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THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF EMOTIONS: A FIELD WORKER'S GUIDE

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Project	Categories across language and cognition
Task	Interview and elicitation; ethnographic observation concerning emotion understanding and display rules.
Goal of task	To investigate cross-cultural emotion categories in language and thought. This entry is designed to provide researchers with some guidelines to describe the emotional repertoire of a community from an emic perspective. The first objective is to offer ethnographic tools and a questionnaire in order to understand the semantics of emotional terms and the local conception of emotions (how they are related to a culturally-specific conception of the person: physiology, body parts, cognitive processes, etc.). The second objective is to identify the local display rules of emotions in communicative interactions. Ethnographic observations and descriptions will be indispensable to help contextualise the results of the emotions tasks from the Field Manual 2007 and this year.

Background²

Theories of emotions can be categorised into three main types. (1) According to evolutionary theories, emotions are biologically based and give an adaptive advantage for the organism experiencing them over evolutionary time (Ekman, 1992). (2) For cognitive appraisal theories, emotions are psychological representations of emotional significance, that is, emotional reactions to stimuli are not hardwired. Emotions are linked to cognitive appraisal (usually expressed as goals), causal attribution and the coping capacities of the individual (Clore & Ortony, 2000). (3) The social constructionist theories are closely linked to the social sciences that try to understand the human condition from a cultural meaning point of view. From this perspective, the biological roots of emotion do not come first. Emotions are considered to be the products of a given culture that are constructed *by* the culture and *for* the culture (Harré & Parrott, 1996; Lutz, 1986, 1988).

The definition proposed in this entry, inspired by the latter two views, regards emotion as the whole chain of events, represented in Figure 1. An emotion is always triggered by a precipitating event. Nevertheless, a particular event can be recognised in various ways across individuals and across cultures. According to Ekman, “there is no emotion for which there is a universal elicitor, uniform in its specific detail which always calls forth the same uninterrupted set of emotional responses (Ekman, 1980: 85). The appraisal, a cognitive process, helps interpreting an external event and relate it to an inner feeling

² Thanks to Nick Enfield, Gunther Senft, Penelope Brown, Sylvia Tufvesson, Gertie Hoymann, Kaoru Hayano, Connie De Vos, Steve Levinson, Disa Sauter and Asifa Majid for their input and valuable help on the development of this entry.

(Zajonc, 1980). There is the relation of appropriateness between the event and the inner feeling is a major part of the definition of emotion. Indeed, an inner feeling by itself cannot predict the emotional value of a particular situation. Moreover, the cognitive appraisal distinguishes physiological inner feelings such as being hungry or tired from emotional inner feelings like being ‘sad’ or ‘angry’. Once a particular event is recognised as a relevant sign and associated with a particular inner feeling, it leads to an emotional reaction that is appropriate to that particular chain of events. This reaction can be a facial expression (e.g. smiling when one is happy) but it is usually embedded in deep (i.e. non-conscious) social relations (e.g. expressing anger and yelling at someone after having been offended). Nevertheless, emotional reactions are highly socially constrained and, even if very angry at one’s boss, you are unlikely to yell at him because of the social rules that bind an employee and a boss, whereas one could conceivably yell at a peer in a similar situation. Moreover, the issue of the valence of emotions has to be kept in mind here. An emotion can be rated as positive or negative. But we want to make a distinction between ego’s rating (that is, how the person experiencing the emotion rates it, usually in terms of desire and satisfaction) and other’s rating, according to cultural values. For instance, in Western cultures, the person is considered to be free to express his or her feelings. The dominant ideology suggests that one should exercise control over the external environment in order to change it in a motive-serving way. In this case, emotional valence for ego overlaps with the cultural rating of emotions. On the other hand, in non-Western cultures (especially Eastern cultures) some positive emotions for ego are considered negative, since one should adapt to a given situation by controlling the situation’s psychological effect on oneself (Holodynski & Friedlmeier, 2005: 189-190). ‘Pride’, for instance, is considered a sign of individualism and considered bad in collectivist cultures where “strong emotions and emotional expression could disrupt intra-group relations and smooth social functioning” (Niedenthal et al., 2006: 314-315).

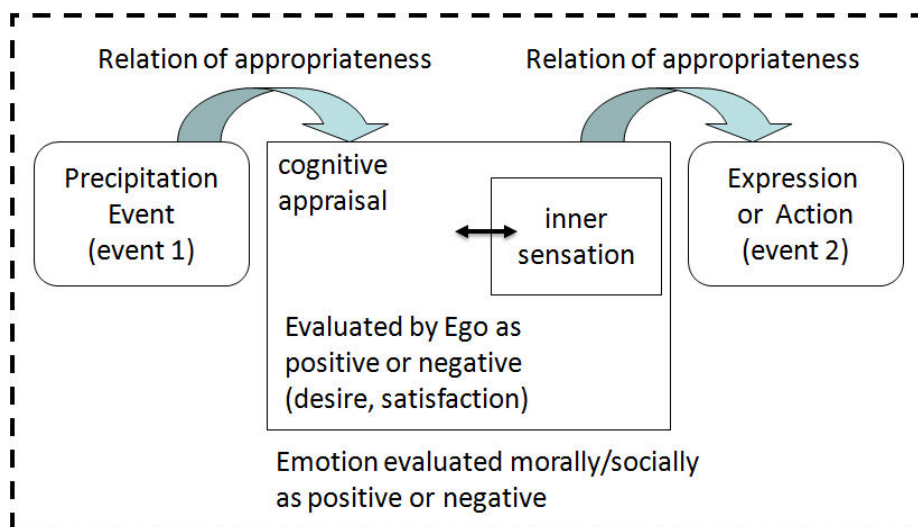


Figure 1: the chain of event of an emotion, based on Zajonc (1980)

The cross-cultural perspective, suggests a redefinition of emotions, away from just individual inner feeling and its accompanying facial expression. This narrow view of emotions is derived from a Western ethnotheory which takes the individual to be an

independent entity. Such a restricted definition of emotion can be dismissive toward the social consequence and cultural elaboration of emotions that are equally present in Western setting, only not apparent for people within the culture. In other words, we should be careful not to take too narrow a definition of emotions since it runs the risk of being ethnocentric. In other cultural settings, emotions are considered primarily social. Lutz (1988), after having carefully looked at the meaning of emotion words and describing the everyday emotional life of the Ifaluk (Micronesia, Pacific) concludes that: “people are characterised as oriented primarily toward other people rather than toward an inner world of individually constituted goals and thoughts. From the Ifaluk ethnopsychological perspective, it is not presocial individuals who confront the community, but rather persons who are profoundly influenced and defined by it.” (1988: 116). Such an analysis should not be understood as just an ethnographical observation coming for a non familiar and distant cultural setting. Instead this is a theoretical approach to emotions, equally valid in every culture (including the Western world) that defines emotions based on insights from various cultures and, as a consequence, moves away from a culturally constructed and hence ethnocentric view of emotion.

Goal of this entry

Within the emotions project, we are striving to understand how emotions are incorporated within particular cultural frameworks, that is, how emotions are conceived of and defined by a given culture and how emotions serve as communicative tools (through emotion display rules). Although this entry is divided into several sections, there are two overarching theoretical points:

- **The cultural understanding of emotions:** Researchers should be able to give an account of the ‘emotional life’ of their fieldsite, that is, to describe the local ethnotheories of emotions or more generally of the person. This includes a description of the semantic dimensions of emotional terms and their possible overlap with other domains (perceptual senses, cognitive and/or physiological processes) and how emotions relate to body parts.
- **The sociality of emotion:** To what extent are emotions displayed or suppressed in particular contexts? What are the cultural reasons invoked for displaying or suppressing emotional states (facial expression, vocalisation, bodily posture)? What is the role of emotional display in communicative interactions (i.e. its degree of conventionalisation)? Is it possible to understand emotional expressions as ‘actions’?

Observational and ethnographic methods

In order to investigate ‘emotional life’ within a specific cultural setting, three methods are available for the researchers:

- **Formal or semi-formal interviews or elicitation with informants** (a questionnaire is provided at the end of this entry).
- **Participant observation:** Describe and record events that are emotionally loaded, such as unfortunate events (e.g. a bad crop, someone injured themselves, etc.), fortunate events (e.g. a very good crop, someone just received a lot of money, etc.), interactions between children and parents (e.g. scolding or comforting), family coming to visit, etc.

- **Video recording of natural conversations** (see Enfield et al., 2007, field manual entry). Conducting interviews is the priority but observation and recording of natural conversation is also very valued. This would allow further analysis of how emotions are displayed in natural interactions.

Procedure

All interviews or elicitations with informants should be video-audio recorded and the participants should be clearly visible, especially their face. Try to place the camera in front of the person. If you conduct a collective elicitation session try to have all participants in the frame. The goal is to capture facial and body expressions of the participant(s) when they talk, recall or express emotions. Such material might be especially useful for further analysis of facial and body expressions from a cross-cultural perspective.

Consultants

For the elicitation tasks try to include several persons of different gender and age. Ideally interview 3 young women, 3 old women, 3 young men and 3 old men. Note that age might be particularly critical if you work in a fieldsite with important generational cultural and linguistic variation.

Research questions

One issue to consider is the following:

- Is there a universally identifiable and stand-alone domain ‘emotion’ in every culture?

If we take emotions to be a universal phenomena, they are nevertheless described in various ways according to specific linguistic and cultural settings. The questions that arise then are:

- Are emotions ineffable?
- How are emotions expressed linguistically across various linguistic and cultural settings?
- What are the semantic dimensions according to which emotion terms are organised across languages?

1. The linguistics of emotions

In order to understand other’s emotions, examining emotion terms may be a good start. Harré and his colleagues have argued that “looking at the uses of words not only sensitises the investigator to his or her own ethnocentric presuppositions, but also allows for the possibility that other cultures may use closely related concepts in very different ways” (Harré, 1986: 5; Harré & Parrott, 1996). This approach has been applied by Lutz (1982; 1988), for instance, and Rosaldo (1980). Understanding the emotion lexicon is crucial for cross-linguistic comparison because emotion terms in different languages may overlap with English terms but it is extremely unlikely that there is a one-to-one correspondence. The cross-linguistic examination of emotion terms demonstrates that languages often make use of resources from other domains (perceptual senses, physiological, psychological or social relations).

Building an emotion repertoire

One goal of the emotions project is to build a repertoire of emotion terms in languages in order to understand how emotions are categorised and linguistically carved in different cultures. The results from the Levinson et al. (2007) emotion tasks (naming faces and scenarios) should give you a start.

Some cultures have a word to describe what would be the equivalent of a super-ordinate category that in English is called ‘emotion’. However many languages do not have such a word. In the latter case, you can rely on:

- **NSM analysis.** According to Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM), there exist, in every language, a set of semantic primitives (or semantic primes) that can be used for linguistic analysis (that is, simple, indefinable, and universally lexicalised concepts) (Wierzbicka, 1999). In order to find out about people’s emotions in your fieldsite some relevant concepts provided by NSM could be used to ask what a person would ‘feel’, ‘think’, ‘want’, (maybe ‘see’, ‘hear’) in various contexts.
- **Inner feelings.** One of the main components of emotions is the inner feeling. One way to investigate emotion categories could be to ask people to talk about what they ‘feel inside’. For instance, among the Ifaluk, Lutz mentioned that people identified emotion terms as being ‘about the insides’ (Lutz, 1982: 114).
- **Body parts as the seat of emotions.** Emotions are often bound to body parts which are usually considered to be the seat of emotion (the heart in many Western cultures). Nevertheless, there can be multiple seats located in different body parts according to the emotion categories distinguished and the local conception of the person (see Enfield & Wierzbicka, 2002; Senft, 1998) (see section on body parts below).
- **Cultural script based elicitation.** In as far as emotions arise in particular situations (e.g. the sudden loss of a beloved, the return of a friend, etc.), it might be useful for researchers to present people with familiar scenarios and ask them what they/one would feel in this situation. Some scenarios are available to help you on this endeavour (see Levinson et al., 2007 field manual entry and Sauter, this volume).

The grammatical construction of emotion terms

- **Are emotions terms built on a specific template?**
For instance in many Mesoamerican languages, emotions terms usually incorporate the word for ‘heart’, describing its state. In Yucatec Maya *húub óolal* means literally ‘having one’s heart down’ (i.e. ‘feeling sad and physically ill’) whereas *p’uha’an óolal* literally means having one’s heart chased or disturbed (i.e. ‘being in anger’, ‘irritated’ or ‘more generally disturbed’).
- **Are there terms used for emotions that have another meaning in a different context?**
- **Do emotion terms have special linguistic constructions?**
For instance in Yucatec Maya, to ‘love (someone)’ is differentiated from ‘to like’ or ‘to want/ask (something)’ by the use of a passive construction without aspect and a change in transitivity.

<i>in-k'áat</i>	<i>t-ech</i>	vs.	<i>k-in-k'áat-ik</i>	<i>t-ech</i>
1ERG-love	PREP-2ABS		TAM-1ERG-want-TR	PREP-2ABS
'I am in love with you'			'I ask you'	

The scope of emotions

Cross-linguistic analysis of emotion terms reveals that emotions vary on several dimensions and that each culture and language appears to put more or less emphasis on certain components. Emotion terms can cross-cut domains and can overlap with the linguistic resources used for describing the senses. They can also incorporate physiological or cognitive processes and carry meaning about social situations. Researchers may wish to answer the following questions. In order to help you in elicitation, examples of emotion terms from various cultural settings are provided.

- **Are emotion terms cross-modal?**

Emotions terms are often multimodal and include other sensory domains. Some languages do not linguistically distinguish emotional feelings from other sensory inner feelings.

For instance, in Japanese *ama-e* ('to depend or presume upon another's love'), is derived from the taste domain. It literally means 'sweet'. Its counterpart is *nigai* 'bitter, salty, pitiful' (Morsbach & Tyler, 1986)³.

Of particular interest is the use of ideophones to talk about emotions. These terms should not be considered metaphorical in as far as they are used by speakers as a label for a specific emotion.

In Semai, a language spoken in Malaysia, the ideophone *thik* is clearly multimodal in referring to the feeling of being physically satisfied, but it is also used to refer to the sensation of being cold (physically), to 'insipid colour' (visual) or 'smells (e.g. peppermint)' (odour).⁴

- **Do emotion terms encompass physiological and/or cognitive dimensions?**

It is sometimes difficult to determine what terms count as being a member of the emotion lexicon. Overlaps with other domains, especially physiological states and cognitive processes, are frequent in numerous cultures. This means that researchers should not be overly-restrictive and try to look at the emotional component(s) of physiologically related expressions and terms related to cognitive processes.

For instance among Candoshi, Achuar and Yanomami (cultural groups of the Amazon) "thinking" is expressed in the same way as "feeling anxious, having regrets or attachment" (Surrallés, 2003).

Among the Yucatec Maya, terms such as *k'oha'an* 'ill' or *tuukul* 'think' are terms used for emotional states, 'sadness' and 'being worried, depressed' respectively.

- **Do emotion terms involve an explicit social and/or interactional dimension?**

Some emotion terms explicitly assume the presence of another actor or the nature of the relationship between the person experiencing the emotion and another person. These terms sometimes explicitly encode a social status relationship.

³ Kaoru Hayano, personal communication.

⁴ Sylvia Tufvesson, personal communication.

In Dutch, the term *gezellig* (or *gezelligheid*) refers to a pleasant situation where one feels comfortable in the presence of friendly persons.

In Japanese, the emotion term *amae* refers to ‘an agreeable feeling caused by a voluntary dependency towards another’, more precisely ‘to depend or presume upon another’s love’. In this case, the person who looks for *amae* considers him/herself in an inferior social state (Morsbach & Tyler, 1986).

In Javanese, Geertz describes the emotion *sungkan* as “a feeling of respectful politeness before a superior or an unfamiliar equal” or “the feeling of embarrassed shrinking into the self, the graceful constraint of one’s own personality out of deference to the other person” (Geertz, 1959: 233).

Moreover, some emotional reactions are described as an appropriate reaction to a social situation and to particular social actors.

An emotion can be gendered as with the Tzeltal Maya of Mexico where ‘to be (sexually) jealous’ is expressed differently if it is ‘female jealousy’ (*it’ixah*) or ‘male jealousy’ (*paycheh*) (Brown, 1979: 401).

- **What valence is encoded in emotion terms?**

Emotions have valence in two ways:

- *According to Ego*: Does emotion X make Ego feel good or bad? Is it an agreeable/disagreeable emotion?
- *According to the local cultural values*: is Emotion X morally valourised or depreciated in your culture? (note that it might depend on the situation)

The two dimensions are not always in concordance and an emotion that procures a good feeling for Ego can be a morally suspect.

In Samoa, the more “socially virtuous” emotions are strongly associated with submission and are considered more unpleasant to experience (Lutz, 1982: 124).

The Ifaluk of Micronesia (Pacific), distinguish four types of anger. The type of anger called *song*, is described as ‘justifiable anger’ and is recognised by Ifaluk people as a negative sensation for Ego but is highly positive morally and culturally supported for it indicates that one has taken proper notice of the violation of a cultural norm (Lutz, 1988).

- **Are there metaphoric elements in the linguistic description of emotions?**

In many language emotions are describe metaphorically, using other domains (space, texture, etc.).

For instance in English, the spatial domain is actively used as a metaphorical process to describe emotional states. Spatial prepositions often accompany emotion terms, such as ‘being upset’ (i.e. angry or unhappy), ‘feeling down’ (i.e. sad), ‘feeling let down’ (i.e. disappointed), etc. The notion of balance is also important such as in the expression ‘being on the edge’ (i.e. insecure).

In Pintupi, a language of the Western Australian desert, *kurrunpa* (‘fear’) is literally ‘having a “wet spirit”’ (Myers 1979: 349, in Heelas, 1986).

- **Are emotions associated with particular body parts?**

In the Western word, emotions as inner feelings are usually located in the mind (i.e. the head) and in the ‘heart’ (which is distinct from the heart as an organ) or in the ‘soul’. In numerous cultures (if not all), emotions or inner feelings tend to be associated with particular body parts or organs that are conceived of as the ‘seat of emotions’. In a sense

cultures tend to ‘somatise’ emotions in the body (Enfield & Wierzbicka, 2002; Heelas, 1986: 244).

Among the Chewong of Malaysia, expressions of emotional and mental states are done through the medium of the liver: “my liver is good” (I feel good) or “my liver is tiny” (I am ashamed) (Howell, 1981: 139).

Trying to look for the ‘seat of emotions’, researchers may find that some organs have multiple functions: physiological, emotional and cognitive. This might provide a good starting point to understand the overlap (or inextricable relation) with other domains: physiology (illness, etc.), cognitive process, social relations or interactions, etc.

Among the Ilongot of Philippines, *rina* designates the ‘heart’ as a physical organ but it is also the seat of ‘the principle of action and consciousness’ as well as of ‘the will and vitality’ (Rosaldo, 1980).

Among the Ashuar and the Cadoshi of the Amazon the heart is the seat of emotions, thought, intentionality and knowledge (Descola, 1993; Surrallés, 2003).

2. Display rules: the local conception

Our main interest in display rules is whether or not people think emotions should be displayed and under what circumstances. The cultural display rules are usually synonymous with acquired conventions, norms or habits that dictate what emotion can be shown to whom and in which context.

Display rules in general

Some cultures may emphasise the appropriateness of expressing emotions in general, or on the contrary, some cultures may emphasise not expressing emotions at all.

- **Is emotional expression thought to be restrained in general?**
- **Do people think they can or cannot restraint their emotions?**
- **Do people think they usually do so?**

Among the Yucatec Mayas, individuals of the same group don’t allow themselves to prejudge another’s mental state from their expression or behaviour (visible behaviour is never completely transparent). This is linked to the fact that the individual must be able to master, hide or manipulate outer expressions (Hanks, 1993). One consequence of this is that facial expressions are especially highly socially restricted according to contexts (public vs. familial vs. individual spheres).

Individualising emotions

Having an understanding of emotion displays in general is crucial but it is also important to have an idea of variation amongst emotions. This is why this part of the questionnaire addresses the issue for individual emotions.

- **Can Emotion X be displayed/occur in the following contexts:**
 - When the person is alone
 - In a ‘private sphere’ (for the researcher to define)
 - In a ‘public sphere’ (for the researcher to define)
 - Only during particular events (ritual, mourning, etc.)
 - What kind of person is a person expressing this emotion in various contexts?

Note that the questions can be asked in the second person (when *you* experience ...) or in the third person (when *one* experiences...). It is at the researcher's discretion to decide, according to the sensibility of the informants.

- **When a person experiences Emotion X, can (s)he express it freely or not?**
- What reason is invoked for this suppression?
For Yucatec Maya, holding one's head in his/her hand is the sign of expressing too much 'thinking' (i.e. 'melancholy', 'regret', etc.) and is said to provoke illness. Usually a Yucatec Mayan who notices a person having such an expression would try to distract them in order for them to change position and stop 'thinking'.
- Do people try to teach or encourage some emotions (positive or negative) (among their children, for instance)?

Teasing sessions that generate 'anger' and 'fear' among children is a common strategy used for socialisation by the Inuit in order to develop children's emotional and social awareness (Briggs, 1998).

- **Is emotion expressed/suppressed in the face, bodily posture, the voice?**
 - When the person is alone
 - In a 'private sphere' (for the researcher to define)
 - In a 'public sphere' (for the researcher to define)
 - Only during particular events (ritual, mourning, etc.)

A related issue concerns the perceived innate or learned character of emotions:

- **How is emotion awareness said to come to children?**
- **Does Emotion X come naturally to children**
- **Should they learn Emotion X?**

Emotions without agency

- Is experiencing Emotion X related to the will of the person?

It is not unusual to find that some emotions which are highly socially loaded are not considered to emanate from a person as a conscious act. Some emotions are not considered to be dependant on the will of the person and sometimes the person cannot be aware of his/her own emotional state. Instead, people claim that these experiences are caused of external events, thus deny will or agency of Ego.

Among Yucatec Maya the term *íikim* refers to 'the source of jealousy of a child towards his or her younger siblings' which is not considered to be related to the child's mental states or will but to an external phenomena (related to pregnancy). Its physical manifestation is the double cowlick. As soon as Maya parents notice their child is *íikim*, they go to see a ritual specialist to perform a special ritual. Interestingly the child is not held responsible for being jealous but (s)he is also expected to be so.

Some cultures consider that emotions can happen outside the 'self' in justifying that people are invaded or possessed by an emotion.

Among Yucatec Maya a particular snake called *bíuuhum* is said to provoke fear in people even if they do not consider themselves to be afraid of the snake. The inner feeling is due to a special power of the snake and is independent to the person's perception or will.

The facial and bodily expression of each emotion

In eliciting linguistic emotion labels, you may want to look for corresponding facial or postural expressions. While you ask people to enact emotional states do not forget to video record the session and/or take their picture.

- **What face or posture does one make/display when experiencing Emotion X?**

Of special interest are conventionalised facial or postural expressions of emotions.

In eliciting linguistic emotion labels, you may want to look for corresponding noise or sound expressions.

- **What sound does one makes when experiencing Emotion X**

For instance crying is one feature that determines ‘anger’ among the Ugandan (Davitz, 1969: 185).

Coughing among the Yucatec Maya is typically used by old men (but also others) as a sign of being ‘in anger’ or disapproving any ongoing action or conversation.

One way to elicit sounds might be to ask for the particular context of emotional expressions such as mourning, playing with children, etc.

3. Contextualising emotions

After you have built a corpus of emotion terms, you might want to explore emotions in their context of occurrence. This entry proposes two possible approaches:

Remembering task

For each emotion (based on your repertoires of linguistic labels of emotions) ask people to remember an event when they experienced that particular emotion:

- When did you feel Emotion X?

Try to ask for the prior context and try to find out as precisely as possible if the person was in an interactive context, in public or alone.

Documentation of precise events

Try to document emotionally loaded events precisely:

- **Fortunate events** (e.g. very good crop, someone just got a lot of money, etc.)
- **Unfortunate events** (e.g. bad crop, someone injured him/herself badly, etc)
- **Everyday interactions between children and parents** (e.g. scolding or comforting)
- **Exceptional events** (e.g. some distant relative came to visit)
- **Common ritualised events** (e.g. ritual joke session, ritual insult, child teasing, etc.)

For instance, among the Tzeltal Maya of Chiapas (Mexico) (Brown, 1993), “self-control and self-humbling are crucial aspects of a woman’s public presentation of self” (p.147) but in the context of a court case, women’s display of anger is common and expected. “The forum of courtroom provides a frame for this display that makes it internationally manageable; such open display of anger outside the courtroom would be, for women, unthinkable dangerous, provoking accusations of witchcraft.” (p. 157).

Outcome

Researchers can use their data for individual publications in a special issue on the ‘universal and culture specific aspects of emotion naming, display and understanding’. The data may also be used in an overview publication on the same topic.

Emotion questionnaire: summary of the question raised in the entry

Emotion as a domain and the domain of emotions

- Are emotion terms built on a specific template?
- Are there terms for emotions that have another meaning in a different context?
- Do emotion terms have special linguistic constructions?

Semantic analysis for each emotion

- Is emotion X cross-modal?
- Does emotion X semantically overlap or encompass physiological and/or cognitive dimensions?
- Does emotion X involve an explicit social and/or interactional dimension?
- What valence is encoded?
 - *According to Ego*: Does emotion X make Ego feel good or bad? Is it an agreeable/disagreeable emotion?
 - *According to the local cultural values*: Is Emotion X morally valourised or depreciated in your culture? (notice that it might depend on the situation)
- Are there metaphoric elements in the linguistic description of emotion X?
- Is emotion X associated with particular body parts?

Display rules

Emotions in general

- Do people think they can or cannot restraint all their emotions, only some, or none of them?
- Do people think they usually restraint their emotions?
- Do people explicitly try to suppress emotions (in some contexts or in general)?
- What reason is invoked for this suppression?
- How is emotional awareness said to come to children?

Display rule analysis for each emotion

- Can Emotion X be displayed/occur in the following contexts:
 - When the person is alone
 - In a 'private sphere' (for the researcher to define)
 - In a 'public sphere' (for the researcher to define)
 - Only during particular events (ritual, mourning, etc.)
 - What kind of person is a person expressing this emotions in various contexts?
- When a person experiences Emotion X, can (s)he express it freely or not?
- Is the emotion expressed/suppressed in the face, body posture, voice?
 - When the person is alone
 - In a 'private sphere' (for the researcher to define)
 - In a 'public sphere' (for the researcher to define)
 - Only during particular events (ritual, mourning, etc.)
- Is Emotion X a nice/agreeable state or a disagreeable state?
- Is experiencing Emotion X related to the will of the person?

- Do people try to teach or encourage some emotions (positive or negative) (among their children for instance)?
- Does Emotion X come naturally to children?
- Do children have to learn Emotion X?

The expression of emotions

- What face or posture does one make/display when experiencing Emotion X?
- What sound does one make when experiencing Emotion X?

Contextualising emotions

- Give a personal memory of when you felt Emotion X/Emotion X occurred, etc.?

Events to document

- **Fortunate events** (e.g. very good crop, someone just got a lot of money, etc.)
- **Unfortunate events** (e.g. bad crop, someone injured him/herself badly, etc)
- **Everyday interactions between children and parents** (e.g. scolding or comforting)
- **Exceptional events** (e.g. some distant relative came to visit)
- **Common ritualised events** (e.g. ritual joke session, ritual insult, child teasing, etc.)

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