

Yeah, you got me thinking, so yeah, even talking to you about you know, you asking me these questions, I think it's very helpful. [...] But it's interesting just to think about these questions and you know aah, because I, I, you know, when I talk in Russian, English and .... I try, I think of some, you know of these things... as well, like, but I just, sometimes it's hard, you don't really talk to anyone about this, so, you know, it's hard to express or to converse about it, and interpret it.

Duration: 30:37

Sample of transcription – Debriefing interview in Russian (M.)

Me: Значит, ты сказала что ты переехала сюда, когда тебе было 12.

M: 12 да.

Me: А тебе сейчас 19.

M: 19.

Me: Значит 7 лет, что вы живете здесь.

M: Да.

Me: И откуда ты?

M: Москва, из Москвы.

Me: OK. А ты переехала с семьей?

M: Да, с мамой да.

Me: А у тебя только одна сестра?

M: Да, одна сестра.

Me: Значит, если ты переехала, когда тебе было двенадцать, значит что ты закончила там какой класс, типа шестой?

M: Я пятый, пятый закончила, тут в шестом прошла.

Me: Тут да. А ты английский знала, не знала совсем?

M: Нет, английский, то есть, как бы, ну очень плохо знала, то есть естественно я говорить не могла. Я сначала ходила на курсы, как моя сестра. Мы сначала ходили на курсы, где только английский был и нас готовили к школе.

Me: Типа *ESL*?

M: Ех?

Me: Типа *ESL*? имеешь в виду в России?

M: Нет-нет тут.

Me: *ESL, English Second Language,* это имеешь в виду?

M: Да да. И вот нас учили в специальной школе, там потом мы пошли в школу. Я в 6-й, она в 5-й перешла.

Me: А это как было, в смысле чтобы выучить английский?

M: Ну, как бы сложно.

Me: Шок или ахах?

M: Ех?

Me: Шок или?

M: Да да.

Me: Шок?

M: Ну да, конечно сложно было очень, и как бы с другими не пообщаешься, как бы вот, и это всё было очень сложно.

Me: Но потом через несколько, сколько времени потом ты свободно?

M: Можно мне сказать, адаптироваться мне нормально 2-3 года, у меня было только сначала одна подруга, тоже она была как бы *International student* и мы с ней только общались, вот, но потом как бы уже лучше, ну я это знала английский, потому что я ходила в английскую школу в Москве.

Me: Мхм, ах, ок.

[...]

А сейчас как ты думаешь, ты думаешь, что ты владеешь лучше английским или русским, всё равно?

M: Русским русским.

Me: Русским да?

M: Мне кажется надо ещё, мне лет 5-7, чтобы вот выйти как бы полностью.

Me: Ну, ты всё равно закончила школу тут и сейчас учишься и наверное нет проблем да? ахах

M: Не, нет таких сильных проблем, но просто вот например, я фильмы люблю больше на русском тоже, всё равно иногда какие такие слова, которые там ну, детективы или что-то такое, мне лучше на русском потому что я больше слов знаю.

Me: А тебе кажется, что ты всё равно больше слов?

M: Ну как бы, ну конечно знаю больше на русском.

Me: А вы в семье наверно всё ещё общаетесь на русском?

M: Да, мы все на русском.

Me: А у тебя много русских друзей здесь?

M: У нас общая подруга с сестрой, Аня, вот кстати тоже она, но она по-русски очень плохо говорит ахах, мы с ней в основном по-английски, вот у неё родители, но не русские, но украинцы и белорусы, вот она по-русски не очень говорит, потому что она в очень раннем возрасте приехала и она его вообще забыла. Вот только это она есть у меня. Нет, еще есть ребята с университета, с других факультетов тоже русские, но они вот приехали только как учиться.

Me: Ты имеешь в виду, что все другие друзья австралийцы или не русские или?

M: Да. все другие друзья не русские, австралийцы там азиаты.

Me: Да *mixed*.

M: *Mixed* ахах.

Me: Значит что ты сейчас говоришь на русском в основном в семье?

M: В семье да. Ну как бы этого очень много ахах, то есть русского много дома поэтому не забываю никогда.

Me: А ты говоришь, что все еще смотришь фильмы на русском?

M: Я предпочитаю, но я могу и на английском, но предпочитаю на русском, я больше понимаю как бы всех слов.

Me: А когда ты читаешь например?

M: Читаю, читать конечно литературу, как вот художественную да, там я люблю на русском, потому что это всё-таки мой язык и я как бы получаю удовольствие, когда я на английском читаю, я не получаю такого удовольствия. Но я.. тоже люблю вот.

[...]

Me: Если ты можешь выбрать, тогда ты выбираешь?

M: На русском

Me: На русском.

[...]

Ты чувствуешь, что типа что русский более эмоциональный для тебя?

M: Да я так чувствую ахах.

Me: 100%?

M: Ну не эмоциональный, ну да но, как бы вот, я не знаю, может быть это из-за школы, из-за того что мы в русской школе много читали литературы и, как бы, я прочувствовалась и поэтому я сейчас тоже предпочитаю на русском читать хотя нету времени особо, вот.

Me: А когда тебе надо выразить свои эмоции ты предпочитаешь на русском?

M: Мм.

Me: Ты предпочитаешь на русском?

M: Да.

Me: А это и как натурально выходит если ты, я имею в виду если ты одна, как натурально приходит в голову?

M: В голову на русском, да ну вот например говорю я по-русски тоже уже очень плохо, но как бы не плохо, но, не я хорошо говорю ахах, сейчас мне кажется, что я хорошо говорю, но иногда у меня просто даже очень часто ааа просто ступор, и я

не могу вспомнить несколько слов, я очень раньше, я очень, я как бы лучше говорила, сейчас я так запинаюсь, потому что как бы.. ну да из-за английского.

[...]

_Me:_ Всё равно ты думаешь, что ты больше думаешь на русском если ты одна, не в разговоре [...]?

_M:_ Думаю да, у меня как бы из-за того, что может быть у меня больше таких близких социальных контактов, они на русском и, как бы, эмоции я выражаю больше с людьми, которые говорят по-русски, мне кажется поэтому, как бы у меня парень русский и в семье.

_Me:_ Ок, это связано с людьми. Это темы, это сфера, которая в основном на русском.

_M:_ Да как бы, с кем я выражаю эмоции, я выражаю эмоции если, ну с друзьями тоже, но не так, как бы.

_Me:_ Да, понятно. А когда ты рада? [...]

_M:_ По-разному, мне кажется вот это по-разному, вот, я даже не могу вспомнить, как бы так, иногда что-то приходит какие мысли, вот только по-английски, потому что это красиво говорится по-английски, как бы, знаете там вот, а иногда только по-русски, не знаю вот, как 50 на 50 мне кажется.

_Me:_ А как ты предпочитаешь есть предпочтение или нету?

_M:_ [...] Опять мне кажется *fifty-fifty*.

_Me:_ А если это наоборот, то есть ты, когда ты, ну когда ты рассердилась и надо высказать гнев?

_M:_ Ахах Тоже не знаю.. когда..

_Me:_ Как приходит в голову?

_M:_ Наверно на русском, наверное на русском, потому что, хотя и на английском тоже, вот честно я так даже не могу вспомнить, когда чаще я говорю на русском когда, то есть мысли приходят или на русском или на английском.

_Me:_ А если это мат, *swearing*?

_M:_ Ахах, вот это мне кажется на английском, потому что всегда я слышу это на английском в основном, вот как бы ну друзья там, я не знаю, ну не сериалы, но так, мне кажется на, вот это на английском *swearing*.

_Me:_ Да, наверно тоже из-за того что на русском это не очень-то принято.

_M_: Да да.

_Me:_ Тем более в семье ахах.

_M:_ Да, поэтому мне кажется на английском.

_Me:_ Ты чувствуешь себя разной, когда ты говоришь по-английски и когда по-русски?

М: О.. да, очень разной чувствуюсь.

Me: Очень?

М: Да, ахах потому что на русском я совсем другое могу высказать и люди меня совсем по-другому.. понимают, когда я на русском говорю.

Me: В каком смысле?

М: Потому что, в смысле на английском я не могу так себя выразить, как бы таких слов подобрать, то есть как бы, я этот язык не могу прочувствовать, понимаете, потому что это мой второй всё-таки, вот и.. да и из-за этого, то что я не могу так себя выразить как бы, вот по-английски мне кажется меня люди по-другому немного понимают, хотя когда если я по-русски с ним поговорю, если бы они говорили по-русски, вот то они бы увидели меня совсем другой , но этого никогда не случится потому что они не понимают ахах, это так с друзьями в основном.

Me: Ты чувствуешь себя типа сдержанной?

М: Да, я хочу сказать, а слов я не могу подобрать таких, как бы, я как по-русски сказала бы.

Me: OK. А ты думаешь, что это из-за того, что ты владеешь русским лучше?

М: Да да, из-за того, что вот, да, я владею русским лучше и во-вторых, как бы я его.. знаю каждое слово, как бы значение вот я понимаю, что они тоже знают это значение, а если в английском, то я может быть не знаю значение какого-то слова, понимаете, нет такого чувства полного языка.

Me: Типа что ты знаешь все нюансы?

М: Да да да.

Me: А на английском не знаешь как люди принимают слова?

М: Да да, это говоря да и вот, в этом у меня всегда проблемы, так жалко ахах, или что-то я хочу смешное сказать, например, и вот по-русски, если я бы это сказала смешное, все мы посмеялись, но тут я не могу, потому что у меня ступор я не могу, я-то такое сказать на английском, не так получится. Шутка изменится, например, не будет никому смешно.

Me: Ну да, потому что.

М: И строение фразы, и вот как бы всё, вот это например.

Me: Ты шутить предпочитаешь на русском?

М: Да, шутить на русском, мне больше, как бы, могу пошутить, но мне по-английски тоже но.. может быть это как-то получится не так смешно, как бы это на русском было, вот это такое замечаю.

Me: А как ты говоришь с животными?

M: С животными ахах, у нас вот есть собака и мы с ней только по-английски, то есть не только по-английски, а мы ее.. благ: не благодарим, как сказать.. хвалим по-английски *good girl*, все поэтому.

Me: Почему?

M: Почему я не знаю, так вот мама решила так просто, чтобы не знаю, потому что гуляет с ней наверно, может поэтому типа *Sya good girl come here,* вот как бы вот, а между собой я могу с ней на русском. [...] а если что-то я просто с ней разговариваю там, то я могу на русском.

Me: А как ты предпочитаешь?

M: На английском наверно, потому что мы всегда с ней на английском да, даже не знаю почему ахахах, просто английская собака, не русская ахахах.

Me: А я думаю что у тебя нету детей да?

M: Нету.

Me: А если будут, ты будешь с ними на русском говорить наверно?

M: Вот это вопрос ахах.

[...]

Я думаю конечно я хочу, чтобы они знали русский.. и английский.

Me: В смысле, что ты хочешь сохранить и язык и культуру?

M: Культуру, да.

Me: А как было бы натурально?

M: Натурально на русском конечно, да.

Duration: 16:12

Appendix 7: Emotion words used in the fictional narratives

EMOTION WORDS – BR

121 word types (M= 16.29), 339 word tokens (M= 24.21),

Adjectives (41 types - 33.88%, 115 tokens - 33.92%)

грустный (8)
безнадёжный (1)
счастливый (3)
радостный (8)
недовольный (3)
раздражённый (3)
взволнованный (3)
подавленный (6)
разочарованный (8)
рад (6)
агрессивный (2)
злой (7)
запутанный (1)
удивлённый (5)
печальный (2)
несчастный (1)
сердитый (4)
весёлый (1)
растерянный (2)
потерянный (3)
расстроенный (14)
покинутый (1)
безразличный (1)
заинтригованный (1)
опущенный (1)
обрадованный (1)
разозлённый (1)
взбешённый (1)
уверенный (1)
ноогенный (1)
обиженный (2)
огорчённый (2)
довольный (2)
озабоченный (1)
одинокий (2)
*параноик (1)
любовный (1)
эмоциональный (1)
**confused (1)
**frustrated (1)
**upset (1)

Nouns (37 types - 30.58%, 83 tokens - 24.49%)

бешенство (4)
вина (1)
отчаяние (4)
разочарование (6)
надежда (8)
вдохновление (1)
одурь (1)
счастье (4)
желание (1)
радость (3)
шок (4)
симпатия (1)
неудовольствие (1)
любовь (5)
недоумение (4)
боль (4)
ненависть (1)
злость (3)
возбуждение (1)
презрение (1)
нетерпение (2)
фрустрация (2)
энтузиазм (2)
агрессия (2)
фантазия (1)
заинтригуюсть (1)
растерянность (1)
неудачник (1)
мечтатель (2)
мечта (2)
сюрприз (1)
страстие (1)
ссора (1)
дурак (1)
идиот (1)
гнев (1)
*hope (3)

Verbs (31 types - 25.62%, 116 tokens - 34.22%)

смеяться – засмеяться (15)
нравиться – понравиться (14)
улыбаться – улыбнуться (11)
пугаться – испугаться (1)
теряться – растеряться (2)
надеяться (2)
ругаться – поругаться (7)
злиться – разозлиться (8)
расстраиваться – расстроиться (4)
издеваться (2)
беситься (1)
бояться (1)
успокаиваться – успокоиться (1)
удивляться – удивиться (1)
радоваться – обрадоваться (4)
кричать – закричать (16)
надоедать – надоесть (2)
любить (2)
злить – разозлить (1)
орать (2)
радовать – обрадовать (1)
плакать – заплакать (3)
ругать – поругать (3)
терпеть – потерпеть (1)
дразнить (1)
достать (3)
ревновать (1)
мечтать (3)
обижать – обидеть (1)
страдать (1)
вредить (1)

Adverbs (12 types - 9.92%, 25 tokens - 7.37%)

агрессивно (1)
спокойно (1)
нетерпеливо (1)
(чувствовать себя) хорошо (2)
(чувствовать себя) плохо (1)
грустно (4)
стыдно (4)
страшно (2)
безразлично (3)
неприятно (2)
всё равно (3)
по фигу (1)

EMOTION WORDS – BE

109 word types (M= 18.25), 317 word tokens (M= 26.42)

Adjectives (58 types - 53.51%, 184 tokens - 58.05%)

pissed off (1)
outraged (2)
hopeful (12)
humiliated (1)
embarrassed (5)
rejected (1)
desperate (4)
devasted (2)
lost (3)
happy (7)
excited (8)
crushed (1)
confused (19)
angry (24)
disheartened (1)
calm (1)
downtrodden (1)
surprised (3)
enthusiastic (1)
hopeless (1)
accusatory (2)
frustrated (9)
aggressive (2)
unsure (1)
down (2)
negative (1)
indignant (1)
insulted (1)
(not) sure (5)
amped-up (1)
interested (1)
fed up (1)
sad (9)
infatuated (1)
disgusted (4)
pathetic (2)
distressed (2)
romantic (3)
preoccupied (1)
disappointed (3)
unhappy (4)
emotional (2)
miserable (1)
heartbroken (3)
puzzled (2)
shocked (2)
upset (8)
ashamed (1)
relieved (1)
jealous (2)
furious (1)
mad (1)
impatient (1)
derogatory (1)
perplexed (1)
elated (1)
engaged (1)
ecstatic (1)

Nouns (33 types - 30.28%, 85 tokens - 26.81%)

attraction (1)
hope (13)
disbelief (2)
anger (7)
frustration (6)
confusion (7)
grief (1)
humiliation (1)
sadness (5)
exhilaration (3)
joy (2)
embarrassment (1)
excitement (3)
happiness (3)
smile (2)
interest (2)
dream (6)
rage (1)
regret (2)
emptiness (2)
annoyance (2)
daydream (1)
disappointment (1)
shame (1)
love (2)
aggression (1)
hatred (1)
loser (1)
nastiness (1)
euphoria (1)
scolding (1)
punch (1)
affection (1)

Verbs (16 types - 14.68%, 46 tokens - 14.51%)

to laugh (9)
to attack (1)
to yell (7)
to smile (6)
to put down (1)
to tell off (2)
to dream (1)
to punch (4)
to care (2)
to suffer (1)
to humiliate (3)
to shout (5)
to daydream (1)
to scream (1)
to mock (1)
to scold (1)

Adverbs (2 types - 1.83%, 2 tokens – 0.63%)

romantically (1)
stoically (1)

EMOTION WORDS – MR

141 word types (M= 18.71), 347 word tokens (M= 24.79)

Adjectives (41 types – 29.04%, 110 tokens - 31.70%)

разозлённый (1)
разочарованный (2)
обиженный (1)
агрессивный (3)
злой (5)
растроенный (20)
радостный (2)
эмоциональный (3)
раздражённый (2)
подавленный (4)
грустный (3)
огорчённый (2)
рад (6)
ущемлённый (1)
потерянный (2)
озадаченный (1)
уверенный (2)
недовольный (10)
растерянный (4)
удивлённый (5)
погружённый (2)
влюбчивый (1)
любвеобильный (1)
обеспокоенный (1)
рассерженный (3)
удручённый (1)
тягостный (1)
ошарашенный (1)
влюблённый (1)
счастливый (4)
раздосадованный (2)
один (1)
возмущённый (1)
заинтересованный (3)
сильный (1)
шокированный (2)
взволнованный (1)
нетерпеливый (1)
смешанный (1)
негативный (2)
положительный (1)

Nouns (51 types - 36.17%, 131 tokens - 37.76%)

истерика (1)
разочарованность (1)
надежда (20)
чувства (1)
счастье (3)
вдохновение (1)
недоумение (4)
досада (2)
радость (10)
злость (4)
агрессия (3)
грусть (4)
печаль (3)
отчаяние (6)
безысходность (2)
воодушевление (2)
желание (2)
огонь (1)
мечта (2)
недовольство (3)
возмущение (1)
гнев (6)
заинтересованность (1)
удивление (3)
сожаление (2)
расстройство (1)
шок (1)
стремление (1)
разочарование (5)
переживание (1)
боль (1)
страх (3)
любовь (3)
раздражение (2)
влюблённость (2)
паник (1)
восторг (2)
негодование (1)
замешательство (1)
ненависть (1)
обида (1)
уныние (1)
злорадство (1)
самобичевание (1)

призрение (1)
смятение (2)
ссора (5)
фантазия (1)
неудачник (2)
*loser (1)
лох (1)

Verbs (37 types - 26.24%, 86 tokens - 24.78%)

злиться – разозлиться (4)
ссориться – поссориться (2)
смеяться – засмеяться (10)
насмехаться (5)
ухмыляться (1)
нравиться – понравиться (10)
влюбляться – влюбиться (2)
разочаровываться- разочароваться (2)
ругаться – поругаться (2)
расстраиваться – расстроиться (1)
радоваться – обрадоваться (1)
улыбаться – улыбнуться (7)
серживаться (1)
сердиться – рассердиться (2)
огорчаться – огорчиться (1)
теряться – растеряться (1)
гневаться (2)
разочаровывать- разочаровать (1)
папануть (1)
мечтать (4)
сожалеть (1)
интересовать – заинтересовать (2)
переживать (1)
привлекать – привлечь (1)
расстраивать – расстроить (1)
кричать – закричать (8)
чувствовать – почувствовать (1)
нервничать (1)
желать – пожелать (1)
недоумевать (1)
бесить (1)
посылать – послать (1)
задевать (1)
негодовать (2)
ругать – поругать (1)
обнимать – обнять (1)
ухаживать (1)

Adverbs (12 types - 8.51%, 20 tokens - 5.76%)

спокойно (2)
смиренно (3)
унижено (1)
дерзко (1)
решительно (1)
глупо (1)
бесцеремонно (1)
неприятно (2)
горько (1)
грустно (4)
всё равно (2)
больно (1)

EMOTION WORDS – ME

128 word types (M= 17.17), 300 word tokens (M= 25)

Adjectives (67 types - 52.34%, 197 tokens - 65.67%)

angry (20)
indignant (2)
hurt (3)
confused (17)
upset (13)
distressed (2)
romantic (2)
ecstatic (2)
interested (3)
apathetic (2)
sad (8)
dejected (9)
violent (2)
frustrated (7)
disillusioned (1)
impassive (1)
lonely (1)
happy (9)
hopeful (13)
annoyed (6)
excited (6)
disappointed (3)
furious (1) 135
downtrodden (2)
thoughtful (3)
pensive (1)
determined (1)
exasperated (2)
joyous (1)
accusatory (2)
surprised (3)
perplexed (2)
depressed (1)
optimistic (1)
intimidating (2)
curious (1)
rock-bottom (1)
despondent (1)
inspired (1)
impatient (5)
unhappy (1)
intense (1)
jealous (3)
anxious (1)
aggressive (1)
bewildered (3)
sorry (1)
mad (2)
stunned (1)
ashamed (1)
exciting (1)
manic (1)
loving (1)
stupid (1)
horrified (1)
embarrassed (2)
infatuated (1)
hopeless (1)
elated (1)
affronted (1)
insulted (1)
overwhelming (1)
puzzled (1)
dumbstruck (1)
passionate (1)
confrontational (2)
alarmed (1)

Nouns (34 types - 26.56%, 59 tokens - 19.67%)

humiliation (1)
dream (2)
anger (1)
frustration (4)
bewilderment (3)
confusion (1)
ridicule (1)
scorn (1)
elation (3)
interest (1)
derision (1)
determination (1)
hope (14)
despair (2)
glee (1)
joy (1)
love (2)
shame (1)
daydreamer (1)
excitement (1)
sadness (1)
daydreaming (1)
fight (1)
shock (2)
infatuation (2)
high (1)
delusion (1)
defensiveness (1)
defence (1)
alarm (1)
hurt (1)
injury (1)
argument (1)
fantasy (1)

Verbs (23 types - 17.97%, 39 tokens - 13%)

to yell (8)
to laugh (5)
to tell off (2)
to point (2)
to cry (1)
to fantasise (1)
to shout (1)
to smile (2)
to rip into (1)
to love (2)
to care (1)
to tease (2)
to upset (1)
to attack (1)
to smash (1)
to mock (1)
to be taken with (1)
to ridicule (1)
to guilt (1)
to hurt (1)
to belittle (1)
to remonstrate (1)
to threaten (1)

Adverbs (4 types - 3.12%, 5 tokens – 1.66%)

angrily (1)
pleasantly (1)
madly (1)
emotionally (2)