

The Understanding of English Emotion Words by Chinese and Japanese Speakers of English as a Lingua Franca

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THE UNDERSTANDING OF ENGLISH EMOTION WORDS BY CHINESE AND JAPANESE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA

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Stine Mosekjær

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AN EMPIRICAL STUDY

Doctoral School of Business and Management

PhD Series 41.2016

CBS  COPENHAGEN BUSINESS SCHOOL
HANDELSHØJSKOLEN

The Understanding of English Emotion Words by Chinese and Japanese Speakers of English as a Lingua Franca

An Empirical Study

Stine Mosekjær

Supervisors:
Per Durst-Andersen
Dorte Lønsmann

Doctoral School of Business and Management
Copenhagen Business School

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Abstract

In this thesis I investigate the understanding and use of the English emotion words *guilty*, *ashamed*, and *proud* by Japanese and Chinese speakers of English as a lingua franca. By exploring empirical data I examine (1) how Japanese and Chinese participants understand and use the three stimulus words, (2) if their understanding and use differ from that of native English speakers, and (3) if so, what these differences are.

In the thesis 65 participants are investigated. The participants consist of 20 native Japanese and 23 native Chinese. For comparison, a group of 22 British native English speakers is also investigated.

The study is theoretically and conceptually founded in the literature of the interplay between language, culture, and thought, and draws on notions from the fields of cross-cultural semantics and emotions. As existing methods are not adequate for the purpose of the thesis, a new methodological framework is created. The design of the framework is based on features from existing methods used for testing language association, and methods for testing the universality of emotions and their expressions. Models for exploring cultural semantics are also used as inspiration. The framework, which is based on the theoretical notion of the word as an image-idea pair as suggested by the theory of linguistic supertypes, consists of three tests each addressing three different aspects of the understanding and use of the stimulus words: the Free Association test (FA test), the Context Bound Association test (CBA test), and the Picture Driven Association test (PDA test).

The aim of the FA test is to gain insight into the participants understanding and use of the stimulus words through participants' descriptions and associations of the words. In order to this, the participants provide free written answers in response to two questions regarding their understanding and use of the stimulus words. In the CBA test, the participants select 4-6 out of 12 descriptors, each of which is an expression of a meaning component that may be included in the words. Through their selection of descriptors the participants display their understanding of the stimulus words when it is situated in a specific context. The PDA test is a facial recognition test where the participants, on the basis of photographs of facial expressions, select an emotion they feel best match the expressions. The aim of this is to explore whether the participants from the three difference language backgrounds attach the same or different visual images to the stimulus words.

The PDA test shows no definite results with respect to the stimulus words investigated. Analyses of the empirical data from the FA and CBA tests show that the understanding and use of the stimulus words by the Chinese and Japanese participants differ from that of the British native English speakers. These differences are found both in the semantic components which the participants include in their understanding, and in the ways they emphasise the various components. This means that the differences are not directly visible. If this interpretation of the data is correct, it may suggest that when English is used by non-native speakers as a lingua franca they may employ English words different meanings and in different contexts than native English speakers.

Resumé

I denne afhandling undersøger jeg, hvordan japanske og kinesiske brugere af engelsk som lingua franca forstår og bruger de engelske følelsesord *guilty*, *ashamed* og *proud*. Helt konkret undersøger jeg ved hjælp af indsamlet empirisk data, (1) hvordan japanske og kinesiske deltagere forstår og bruger de tre ord, (2) om deres forståelse og brug er forskellig fra deltagere der har engelsk som modersmål, og (3) hvis det er tilfældet, hvad disse forskelle består af.

I afhandlingen undersøger jeg 65 deltageres forståelse og brug af de tre stimulusord. Deltagerne består af 20 indfødte japanere og 23 indfødte kinesere. En gruppe af 22 briter med engelsk som modersmål bliver undersøgt med henblik på sammenligning.

Afhandlingens teoretiske grundlag er forankret i videnskaben vedrørende forholdet mellem sprog, kultur og vores måder at tænke på. Derudover bliver der også taget udgangspunkt i litteratur, der beskæftiger sig med tværkulturel semantik og emotion. Eksisterende undersøgelsesmetoder er ikke fundet fyldestgørende til formålet i denne afhandling, og derfor bliver et nyt metodeapparat fremstillet. Formen af dette er inspireret af dele fra eksisterende metoder brugt til at undersøge ords associative netværk, og metoder der undersøger om følelser og ansigtsudtryk er universelle. Teoretiske modeller brugt til undersøgelser af kulturel semantik bruges også som inspiration. Derudover bygger metodeapparatet på forestillingen om ordet som et image-idea pair foreslået i teorien om kommunikative supertyper. Det endelige metodeapparat består af tre tests, som hver især undersøger tre forskellige facetter af deltagernes forståelse og brug af de tre stimulus ord: the Free Association test (FA testen), the Context Bound Association test (CBA testen) og the Picture Driven Association test (PDA testen).

Formålet med FA testen er at skabe indblik i deltagernes forståelse og brug af ordene gennem deres subjektive beskrivelser af, samt de associationer de har til, stimulusordene. Dette bliver gjort via deltagernes skrevne besvarelser i respons til to spørgsmål vedrørende deres forståelse og brug af stimulus ordene. I CBA testen bliver deltagere bedt om at vælge 4-6 ud af 12 deskriptorer, som hver især udtrykker forskellige betydningsaspekter af de tre ord. Gennem deres valg af deskriptorer viser deltagere hvordan de forstår stimulusordene når de optræder i en specifik kontekst. PDA testen er en test hvor deltagere, ud fra fotografier af ansigtsudtryk, vælger den følelse, som de

synes passer bedst til udtrykket. Formålet med dette er at undersøge om deltagerne fra de forskellige sproggrupper knytter det samme visuelle udtryk til ét ord.

PDA testen viser ingen endegyldige resultater i forhold til de tre stimulusord. Analyser af de empiriske data fra FA og CBA testene viser, at de japanske og kinesiske deltagers forståelse og brug af stimulus ordene afviger fra modersmålsdeltagernes forståelse. Disse afvigelser findes i bådede semantiske komponenter, som deltagerne inkluderer i deres forståelse, og i hvordan de vægter de forskellige komponenter i deres forståelse og brug af ordene. Dette betyder, at disse forskelle ikke er umiddelbart synlige. Hvis denne fortolkning er korrekt, kan det betyde, at når engelsk bliver brugt som lingua franca af personer der ikke har det som modersmål, så er der sandsynlighed for, at de anvender de engelske ord med forskellige betydninger og i forskellige kontekster, end personer der har engelsk som modersmål.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Preliminary remarks

In today's globalised world, the exchange of knowledge, culture, and money goes above and beyond national borders, and the need for intercultural communication is immense. The language which is used most often as a contact language by speakers of different languages in the new contexts of transnational communication is English. In fact, the use of English as a lingua franca (ELF) is so widespread that there are now more non-native English speakers that use English on a daily basis than there are native. With more and more people learning and speaking ELF, it is naturally assumed by many – lay people, professionals, and politicians alike – that everybody speaks English. However, this is far from the case. Despite the number of non-native English speakers being higher than native speakers, research shows that the majority of the world's population does not speak any English at all. And, even if we assume that people do speak English, the question still remains what type of English they speak. As most people are aware, English comes in many different varieties such as Indian, Australian, South African, and Singaporean English, to mention but a few. There are so many varieties of English that it is possible to talk about the English language in plural, i.e. *Englishes*. With the widespread use of ELF among speakers who are far from fluent in English – especially among professionals in the business, political, and academic communities – scholars have suggested that this type of English should be considered a variety of English in itself, despite its speakers not adhering to the standards of traditional English.

For communication to be successful, a prerequisite is that both speaker and hearer agree on the common code used in the communicative situation. The theory of linguistic supertypes (Durst-Andersen 2011a) argues that different languages have different codes of communication. These communication styles are closely affiliated with the grammar of a language, and it is difficult, perhaps even impossible, to rid oneself of these styles when speaking another language. As a consequence, non-native speakers of English tend to follow the communicative style and linguistic processes of their native language when speaking English (Durst-Andersen 2011a). An unpublished master's thesis from Copenhagen Business School tested this hypothesis among Danish and Spanish business people who spoke English, and found that they did in fact follow the communicative styles of their own linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Furthermore, the study

showed that these different ways of using English as a common language created misunderstandings and miscommunication (Arnsbjerg & Bentsen 2009).

The focus of the above-mentioned study, as well as other studies on the use of ELF in cross-cultural encounters, is on discrepancies in style and direction of communication, grammar, and other formal aspects of a language, i.e. visible aspects which both hearer and speakers can recognise, negotiate, and adjust in the communicative situation. But what happens when the discrepancies cannot be seen or heard and therefore cannot be adjusted and negotiated? What happens when there are discrepancies in the invisible aspects of the communication such as the meaning and connotations of the words used?

The present study is interested in how native and ELF speakers understand and use words in the communicative situation, especially those expressing emotions. Although the study takes as its starting point that all words are connected with the body in a psychophysiological network (Chapter 2, Durst-Andersen 2011a), studies show that emotion words are more memorable and more readably recalled than abstract and concrete words (Altarriba & Bauer 2004). Hence the three words selected for investigation are the emotion words *guilty*, *ashamed*, and *proud*. Situated within the field of linguistic anthropology, this thesis rests upon the fundamental principle that language is inherently social. This means that language is not a neutral medium of communication, but a cultural resource and in itself a social action. As a consequence, language and culture are heavily intertwined and one cannot be studied without the other. In accordance with the theory of linguistic supertypes and the principle of linguistic relativity, the starting point of this thesis is that one's native language and culture affect the way one speaks a foreign language, not only in terms of the communicative style and formal linguistic aspects, but also, and more importantly in meaning and understanding.

1.2 Research Questions

On the basis of the above-mentioned notion that one's native language and culture may affect the way one speaks ELF and that evidence of this is reflected in different aspects of the language, this study seeks to answer the following research questions:

- How do Japanese and Chinese speakers of ELF understand and use the English emotion words *guilty*, *ashamed*, and *proud*?
- Do their understandings differ from that of native English speakers?
- If so, what are the differences?

To answer these questions, the study aims to provide a framework that gives access to how individuals understand and use words. Empirical data was collected from Japanese and Chinese speakers of ELF as well as from native English speakers. The study focuses on the relationship between language, culture, and thought, and thereby positions itself within the field of linguistic anthropology and linguistic relativity. However, at the same time it also draws heavily on theories, studies, and findings from disciplines such as cognitive science and cognitive linguistics, psychology, and psycholinguistics. All of these disciplines have much to offer to the topic at hand, theoretically, methodologically as well as empirically.

As the focus of the study is on how words are understood and used by people it was considered best to employ a qualitative approach. According to Brinkmann & Tanggard (2010), qualitative research is concerned with how a phenomenon is performed, experienced, presented, or developed. Furthermore, qualitative researchers are interested in the human world of meanings and value as well as the human individuals' own perspectives, understandings, and experiences of the world. Consequently the qualitative researcher's aim is to describe, understand, and interpret the content and quality of people's subjective experiences.

As this thesis draws on research of many topics investigated in different disciplines, it is necessary to define the way in which key concepts are used throughout the study as many of them are understood and applied differently within the various disciplines.

1.3 English as Global Language

With the now widespread use of English around the world by non-native speakers, the role of English as a common language is conceptualised and discussed in various ways in the literature. Today, the number of non-native speakers of English is estimated to be greater than that the number of native speakers (Crystal 2003a:1-28, 2003b:106-9). The spread of English around the world started in the post-war period with the increased status and power of the USA. The spread continued

with the technological advances in the twentieth century. These increased international communication and made transnational mobility possible, contributing significantly to the spread of English in the world (Crystal 2003a:1-28.). However, the current debate in the literature focuses on whether English really can be described as ‘the language of global communication’ (singular) or whether it should be described as ‘languages’ (plural). When discussing the use of English in the world today, researchers use a range of terms: ‘Global English’, ‘World English’, ‘English as an International Language’, ‘World Standard English’, ‘English as a Lingua Franca’, and ‘English as a foreign language’. Below, I shall clarify the terms used in this work.

1.3.1 English as a lingua franca (ELF)

The term ‘English as a lingua franca’ is mostly used simply as a term to describe English as a tool for interpersonal communication among speakers with no single language in common. A group of scholars even uses it as a term for a specific variety of English distinct, from say, standard British or American English. However, using ELF in such a way also implies an ideological stance, as one of the goals of this group of scholars is to conceptualise ELF as an equally valuable alternative to native-speaker English (Canagarajah 2007, Firth 2009, House 2003, Jenkins 2006).

These scholars argue against the typical view associated with learners of English as a foreign language that non-native speakers of English should be measured against a native-speaker norm and that any deviation from this norm is conceived of as an error. As a consequence, the competence of ELF speakers is not measured against that of native speakers of Standard English. Rather the goal of ELF is mutual understanding and successful communication. Speakers of ELF bring in features, grammatical patterns, pragmatics, and discourse conventions from diverse cultural backgrounds, languages, and other English varieties. Through these, they negotiate and facilitate harmonious communication specific to the situation at hand (Canagarajah 2007, Firth 2009). The speakers of ELF are described as belonging to a virtual speech community as its speakers are not located in a particular geographical area. Instead, the speakers inhabit and practise other languages and cultures in their own immediate localities and ELF is a shared resource between them (Canagarajah 2007). As such, ELF is created out of, and through, interaction in intercultural encounters, i.e. it is brought into being only in the context of a communicative situation. At this point, it is enough to state that in order to avoid confusion throughout the rest of this work, if the term ‘English as a lingua franca’

and the abbreviation ELF are used, it is to describe English as a tool for communication and a sociolinguistic lingua franca function, not as a single distinct variety of English.

1.3.2 English as a Second or Foreign Language

Kachru's (1992) model of three concentric circles, whose function is to categorise speakers of English around the world into first, second and foreign language speakers, has been widely adopted in the literature on English as a global/ world language. This model places countries where English is the primary language in the inner circle, which refers to the traditional bases of English. Countries where English is used as a second language, or have special administrative or official status, are placed in the outer circle, which mostly comprises former colonies. The last circle, the expanding circle, includes countries where English is used as a foreign language, but where it does not have special administrative status. This includes countries such as Russia, Japan, Denmark, France, etc. The countries in the inner circle are also described as the norm-providing countries (Crystal 2003b: 107, Kachru 1992, 1997).

Despite its widespread use, the model seems not to be without complications. As Crystal (2003a) points out, the distinction between English as a second or foreign language is not always clear, and the categorisation of countries according to their status as former British colonies has little contemporary relevance, and does not necessarily reflect the actual status or use of English in the country. For example, if English has special status in a country, one might expect more competence in English compared to countries in the expanding circle, i.e. those countries where English does not have a special status. This, however, is not always the case, as can be seen in the high level of fluency and competence in English by speakers from Scandinavia and the Netherlands compared to the competence of many speakers in the outer circle (Crystal 2003a:6).

Despite his critique of Kachru's classification, Crystal continues to use Kachru's model in his glossary of English language terms (Crystal 2003b). In this glossary he defines English as a foreign language (EFL) as 'English seen in the context of countries where it is not the mother tongue and has no special status' (108). As examples of this he mentions countries such as Japan, France, and Egypt, and refers to the expanding circle of Kachru's World Englishes model.

1.4 Language

The most common use of the term 'language' is for national languages such as Chinese, English, and Russian. This suggests that languages are fixed categories with clear boundaries between them. However, this notion and categorisation of language is more often than not an ideological construct and an oversimplification of a complex phenomenon defined by a political boundary (Anderson 1991). Nevertheless, this view of languages as fixed and stable structures is useful. This use of the term as referring to national languages is relevant in this study as a means through which it is possible to talk about the English, Japanese and Chinese languages.

However, when focusing on 'language' in relation to culture and thought it is necessary to distinguish between individual natural languages, and language-in-general. The Oxford Concise Dictionary of Linguistics (Matthews 2007), differentiates between language in the ordinary sense, such as the English language and the Japanese language, and 'the phenomenon of vocal and written communication among human beings generally' (Matthews 2007:215). This phenomenon of communication is termed language-in-general and refers to the general properties of the vocal-communicational behavioural skills and cognitive faculty possessed by virtually all members of the human species (Lucy 1992:6). Despite this definition of language, different fields of linguistics still disagree on what 'language' is.

A popular view of 'language' is that it is an empty vehicle that conveys pre-existing meanings about the world, i.e. a set of labels that can be placed on pre-existing concepts, objects, or relationships, i.e. a tool that merely conveys information without adding or changing anything of substance (Ahearn 2012). Within theoretical and general linguistics, 'language' is often reduced to a set of formal rules without context, and thought of primarily as a collection of formal, syntactic structures and rules (Geeraerts 2006:3). However, within linguistic anthropology, 'language' is seen as a cultural resource with economic, historical and political value, and speaking is perceived to be a cultural practice, learned and used in specific speech communities and situations (Ottenheimer 2013:343).

The field of Cognitive Linguistics thinks of 'language' as a mental phenomenon. Not only is it a psychologically real phenomenon, but it is also believed that the processing and storage of information is a crucial feature of language. In addition to this, 'language' is also viewed as a form

of knowledge and has to be analysed accordingly, with a focus on meaning, which is not just an objective reflection of the outside world, but a way of shaping that world (Geeraerts 2006:3). Furthermore, Cognitive Linguistics believes that languages may embody the historical and cultural experience of groups of speakers and individuals, much in line with the beliefs of linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics (Geeraerts 2006:5-6).

In view of the focus of this study, this thesis combines the view of ‘language’ from linguistic anthropology and Cognitive Linguistics. This means that ‘language’ is seen not only as a cognitive psychological phenomenon, but also a cultural resource with historical, social, and political value which embodies the historical, social and cultural experiences of speech communities and individuals.

1.5 Overall Aim and Expected Contributions

As this thesis draws on insights from various academic disciplines and areas of research, it is hoped that it will contribute to relevant debates within the various disciplines, theoretically as well as methodologically. However, the overall aim is to be able to produce new insights to the field of cross-cultural communication and the debate on English as a lingua franca in international encounters. In addition to this, it is expected that the findings will also add new knowledge and provide empirical support for existing studies, findings, and thoughts within the field of cross-linguistic influence and the debate on whether emotion words are universally similar or differ cross-culturally. Finally, as the study is based on its own methodological framework, it is my hope that this framework can be further developed in the future by other researchers.

1.6 Outline of Thesis

The rest of the thesis is structured as follows. First there will be a description of the theories and ideas pertaining to the idea of linguistic relativity and the link between language, culture, and thought (Chapter 2). This will serve as the theoretical and conceptual foundation on which the study is built. This will be followed by a chapter on methodology which presents the data collection framework, i.e. the theoretical ideas behind it, the design process, as well as the final design including a presentation of the stimulus words (Chapter 3). As a foundation for the understanding the analyses of the empirical data I shall examine what is already known about the emotions ‘guilt’, ‘shame’ and ‘pride’ in the existing literature and discuss how the corresponding emotion words are

understood cross-culturally (Chapter 4). After a brief presentation of the data collection procedure, the participants and the approach to the analyses of the data (Chapter 5), the analysis itself will take place covering several chapters functioning as the heart of the thesis (Chapters 6-8). Finally, the concluding chapter will summarise the thesis, its methodology, findings, and results (Chapter 9).

2 Theoretical and Conceptual Background

This study is concerned with the relationship between language, culture, and thought, or more specifically how the three may or may not influence each other. Focusing on this implies that it is impossible to study language and culture without looking at thought, or study language and thought without including culture. Whether one believes that language is a social construct or an instinct human beings are born with, one thing is certain: without people there is no language. Language, oral as well as written, is produced by people, perceived by people, and understood by people and cannot exist without people. Therefore, I believe that it is not possible to study language in itself detached from the human mind and body; in other words, we need to look at language as it exists, anchored in human beings. Because humans are social beings who live in a social world, it is impossible to separate people from their social reality, i.e. culture, just as it is impossible to detach language from the human mind and body. As language reflects the surrounding world, it is necessary to include the surrounding world in the investigation of language. Consequently, a theory is needed that deals with language in relation to reality and culture as well as thought. Naturally, what springs to mind is the principle of linguistic relativity as proposed by Benjamin Lee Whorf in the mid twentieth century. This theory, also better known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, is commonly seen as the main component of the discussion on the relationship between language, culture, and thought, and has throughout the years functioned as the foundation for a variety of related theories. However, as the focus of this thesis is the relationship between language, culture and thought as expressed in words, it will be appropriate to begin with a presentation of what a word is.

2.1 The Word as a Linguistic Sign

Traditional theory about the word as a linguistic sign begins with Saussure, who is known as the founder of modern linguistics, as his notion of the linguistic sign has become the most important concept of modern linguistics (Geeraerts 2006:6). Saussure considered the word to be a linguistic sign and a two-sided entity consisting of a sound-image — the expression of the sign — and a concept — the content of the sign; the *significant* and the *signifié* respectively. For example, the word ‘tree’ is a sign because it links the mental concept of a tree with the pattern of sounds that comprises the word (Ahearn, 2012: 26; McGregor, 2015:5-8). In addition to this, Saussure believed

the relationship between these two sides to be arbitrary and established by convention only, i.e. with no natural, motivated connection between the expression and the content of a sign. It is this view of the linguistic sign as a two-sided, arbitrary phenomenon which underpins theories within modern linguistics (Barratt & Durst-Andersen; Durst-Andersen, 2011a:127-8). Saussure also believed that in order to study a phenomenon one has to focus on only one or a few aspects of it, i.e. he believed it is impossible to scientifically study a phenomenon in its wholeness, multiplicity, and context. This means, that in order to study language, one has to separate it from its context and use, such as the community and situations in which it is used and the people who use it (Ahearn, 2012:8).

While Saussure saw the word as a two-sided entity, Charles Sanders Peirce had a triadic view of the word as a sign. He identified the linguistic sign as being three-sided, with the sign itself (the expression that stands for something else) as one side, also called the *representamen*, with the *object* (what a sign stands for), and its *interpretant* (what a sign creates insofar as it stands for an object) as the two other sides (Ahearn 2012:26). The consequence of this triadic view is that the content of the sign is divided into two different kinds of content. Peirce basically split up the content side of Saussure's sign into two different kinds of content. As a consequence, meaning-making involves a sign (the linguistic expression 'tree'), the object that is represented (the actual tree), and the interpretant (the effect or outcome of the semiotic relationship between the sign and the object, e.g. a feeling of appreciation for the tree, or if we take 'smoke' as an example, running away from smoke for fear of fire). An important distinction between Saussure's sign and Peirce's sign is that Peirce's tripartite sign does not reside solely in a person's head but extends out into the physical and social world. In other words, where Saussure's sign includes a mental concept and its sound expression, Peirce's object and interpretant both designate some content in the real world, i.e. the object represented and the effect, and these two types of content are linked together by the representamen (Durst-Andersen 2011a:130,b:24-5). Despite Peirce's further development of the linguistic sign from two to three sides, it is still Saussure's dichotomous view of the word that is generally accepted in the linguistic sciences today.

2.1.1 The Word as an Image-Idea Pair

Building on Peirce's triadic structure of the word, the theory of linguistic supertypes, proposed by Durst-Andersen (2009, 2011a, b), advances the notion of the word as being three-sided.

Instead of object and interpretant, Durst-Andersen further specifies and designates the two types of content as an image and an idea. In other words, any lexical item constitutes an image-idea pair and an expression unit that links together the image and the idea (Durst-Andersen 2009, 2011a:130-5,b: 24-8). Thus, all lexemes create two different pieces of content: a pictorial content called image and an ideational content called idea. The image content consists of a prototypical picture of each of the five senses connected to a lexical item, and the idea content consists of a prototypical description of the picture corresponding to what people know about the object named by the lexical item. The word is stored in the human mind as an engram, containing many different kinds of information based on knowledge and impressions from all senses possible, all of which are linked to one another in one single expression unit corresponding to the lines of a neurophysiological network in the human body and mind. Let us take the lexeme ‘pizza’ as an example.

The expression unit <pizza> (connected to the auditory sense) mediates the various pieces of pictorial content of “pizza”, i.e. how it looks prototypically, smells, tastes and feels (based on one’s total experiences with pizza, which is united in a prototypical picture of a pizza), and the abstract idea of it based on what one knows about pizza, i.e. it belongs to artefacts, it is food for human beings, it comes from Italy, it is round, how it is made, how and when it is eaten, the various varieties of it, etc. Consequently, as a linguistic sign, the lexeme is therefore not the image or the idea, but the image as well as the idea mediated by an expression unit <pizza> (see figure 1).

According to Durst-Andersen, this is the only way to explain how people are able to identify a ‘pizza’ when they see one and how they are able to designate an item <pizza> when they talk about a typical Italian food item which is not ‘pasta’, i.e. they are able to link the expression unit with an image-idea pair in their minds, or link the image they experience with an idea and expression unit. This definition of a lexeme helps to explain how language mediates perception and cognition.

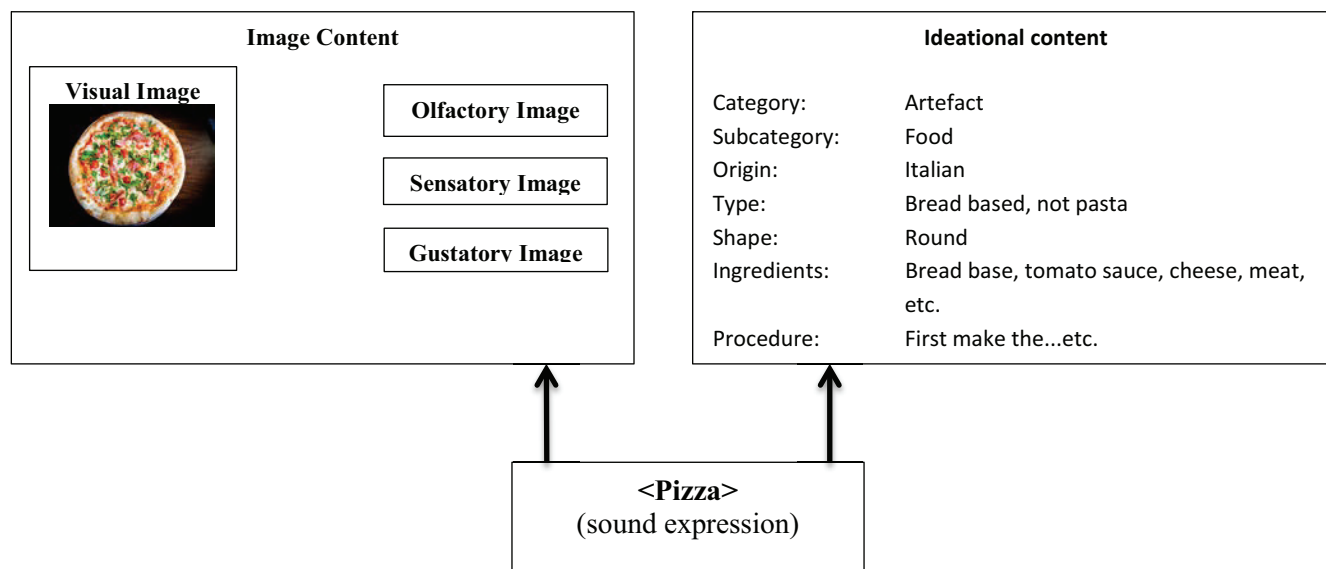


Figure 1: The Lexeme Pizza as an Image-Idea Pair

However, it is important to remember that the notion of ‘image’ should not be taken literally, i.e. a word does not need to have an actual visual image of an object that exists in the real world to have an image attached to it. Thus, abstract words may also have an image, or several images, attached to their image-idea pair. An important aspect in this definition of the word is that the image-idea pair is based on experiences in the physical and social world, i.e. both the experiences and the knowledge of an item as it exists in the real external world. Notably for the image, experience in the real world is the primary influence. Nevertheless, there is no denying that words must exist which focus only — or more so — on the ideational content. That being said, it is crucial to keep in mind that the image consists not only of visual stimuli but also of every possible sensory experience available, as well as associations and memories of, and emotions relating to these experiences with the word — and the context — in the real world. In this way, it is possible for people to create images, either concrete pictures or abstract images, of both concrete objects and abstract ideas, to words that traditionally do not have an image attached to them in the real world (Durst-Andersen 2011b:25-32). An example of this is names. People tend to attach specific values, emotions, and pictures to certain names based on their experiences in the real world with people of that name, e.g. in Denmark, ‘Brian’ is not only used as a male name, but it also signifies a certain type of person. Thus, when people see or hear the word, or name, <Brian>, they will have a prototypical image of a

specific type of social class, personality, behaviour, actions, and associated emotions attached to that image. Furthermore, the notion of an image attached to an abstract word might also help explain why people say things such as, ‘you don’t look like a James’, when presented to a person whose name does not match the prototype image that exists in their minds in connection with that name.

It is possible to argue that the image-idea pair is culturally contingent as the image-idea pair is created through language socialisation, i.e. in and by the immediate surrounding cultural reality and language when growing up. As a consequence, the image-idea pair a person has of e.g. a pizza, or the name James, is dependent on how pizza, or James, exist in that person’s immediate surrounding world during the language socialisation process. Furthermore, the prototypical images we have in our minds are created through physical experience with an object in the real world (smell, taste, texture etc.), and therefore, they exist, not only in our minds, but also our bodies, which have a physical memory of this experience. Thus, through our experiences in the real physical and social world, the lexeme, as an image-idea pair, becomes anchored in our minds and bodies. As a consequence, if it is the case that lexemes exist as image-idea pairs, it follows that it will be meaningless to study lexical semantics on its own, without including the human body and mind.

2.2 The Principle of Linguistic Relativity

Since it is not possible to look at language without looking at thought and culture, it is necessary to consider theories that concern themselves with the relationship between language, culture, and thought.

The most well-known theory discussing the relationship between language, culture, and thought is that of linguistic relativity. The main idea of this principle is that ‘users of markedly different grammars are pointed by their grammar toward different types of observations and different evaluations of externally similar acts of observation, and hence are not equivalent as observers but must arrive at somewhat different views of the world’ (Whorf 1940 [1956]: 221). In other words, the way a language is structured grammatically influences how speakers of that language perceive and evaluate experiences, and consequently view the world. However, this idea has been greatly simplified into what is known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. This hypothesis states that the

language one speaks determines how one thinks about and perceives the world. The “hypothesis” is widely known and is usually divided into a strong and a weak version. The strong version of the hypothesis claims that language determines thought and that there is no escape. This is generally seen as being false and is heavily criticised, especially from the areas of Generative Grammar and cognitive psychology (Genter & Goldin-Meadow 2003, Levinson 2003, Kramsch 2004:238, Pinker 1994:60-1). However, the weak version, which states that there may be certain structures in the grammar of a language which may influence thought, is a view that is so vague that almost everyone can agree with it (Lee 1996:85, Lucy 1992:3).

This distinction, between a strong and a weak version, is most commonly used within generative linguistics, theoretical linguistics, cognitive science, and cognitive psychology, and while no one adheres to the strong version, as it is impossible to test and thus easily rejected, there are scholars who find some support for the weak version. However, within general linguistics and cognitive science, the dominance of Chomsky’s generative linguistics has meant that most scholars have steered away from linguistic relativism. Thus, while scholars within the fields of cognitive science, psychology, and theoretical and formal linguistics use the term the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis as reference to a simplistic, twisted, and easily dismissible version of the beliefs of Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf, other disciplines, such as linguistic anthropology, cognitive linguistics, and cross-cultural semantics have for a long time differentiated between the two scholars and their work (Kramsch 2004:240; Lucy 1966, 1997).

Benjamin Lee Whorf may have been a student of Edward Sapir, and they both built their work on the idea by Franz Boas that language is a reflection of culture, but the two never worked together, let alone formed an actual hypothesis (Lee 1996: 9-12; Lucy 1997). Building on the work by Boas and Sapir, it was Whorf alone who stated that:

‘We dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages. The categories and types that we isolate from the world of phenomena we do not find there because they stare every observer in the face; on the contrary, the world is presented in a kaleidoscope flux of impressions which has to be organized by our minds – and this means largely by the linguistic systems in

our minds. We cut nature up, organize it into concepts, and ascribe significances as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement to organize it in this way – an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language’ (Whorf 1940 [1956]: 212-3).

Thus, in Whorf’s own words, his idea was that specific configurations and categories in the grammar of a language require speakers of that language to organise observations in specific ways according to the categories and configurations available in the grammar. These processes of organisation and categorisation happen automatically and subconsciously. However, if one is made aware of these processes — the system of grammar — not only within one’s own language, but also any other language, then one can become aware of other modes of interpretation and descriptions of the world, i.e. other worldviews (Lee 1996:26; Whorf 1940 [1965]: 214). This does not, however, mean that one is completely free of the ‘binding power’ of one’s native language; rather it means that one’s ability to conceptualise alternative worldviews is increased.

The principle of linguistic relativity was broadly accepted in the 1950s and 1960s and found support in many experimental empirical studies on Native American languages and colour terms (Gentner and Goldin-Meadow 2003; Lucy 1992:69-83). However, these studies, and their findings, were dismissed by critics of linguistic relativity owing to negative findings, based on a simplistic understanding of Whorf’s ideas on the same topics. The negative findings on linguistic relativity launched an era of scepticism concerning the possibility of the influence of language on thought. This scepticism matched the new outlook in neighbouring fields, such as linguistics where Chomsky and his emphasis on the universals of grammar, together with the view that language is separate from general cognition, discouraged any search for a relation between language and cognition (Gentner and Goldin-Meadow 2003). This discouragement lasted well into the 1990s, as studies within linguistic relativity were seen as what Lakoff (1987:304) calls ‘a *bête noir*, identified with scholarly irresponsibility, fuzzy thinking, lack of rigor, and even immorality’.

Despite continuing scepticism, the principle of linguistic relativity has experienced a revival, and empirical research in the last two decades has made it clear that linguistic relativity is not so easy to

dismiss. Due to advances in linguistic analysis, psychological processes, and methods for testing them, theories and research in language and cognition, as well as a shift in domains to study for cognitive effect, a reformulation and revitalisation of the Whorfian principle has taken place (Gentner and Goldin-Meadow 2003). Scholars that concern themselves with the modern view of the principle of relativity, so-called neo-Whorfians, vary in their scope. Some focus their research on the influence of grammar on non-verbal cognition, i.e. performance of non-verbal tasks and habitual thought, or the effect of the native language when using a later learned language, while others limit their studies to the effects of language on the ways in which speakers of a particular language prepare their thoughts for verbalisation (Slobin 1996). As a consequence, the question of linguistic relativity has changed into a modern and more sophisticated form. It is no longer a question of whether or not the principle of linguistic relativity is true, or a question of the influence of language on thought, but rather a set of more detailed questions regarding the interplay between language, culture, and thought (Gertner and Goldin-Meadow 2003; Lucy 1992:3, 1996, 1997). In other words, it is no longer a matter of investigating *if* language, culture, and thought affect one another, but a matter of investigating *how*.

This view that both language and culture influence each other matches the current view of linguistic relativity within linguistic anthropology. The consensus within the field is that there is a mutually influential relationship between language, culture, and thought. The stance taken in this study matches the position found in modern linguistic anthropology: that conceptual and formal structures in your native language may predispose you to think in certain ways about the world, and to engage in certain cultural practices and beliefs. These certain ways of thinking and engaging in beliefs are created through the categories of your native language and maintained through language socialisation. However, this relationship between your language, culture, and thought is not a deterministic one nor is it unidirectional, but the exact direction and strength of the influence in the relationship are unknown. Though the principle of linguistic relativity has changed with time into a modern version, the original idea behind the principle, which was first proposed in the early nineteenth-century Germany, still underpins many contemporary theories relating to the interplay between language, culture, and thought, some of which will be discussed below.

2.3 Cultural Key Words and Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM)

One such contemporary theory based on linguistic relativity is Anna Wierzbicka's anthropological-linguistic theory which includes the central notion of cultural key words. Not only does this theory concern itself with the relationship between language, culture, and thought, but also with a focus on the cultural meanings of words.

Building on insights from Edward Sapir's work, Wierzbicka's research focuses on words as carriers of culture. Based on claims like 'language [is] a symbolic guide to culture' and 'vocabulary is a very sensitive index of the culture of a people' (Sapir 1949:162, 27, as quoted in Wierzbicka 1997:1), Wierzbicka constructs her theory of how the vocabulary and semantics of a language are the key to understanding the community and culture they belong to. Founded on Sapir's thoughts on the relationship between language, culture and thought, Wierzbicka argues that there is a close link between the life of a society and the lexicon of the language spoken by that society. In other words, she argues that culture is reflected in and shaped by special words in a language, and that these words pass on ways of thinking about the world from generation to generation.

The fact that one often finds, that words in different languages do not always have exact meaning equivalents in other languages, is perhaps an obvious clue to the argument that words are containers of culture and reflect culture-specific meanings (Wierzbicka 1997:2, 2006:10-11). This, she argues, is most easily detectable in the existence of language-specific names for special kinds of items, visible and tangible, such as social rituals, institutions, and food items where e.g. Polish has specific words for beetroot soup and plum jam whereas English does not. And what applies to material culture, social rituals, and institutions also applies to people's values, ideals, and attitudes, and to their way of thinking about the world and our life in it. Based on this, Wierzbicka's main argument is that the lexicon of a language reflects and passes on ways of living and ways of thinking that are characteristic of a particular society (Wierzbicka 1997:2, 2006:10-11). However, it is not the entire vocabulary of a language that is a cultural container; rather it is only a small set of words with special, culture-specific meanings called 'cultural key-words'.

To give some examples, within the scholarship of NSM, it is argued that English words such as 'reasonable' and 'fair' belong to the group of English cultural keywords (Wierzbicka 2006), *amae* to Japanese keywords (Wierzbicka 1997), that *angst* is a German cultural keyword (Wierzbicka

1999), and *hygge* is given as an example of a Danish cultural keyword (Levisen 2013). The main point of the cultural keywords is that one is able to say something significant and revealing about the culture using them by studying these words: in Wierzbicka's own words: 'A key word (...) is like one loose end which we have managed to find in a tangled ball of wool: by pulling it, we may be able to unravel a whole tangled "ball" of attitudes, values, and expectations, embodied not only in words, but also in common collocations, in set phrases, in grammatical constructions, in proverbs, and so on' (1997:17).

Thus the meanings of these words provide the shared conceptions and cultural norms of a society. However, unless you have access to the language that uses them, it is difficult to get access to and understand these words, meanings, and different cultural norms, as they are considered untranslatable, i.e. they cannot be translated through the traditional means of a dictionary. Consequently, a different method is needed for accessing and understanding their meanings. For this, Wierzbicka suggests the use of a universal metalanguage. The idea of a universal language stems from the German philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz. He had an idea of an alphabet of human thoughts as a method to compare different languages. This comparison could be used to find the inner essence of men and the universal basis for human cognition (Wierzbicka 1997). This idea of a universal language has been further developed by Wierzbicka and her colleagues, and has led to the creation of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM).

The Natural Semantic Metalanguage is the main tool of Wierzbicka's semantic theory; a system of meaning words consisting of a set of universal primes. NSM is based on two fundamental assumptions: that every language has an irreducible core of meanings in terms of which the speakers can understand all complex thoughts and utterances, and that the core meanings of different languages match in such a way that it is possible to speak of the irreducible core of all languages, which in turn reflects the irreducible core of human thought. In other words, the theory assumes that the intelligibility of meanings formulated by languages depends on the existence of a set of conceptual primes that are intuitively clear, presumably innate, and which do not require any explanations. It is these that constitute the bedrock of human communication and cognition (Wierzbicka 2006:17).

Primes are simple undefinable meaning words whose meaning exists in all languages. However, they do not all have the same linguistic expression. They may exist as words, bound morphemes, or fixed expressions, and the word order and morphosyntactic symbols may differ from language to language, but the meaning of each of the expressions will be the same (Goddard; Wierzbicka 2006:17). This system of simple meaning words can be used to translate, describe and explain, among other things, expressions, complex and culture-specific words, and grammatical constructions. In addition to this, it is also possible to use the system to articulate culture-specific values, attitudes and concepts, all of which might otherwise be untranslatable. Consequently, the system can be used as a tool for linguistic and cultural analysis. By using NSM, one is able to formulate analytical methods which are precise, clear, easy to translate, non-Anglocentric and easy to understand for non-linguists (Goddard & Wierzbicka 2014).

The metalanguage created by Wierzbicka and her colleague, Cliff Goddard, is built from a standardised set of 65 words meanings; the semantic primes and their combination rules (Goddard & Wierzbicka 2014). As mentioned above, the basic idea of NSM is that complex constructions of meaning are described through simple constructions (see fig.2). In order to explain the meaning of a semantically complex word, one must create a paraphrase consisting of semantic primes only, all of which are simpler and easier to understand than the original construction. Through these NSM paraphrases it is possible to express the perspectives and meanings of untranslatable items from the inside perspective of a language community.

someone X is happy (at this time):

- someone X thinks like this at this time:
 - "many good things are happening to me as I want
 - I can do many things now as I want
 - this is good"
- because of this, this someone feels something good at this time
 - like someone can feel when they think like this

Figure 2: The Happy Explication¹

¹ <https://www.griffith.edu.au/humanities-languages/school-languages-linguistics/research/natural-semantic-metalanguage-homepage/semantic-explications>

Furthermore, since NSM is created from natural languages, the semantic explanations and scripts constructed by it are intuitively meaningful and have psychological reality (Goddard & Wierzbicka 2014, Wierzbicka 2006:17). It is, however, important to keep in mind that the words which are designated as cultural key words appear to be decided by Wierzbicka, or her colleagues. Furthermore, the NSM scripts and explications of these words are based solely on information from language corpora, written texts and books — old as well as contemporary — and the creator's intuition about the word. Thus, neither the scripts nor the explications have been empirically tested among actual language users.

To sum up, while Whorf focused on how the grammatical structures of a language influence thought, Wierzbicka returns to Sapir and his view that the lexicon of a language reflects and shapes the culture of the language community (Sapir & Mandelbaum 1985:27). She argues that words, encapsulating culture-specific conceptual categories not only reflect but also shape ways of thinking. These words should be seen as conceptual tools that reflect a society's past experience of doing and thinking about things in certain ways, and as generation after generation passes these words on, these connected ways of thinking are perpetuated. However, as a society changes and evolves, these tools may also gradually be modified and discarded. In this sense, the outlook of a society is thus never fully determined by its conceptual tools, though it is clearly influenced by them. By the same token, the outlook of an individual is never fully determined by the conceptual tools that are provided by his or her native language as there will always be alternative ways of expressing oneself (Wierzbicka 1997:1-5).

In this way, Wierzbicka is not deterministic in her view on linguistic relativity. Furthermore, she argues that for people with knowledge of two or more languages and cultures, the notion that language and patterns of thought are connected is evident. A plethora of anecdotal reports from bi- and multilinguals shows that they tend to think or act differently depending on which language they use (Pavlenko 2005, Wierzbicka 1999). Despite this, denial of the existence of links between language, culture, and thought, and the influences between them, is widespread especially among monolinguals with no knowledge of or experience with other languages and cultures, but also scholars.

2.4 Cognition and Language

The view held by cognitive scientists of the relationship between language, culture, and thought, is that the fundamental nature of human cognitive faculties is universal and that cultural differences are superficial. Furthermore, many cognitive scientists assume that every human being possesses the same language module which contains a Universal Grammar (Barratt & Durst-Andersen, Levinson 2003).

The notion of Universal Grammar was created by Noam Chomsky and is defined as “the basic design underlying the grammars of all human languages; [it] also refers to the circuitry in children’s brains that allows them to learn the grammar of their parents’ language” (Pinker 1994:483). Chomsky’s theory of Universal Grammar states that human beings’ ability to speak is innate and universal. Beneath the surface of every single language is an underlying grammar that is universal, i.e. all languages share certain principles or rules. At the surface level, the properties of a specific language are determined by setting certain parameters such as word order. Hence, the perceptive and cognitive aspects of language are universal, while other, non-cognitive, aspects are culture-specific (Barratt & Durst-Andersen; Pinker 1994).

This notion of an overarching template for the range of all human languages, and the search for it, dominated the field of linguistics throughout most of the twentieth century. In his search for the Universal Grammar of language, Chomsky builds on Saussure’s argument that it is necessary to decontextualise the study of language, and consequently he believed that the primary interest for the linguist is the study of the abstract knowledge of the language system rather than the language itself, i.e. the object of analysis separated from the settings in which it occurs (Ahearn 2012:8). Furthermore, the Universal Grammar view argues that culture is irrelevant to language and cognition. In fact, it is believed that social, cultural, and other environmental influences on language acquisition are extremely limited. It is simply background noise that nothing can be learned from (Levinson 2003). Thus, by focusing on the abstract language system in the human mind, he includes the human being — albeit in a rather abstract and psychological way — while still excluding reality, i.e. the *context* in which language takes place. Though Chomsky’s theory of a universal grammar focuses on first language acquisition, it is nevertheless relevant to mention it here as the theory argues that language is innate and that cultural and social factors have little if any influence

on language. As such, Universal Grammar and the principle of linguistic relativity have often been perceived in complete opposition to one another.

In his widely popular book 'The Language Instinct', Steven Pinker (1994) elaborates on Chomsky's Universal Grammar and argues very strongly against what he calls the strong version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis: linguistic determinism. Pinker's main argument against this so-called hypothesis is based on the assumption that human beings, in their minds, possess a language of thought independent of spoken language known as *mentalese*. According to Pinker we think in terms of *mentalese*, and if we wish, it is possible to match certain aspects of *mentalese* to words, phrases, and sentences in our spoken language (Pinker 1994:55-82). To illustrate this view he refers to the experience of having thoughts which are difficult, perhaps even impossible, to express in words, i.e. you wish to express something but are unable to find the correct word, or words, to express it. Such experiences imply that there is something mental which comes before words (Pinker, 1994), and consequently that cognition is distinct from language and culture.

Chomsky's notion of an underlying universal grammar together with Pinker's notion of *mentalese* form the basic principle of what can be called linguistic nativism. This notion holds that universal concepts are directly mapped onto natural language words and morphemes, i.e. categories in natural languages are direct projections of shared, innate, conceptual categories (Levinson 2003). Thus, the theory of Universal Grammar and Pinker's *mentalese* concern themselves with how underlying universal cognition governs all languages while completely disregarding the role of culture. This is a widespread view within the cognitive sciences, which has led to an ongoing search for language universals to support their view that the grammars and lexicons of all languages are broadly similar.

2.5 Culture and Cognition

In contrast to Chomsky and Pinker's view on the relationship between language, culture and thought, Richard E. Nisbett argues that different cultures have different cognitive styles. Through various cognitive and perceptual experiments, Nisbett and colleagues show how Westerners and East Asians² have different cognitive approaches to the world. His research shows that Westerners tend to perceive the world more analytically, i.e. they think more in terms of categories and rules,

² Nisbett very broadly defines the 'West' to include the continents of Europe, North America, South America, and Australia, while the 'East' includes China, Japan, Korea, and Taiwan.

and focus on the central objects in a picture. In contrast, East Asians perceive the world more holistically, i.e. they think in terms of contextual relationships and focus on the background and the relations between objects in pictures (Masuda & Nisbett 2006; Nisbett et.al 2001; Nisbett & Masuda 2007).

As to the mechanism behind these differences, Nisbett proposes a socio-economic account of the two cultural realms. He argues that differences in social and cultural structures, leading back to ancient Greece and China, have led to differences in cognition and perception of the world. In other words, because Westerners are brought up in individualistic cultures with a focus on individual independence, they tend to focus on individual objects and goals. And because East Asians are brought up in a more collectivistic world, which focuses on complexity and interdependence, they tend to focus on context and relations between objects (Masuda & Nisbett 2006; Nisbett et.al 2001; Nisbett & Masuda 2007).

Thus, while some cognitive scientists argue against a relationship between language, culture, and thought, other researchers find plenty of support for this relationship. However, though Nisbett recognises that there are parallels between the cognitive differences mentioned and the differences between Western and East Asian languages, his focus is on the relationship between culture and thought, while little is said about the role of language.

2.6 Thinking for Speaking

Another theory concerning itself with cognition is ‘Thinking for Speaking’ by Dan Slobin. With this theory he presents a new view on linguistic relativity. According to Slobin (1996), linguistic relativity is concerned with linking language to world-view or habitual thought, both of which he considers to be static entities. Building on this, he seeks to connect two dynamic entities: thinking and speaking, thereby focusing on the mental processes that take place during the action of formulating an utterance.

He builds his theory on the notion of Franz Boas that concepts exist in the mind in the form of a mental image, and that a set of obligatory grammatical categories of a language determines those aspects of an experience that must be expressed linguistically ‘...it will be recognized that in each language only a part of the complete concept that we have in mind is expressed, and that each

language has a peculiar tendency to select this or that aspect of the mental image which is conveyed by the expression of the thought' (Boas [1911] 1966:38-9, as quoted in Slobin 1996). In other words, grammatical categories of each language must select the aspects they wish to express from a set of universal mental representations independent of any particular language. Thus, the mental image is given pre-linguistically, and as a consequence, language acquisition consists of learning which features to attend to in one's language (Slobin 1996).

The main point of the Thinking for Speaking theory is that our minds create mental images and concepts of what we observe and experience in reality. These mental images exist independently of language and are therefore pre-linguistic with a universal form free of any particular language. However, when we have to express these experiences through language, we are forced to choose between the categories that are available in the language to conceptualise these experiences. Therefore, while the mental image may be the same as our reality and experiences, it is the grammatical categories of our language that determine which aspects of the image that are expressed when we speak. In turn, this means that language directs us to focus on the dimensions of experience that are enshrined in the grammatical categories of the language we speak. In other words, language directs us to specific ways of perceiving and thinking about the world (Slobin 1996).

To sum up, Slobin's main argument is that there is a special kind of thinking tied to language, i.e. a special form of thought mobilised for the purpose of speaking. This means, that when we access the contents of our mind with the purpose of linguistic verbal expression, we think in a particular way. Thinking for speaking involves picking out those aspects of objects and events that fit some conceptualisation of an experience and are readily encodable in the language. Furthermore, in acquiring a native language, a child learns particular ways of thinking for speaking, i.e. the language we learn as children is not a neutral coding system of an objective reality, but rather a subjective orientation to the world of human experience. This orientation affects the ways in which we think while we are speaking (Slobin 1996). Though this theory is an interesting reformulation of linguistic relativity, nevertheless, as the name also implies, it does not concern itself with culture or the role of culture, or reality, in relation to thinking or speaking. Furthermore, by using the term, or

entity, thinking, he excludes the role of the human body in language, limiting language to something that only involves the mind.

2.7 Cross-linguistic Influence (CLI)

Cross-linguistic influence is a phenomenon in second language learning and use. It is more commonly known as language transfer, and can be described as ‘...the influence resulting from the similarities and differences between the target language and any other language that has been previously (and perhaps imperfectly) acquired’ (Odlin 1989:208). In other words, it is the effect of various aspects of one language on another when used by speakers who have knowledge of more than one language.

The field of CLI is highly interdisciplinary as it consists of studies from a wide spectrum of academic disciplines such as Second Language Acquisition (SLA), psycholinguistics, cognitive linguistics, sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, cognitive sciences, etc. As such, there is no tangible detailed theory of language transfer or CLI. However, through empirical studies addressing more general questions on language and cognition, CLI has made great contributions to the reformulation of the relativity principle and thus helped advance the linguistic relativity question, both empirically and theoretically. Since the reformulation of the principle in the mid-1990s, which early studies of transfer helped develop, CLI research has become more focused on studies where researchers attempt to incorporate linguistic relativity into their analyses of transfer. The phenomenon studied in this kind of research is also known as conceptual transfer (Odlin 2008).

Originally, instances of CLI were examined in terms of particular linguistic subsystems such as syntax and semantics in the field of second language acquisition and production. However, in the course of time, studies have expanded the field by demonstrating that CLI is not limited to production and acquisition. Transfer can also be identified in a number of psycholinguistic processes such as lexical and syntactic processing, listening and reading comprehension, tip-of-the-tongue states, nonverbal communication, and conceptual representations. Especially in relation to conceptual representation, important transfer effects have been found in the interpretation of, and with reference to, emotions, many of which were previously considered to be universal (Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008:14). This research is of particular interest to this study, as it deals with emotions as well as the relationship between language, culture, and thought. However, before going into details

with CLI and emotions, it is worth taking a look at the different types of transfer one may encounter.

Instances of CLI can be categorised mainly in two ways. Firstly, they can be categorised according to the directions forward, lateral, and reverse; forward transfer are instances of CLI where the L1 influences the L2; when later learned languages influence each other, e.g. the L2 influence the L3 or vice versa, it is called lateral transfer; and reverse transfer is when later learned languages such as L2 or L3 influence the native language. Secondly, transfer can also be categorised according to a wide range of types: lexical transfer, semantic transfer, phonological transfer, morphological transfer, pragmatic transfer, conceptual transfer, intentional vs. unintentional transfer, and covert transfer, to mention just a few (Jarvis & Pavlenko 2010: 13-15). However, here, the most important distinction is that between linguistic and conceptual transfer, i.e. the differentiation between instances of CLI studied primarily in relation to linguistic forms and structures, and instances of CLI analysed primarily in relation to the mental concepts that underlie those forms and structures (Odlin 2003). In other words, conceptual transfer is when concepts underlying words in the native language, L1, are transferred to any later learned languages, and mapped onto new linguistic labels, regardless of differences in the semantic boundaries of the corresponding words (Odlin 2008). It is in instances of conceptual transfer that SLA and linguistic relativity intersect. As conceptual transfer always contains semantic transfer, but not vice versa; it is thus necessary for this study to consider the idea of, not only semantic, but also lexical transfer.

2.7.1 Lexical and Semantic Transfer

Lexical transfer is when the formal and structural knowledge of words in one language influences a person's formal and structural knowledge or use of words in another language. Semantic transfer is when an actual real target-language word is used with a meaning reflecting influence from the semantics of a corresponding word in another language. Alternatively it can also be when a calque is used in the target language that reflects the way a multi-word element is mapped to meaning in another language, e.g., the sentence *he remained a youngman all his life*, reflects semantic and compositional influence from the Swedish and Danish word “ungkarl”, meaning “bachelor”, and which is composed of the elements *ung*, meaning “young”, and *karl*, meaning “man” (Jarvis & Pavlenko 2010: 75).

Lexical transfer research has for the most part focused on either morphophonological errors or semantic errors. There are, however, differences between morphophonological transfer, also called formal transfer, and semantic transfer. The two are not always mutually exclusive, yet research suggests that the rules dictating formal transfer are different from the ones dictating semantic transfer. Some of the most recognised forms of formal transfer are the use of false cognates as seen in the utterances *many offers of violence*, and *a crucial problem is the drinking of alcohol before sitting behind the rat*, reflecting influence from the Swedish and Danish words *offer* and *ratt* /*rat* meaning “victim” and “steering wheel” respectively (Jarvis & Pavlenko 2010:75, Jarvis & Ringbom 2009:109); unintentional lexical borrowing involving the use of a word from a language other than the target language; or the coinage of a new word by blending two or more words from different languages, e.g. *we have the same clothers*, where the word *clothers* is a blend of the English word “clothes” and the Swedish word for clothes: *kläder* (Jarvis & Pavlenko 2010:75).

Interestingly, the likelihood of formal transfer is much higher when the source and target language are closely related in form and structure, such as English and Swedish, and English and Danish, whereas the likelihood of semantic transfer is higher when the two languages are typologically distant, such as Japanese and English. Research suggests that as a consequence, formal transfer results from learners’ assumptions relating to formal similarity between source and target language, even when the similarities are not there (Jarvis & Pavlenko 2010:77, Odlin 2003:443). As an example, the Swedish and Danish languages both have many close cognates and formal similarities with English to the extent that Swedish and Danish native speakers automatically, without any hesitation, assume similarities with English even when there are none. It is, however, important to keep in mind that lexical errors do not necessarily entail transfer, and that transfer does not always result in errors; it just happens to be the case that instances of negative transfer have been much easier to detect than instances of positive transfer and have been found more compelling (Jarvis & Pavlenko 2010:75).

Likewise, semantic transfer is an outcome of assumed similarities between source and target language, though quite different similarities from those in formal transfer. Research shows that learners tend to assume that two languages are different until they observe evidence of similarity. In contrast, when it comes to the meaning of words, they tend to assume that two languages are

semantically similar until they become aware of differences, i.e. they assume that two equivalent words in two languages are semantically similar, despite this rarely being the case. Differences in semantics are much more difficult to become aware of, as differences in meaning are not visible and thus far more difficult to detect than differences in form. As a consequence, differences in meaning are only gradually recognised and often require an introduction, extensive study, and/or exposure to how the word is used in various contexts. Until then, language users will continue to falsely assume a semantic equivalence between words in the new language and their perceived counterpart in an already known language (Jarvis & Pavlenko 2010).

2.7.2 Conceptual Transfer

As previously mentioned, conceptual transfer is when concepts underlying words in the native language are transferred to any later learned languages, thereby mapping ‘old’ concepts onto new linguistic labels, regardless of differences between the two. To this may also be added influences from the semantics and pragmatics of the native language (Odlin 2003: 464). Within conceptual transfer, research has dealt mostly with instances of influences in eight fundamental areas, all of which are based on sensory-motor experiences and are encoded in most human languages. These areas are: objects, emotions, personhood, gender, number, time, space, and motion. However, the bulk of research focuses on spatial concepts and concepts relating to time and emotions (Jarvis & Pavlenko 2010:122, Odlin 2005:10). For this study, the area of interest is that of emotions; I shall return to the details of that topic in a later chapter.

Based on Murphy’s (2002) definition of concepts, Jarvis & Pavlenko (2010) make a distinction between language-mediated and language-independent concepts. Language-mediated concepts are multi-modal mental representations that develop in the process of language-socialisation. They guide speakers of particular languages to particular conceptual distinctions, which allow them to perform naming, identification, comprehension, and inferencing tasks along similar lines. In contrast, language-independent conceptual categories are, as the term implies, conceptual categories that exist in the mind independent of language. This is consistent with Whorf’s acknowledgement of the existence of language-independent thought, i.e. thought that exists without language (Jarvis & Pavlenko 2010:113).

Language-mediated concepts differ across languages, and as such conceptual transfer can be seen as the influence of the language-mediated conceptual categories of one language on verbal

performance in another. In other words, the patterns of conceptualisation in one's mother tongue affects the way one speaks a second language, i.e. one speaks a second language according to the patterns of linguistic framing and organisation of information according to one's L1 (Jarvis & Pavlenko 2010:115). This influence of the L1 acquired patterns of thinking and organising experience, on the use of the L2 can be seen as indications of the 'binding power of language', and studies do indeed suggest that even highly proficient second language learners may never free themselves entirely from their native language (Odlin 2005).

2.8 Linguistic Supertypes

All the above theories concern themselves with the link between either language and culture, culture and thought, or language and thought. However, in order to study second language learners' understanding of English emotion words – if and how these understandings differ – I need a theoretical framework that focuses on human beings' perception and cognition as well as on language as it exists in the human being.

The linguistic supertype theory believes that access to the human body and mind is imperative in the discussion of language, culture, and thought, as reality and culture are mediated through bodily experiences in, and of, the real world. Furthermore, the theory understands the word — as a linguistic sign — as a three-sided entity which is stored as an engram in or minds and bodies (see 2.1.1). This means that our understanding of an utterance or a lexeme, e.g. pizza, involves the ability to automatically be able to recall the smell, taste, emotions, and all other sensations associated with the lexeme, or utterance. Because the content of the image-idea pair is created through language socialisation in a specific language community, it is possible to argue that the image-idea pair is culturally contingent.

Hence, the theory argues that when we acquire our mother tongue, the words and the grammar of that specific language become anchored in our bodies. This is because the grammar reflects certain cognitive and perceptual structures of a language, but also because the language, its words and grammatical forms are accompanied by certain facial expressions and bodily gestures in a specific context with historical connotations, i.e. a specific social and cultural context. Every language that is anchored in a specific culture has words for concepts not directly available in other languages, as well as certain ways of communicating and expressing opinions and beliefs about the world. The

supertype theory argues that these ways of communicating and expressing opinions and beliefs create a psychophysiological network which connects language, culture, and thought. This network is created step by step, through our role as hearers and has become automatised in our role as speakers of a language anchored in a specific culture (Durst-Andersen 2011b:23-37).

Thus, the image of an image-idea pair is physically anchored in our bodies, while the idea content creates associative effects in all directions which may also become bodily anchored. When learning a second language, one may become acquainted with equivalent words in the new language, but, according to Durst-Andersen, these words will not become anchored in our bodies, i.e. no psychophysiological network will be created. Instead, the psychophysiological network of our native language will influence our perception, understanding, and use of any later learned languages as this network cannot be separated from the body nor be replaced by any other network (Durst-Andersen 2011b:23-37).

2.9 Notions of Culture

As can be seen in the theories presented above, the notion of culture is widely used in a range of theories across many scientific disciplines. Consequently there are many different definitions and ideas of what ‘culture’ is, and what it entails. As the notion of ‘culture’ is relevant to the study, it is therefore deemed necessary to define how it is conceptualised and employed throughout the rest of the thesis.

In the nineteenth century, culture was used by Europeans to explain the customs of the people in the territories they conquered and populated. In contemporary society it is often used in a political context to explain why minorities and marginalised groups do not easily assimilate or merge into the mainstream of society. Because of these uses, social scientists have often equated the notion of culture with a colonialist and political agenda. However, since the 1990s, the concept of culture has been harshly criticised as an ‘all-encompassing notion that can reduce sociohistorical complexities to simple characterizations and hide the moral and social contradictions that exists within and across communities’ (Duranti 1997:23).

Nevertheless, whatever problems, political, and colonial agendas these earlier notions of culture may have had, the danger of not defining the concept at all is far worse. However, as this work

focus on language, the discussion here will limit itself to those notions of culture in which language plays an important role

2.9.1 Culture as Distinct from Nature

The anthropological idea of culture is a very common and widespread notion, and it views culture as something learned, transmitted, passed down through generations, through human interaction, and linguistic communication, and is often presented in opposition to the view of human behaviour as a product of nature. This view of culture argues that through language socialisation children will grow up to acquire the culture and follow the cultural patterns i.e. the learned and shared behaviour, of the people who raised them. The process of socialisation, of which language acquisition is a very important part, is aimed at shaping the child's mind and behaviour towards ways of thinking, speaking, and acting that are acceptable to a community larger than the child's own family. What these cultural patterns precisely entail is not elaborated on, except that they include mental and physical reactions and activities, as well as the products of these activities and their role in the community (Duranti 1997).

2.9.2 Culture as Communication

To see culture as communication is to see it as a system of signs, and it is therefore described as a semiotic theory of culture. There are a few versions of this theory, but the fundamental idea behind it is that culture is a representation of the world, or a way of making sense of reality by objectifying it in stories, myths, descriptions, theories, proverbs, art, etc. Consequently, people's cultural products can be seen as examples of the appropriation of nature by humans through their ability to establish symbolic relationships among individuals, groups, or species.

According to one of the earliest proponents of this view of culture, the structuralist Claude Levi-Strauss, all cultures are sign systems which express deeply held cognitive predispositions to categorise the world in terms of binary oppositions. He starts from the assumption that the human mind everywhere is the same, and that cultures are different implementations of basic abstract logical properties of thinking which are shared by all humans and adapted to specific living conditions (Duranti 1997). In other words, cultural differences are seen as variations of the same unconscious human capacity for abstract thinking.

Another follower of culture as communication is Clifford Geertz, who with his interpretive anthropology perceives human beings as sociohistorically located, interpreting subjects. Geertz' goal was to find ways of understanding human cultures rather than trying to explain them by means of causal theories that use general laws of behaviour. To him 'the concept of culture (...) is essentially a semiotic one. Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but in an interpretive one in search of meaning' (Geertz 1973:5). Geertz' view of culture focuses on culture as meaning and the product of human interaction, i.e. human beings both create culture and must interpret it. In this perspective cultural manifestations are acts of communication. Thus, when people engage in public debate, a funeral, sports matches, etc., people engage in coordinated meaningful behaviours which not only imply but also produce worldviews (Duranti 1997:36-37).

2.9.3 Other Notions of Culture

Steering away from theoretical notions of culture it is perhaps worth looking to the research used as conceptual background for this thesis to see how they use the concept of culture. Wierzbicka discusses the notion of culture in her 1997 book on cultural key words. As a linguistic anthropologist she finds inspiration in the definition proposed by Clifford Geertz which states that culture is '...historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which people communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life' (Wierzbicka 1997:20). Wierzbicka continues this argument by adding, that languages are the best evidence of cultural norms, as shared conceptions and attitudes are provided by, and historically transmitted through them. In addition to this, she argues that the reality of both linguistic and cultural norms becomes evident when they are violated, as often happens in cross-cultural encounters (Wierzbicka 1997:20-22). Thus, it is only in encounters with the other that one becomes aware of culture.

Looking to the field of linguistic relativity, John Lucy (1992) presents Edward Sapir's notion of culture as based on shared symbolic understandings. According to Sapir, language plays an important role in culture as it 'has the power to analyse experience into theoretically dissociable elements and to create that world of the potential intergrading with the actual which enables human beings to transcend the immediately given in their individual experiences and to join in a larger

common understanding' (Sapir, 1949 [1933]:10, as quoted in Lucy 1992:23). According to Sapir, language is the tool which makes it possible for people to analyse and interpret their individual experiences, share and combine them with other people and other experiences into a larger common understanding of the shared individual experiences. It is these common understandings which constitute culture.

All of the above theories of culture view the notion of culture differently, and as the theoretical notions often are associated with a specific scientific discipline, they also often entail a certain philosophy of science. This, for me at least, makes it difficult to simply accept just one single theory unconditionally, as it entails accepting all aspects and views included, even those with which I disagree. Thus instead of focusing on what distinguishes one notion from another and how they may be employed in the study, I shall focus on what they have in common: the notion of sharedness. All of the notions of culture mentioned above, including the notions by Wierzbicka and Sapir, view culture as consisting of something shared, be it language, experiences, interaction, practices, signs, communication, tools, knowledge, behaviour, thinking, interpretation, understanding, etc. All of it is shared by members of a society, i.e. a linguistic community.

This study will then draw on various notions of culture, by creating its own view of culture. Firstly, culture is understood as distinct from nature, i.e. as something that is learned, transmitted and passed down from generation to generation through human interaction and linguistic communication. Secondly, the view also entails culture as communication, i.e. as a way of understanding reality by portraying it in, and through, different communicative outlets. But most importantly, culture is shared and passed on among its members through language. Shared knowledge, shared thoughts, shared behaviour, shared language, and shared communication; a shared product of human interaction which is constantly being created and reproduced within a community. Often this community corresponds to that of a language community.

2.10 Chapter Summary

The question to if and how language, culture, and thought influence one another has a long history. After a prolonged period of scientific scepticism, the principle of linguistic relativity has been resurrected and reformulated in the shape of new theories building on the original thought of linguistic relativism. In this chapter I have explored traditional and new theories dealing with the

relationship between language, culture, and thought. In addition, the notion of culture to be used throughout the rest of the thesis was also introduced.

This review is not aimed at presenting a theoretical framework in which to analyse the data, but rather to provide a general overview of the theoretical and conceptual background of the study. Especially the theory of linguistic supertypes is considered to be highly relevant as it takes its starting point in human beings' perception and cognition and focuses on language as a part of the human being. Consequently, I shall take as my point of departure for this study of second language learners' understanding of English emotion words, the notion that speakers of different languages have a psychophysiological network connected to their respective mother tongues, and that these networks may influence any other language they later acquire and speak. In addition to this, the notion that the word is a three-sided entity consisting of an image, an idea, and an expression unit, will be used as the foundation for exploring how second language learners understand English emotion words.

3 Methodology and Research Design

In order to investigate an emotion word consisting of an image and an idea, one would ideally have to find a framework which would make it possible to measure all the relevant senses, such as olfactory, gustatory, emotional, etc. which are used to create the idea and the image of a word. Despite technical advances in the fields of neuroscience and cognitive science, such measurements are unfortunately still not possible. Consequently, I will only be able to investigate the idea and the image through the perception of visual stimuli.

This chapter aims to show the various methodological choices made in the course of the present study to find an appropriate framework in order to gain access to the images and ideas which different people have of emotion words. Furthermore, the study will shed light on the theoretical background for the methods used and discuss the research design chosen. The chapter consists of three parts. First, I will discuss different methodological approaches investigating the associative networks and understandings of emotion words and, more importantly, why I have chosen to design my own framework consisting of three separate, though related tests. The second part consists of descriptions of the tests and a brief introduction to the theories that inspired the design. Finally, in the third part, the choice of languages investigated will be accounted for, followed by a presentation of the stimulus words as well as a brief presentation of why the study focuses on emotion words.

3.1 Methodological Approach – Existing Research

The initial aim of this study is to investigate which associations may be evoked within the minds of non-native speakers of English when they are introduced to English words and phrases. Through such associations, it will be possible to gain an understanding of the image-idea pair as well as the understanding the participants have of English emotion words. The greatest methodological concern regarding associations and the understanding of the meaning of words is how to access them: how can we perceive something that is internal in people's minds? To answer this question, I have searched for methods in research pertaining to word association and lexical network access, as well as in the field of emotion research. In the following, methodological approaches from both areas will be discussed.

Within the areas of psycholinguistics, second language acquisition (SLA), and neurolinguistics, much research has been done on word associations using many different kinds of tests and

frameworks, such as The Free Word Association Task, The Word Associates Format, and The Lexical Inferencing Study, to mention a few (for a general overview, see Albrechtsen et. al. 2008). These tests focus on language acquisition and lexical access in persons with loss of brain function, brain damage, or various disorders (Sumerall et. al. 1997). Other tests have focused on the processes of word retrieval, word recognition, words access, picture naming, network knowledge, both in L1 & L2, and first and second language acquisition (Albrechtsen et al. 2008, Sumerall et al. 1997).

Emotion research is a field which concerns itself with the study of emotions, feelings, affective states, and emotion words, theoretically as well as empirically. The field is covered by disciplines such as psychology, cultural psychology, anthropology, linguistic anthropology, SLA, and sociolinguistics. Consequently, the different methodological approaches used in this area of research have their theoretical foundations in different paradigms and belong to both the quantitative and the qualitative realm. However, in the following discussion, the different methods will be evaluated according to their practical relevance and applicability to the perspective and goal of the research question, and the overall study, rather than their adherence to a specific paradigm.

3.1.1 The Free Word Association Task

The focus of the Free Word Association Task is mainly to study the processes of lexical access: the types of links found in the associative network and how the mental lexicon is structured. It is possibly the simplest form of productive association tests. When given a stimulus word, the informant is asked to respond with the first word that springs to mind. Consequently, the links that appear in the associative network based on this test are considered the strongest and most immediately accessible in the mental lexicon (Albrechtsen et al. 2008). Results of this test show that L1 children and L2 beginners tend to mostly give form-related responses i.e. ‘bird’ in response to ‘bed’ and ‘hour’ in response to ‘sour’. Older L1 and more advanced L2 learners produce more meaning-based or semantically related responses; ‘pillow’ in response to ‘bed’ and ‘bitter’ in response to ‘sour’ (table 1). In addition to this, the early stage learners in both L1 and L2 often provide syntagmatically related links viz. collocation structures such as ‘bird’ in response to ‘black’, ‘shake’ in response to ‘hand’, etc. In later stages, they will produce paradigmatic links, viz., hierarchical associations such as hyponyms, meronyms, synonyms and antonyms, i.e. ‘colour’ in

response to ‘black’, ‘hand’ → ‘finger’ / ‘hand’ → ‘nail’ / ‘finger’ → ‘nail’ (Albrechtsen et al. 2008).

Stimulus word	Form-related responses	Semantically related responses	
		Syntagmatic	Paradigmatic
<i>black</i>	back	bird	colour
<i>hand</i>	land	shake	nail

Table 1: Common response types identified in the Free Word Association Task
(Adapted from Albrechtsen et.al.2008:33)

3.1.2 The Word Associates Format

Unlike the previous test, this test is receptive and was developed to test second language learners’ receptive network knowledge. The informant is asked to select four potential links to a stimulus word (see table 2). The lexical items are either syntagmatically, paradigmatically, or analytically linked to the stimulus word. Four distractor words are included in the word selection, and the number of correct links which informants are able to identify show their level of network knowledge. Since the first version was created in 1993, the test has been further developed so that the current version includes only words that are potential links and exclude any unrelated distractors (Albrechtsen et al.2008).

Stimulus word	Potential links including four distractors			
Edit	arithmetic	film	pole	publishing
	revise	risk	surface	Text

Table 2: Example of an early version of the Word Associates Format
(Adapted from Albrechtsen et al.2008:36)

3.1.3 Free Response Measurement for Emotional Feeling

Since this study focuses on emotion words, it is worth considering approaches to measuring emotions. Although most of these methods do not concern themselves with emotion words, they

are, nevertheless worth considering for this study. Here the focus will be on Scherer's (2005) two models for measurements of emotions.

Based on his definition of an emotion, Scherer (2005) suggests what he considers an ideal all-inclusive method for measuring emotion. According to Scherer, such a method, should measure not only the emotion itself, but also the concomitant appraisal process, the response patterns, the action tendencies produced by the appraisal patterns, the patterns of facial, vocal, and bodily expressions and movements, and the nature of the subjectively experienced feeling state that reflect all of these component changes (Scherer 2005:209). However, this ideal method of measurement is based on only one theorist's definition of emotion. As such, it has never been performed and is very unlikely to become a standard procedure. Nonetheless, some studies have focused on some of the individual components such as measuring appraisal, brain mechanisms, psychological response patterns, and expressive behaviour.

Despite these attempts, there is still no objective means of measuring the subjective emotion experience of a person, except for the individual herself to report on the nature of the experience, i.e. self-reporting. One way of doing this is to provide participants with standardised lists of emotion labels with different kinds of answer formats, i.e. fixed-responses. The use of fixed-responses may ensure both efficiency and standardisation of data collection, as well as provide information concerning the qualitative nature of the affective state experienced. However, there are certain drawbacks to the fixed-response method. One criticism is that such response choices may prime the participants, i.e. the format may suggest responses the participants might not have thought of themselves. Conversely, a participant may want to respond with a category that is not available in the fixed responses, thus forcing the participant to respond with a related, though not identical, emotion label. In both cases, the specificity and the accuracy of the data suffer (Scherer 2005).

Alternatively, it is possible to use a free-response format where participants have to respond with freely chosen labels or short expressions which in their minds best characterise the nature of the state they experienced. However, this free-response measurement method is not perfect either, as participants may have problems coming up with appropriate labels. In addition, individual differences in vocabulary knowledge must be expected, and this may constrain the responses of some informants. Nevertheless, the advantages with respect to specificity and accuracy of the

responses, in addition to the elimination of the priming issue from the fixed-response measurement, appear to favour the use of a free-response format when detailed descriptions of emotion experiences are called for. Note, however, that these advantages are offset by the difficulties of analysing free responses in a quantitative, statistical fashion. As a consequence, most researchers tend to classify the responses of the free-response format into a more limited number of emotion categories according to the notions of family resemblance and synonyms. Yet, there is no established procedure for this categorisation, nor is there an agreement as to the number and nature of a standard set of emotion categories (Scherer 2005).

3.1.4 Forced Choice Response Measurement of Feeling

Another methodological approach within emotion research is a forced-choice response measurement. Within psychology, studies on emotion have mainly used two methods to obtain forced-choice self-reports of emotional experience: the discrete emotions approach, and the dimensional approach.

The discrete emotions approach has as its foundation Darwin's theory of the existence of the evolutionary sustainability of a set of basic emotions, and the observable physiological and expressive symptoms that accompany them, i.e. the theory that a set of basic emotions and their affiliated expressions have evolved in animals and human beings. The method used for assessing self-report in this approach is to use scales with nominal, ordinal, or interval characteristics. There are different versions of the method, but the general idea is that the respondent is provided with a list of emotion terms and is then asked to first check the emotion terms that best describe the emotion experienced; secondly, to indicate on a 3 to 5 point scale whether the respective emotion was experienced a little, somewhat, or strongly; and finally, to use an analogue scale to indicate how strongly an emotion has been experienced (Scherer 2005:717). Though a few standardised versions of this kind are available, most researchers have chosen to create their own ad hoc lists of emotion categories relevant to a specific research context. Despite the plausible and easily interpretable results this test produces, it does have some shortcomings in terms of comparability across studies, statistical analysis, and analysing and interpreting a wide variety of different blends of emotion.

The second method, the dimensional approach, was created in an attempt to develop a structural description of subjective feeling as it is accessible through introspection. The idea behind this approach is that subjective feelings can be described by their position in a three-dimensional space consisting of the dimensions of valency (positive-negative), arousal (calm-excited), and tension (tense-relaxed) (Scherer 2005:718). However, because of difficulties of consistently identifying the third dimension, e.g. tension or control, the majority of modern dimensional theorists make use of only the valency and arousal dimensions (see fig.3). The method consists of asking the respondents how positive or negative, and how excited or affected, they feel. Through the replies, the respondents' emotional feelings are described by a point in the valency-arousal space. This method of emotional self-reporting is simple, straightforward, generally considered quite reliable, and lends itself easily to statistical analysis. Nevertheless, in contrast to the discrete emotions approach, there is little information on the emotion's antecedent and the responses underlying the appraisal process. As a consequence, the results are restricted to the degrees of positive and negative feeling, and of bodily excitation.

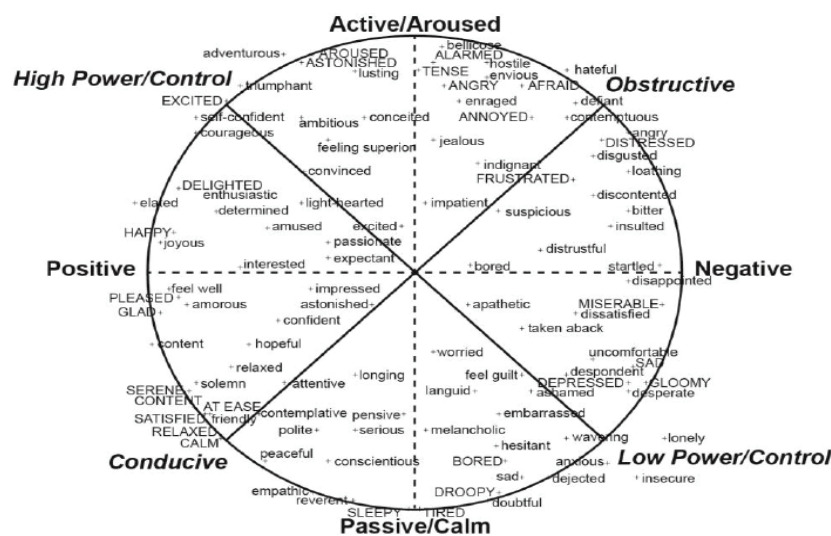


Figure 3: Alternative dimensional structure of the semantic space for emotions (Scherer 2005:720)

One of the major weaknesses of this method is the difficulty of differentiating between the aspect of intensity of feeling and bodily excitation. Furthermore, another limitation of using a dimensional approach based on valency and arousal is that both dimensions are rather ambiguous. It is not

always clear whether a valency judgement concerns the nature of the stimulus object or event, or the feeling induced by it. Finally, it is dubious how much information the description of an individual's position in the valency-arousal space provides to anyone, including the researcher, who is not aware of the eliciting situation (Scherer 2005:721).

3.1.5 Discussion of Methods

Although it may be possible to argue for the application of some of the methods discussed above, in this project I have chosen to not use any of the existing association tests, but instead I designed my own. Most importantly, as already mentioned, the majority of the tests used for investigating associations focus on the processes of word retrieval, word recognition, word access, picture naming, network knowledge, and first and second language acquisition. In contrast the approaches used in emotion research focus on measuring the emotional experience as such, or different components of the emotional experience. The present project is not concerned with those topics, but rather with the *content* of emotion words and their associations. Instead of gaining access to the processes, structures and levels of network knowledge, I would like to access the actual content of lexical items – something, which to my knowledge, has not been done previously. Though I have been inspired by — and taken many aspects from — the above-mentioned methods, for various reasons it is not possible to use any of them in their full extent.

At first glance, the Free Word Association Task appears applicable to the project. The participant is presented with a stimulus word and is then asked to respond with the first word that springs to mind. It cannot, however, be used for this project as the Free Word Association Task requires only single-word responses to the stimulus word. Based on pilot tests, it was found that single-word responses were insufficient for the participants to express something meaningful about the associations they derive from the stimulus words. Furthermore, as previously mentioned, research shows that the responses given may not necessarily reflect the genuine associations of the informants. As illustrated in table 1, the responses in the Free Word Association Task tend to form a pattern, based on the participants' levels of English. Thus, the danger exists that the responses produced by the participants in this study will fit neatly into the categories presented in table 1, so that the responses will be form-related and/or semantically-related responses, i.e. the response to 'guilty' will be 'ashamed', 'embarrassed' in response to 'ashamed' and vice versa, 'mad' in

response to ‘sad’, etc. This might leave me with irrelevant data regarding the content of the associations and understanding of English emotion words by second language learners. That being said, aspects of the Free Word Association Task have been added to the final test design.

Obtaining data relevant for this project from the Word Associates Format would be possible only by using carefully selected words which are certain to show influences from the participants’ linguistic and cultural backgrounds. However, if this method were to be used, it would result in various complications. Firstly, by choosing eight words and making the participants link four of them to the stimulus word, it may give the impression that I am priming the participants, i.e. it is possible that the informants’ associations to the stimulus words might differ completely from the words included in the selection. Secondly, in the Words Associates Format test, the participants have to identify the associative links correctly. One important aspect of my project — and consequently the tests used — is that there are no correct or incorrect answers as the purpose of the project is to investigate how learners of English understand English words, and what kind of associations the words evoke when used. Thirdly, by choosing words that are known to create different responses based on the different linguistic or cultural backgrounds of the participants, I would follow in the footsteps of many researchers before me who subscribe to the principle of linguistic relativity. Many previous studies which have attempted to find empirical evidence to support the principle of linguistic relativity have received much criticism for using methods which were *known* to show differences and create results based on different linguistic and cultural backgrounds (Wierzbicka 1997). Though linguistic relativity plays an important role in the entire project, I believe it is possible to create a test which is not deliberately designed to prove the principle.

Many drawbacks of the methods used in emotion research have already been mentioned above. However, it is still necessary to evaluate them in relation to their applicability to this study. The main problem of finding the correct framework to access understandings and associations of English emotion words is, as mentioned above, how to access something that is internal in people’s mind. The solution to this problem, according to the field of emotion research, is simply to ask people to tell you how they feel. As mentioned in the descriptions of the different methods, there are concerns with all four methods dealing with emotion research; however, the straightforward solution to accessing peoples’ minds simply through self-report heavily outweighs the issues of not

being able to statistical methods for the analysis. Nevertheless, I do not believe that the forced-choice response measurements – the discrete emotions approach and the dimensional approach – are applicable to this study. In both of these approaches, the self-reporting method consists solely of evaluating whether an emotional experience is negative or positive, and how strongly it is felt. To evaluate emotion words in the same manner would only provide insight into whether a participant views a word positively or negatively, and whether the weight of the word is perceived as serious or light, but would leave me with little information about their understanding of the content of the word. Consequently, these two methods were not considered applicable to this study.

To sum up, while there are numerous methods address associative links and word network knowledge, I have discussed only the few options that seemed relevant for this project and found that none of them are completely applicable. In contrast, even though the methodological approaches within emotion research mostly focus on self-report evaluation, some of these approaches may still be applicable to explore the understanding of emotion words. I have been inspired by them in creating my final test design and have, therefore, included aspects from all the methods mentioned above.

3.2 Research Design

The final version of the framework used for obtaining data for this project consists of three parts: The Free Association test, the Context Bound Association test and the Picture Driven Association test. The overall purpose of the test was to gain access to the participants' associations and understanding of English emotion words and to discover potential differences in their understandings. In order to obtain enough – and detailed – data, it was essential that the participants should be able to express themselves without constraints. Similarly, it was considered a necessity that data was comparable which meant that the context in which the words were considered had to be controlled. Thus, a two-part association test was created; a part with few limitations and free association, the Free Association test, and a part with controlled constraints, the Context-Bound Association test. To explore whether the images the participants associate with the expression units of the emotion words were identical to each other, an image-based test was also included: the Picture Driven Association test. The framework was created by the researcher in collaboration with the Global English Business Communication (GEBCom) research group.

3.2.1 The Free Association Test (FA test) as Open-Ended Questions

Inspired by the Free Word Associates Format test and the free-response measurement for emotional feeling, this first ‘free’ part of the test framework was created in order to give the participants an opportunity to express their understanding in their own words. However, instead of following the traditional Free Word Associates Format, i.e. asking the participants to say the first word that came to mind, it was decided to use an open-ended question (OEQ) survey format. This means that they were asked to write down their thoughts and understandings of the stimulus words. This was done in order to facilitate access to the participants’ minds, thoughts, how they understood the stimulus words, and through that gain access to their associations. At the same time, by making it a question survey format, the participants were given an opportunity to produce more than just single-word responses.

Open-ended question surveys are normally used to produce qualitative text data, often in relation to, e.g. public opinion surveys, or in organisational research to gather new information about an experience or topic, or to explain or clarify quantitative findings and to explore different dimensions of respondents’ experiences (Geer 1988, Jackson & Trochim 2002). The advantage of using open-ended questions is that the responses to these questions can provide rich descriptions of the respondent’s reality. As the responses are free, they can be extremely helpful in explaining, or gaining insight into, a specific issue, and they are able to capture diversity, as well as provide alternative explanations to the responses provided by close-ended survey questions (Geer 1988, Jackson & Trochim 2002). However, just as there are many advantages to using an OEQ format, there are also disadvantages. Despite OEQs generating interesting types of texts to analyse, one of the major disadvantages is that the data is often time- consuming to analyse, as the responses typically vary in length from a few phrases to a couple of paragraphs and represent a wide selection of concepts with varying frequency and detail and sometimes the respondent does not give a response at all. Additionally, the coding decisions made by the researcher in the analysis process may affect the reliability and validity of the result (Jackson & Trochim 2002).

The Free Association test (fig.4), consisted of two open-ended questions to attempt to access the participants’ reality and their de facto understanding of each stimulus word. The two questions

were: *What is X to you?* And: *Please give examples of how you would use X.* These two questions were chosen to facilitate responses that would generate insight into how the participants not only understand the stimulus words and in which contexts they might use them, but also their thoughts about and associations connected with them. The test was created in the online survey system SurveyXact. The features of this software made it possible to regulate the length of the responses in order to avoid lengthy responses as well as to make sure that the participants actually produced a response. This means that the participants were unable to continue the test if there was no input in the designated response box. Furthermore, the participants were given written instructions to write in short, but full, sentences in order to avoid single-word or lengthy responses.

Please write in your own words	
How do you understand the word GUILTY	
Please give examples of how you would use the word GUILTY	

Figure 4: Example of the Free Association Test

The written instructions also specified that there were no correct or incorrect responses to the questions in the survey, thereby encouraging the participants to avoid dictionary definitions and instead produce their own understandings, meanings, and associations of the words.

3.2.2 The Context Bound Association Test (CBA test)

After expressing their free associations and understandings, the participants were given the same stimulus words, but this time they were anchored in an utterance such as ‘I feel guilty because I did something bad’. We decided to anchor the word in an utterance because it made it easier for the participants to recognise the situation and the potential feelings involved in the word.

Since words often have slightly different meanings depending on the context, the words were placed in a context considered to be a suitable example of the word and its function. Furthermore, to make the utterances easier to understand and relate to, they were designed to describe a situation which was likely to be well known to all the participants across different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. This was done by using personal pronouns such as *I*, *my*, *mine*, etc. and using a context that they would be familiar with, such as family and work, e.g. *my parents*, *I have*, *my colleague*, etc. The assumption was that it would be easier for the participants to understand and feel the word if it was anchored in the mental universe of the participants themselves and in a familiar context, instead of merely being a free-standing abstract item (see 2.1.1 & 2.8). Each utterance was followed by 12 descriptors, which describe different potential meanings of the words in that specific context. At least one of these was a distractor.

The method for formulating the 12 descriptors was inspired by Wierzbicka's Natural Semantic Metalanguage and its explications (see 2.3, Goddard & Wierzbicka 2007, 2014). Though NSM and its explications are used as inspiration, it was not possible to transfer the available tools in their current form for several reasons. First of all, like all other languages, NSM has a grammar, or rules of use, which one needs to know in order to correctly use and understand the language and its explications. This means, that even though the semantic primes are expressed by means of simple English words, these words, as semantic primes, may not necessarily function or have the exact same meaning as they do in native-speaker English; for instance 'the semantic primes DO and FEEL do not have the 'about' valency they do in English' (Goddard³). When designing the CBA test, it was agreed that the primes and the explications were too difficult to use in an empirical test situation where the informants had no prior knowledge of these rules and how the explications work. Secondly, because of these rules, the explications that are created on the basis of them can appear quite confusing if one is not familiar with the concept of NSM; — even a native English speaker may at times find these explications incomprehensible. To present the explications to persons who do not have English as their first language was considered to be futile. Finally, the abstract nature of the explications not only makes them difficult to understand, but also intangible and difficult to relate to. Consequently, it would be very difficult — if not impossible — for the

³ NSM website: <http://www.griffith.edu.au/humanities-languages/school-languages-linguistics/research/natural-semantic-metalanguage-homepage/in-brief>

participants to associate to something they cannot relate to, let alone immediately understand. In other words, it would be pointless to attempt to gain access to the participants' understanding of emotion words if they do not understand the utterances and descriptors.

Even though the semantic explications of NSM are not considered to be appropriate for this test design, the theory behind them — simplifying and explicating the untranslatable — is still applicable to this project and was used as inspiration for the CBA test to create the 12 descriptors.

However, instead of using NSM as it exists, the descriptors were formulated in basic British English, i.e. English that is basic and elementary, using words that were as simple and as unambiguous as possible. When formulating these descriptors, we deliberately tried to include the meanings valid for the specific words in English, while including potential cultural meanings and aspects inherent the corresponding words found in other languages. In other words, we tried to include potential meanings the corresponding words in Chinese or Japanese might have which were not inherent in the English meaning of the word. These meanings were identified through several rounds of pilot testing, countless revisions, and discussions of the stimulus words in a multilingual and multicultural setting. An example of the CBA test can be seen in table 3.

<p>Please choose 4-6 of the descriptions below which in your opinion best fit the sentence</p> <p>'I feel guilty because I did something bad'</p>	
<input type="checkbox"/> I want to make things good again	<input type="checkbox"/> I want to undo what I did
<input type="checkbox"/> What I did makes other people feel bad	<input type="checkbox"/> I want people can see how I feel
<input type="checkbox"/> Something good happened	<input type="checkbox"/> I don't want to look at people
<input type="checkbox"/> I show people I feel bad	<input type="checkbox"/> I don't want people to see how I feel
<input type="checkbox"/> This feeling goes away when I say to people how I feel	<input type="checkbox"/> I feel responsible
<input type="checkbox"/> I feel sick inside my body	<input type="checkbox"/> I need to feel this way

Table 3: Example of the Context Bound Association Test

In the CBA test, the participants were asked to choose four to six of the 12 descriptors which they felt best described their own personal understanding of the word in the presented utterance. The aim of the CBA test was to investigate what aspects the participants included in their understanding of the stimulus word in a specific utterance and if there were differences with respect to the aspects chosen by speakers of the different languages. It is important to keep in mind that in this specific part of the test, the participants were not asked about the word itself, but about the word-in-utterance which also included the context of the word.

3.2.3 The Picture Driven Association Test (PDA test)

This part of the test was inspired in part by the facial recognition tests created by Ekman and Friesen (1971), but also — and even more so — by the notion of image-idea pairs included in the theory of linguistic supertypes (see 2.1.1). Emotion words such as anger, happiness, sadness, etc. are words which, according to the Universalist view of emotions, express inner feelings or mental conditions (Tracy & Randles 2011); however, according to Durst-Andersen's trichotomic view of a linguistic sign, they are also connected to an image. It is this image that enables people to identify mental conditions from the specific picture they receive when they meet a person in that condition (Durst-Andersen 2011a,b). Thus, the purpose of this test was not only to create our own version of Ekman's facial recognition test, but also — and more importantly — to investigate the image part of an image-idea pair through visual stimuli.

To investigate the facial expressions of emotions and their recognisability, a range of methods are available. The most common is the standard method — developed by the psychologist Paul Ekman — in which subjects are shown preselected still photographs of posed facial expressions and are then asked to choose one of six alternatives from a list of emotion terms (Ekman et al. 1968, Ekman & Friesen 1971). Despite its popularity, this method has received much criticism, for instance that the expressions shown are posed, unnatural, caricature-like, not spontaneous, and without context; that the forced-choice method and pre-selected list of emotions direct the subjects to believe that the facial expressions shown *must* be interpreted only in terms of the emotions available. Furthermore, it is argued that it is the format of the method, rather than the so-called universality of the facial expression, that creates the consistently high agreement among the respondents (Russell 1991; 1994). As a consequence, a method using freely chosen labels was designed.

In the free label method, respondents are given freedom to create their own emotion label to describe the facial expressions. According to Russell (1991), the biggest obstacle to using a free label method was that subjects do not always specify an emotion, but respond with a plethora of words, stories, situations, etc. such as, 'is far away in her thoughts', 'here the mood is very pleasant, she hears something which affects her in a pleasant way' (Frijda 1953:319). Subsequently the method was changed and required subjects to respond only with one or two words, which had to describe an emotion. As a consequence, the method became less free. Unlike Ekman's standard method, the agreement obtained in the free label approach is generally only around 31%, and this is for the most parts only obtained when the free responses are categorised into broader clusters of emotions, i.e. when words such as frustration, mad, scorn, upset, irritable, and making a decision, are clustered under the emotion 'sadness' (Johnson-Laird & Oatley 1989, Russell 1991).

A third method used is the Dashiell Method in which emotions are represented by stories. To give an example, to investigate happiness, the respondent is told that someone (the protagonist) has just met a friend and is happy. The respondent is then asked to select one of several pre-selected facial expressions for the protagonist in the story, i.e. a facial expression to match the person being happy. The problem with this method is that results depend on which pre-selected facial expressions the respondents are presented with, as not all possible facial expressions are included. In addition to this, it is impossible to know if the story and the emotion are mixed, i.e. it is unclear whether the respondent selects a smiling expression as an indication of happiness or as a response to meeting a friend (Russell 1991;1994).

Due to time and environmental constraints this study chose to use the standard method with a forced-choice format. However, the method used here was not a complete replicate of Ekman's method. Instead of including only the facial expressions and words for the basic emotions, we chose to include the so-called self-conscious emotions such as guilt, shame, embarrassment, and pride. In addition to this, some, but not all, of the basic emotions were also included, as well as emotions that have no known distinct facial display. The purpose of using such a mixed list of emotion words was to avoid too much restriction on the responses, i.e. we wanted to give the participants the possibility to choose emotions other than the basic ones normally used in the standard method. Furthermore, this study did not employ the posed photographs pre-selected by Ekman, but instead used its own

stimulus material. Research shows that average agreement is higher when using the pre-selected posed photographs than when using spontaneous facial expressions or self-created stimulus material. In the latter cases, the average agreement is only just above chance. The high agreement obtained when using pre-selected posed photographs may be attributed to the unnatural caricature-like nature of the expressions as well as the fact that these expressions are so widely used that respondents might already be familiar with them (Russell 1991;1994). Thus, to avoid priming, it was decided to create our own stimuli material. However, even though the photographs are original, they are nevertheless based on the facial expressions created by Ekman and may therefore still be considered posed, unnatural, and caricature-like.

For the PDA test 262 photographs were taken by a professional photographer, of a professional theatre actor expressing different emotions by means of different facial expressions. The actor was not given muscle-to-muscle instructions to configure his face into pre-determined facial expressions. Instead, he was given the name of an emotion, in English, and asked to express that emotion facially. The actor was given free reign as to how he wished to express the emotion. From the 262 photographs, 14 were selected following discussions and a selection process carried out by the research group. An example of the test can be seen in table 4.

The facial displays of the emotions to a certain degree follow previously established criteria for selected emotions in the literature on emotional display and facial recognition. Such established criteria for displays of e.g. shame, include downward head and gaze movements, while displays of embarrassment include downward gaze, a controlled smile, head movements away, and face touching (Keltner 1995:451). On the base of these criteria, as well as the intuition of the research group, 14 photographs were selected. The participants' task in the PDA test was to select from a list of 12 emotion words the term which they considered the most appropriate to describe the facial expression in the photograph.


	<p>Please choose one of the following emotions which in your opinion best matches the facial expression</p>		
	<input type="checkbox"/> Proud <input type="checkbox"/> Ashamed <input type="checkbox"/> Arrogant <input type="checkbox"/> Surprised	<input type="checkbox"/> Guilty <input type="checkbox"/> Happy <input type="checkbox"/> Sad <input type="checkbox"/> Embarrassed	<input type="checkbox"/> Afraid <input type="checkbox"/> Disappointed <input type="checkbox"/> Angry <input type="checkbox"/> Excited

Table 4: Example of the Picture Driven Association Test

The discrepancy between the number of words and number of facial expression can be explained by the fact that some emotions may have both a positive and negative expression, such as surprise which can be valued as both positive and negative, and is often confused with fear (Russell 1991; 1994). In addition to this, it is still uncertain if the so-called self-conscious emotions such as shame, guilt, pride, and embarrassment, are distinct emotions with distinct facial expressions. Consequently, a wider selection of potential facial expressions for these emotions was included. Furthermore, we also wished to test the notion that an utterance may have more than one or perhaps different expressions depending on linguistic and cultural background. The aim of the PDA test was to explore whether there is agreement across and within the three language groups as to which emotions are expressed in the photographs.

3.3 The Languages

The selection of Chinese and Japanese as the native languages of the non-native participants is motivated mainly by three factors. According to the theory of linguistic supertypes both Chinese and Japanese are languages that belong to a supertype different from that of Standard British English. In addition to its definition of the word as being three-sided, the theory also offers a model for explaining and dividing languages according to three supertypes based on their culture-specific mental universes: reality-oriented languages such as Chinese and Russian, which communicate about reality through the situation being common to the speaker and hearer; speaker-oriented languages such as Spanish and Japanese, which communicate about reality through the speaker's experience of the situation; and hearer-oriented languages such as Danish and English, which

communicate about reality through the hearer's experience of it (Durst-Andersen 2011a, b). Thus, the languages selected belong to the reality-oriented and speaker-oriented supertypes, respectively. This means that not only are they distinct from British English (which is hearer-oriented) in terms of how they communicate about reality, but they are also distinct from each other. That brings us to the second reason.

Although the supertype theory separates the two languages, there are nevertheless many similarities between the languages with respect to phonetics, morphophonology, and orthography. The two languages have a long history of borrowing from each other, especially when it comes to their writing systems (Frellesvig 2011, Ramsey 1989). In relation to this, we find our third reason for comparing these two languages — their shared cultural history. Just as the languages have many shared features, so do the cultures, though mostly in terms of religious and social ideologies such as Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism (Stockman 2003). While Confucianism is only a philosophy, i.e. a way of thinking about civil society and social relationships, Buddhism and Daoism are also considered religions. Still, both religions had a lot to say about ethics, ways of living and interacting with one another, and for centuries they developed in interaction with each other as well as with Chinese politics (Ebrey 2004). Just as Buddhism spread from China to Japan, so did Chinese understandings of filial piety and ancestors as part and parcel of the sinified Buddhism (Ebrey 2004:98). Furthermore, during the Tang dynasty, in 581-907 China, the culture of the dynasty influenced large areas of East and Central Asia, and Japan was one of the many neighbouring states to adopt several aspects of Chinese statecraft (Ebrey 2004:110). Thus, throughout the centuries there has been a large exchange of culture and language between the two countries.

As this project adheres to the notion that language, culture, and thought are somehow intertwined and cannot be separated, these shared aspects of Japanese and Chinese language and culture cannot be ignored when exploring how speakers of the two languages understand English words. Consequently, Chinese and Japanese have been chosen because although the supertype theory divides them into separate groups in relation to how they talk about reality on the basis of their grammar, they are connected by other features — such as shared orthographies and cultural history

3.4 The Stimulus Words

In this project, I have chosen to use nine emotion or emotion-related words as stimulus words for the tests. The reason for selecting these nine words can be found in the field of emotion research, particularly in the debate on whether emotions are universal or culture-specific. Though the total number of words included is nine (table 5), the analysis will focus on three words only; *guilty*, *ashamed*, and *proud*.

The decision to focus on these three words only, was motivated by the empirical data as well as the general discussion on emotion and emotion words which will be reviewed in the following chapter. Inspiration was also found in the vast number of studies on specific emotion words, especially in relation to different cultures. Particularly the question on whether embarrassment, shame, and guilt are variants of the same emotion or three distinct, yet related, emotions was found to be relevant (Schweder et al. 2008; Ha 1995; Keltner & Buswell 1996; Ho, Fu & Ng 2004; Tangney et al 1996, 2005). There are several studies discussing the importance of shame and guilt in Japanese society and how these notions relate to the English notions of shame and guilt (Bedford 2004, Benedict 1946, Creighton 1990, Lebra 1983). Furthermore, in relation to the use of emotion words in a second language, the field of cross-linguistic influence contains interesting studies on semantic and conceptual transfer of emotions in bilinguals (see 2.7). The research on the emotion lexicon in bi- and multilinguals by Pavlenko (2007) is of particular interest and relevance for this study. Thus by focusing on words and notions that have already been discussed in other related areas, especially the area of emotion research and emotions and bilingualism, it is possible not only to investigate the specific research question of this project, but also to add new knowledge to existing areas of research.

List of stimulus words		
Angry	Loyalty	Guilty
Embarrassed	Arrogant	Proud
Ashamed	Disappointed	Jealous

Table 5: List of Stimulus Words

A heavily influencing theory on this study is Wierzbicka's theory of NSM and Cultural Keywords. As previously mentioned, her theory addresses the untranslatability of words, customs, and social institutions across language societies. She argues that this untranslatability is explained by the close link between the language of a speech community and the way its members see the world, everything in full accordance with the theory of linguistic relativity. The specific world view associated with a speech community manifests itself through the cultural keywords of a language (Wierzbicka 1997). It seems plausible that words with special meanings and culture-specific loading must reflect essential characteristics of the life of a given society and the ways its members think. But according to Wierzbicka, cultural keywords do more than that. They are conceptual tools that reflect a society's past experience of doing and thinking, and by using these words, people manage to preserve the past in the present (Wierzbicka 2006). Even though a society changes, and its verbal repertoire is modified and renewed to reflect these changes, the influence of the cultural keywords is not affected. While ordinary lexemes live side by side with other lexemes and may constitute alternative ways of expressing the same content, cultural keywords reflect a person's conceptual perspective on life and the cultural values of that particular society. That is why cultural keywords are particularly important and revealing. While this study takes the perspective of the existence of particular words that reflect the characteristics, life, and ways of thinking of a specific language community, and the idea of untranslatability of certain words and aspects of a language, it does not necessarily mean that it agrees with Wierzbicka's specific choices of cultural keywords in different languages.

3.4.1 Why Emotion Words?

The reason for focussing on the understanding of L2 emotion words in this study is based not merely on personal experience but also on remarkable and important findings concerning the mental lexicon in bi- and multilinguals, cross-cultural communication, and cross-linguistic influence.

With respect to the mental lexicon of bi- and multilinguals, as well as cross-linguistic influence, Pavlenko (2007) explains that the mapping between concepts and words in the mental lexicon of bi- and multilinguals is not straightforward, therefore the relationship between concepts and lexical terms is not as unproblematic as that of native monolingual speakers (Jarvis & Pavlenko 2010:118-120, Pavlenko 2007:84). Consequently, bilinguals often map L2 words onto L1 concepts, and it is

exactly this misalignment of concepts and words in the bilingual mental lexicon that may lead to cross-linguistic influences.

One study on the representation and processing of emotion words in the bilingual mental lexicon found that emotion words are represented differently in memory from abstract and concrete words. In their study, Altarriba and Bauer (2004), asked participants to rate abstract (charity), concrete (desk), and emotion (fear) words on concreteness, context-availability, and imagery scales. The results indicated that emotion words were rated differently from both abstract and concrete words on all three scales (Altarriba & Bauer 2004, Pavlenko 2007:95). The conclusion suggested that emotion words are more memorable and more readily recalled than concrete and abstract words. In other words, concepts represented by emotion words are characteristically different, and activate different associative relationships, from abstract and concrete words (Altarriba & Bauer 2004).

Based on a qualitative study of emotion discourse among bi- and multilinguals, Pavlenko (2007) found clear differences in the respondents' use of affective repertoires in both L1 and L2. Self-reporting on the use of affective language by the respondents show that bi-and multilinguals prefer to use their L1 when expressing personal close affection, e.g. towards a partner or child, even when they normally communicate in L2 or L3, as affection expressed in their L1 feels more 'true' or 'real' compared to affection expressed in a later learned language. In contrast, many of them prefer to use their L2 in situations where emotional distance and professionalism are favoured (Pavlenko 2007:112-150).

Together, these studies, in combination with other studies on emotion words and emotion-laden words in the bilingual lexicon (see Pavlenko 2007: 92-99 for an overview), suggest that not only are emotion words represented differently from abstract and concrete words in the mental lexicon, but they may also be linked to a richer semantic autobiographic network in L1 than L2. This makes emotion words interesting to investigate as they have a different and stronger connection to the body than concrete nouns. By combining all of the above-mentioned theories, the theoretical stance of this thesis is created, that language, culture, and thought are connected and that this connection is somehow visible in the English words used by non-native English speakers.

3.5 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I have presented the methodological framework used in the study. As existing methodology were not adequate for the purpose of this study, a new methodological framework was created. The design of the framework is based on features from existing methods within a range of scientific fields that has been used for testing language association, the universality of emotions and their facial expressions, and methods for exploring the cultural semantics of words. The framework, which is based on the theoretical notion of the word as an image-idea pair as suggested by the theory of linguistic supertypes, consists of three tests each addressing three different aspects of the understanding and use of the stimulus words: the Free Association test (FA test), the Context Bound Association test (CBA test), and the Picture Driven Association test (PDA test). In addition, the stimulus words were also presented, as were the motivations for focussing on emotion words and Japanese and Chinese speakers of English as a lingua franca.

4 A Review of Emotions and Emotion Words

This chapter contains a review on the literature of emotions. As the object of interest is the understanding of English emotion words by participants from various linguistic and cultural backgrounds, I shall briefly outline the main theories that are of relevance to the study. The research on emotions from the discipline of psychology plays a crucial role as it is so pervasive in the literature. Furthermore, it is also the discussion by psychologists on basic and self-conscious emotions, the accompanying facial expressions, and their universality that has been the inspiration for the decision to focus on the stimulus words *guilty*, *ashamed*, and *proud* in this study. In addition to a general introduction to the various theoretical notions of emotions, there will also be specific presentations of what is known about ‘guilt’, ‘shame’ and ‘pride’ in the literature. This will be followed by a discussion of the non-verbal expression of emotions and emotions and emotion words across cultures. This review is not aimed at taking a stance in the discussion of whether emotions are universal or culture-specific, but rather to provide a general overview of the knowledge that exists on emotions in order to provide a broader context and understanding of the data.

4.1 Two Paradigms of Emotions

The discussion on emotions (what they are, how they are structured, created, and expressed) has been ongoing since the 17th century, when philosophers first considered emotions to be simple non-cognitive phenomena, i.e. involuntary, affective states of mind (Harré 1986, Solomon 1995). Modern theories of emotions can roughly be categorised into two groups: universalist and relativist /social constructivist. There is little or no consensus between the two groups with regard to the relationship between bodily experiences of emotions, emotion words, emotion concepts, the structure of the emotion lexicon, and the methods of selection and analysis of emotion terms. Despite this lack of consensus on almost everything, the two groups do agree on the notion that speakers of different languages may differ in the ways they talk about and act on various emotions, i.e. emotion words, emotion discourse and emotion work. Nevertheless, they still differ in the degree of importance assigned to cross-linguistic differences and the links posited between these differences and underlying mental representations, and in the way they conceptualise the relationship between language and culture (Pavlenko 2007:78-9).

While the relativists and social constructivists focus on the social use and context of emotions, psychologists mostly follow the Universalist paradigm and are concerned with the structure and characteristic features of emotions as well as to determine whether an emotion is basic or not (Ekman & Cordaro 2011, Izard 2011, Tracy & Randles 2011, Scherer 2005). Although the present study focuses on emotion words, and not on the emotions themselves, a brief introduction to the different paradigms is considered necessary for a better understanding of the topic at hand.

4.1.1 The Universalist View of Emotions

A general and common view within emotion research is the Universalist paradigm which basically argues ‘that people are, “deep down” – that is, in terms of their “basic emotions” – all alike’ (Solomon 1995:171). The Universalists take their starting point in the traditional philosophical view of emotions and continue the distinction philosophers made between ‘higher’ and ‘lower’ emotions (Harré 1986:3). This division of emotions is still employed in modern emotion research, though the terms of higher and lower emotions have changed, been redefined, and can now be found under a variety of terms, such as primary and secondary emotions, first- and second-order emotions, or the most commonly used basic emotions and complex or self-conscious emotions (Campos 2007, Ekman & Cordaro 2011, Izard 2011, Levenson 2011). Just as the range of terms, the list of basic emotions also varies from scholar to scholar; yet, ‘fear’ and ‘anger’ always seem to be present (Tracy & Randles 2011, Turner 2009).

The Universalist view emphasises bodily experiences, and regards emotions as biologically determined processes, based on a core affect programme which is hardwired into the human mind, laid down by evolution, with concepts as well as language as secondary. These biological processes have common, experiential qualities and are expressed through universally understood facial expressions (Pavlenko 2007:79, Tracy & Randles 2011, Turner 2009). The Universalists argue that people experience emotions regardless of whether or not they are lexicalised in a language (Ekman 1994, Ekman & Cordaro 2011). However, even though these emotion words are grounded in actual emotional phenomena, they are still highly influenced by customs, traditions, and self-representation biases (i.e. how one views and presents oneself to others) and cultural values. Thus, while culture may provide important clues to the underlying emotional phenomena, it cannot be considered definitive in deciding whether or not an emotion is basic. For example, just because a

particular culture does not have an emotion term for ‘sadness’, this does not mean that members of that culture do not possess the necessary, hardwired, neural programme for a distinct sadness response. Similarly, the psychologist Ekman, the most well-known advocate for emotional universals, argues that emotion and language exist and evolve independently of each other, and that language is socially constructed whereas basic emotions are not. In other words, it is possible that individual cultures and societies create and decide what is, and what is not, directly expressed in their language, but this is not tantamount to saying that the underlying basic emotions are shared by all human beings (Ekman & Cordaro 2011).

4.1.2 A Relativist and Social Constructivist View of Emotions

The second paradigm within emotion research is called the relativist, or social constructivist paradigm. This paradigm questions the division of emotions into basic and secondary emotions as well as the universality of emotions. Within this paradigm emotions are not considered innate but constructed within and by a society. Furthermore, researchers within this paradigm argue that the concept of basic universal emotions is a Western cultural construct. As a result, it is impossible to organise the numerous ways in which members of different communities and cultures talk about feelings, emotions, attitudes, internal states, and external phenomena according to such a concept (Pavlenko 2007:80, Schweder 1994, Solomon 1995, Wierzbicka 1999, Wierzbicka & Harkins 2001).

Contrary to the Universalist paradigm, the relativist paradigm views language as the guiding force for the acquisition of emotions. Accordingly, emotional socialisation is an intrinsic part of the language socialisation process, in which language helps focus children’s attention to experiences linked to culture-specific emotion phenomena. In time, as corresponding conceptual categories are formed and modified within the mind, people learn how to interpret physical emotional experiences and external events in terms of these culture-specific emotion categories, and to judge whether someone is justifiably experiencing an emotion (Pavlenko 2007:80). Unlike philosophers and psychologists, who throughout history have tried – and still try – to define emotions such as ‘shame’, ‘hate’, ‘fear’, and ‘anger’ in terms of underlying universal abstract entities in order to study them, the relativists and social constructivists do not see emotions as abstract entities. Instead they see a concrete world of social activities and contexts and consequently argue that emotions cannot be studied independently of their context or their linguistic expression (Harré 1986:4,

Solomon 1995, Turner 2009, Wierzbicka 1999, Wierzbicka & Harkins 2001). Thus, in accordance with the principle of linguistic relativity, the relativists and social constructivists argue that when it comes to emotions, we human beings can only do what our linguistic resources and repertoire of social practices permit or enable us to do, i.e. our emotions are shaped by the language we speak and the culture we belong to (Solomon 1995).

To sum up, the relativist and social constructivist paradigms argue that the dominant contribution to emotions comes from the social world. It is through linguistic practices and cultural judgements that the subjective experience of emotions is defined. Consequently, it is necessary to first and foremost look not only at the use of these words but also at the encounters in which they are used (Harré 1986:5, Solomon 1995). Thus, the study of emotion words, their context, and use is important, not only for investigating the nature of emotions, but also for studying how social and cultural practices are reflected in language.

4.2 The Basic Emotions

Within the field of psychology most emotion researchers categorise emotions as either basic or self-conscious. Theories of basic emotions have been, and remain, the major programme for scientific research on emotions. According to Levenson (2011:379), ‘basic emotions are a special class of discrete emotions, a subset of emotions that are most elemental; most distinct; most continuous across species, time, and place and most intimately related to survival-critical functions’. This means that they are biologically based and shared with other animals. Because of their biological basis, their evolutionary origin, and their universality, they are called basic emotions (Levenson 2011). These emotions are characterised by being discrete, by having evolved through adaptation to our surroundings, and by being universal, i.e. they are experienced and recognised universally across different cultures (Ekman & Cordaro 2011). Furthermore, they are also finite and as such the number of basic emotions is limited. Different basic emotion theorists have generated different lists of which emotions they consider to be basic, though most lists contain between six to eight emotions, with ‘anger’, ‘fear’, and ‘happiness’ appearing on most of them (Tracy & Robins 2007a, 2010). The most well-known and widespread list of basic emotions are the seven proposed repeatedly by Ekman: ‘anger’, ‘fear’, ‘surprise’, ‘sadness’, ‘disgust’, ‘contempt’, and ‘happiness’. All of these are claimed to be universally felt and recognised (Ekman & Cordaro 2011, Ekman & Friesen 1971).

Although some of these basic emotions were included in the words investigated in this study, the focus of my analysis is not on any of this category of emotions and therefore the topic of basic emotions will not be discussed in further detail here. Instead we shall turn our attention to the category of self-conscious emotions.

4.3 The Self-Conscious Emotions

The self-conscious emotion is a term used within the cognitive theory of emotions. This theory argues that the understanding of particular emotions requires a certain cognitive understanding of 'self' (Barrett 1995). The self-conscious emotions are such as 'guilt', 'shame', 'embarrassment' and 'pride', and in order to experience these emotions, one must have developed an awareness of self. Consequently, unlike the basic emotions which are biologically based and therefore emerge within the first nine months of life, the self-conscious emotions emerge later in life around the end of the child's third year of life unlike the basic emotions which are biologically based (Tracy & Robins 2007a).

Self-conscious emotions are also called social emotions by some scholars, as socialisation – with its crucial information about rules, standards, self, etc. – is essential to their development and because they only exist in, and are contingent on, interpersonal relationships (Barrett 1995, Kitayama et al 1995). This means that the experience of a self-conscious emotion by individuals is based on the perception that other people express an emotion about the individuals. Thus self-conscious emotions involve the evaluation and judgement or appraisal by others (Campos 2007). Let us take 'pride' as an example. According to Kitayama et al. (1995), this emotion often arises from a sense of accomplishment. However, this sense is typically based on a comparison of an individual's performance with those of others or it is reflected directly in complimentary remarks made by other people. Consequently, 'pride' cannot exist in a social vacuum. This also holds true for 'guilt' and 'shame', as these emotions involve a negative attitude expressed by others. Often these negative evaluations are dependent on other people's view of the individuals, and therefore it is impossible to understand these emotions isolated from their interpersonal or social context.

Though self-conscious emotions received relatively little attention until the mid-1990s, theoretical and methodological advances and new empirical findings have demonstrated the importance of self-conscious emotions for a variety of phenomena such as altruism, achievement, aggression,

narcissism, and nationalism. From a functionalist view of emotions, the self-conscious – or social – emotions have a crucial effect on socialisation, as they underscore society's rules and standards, motivating people to follow the guidelines of society (Barrett 1995). For example, negative emotions such as 'embarrassment', 'guilt', and 'shame' prompt people to behave in moral and socially appropriate ways in their social interactions and intimate relationships, whereas 'pride' drives people to work hard to accomplish great tasks. 'Guilt' also plays a role in reparative and prosocial behaviours such as empathy, altruism and caregiving. (Tracy & Robins 2007a, Williams & DeSteno 2008). Because they are evoked by reflection and evaluation of self through the eyes and judgement by others according to social values and standards, the self-conscious emotions provide immediate punishment or reinforcement of behaviour as a method to change the judgement by others (Tangney et al. 2007, Tracy et al.2007: xiii). Worth noting is that the actual behaviour need not have taken place for these emotions to be effective. On the basis of previous experiences with similar situations, individuals are able to anticipate the emotional reaction to their expected behaviour, thereby leading them to consider alternatives. It is in this way that the self-conscious emotions exert their influence on people's behaviour by providing feedback regarding anticipated and actual behaviour in the form of expected 'guilt', 'shame', or 'pride' (Tangney et al.2007). It is important to remember that the social evaluation by others is not enough to elicit the self-conscious emotions. On the basis of the evaluation by others, the evaluated individuals must themselves also perform a self-evaluation in order for the emotions to emerge, e.g. the praise of the individuals by other people will not evoke feelings of 'pride' unless the praise is accepted (Tracy & Robins 2007a).

In contrast to the basic emotions, the self-conscious emotions show little if any evidence of universality. In their essay, Tangney et al (2007), focus on the moral functions and implications of self-conscious emotions. Moral standards represent an individual's knowledge and internalisation of moral norms and conventions and according to psychologists these are dictated in part by universal moral laws and in part by culturally specific rules. However, recently, psychologists have come to recognise that moral standards are in fact multifaceted, diverse, and culturally relative, i.e. definitions of 'right' and 'wrong' are not consistent across cultures. Consequently, it logically follows that self-conscious emotions are also not universally consistent either.

4.3.1 The Emotion of 'Guilt'

'Guilt' is argued to belong to the category of self-conscious emotions. In the literature 'guilt' it is most often described and discussed in opposition to 'shame'. However, Baumeister et al (2001) have attempted to describe 'guilt' on its own terms. Focusing on the interpersonal aspects of 'guilt', they argue that 'guilt' is an unpleasant emotional state, and that the prototype cause of 'guilt' is hurting other members in an interpersonal relationship. When individuals benefit unjustly at the expense of other individuals, or inflict harm, distress, disappointment or other misfortunes on an affiliated other person, they will feel 'guilty'. As a consequence two emotional sources for 'guilt' are suggested: empathetic distress over the victim's suffering and anxiety of separation or exclusion because of loss or damage that may have been inflicted on the relationship by one's transgressions (Baumeister et al. 2001). Lindsay-Hartz et al. (1995) attempted to create abstract descriptions of 'guilt' and 'shame' which would apply to every possible instance of 'guilt' or 'shame'. Although 'guilt' and 'shame' appear to be similar emotions, they are in fact qualitatively different from each other. 'Guilt', can be said to involve violations of the moral norm for which we take responsibility. Therefore the primary motivation for 'guilt' is the desire to somehow make amends and restore the balance in the moral norms and standards through confession, reparation, or requests for forgiveness. Instead of distancing themselves from social contact, wrongdoers are motivated by their 'guilt' to communicate to others about their wrongdoing and 'guilt' in order to show that they understand the norms and wish to follow them (Lindsay-Hartz et al. 1995, Tangney et al. 2007, Tracy & Robins 2007a). If confession and forgiveness is permitted by the victims, then the wrongdoers' 'guilt' may cease. If not, the wrongdoers may seek to undo their wrongdoings by punishing themselves in the belief that this may compensate for the wrongdoing they feel responsible for (Lindsay-Hartz et al. 1995).

As to the function of 'guilt', it is hypothesised to contribute directly to healthy and good relationships by promoting behaviours that benefit these relationships and by functioning as a verification of the relationships, i.e. as mentioned above, by feeling 'guilty' and showing it, the wrongdoers may be able to repair the damage the transgression has caused to their relationship. By showing 'guilt' the wrongdoers indicate that they care about the relationship (Baumeister et al. 2001). Another function of 'guilt' is to redistribute emotional distress. Feelings of 'guilt' reduce the wrongdoers' benefit of the wrongdoing while at the same time makes the victims feel better.

Therefore, the overall effect of 'guilt' is to minimise the negative affect of the victim by increasing the negative affect of the transgressor (Baumeister et al. 2001). As a consequence of these functions research suggests that 'guilt' encourages proper behaviour primarily through 'guilt' avoidance (Baumeister et al. 2001, Lindsay-Hartz et al. 1995, Tangney et al. 2007, Tracy & Robins 2007a, Williams & DeSteno 2008).

Though people certainly resist, or attempt to resist, improper acts and behaviour in an effort to avoid expected feelings of 'guilt', Lindsay-Hartz et al. (1995) suggest that the interplay between experiences of 'guilt' and the motivation of moral and prosocial behaviour is rather more complex. They argue that the incentive to make amends requires that people accept responsibility for their transgressions, i.e. the transgression itself is not enough for people to feel 'guilty'; people must take responsibility for it. Furthermore, it does not matter whether or not people are objectively responsible for the transgression; it is people's subjective sense of responsibility that is a precondition to feeling 'guilty'. In addition to this, to be able to feel 'guilty', people also need the ability to notice the effect of their actions on another person and to empathise with them. Finally, it is argued that to feel 'guilty' there must be a commitment to people or a community and the desire to honour this commitment, i.e. the more committed people are the more likely they are to experience feelings of 'guilt' (Lindsay-Hartz et al. 1995).

As mentioned above, 'guilt' is most often presented in comparison with 'shame'. In the literature, the many attempts to distinguish between the two can be said to fall into three categories: a distinction based on types of eliciting events, a distinction based on the public versus private nature of the transgression, and a distinction based on the degree to which the person construe the emotion-eliciting event as a failure of 'self' or as the result of one's behaviour. However, research indicates that the types of eliciting events and situations have little to do with how people differentiate between 'guilt' and 'shame'. In fact, it seems that most types of events and situations can elicit feelings of 'guilt' as well as 'shame'. It is also argued that 'guilt' and 'shame' can both be experienced as public and private (Keltner & Buswell 1996, Tangney et al. 2005, Tracy & Robins 2007a). Instead the difference between the two lies in how the eliciting events are appraised and judged. If the judgement focuses on the 'self' of the wrongdoer, it leads to 'shame'. Conversely, if the judgement focuses on a specific act or behaviour of the transgressor it leads to 'guilt' (Tangney et al. 2005, Tracy & Robins 2007a). Accordingly the difference between 'guilt' and 'shame' is on

the emphasis on the ‘self’ – ‘I did that horrible thing’ – versus behaviour – ‘I did that horrible thing’. Although both ‘guilt’ and ‘shame’ are emotional responses to the connection between ‘self’ and others, ‘guilt’ is typically less devastating and painful than ‘shame’. This is because ‘guilt’ is a response to the condemnation of specific acts and behaviours, whereas ‘shame’ is a response to the condemnation of the self, i.e. one’s person.

4.3.2 The Emotion of ‘Shame’

The literature on the meaning of ‘ashamed’, or ‘shame’, is quite extensive, especially with regard to the relationship ‘shame’ has to ‘guilt’ and ‘embarrassment’. It is often discussed in the literature whether ‘shame’ and ‘embarrassment’ are aspects of the same emotion or two distinct emotions. Although the focus in this study is on ‘shame’, it is useful to discuss this emotion in relation to ‘embarrassment’ in order to understand the participants’ responses better.

For a long time it was believed that ‘shame’ and ‘embarrassment’ were fundamentally the same emotion and that shame was simply stronger more intense form of ‘embarrassment’. It was believed that a single internal state underlies both emotions. If the feeling was strong, it was called ‘shame’, and if it was mild, ‘embarrassment’ (Sabini et.al. 2001). This traditional distinction of shame and embarrassment had much to recommend it, especially as it seemed to correspond with people’s intuitions. However, during the 1990s, new evidence challenged the traditional view and suggested that shame and embarrassment are two distinct emotions (Keltner & Buswell 1996, Tangney et al. 1996). Since then, the literature has directed its attention to further investigating the differences between the two emotions.

In the mid-1990s various authors reported data suggesting that ‘embarrassment’ and ‘shame’ are actually two distinct emotional experiences which do not only differ with respect to intensity (Keltner & Buswell 1996, Tangney et al 1996, Sabini et al 2001). Participants in their studies indicated that ‘shame’, in addition to being more intense, is also more enduring. Furthermore, the studies indicated that the two emotions also differ with respect to the eliciting events, as ‘shame’ results from transgressions that are more serious than the transgressions leading to ‘embarrassment’. ‘Embarrassment’ is hypothesised to derive from unexpected, minor accidents and ‘shame’ is believed to be elicited when events reveal one’s deep-seated flaws both to oneself and others. When people are ‘embarrassed’, they feel awkward, but when they are ‘ashamed’, they feel immoral.

Furthermore, 'embarrassment' is associated with humour, smiles and jokes while 'shame' is associated with disgust, self-directed anger and apologies (Miller & Tangney 1994, Tangney et al 1996; 2007). In a study by Keltner and Buswell (1996), participants were asked to name an event that made them feel ashamed, embarrassed, or guilty. The most common elicitor of feelings of embarrassment were pratfalls (slipping in the mud, tripping and falling), cognitive shortcomings (forgetting a new acquaintance's name), loss of control over the body, shortcomings in physical appearance (stain on a shirt, food between teeth), and failure at privacy regulation. In contrast, the most common antecedents for feelings of shame were poor performance, hurting others emotionally, failing to meet others' expectations, disappointment in oneself, and role-inappropriate behaviour (Keltner & Buswell 1996, Sabini et al 2001). The studies found that it is not only the underlying emotional experiences that are different, but also the events and appraisals causing the emotion. In general, it has been found that embarrassing events were of minor importance, caused by relatively trivial social wrongdoings or awkward interactions which occurred unexpectedly and with a sense of surprise, often accompanied by physiological reactions such as blushing, smiling or situations which may cause people to laugh. In contrast, shameful events are serious failures and moral wrongdoings more likely to be accompanied by feelings of regret (Tangney et al 1994, Sabini et al. 2001). Keltner and Buswell (1997) found that whereas 'embarrassment' follows violations of conventions, 'shame' follows violations of moral rules. In other words, shame has moral implications, embarrassment does not.

Later studies have suggested that the word convention is perhaps not the best term to describe the flaws involved in embarrassing incidents. On the basis of Keltner and Buswell's (1996) study and their categories for 'embarrassment', Sabini et al (2001) argue that e.g. loss of body control, or tripping and falling are not violations of conventions. Furthermore, they argue that the two emotions are not two separately evolved systems but rather one emotional state that underlies both affective experiences, and that this emotional state fundamentally has to do with self-representation. The two experiences and their differences arise from realisations of different aspects of one's self-representation. 'Shame' arises from the exposure of flaws in one's core self, whereas 'embarrassment' has to do with the exposure of flaws in one's presented self, i.e. 'shame' is tied to real inner flaws, 'embarrassment' to outer visible ones (Sabini et al 2001).

As mentioned above, 'shame' is also often described in contrast to 'guilt'. The main difference between the two is that 'guilt' is based on judgement of one's actions whereas 'shame' is based on the judgement of one's self and involves taking a single unworthy action or characteristic to be the whole of one's identity, i.e. 'I did that horrible thing, and therefore I am an unworthy, incompetent or bad person'. Therefore 'shame' is believed to be more severe and painful as one's self and not just one's behaviour is at stake. Because the situations causing 'shame' are social in nature, individuals who experience 'shame' may feel exposed and therefore more aware of other people's disapproval. Consequently, feelings of 'shame' are typically accompanied by feelings of inferiority, a sense of shrinking or being small which leads to a desire to hide. This can also be done by avoiding looking at people, hiding one's face, slumping one's body and lowering one's head, reactions which indicate that one feels low and unworthy in comparison to others (Barrett 1995, Lindsay et al. 1995, Tangney et al. 2005, Tracy & Matsumoto 2008, Tracy & Robins 2007a). All these responses can be said to be strong physiological changes. Furthermore, it has also been suggested that those experiencing 'shame' may not only include the shamed individuals but also their family, friends, and other people affiliated with the wrongdoers (Ho, Fu & Ng 2004).

4.3.3 The Emotion of 'Pride'

Although the body of contemporary research on the emotion of 'pride' falls mostly within the field of psychology, the emotion has been central to philosophical and religious discussions for thousands of years.

Since the late 1990s, research within the field of psychology has been growing rapidly and new findings have emerged and new theories have been developed. However, most research on 'pride' tends to focus on achievement-oriented 'pride', i.e. 'pride' as a positive self-conscious emotion. Furthermore, 'pride' is also viewed as an evolutionary adaptation and, like other self-conscious emotions, has evolved to serve certain social functions.

The social function of 'pride' is to motivate people to strive for success and accomplishments in socially valued domains. Through socialisation children learn to experience 'pride' in response to praise for socially valued achievements by parents, teachers, and peers, i.e. 'pride' stems from praise and is most strongly evoked in situations of publically praised accomplishments provided

(Hart & Matsuba 2007, Williams & DeSteno 2009). Over time, people learn to experience 'pride' in response to these achievements without the external evaluations of others. The pleasurable subjective feelings that accompany 'pride' may reinforce the prosocial behaviours that typically elicit the emotion, such as caregiving and achievements (Hart & Matsuba 2007, Tracy & Robins 2007b Tracy et al. 2010). Consequently, the reinforcing properties of pride motivate people to seek future successes and achievements. Over time, 'pride' contributes to the development of a genuine and deep-rooted sense of self-esteem (Tracy & Robins 2007b).

On the basis of early philosophical and religious texts which show a confused yet undeniable distinction between two related 'pride' concepts, contemporary research suggests that 'pride' is still best conceptualised in two ways, either as 'authentic pride' or 'hubristic pride'. Whereas 'authentic pride' is based on achievements stemming from hard work and effort and is likely to be accompanied by genuine feelings of self-worth, 'hubristic pride' is often based on nothing but an overly positive view of oneself and one's attributes. Although 'hubristic pride' may also be a genuine emotional experience, it is fuelled by a more false sense of self, i.e. distorted and aggrandised views of self (Tracy & Robins 2007a, Tracy & Prehn 2012). 'Hubristic pride' may have evolved to motivate the attainment of dominance, a high status that is achieved through force, threat and intimidation, which may explain why this emotion is often viewed negatively. Conversely, 'authentic pride' may have evolved to motivate the attainment of prestige. Findings support the hypothesis that people think of 'pride' in terms of two distinct categories corresponding to authentic and hubristic 'pride' (Tracy & Robins 2007b, Tracy et al. 2010). Several researchers have addressed the apparent dual-faceted nature of 'pride' and several findings support the distinction between an 'authentic' and a 'hubristic' component of the emotion and some even suggest that authentic and hubristic 'pride' should be viewed as two distinct emotions (Árdal 1989, Tracy & Robins 2007b;2008, Williams & DeSteno 2008;2009). In summary, psychologists conceptualise 'pride' in terms of two distinct aspects: one reflecting authentic feelings surrounding achievement, accomplishments, effort, and mastery, i.e. 'authentic pride', and the other reflecting hubristic feelings of arrogance, grandiosity, and superiority, i.e. 'hubristic pride' (Tracy & Robins 2007b, Tracy et al. 2010, Tracy & Prehn 2012).

In terms of what situations evoke feelings of ‘pride’, studies suggest that even though the way people think and talk about ‘pride’ may differentiate between two distinct aspects, the two aspects are not differentiated by the kinds of events that elicit them, i.e. there is no difference between the two aspects in the degree to which the eliciting events involved success in academics, athletics, romantic and other relationships. This suggests that people experience both aspects in response to the same kinds of successful events and situations. Thus, it is not the event itself, but the way in which and how one attributes the success of a situation to one’s self (Tracy & Robins 2007b, Tracy et al. 2010). Whereas ‘authentic pride’ (e.g. ‘I am proud of what I did’) may result from attributions to internal, changing, and controllable causes (e.g. ‘I succeeded because I practised/studied/worked hard’), ‘hubristic pride’ (e.g. ‘I am proud of who I am’) may result from acknowledgement of internal, stable, i.e. permanent and uncontrollable causes, (e.g. ‘I succeeded because I am always great’). Furthermore, ‘authentic pride’ stems from a specific event whereas ‘hubristic pride’ may also be based on nothing in particular and is essentially an unconditional positive view of one’s self as a whole (Williams & DeSteno 2008). The individuals who express hubristic pride, they may be perceived negatively as narcissistic behaviour is not accepted within the group (Tracy et al 2010). Furthermore, results show that since many words associated with hubristic pride have a negative connotation, people may only use authentic pride words to describe their own personal subjective feelings, while words connected with ‘hubristic pride’ words may only be used about other people (Tracy & Robins 2007b).

4.4 The Non-Verbal Expressions of Emotions

The hypothesis that a person’s face appearance reveals deeper characteristics is not new and was first proposed by Aristotle and later Darwin. Since then, it has become an accepted belief, especially among psychologists, that facial expressions reflect the emotions one feels, and the fact that the facial expressions for the basic emotions happiness, surprise, fear, anger, contempt, disgust, and sadness are recognised by all human beings regardless of their cultural background is no longer debated within mainstream psychology. However, the notion is still criticised and contested in other scientific disciplines such as anthropology, linguistic anthropology and cross-cultural semantics to mention a few. In contrast, researchers have yet to identify distinct facial expressions for any self-conscious emotion (Keltner 1995, Russell 1994, Tracy & Robins 2007a). An explanation for this may be that the expression of self-conscious emotions may be detrimental to one’s existence in the

group, e.g. in many cultures it is not acceptable to openly display 'pride', and therefore such displays may lower likeability (Tracy & Robins 2007a).

Research on the universal recognition of emotions has mostly been driven by Ekman, who hypothesised a one-to-one correspondence between a basic emotion term and a specific facial expression, and suggested that the basic emotions could be revealed by studying facial expressions (Ekman & Friesen 1971, Russell 1994). However, whether or not these emotions and their accompanying facial expressions are universal or not, it is important to remember that most of the studies conducted on this topic use prototypical facial expressions that are created specifically for the purpose, i.e. the expressions are not naturally occurring facial expressions, and few studies have used naturally-occurring facial expressions in cross-culturally comparative studies (Russell 1994, Scherer 1994). Several studies report empirical evidence for the universal recognition of the facial expression for basic emotions (Boucher & Carlson 1980, Ekman & Friesen 1971, Ekman et al. 1987).

In contrast, research on universally recognised facial expressions of the self-conscious emotions shows weaker, if any, evidence of universality. Although attempts have failed to identify distinct facial expressions for any of the self-conscious emotions, researchers have in recent years begun to identify non-verbal expressions that are cross-culturally recognised (Tracy & Robins 2007b). They have found expressions that include bodily posture or head movement combined with facial expressions for embarrassment, pride and shame (Tracy & Robins 2004; 2007a). In addition, research conducted cross-culturally in both Western and non-Western literate cultures and illiterate non-Western cultures suggests that at least two of the self-conscious emotions – pride and shame – may also be universally recognised (Tracy & Robins 2008). In contrast, guilt seem to lack any kind of recognisable non-verbal expression, shows little evidence of universality, and is unlikely to have discrete physiological correlates (Tracy & Robins 2007)

4.4.1 The Facial Expression for 'Guilt'

Keltner and Buswell (1996) investigated facial expressions for 'guilt' and found that there is no evidence for a distinct facial display of 'guilt'. In their study, three potential candidates for 'guilt' were identified as other emotions, and none of the 14 expressions they investigated were identified most frequently as 'guilt'. When 'guilt' was selected above chance frequency, it was still selected

less frequently than ‘shame’ (Keltner & Buswell 1996, Elison 2005). It is suggested that the lack of evidence for a facial expression for ‘guilt’ may be that people do not communicate ‘guilt’ by means of a facial expressions. It is also possible that people are not able to recognise feelings of ‘guilt’ in others. Alternatively, the non-verbal expressions of guilt may be too complex to capture in still photographs or it may require more to express ‘guilt’ than what is possible by non-verbal communication (Keltner & Buswell 1996). Whatever the case may be, there is still no conclusive evidence for a distinct facial expression for ‘guilt’.

4.4.2 The Facial Expression for ‘Shame’

The possibility for a distinct facial expression of ‘shame’ has been investigated in a study by Keltner (1995). He found evidence for a recognisable facial expression for ‘shame’. However as the study focused on the expression of ‘embarrassment’, no specific features for the expression for ‘shame’ were given. In contrast, Tracy & Matsumoto (2008) argue that ‘pride’ and ‘shame’ both have innate and universal non-verbal expressions. Through a study of spontaneous expressions in relation to situations of success and failure they found evidence for an expression for ‘shame’. This expression contains not only the face but also bodily features such as a head tilt downward, slumped shoulders, and narrowed chest. Additional features of ‘shame’ may be the covering of face with hands, or by turning it away (Tracy & Matsumoto 2008). However, as this expression was observed in responses to the loss or failure of athletic competition, it is also possible to argue that it is an expression of disappointment and/or exhaustion.

4.4.3 The Non-Verbal Expression for ‘Pride’

Despite its categorisation as a self-conscious and secondary emotion, findings suggest that there is a prototypical non-verbal expression for ‘pride’, and that it is displayed in the same way by individuals across cultures in the same contexts and situations (Tracy et al. 2010). However, if the emotion of ‘pride’ has two distinct aspects, i.e. authentic and hubristic ‘pride’, does each aspect has its own distinct non-verbal expression? Findings suggest that people are able to distinguish between authentic and hubristic ‘pride’ expressions when relevant contextual information is provided (Tracy et al. 2010, Tracy & Prehn 2012). Hence, if observers are told that an individual shows ‘pride’ in response to success that is attributed to ability, they tend to label the individual’s ‘pride’ as hubristic. In contrast, if the proud individual attributes the success to effort, observers are more likely to label the expression as ‘authentic pride’ (Tracy et al. 2010). These findings suggest that the

two aspects are not simply distinguished on the basis of attributions but rather that social norms of modesty also play a role (Tracy et al. 2010, Tracy & Prehn 2012).

In their study on the non-verbal expression of pride, Tracy and Robins (2004b) found evidence to suggest that pride does indeed have a distinct, recognisable non-verbal expression. There are two prototypical expressions for 'pride', both including the body and the face. One expression consists of expanded posture, head tilted slightly back, and with hands on hip, and a small smile (fig.5, upper photograph). The other expression consists of expanded posture, head tilted slightly back, arms raised above the head with hands in fists, and a small smile (fig. 5, lower photograph). Both of these are just as recognisable as the expressions for basic emotions (Tracy & Robins 2004b; 2008 Tracy et al. 2010). Additional features are expanded chest and torso pushed out (Tracy & Matsumoto 2008). However, it is however important to notice that the non-verbal expressions of 'pride' are only recognisable when they involve non-facial components in combination with facial components. When the bodily posture components are excluded, the face-only component of 'pride' is just as likely to be recognised as other positive emotions such as happiness and excitement (Tracy & Robins 2004b, Tracy et al. 2010).



Figure 5: Prototypical Pride Expressions. The expression in the upper panel was identified as pride by 89% of judges; the expression in the lower panel was identified as pride by 87% of judges (Tracy & Robins, 2004:196)

Even though ‘pride’ does have its own distinct non-verbal expressions, it still differs from the basic emotions in that the prototypical expressions, unlike the expressions associated with the basic emotions, are not limited to the face. The complexity of the expressions makes it easier to regulate and suppress than facial expressions. This may be beneficial in some circumstances as many cultures may consider displays of ‘pride’ improper (Eid & Diener 2001).

Despite cultural differences in display rules, research suggests that the prototypical ‘pride’ expressions are universal as well as innate. To support this, evidence from empirical studies show that small children three years of age also display the non-verbal expressions of ‘pride’ in response to successfully accomplished tasks (Tracy & Robins 2007b). Furthermore, these displays have also been seen expressed spontaneously by blind athletes, which strongly suggests that they may be universal as well as innate (Tracy & Matsumoto 2008, Tracy et al. 2010). However, as these expressions are most often observed in the context of achievements such as winning an athletic competition, it may be argued that they might as well be expressions of success or completion of a difficult task rather than ‘pride’.

4.5 Emotions and Emotion Words across Cultures

Although most languages have words in their lexicon for the self-conscious emotions, languages differ in the number of emotion words they use and in the distinctions they make between the emotions. In terms of the emotional experience, different cultures experience the emotions differently and emotions that are considered negative in one culture may be considered positive and desirable in another. It is therefore argued that the self-conscious emotions may be influenced more by culture than by other experiences such as anger and fear (Eid & Diener 2001). Research within anthropology and cultural psychology has found strong evidence for such cross-cultural variation. Within these fields it is argued the self-conscious emotions vary across cultures in terms of their lexical representations (Wierzbicka 1999;2006), their non-verbal expressions (Haidt & Keltner 1999), and how they are valued (Eid & Diener 2001).

According to Markus & Kitayama (2001), the self-conscious emotions differ across cultures depending on the notion of 'self' in the different cultures. Individualistic cultures, such as the US, can be characterised by their notion of an 'independent self' that is unique and autonomous. In such cultures, social behaviour is believed to stem from within the individual and attributed to internal features. Furthermore, personal autonomy is emphasised over the community and obligations to the larger group. In contrast, the 'interdependent self' is mostly found in non-Western societies, e.g. Japan. This kind of 'self' is viewed as a part of a range of different social relationships with others and the larger group through which the 'self' is shaped (Markus & Kitayama 2001). On the basis of these different notions of 'self', different emotion elicitors will receive less or more attention. For example, cultures that emphasise an interdependent self will encourage individuals to feel more 'pride' and 'shame' for other members of the group than will cultures which favour an 'independent self' (Goetz & Keltner 2007). Furthermore, it is also assumed that there are variations of the self-conscious emotions based on the degree to which cultures apply them to hierarchy and collaboration, i.e. cultures that emphasise 'shame' as a method to reinforce the norms of the group will underemphasise 'pride' and place a positive value on 'shame' as they view it as a useful and appropriate emotion (Goetz & Keltner 2007). For example, Li et al. (2004) suggest that in China, 'shame' is considered a healthy part of an individual's life as admitting one's misconduct and mistakes is considered a courageous and desirable act. Therefore, 'shame' is not merely viewed as an emotion, but a moral and virtuous sensibility to be pursued. Consequently, the expression of 'shame' is valued as an indicator of adherence to social norms and collective values.

In relation to this Bedford (2004) investigated phenomenologically the subjective experiences of various emotion concepts in Mandarin Chinese by native speakers. The emotions investigated were the Chinese equivalents of the self-conscious emotions 'guilt' and 'shame'. The study was based on the notion that although 'guilt' and 'shame' may be present in every society, not every society uses them in the same way. As mentioned above, the nature of 'shame' and 'guilt' has in the literature mostly been explored in the context of North-American culture (Canada & US). According to Bedford, this makes them inadequate to describe the non-Western experience of these emotions. In qualitative interviews conducted in Mandarin Chinese, native speakers were asked to describe their understandings of various emotion words. The emotion words selected – seven in total – were words that normally translate into either guilt or shame in English (Bedford 2004). The findings of

the study suggest that the Chinese have three emotion concepts and terms for what is known as ‘guilt’ in English, and four for ‘shame’. These emotions differ not only in their linguistic expression but also in the eliciting events, the actual emotional experience, intensity, and the consequences (see Bedford 2004, Bedford & Hwang 2003 for a more detailed discussion). Nevertheless, they are all translated into English as either ‘guilt’ or ‘shame’.

Similar studies have been conducted with regard to the equivalent Japanese emotions and emotion words for ‘guilt’, ‘shame’ and ‘embarrassment’. Since the seminal anthropological study of Japanese culture by Benedict (1946), Japan has repeatedly been characterised as a ‘shame’-culture seen in juxtaposition to the American ‘guilt’-culture (Creighton 1990). According to Lebra (1983), although Benedict was wrong in her juxtaposition of Japanese ‘shame’ and American ‘guilt’, she was nevertheless right in the sense that ‘shame’ is pervasive in Japanese culture. However, this is not tantamount to saying that ‘guilt’ does not exist in Japan and ‘shame’ does not exist in American culture, only that the two concepts are emphasised differently in the two cultures (Creighton 1990, Lebra 1983).

On the basis of this, Lebra (1983) investigated Japanese emotions equivalent to English ‘guilt’ and ‘shame’. It was found that ‘guilt’ is also present in Japanese society and that it is linked with the reflection of ‘self’. It is more likely to be caused by violations of norms than moral transgressions, and is typically followed by self-blame. Furthermore, she argued that, in Japan, it is considered offensive if a guilty individual fails to apologise which leads people to apologise for the slightest potential annoyance they might cause others. This suggests that admitting ‘guilt’ and apologising is not only a spontaneous tendency but a question of cultural style and social gesture (Lebra 1983). With respect to ‘shame’ she argues that the Japanese do not distinguish between ‘shame’ and ‘embarrassment’, but rather view them both as one concept under the term *haji*, i.e. the experiences and meanings of both ‘shame’ and ‘embarrassment’ are included in this word (Lebra 1983).

However, a semantic study by Farese (2016) of *haji* and the related *hazukashii* suggests that experiences of ‘haji’ may in fact be different from experiences of ‘hazukashii’, which is normally translated as ‘embarrassed’ but which Lebra described as the adjectival form of *haji* (Lebra 1983). Although *hazukashii* and *haji* (both the emotional and the lexical expression) are normally translated as embarrassed and shame, it is suggested that they differ in meaning from their English

counterparts. Furthermore, it is suggested that the cognitive scenarios associated with them also differ from each other (Farese 2016)

In terms of ‘pride’ there is little, if any, research on the discussion of the linguistic terms for ‘pride’ in Japanese and Chinese. However, in Buddhism, ‘pride’ is considered to be one of the ten mental bonds that tie an individual to an endless cycle of suffering. Similarly, in ca. the sixth century BC, the Chinese philosopher Lao Tzu wrote that ‘those who glorify themselves have no merit, those who are proud of themselves do not last’ (Tzu 1997:24, as quoted in Tracy et al. 2010:163). Thus, it appears that it is not only in the Western, Judeo-Christian, and Anglo-Saxon traditions that ‘pride’ has been regarded negatively. However, whereas in Western culture ‘pride’ has developed into a virtue as well, this does not seem to have happened everywhere.

Despite certain universal displays and recognition of non-verbal expressions of ‘pride’, it is still highly likely that there are cultural differences in the expression and particularly the experience of ‘pride’. In particular differences between so-called collectivistic and individualistic cultures have received much attention as perceptions of emotions and self-processes relevant to ‘pride’ are believed to differ dramatically in these two types of cultures (Eid & Diener 2001, Tracy & Robins 2007b). One explanation may be that in collectivist cultures – where the group is valued over the individual – conceptualisations of individual ‘pride’ may emphasise the hubristic aspect, whereas in individualistic cultures – which value the individual over the group – the emphasis may be ‘authentic pride’ (Tracy et al 2010). This explanation may account for the more negative view of pride found in several collectivistic cultures (Tracy & Robins 2007b). Specifically, the collectivistic cultures such as Japan and China tend to promote the group over the individual so that individuals are more prone to accept differences in status. The tendency to promote the group over oneself seems inconsistent with authentic pride, which is an emotion geared toward enhancing and affirming the self (Tracy & Robins 2007b). Nevertheless, research suggests that pride may well be accepted and valued in collectivistic cultures as long as it is pride about one’s group and not the individual self, i.e. if it is elicited by the activation of collective rather than personal self-presentations (Markus & Kitayama 2001, Tracy & Robins 2007b).

As the focus here is on the understanding of English emotion words, the semantic meanings of the Chinese and Japanese equivalents of the stimulus words will not be discussed in details here. The

main purpose of the section was to show and support the notion presented by Wierzbicka (1997; 1999, 2006) that the universality of emotions and especially the semantic content of apparently similar words across cultures, should not be taken for granted.

4.6 Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have presented various theories of emotions. Emotions are viewed as universal by some scholars and as constructed by culture by others. They can be categorised as basic or self-conscious, may or may not have a non-verbal expression. Furthermore, to obtain a better understanding of the nature of the stimulus words selected for analysis – guilty, ashamed, and proud – the nature of the emotions associated with these emotion words was also explored. All are categorised as self-conscious emotions as the experience of them requires self-awareness and self-reflection. ‘Guilt’ and ‘shame’ differ in terms of their eliciting situations, the intensity of the emotional experience, and their concomitant behaviours. ‘Pride’ is viewed as having two aspects – positive and negative – though the focus in the literature has been on the positive aspect seen in response to success and achievements. It is also believed that ‘pride’ can be expressed non-verbally and that this expression is the same cross-culturally. Prototypical non-verbal components of ‘shame’ have also been suggested but there is no evidence of a typical non-verbal expression of ‘guilt’. The three emotions and their linguistic expressions were also discussed in relation to possible cross-cultural differences, especially the Chinese and Japanese expressions for ‘guilt’ and ‘shame’ and how they might differ from the English emotions and expressions.

5 Data Collection Procedure and Methods of Analysis

5.1 The Participants

The data was collected from 65 participants in three different countries - Japan, China and England – thus covering three different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. All the participants were volunteers. The native British English speakers functioned as a control group for comparison. All the participants were university students, mostly undergraduates.

For the non-native English speakers, the main criteria were that they were native speakers of Japanese or Mandarin Chinese, as well as non-native speakers of English with a certain level of proficiency. As a consequence, most of the non-native participants are English language or Business English students. Some may argue that this makes them second language *learners* rather than second language *speakers*. However, as can be seen from table 6, the participants use English on either a daily or weekly basis. Thus, while they may still be learners of English, they are simultaneously speakers of English and this study will therefore not differentiate between the two categories.

The non-native participants consist of 20 Japanese language students from Hiroshima University and 23 Chinese students of Business English from Shanghai University of Economics & Finance. The group of native British English speakers consists of 18 students from the University of Manchester and four from the University of Oxford. Prior to the survey, the participants were asked to fill in a demographic questionnaire. The questionnaire contained questions regarding the participants' age, mother tongue, level of education, longer periods of living abroad, and for the non-native English speakers, a self-assessment of their level and use of English.

In the self-assessment report, the participants were asked to rate their English skills in terms of writing, speaking, reading, and listening on a scale from 1 to 7, with 1 being equal to the level of 'beginner', and 7 'as good as my native language' (table 6).

	JAPAN	CHINA	ENGLAND
Total number of respondents:	20	23	22
Female	17	16	20
Male	3	7	2
Undergraduate	19	16	20
Graduate	2	4	2
Post-graduate	0	3	1
Level of English: self-reported average			
Writing	4.0	4.6	N/A
Speaking	3.8	4.6	N/A
Reading	4.2	5.2	N/A
Listening	4.1	5.0	N/A
English Use:			
Daily	3	14	N/A
Weekly	19	9	N/A
Only at university	15	15	N/A
Privately & at university	7	8	N/A
Lived abroad	8	1	

Table 6: Demographic Overview of Participants

With only 20 Japanese (17 females and 3 males), 23 Chinese (16 female and 7 males), and 22 British (20 females and 2 males) students (see table 6), all between 19 and 29 years of age, it must be acknowledged that this study is not balanced for such variables as gender or age, to name but two. If we add to this the relatively small size of the sample, it will not be possible to make any generalisations from the findings and interpretations. However, it is hoped it will be possible to identify some trends or patterns in the data, which can lead to further studies using a larger sample, which may lead to generalisations in the future. Thus the present study should be regarded as exploratory.

5.2 The Data Collection Procedure

The data was collected in May 2014 in Japan, June 2014 in China and in February and March 2015 in the UK. The tests were designed using the online survey program SurveyXact, which meant that the participants had to perform the test electronically. In Japan and China the participants performed the tests on tablet computers as there was limited access to computers - in Manchester the tests were performed in the university computer lab and in Oxford on a laptop in the university library. Before the participants began the tests, they were asked to sign a consent form which emphasised the voluntary, confidential, and anonymous nature of the study. Subsequently, they were presented with the demographic information questionnaire.

When they had completed the questionnaire, the participants were given access to the actual tests online via a link. After a brief written general introduction, the participants were automatically directed to the first part of the test (the Free Association test). Upon completion of the first part, the test automatically proceeded with the second (the Context Bound Association test) and third (the Picture Driven Association test) parts, each beginning with written instructions specific to that test (see appendix 1 for the full set of tests). To prevent priming from the contexts and descriptors in the Context Bound Association test, the participants were given with the Free Association test (FA test) first. When the participants had finished all three tests, the responses were automatically sent directly to an online server.

There were no time restrictions but the participants were instructed not to spend too much time thinking about their responses. The average amount of time spent on all three tests was approximately 35 minutes, with the English participants as the fastest spending approximately 20 minutes, and the Japanese the slowest spending up to 50 minutes. The participants were allowed to ask questions on technicalities and practicalities, but not on the content, and a researcher (either myself or a colleague) was present in the room at all times to help with instructions and technical issues, and to check that the data was sent to the online server upon completion.

As previously mentioned, all the participants were volunteers; however, as a reward for their participation and contribution they were given a small token of appreciation in the form of a gift or a cinema voucher worth approximately £20 funded by the GEBCom research project.

5.3 The Data and Methods of Analysis

Since all of the tests were completed using the online survey program, SurveyXact, the data was easily accessible in various forms on the online server.

Upon beginning the demographic questionnaire and consequently the test, each participant was automatically assigned a respondent key in the program. Through the respondent key all the tests were automatically connected with the demographic information for the respective participants. As the program automatically saved the responses for the individual participants, the first thing that had to be done was to separate the responses according to the tests and countries. For instance, all the FA test responses from the Chinese participants were collected in one document, CBA test responses in another, and so forth. In this way it was made easier for the researcher to investigate the responses according to linguistic background, test type, and stimulus word. This was easily done by exporting the data from the online server to an Excel file.

Next, a process of elimination took place. By reading through every single response made by every single participant, those who did not follow the instructions, e.g. by producing fewer than four or more than six responses in the CBA test, were eliminated from the data pool. In this way, the data pool decreased from 75 to 65 participants. Once the data was organised and cleaned up the analysis was ready to take place.

5.3.1 Data from the PDA Test

The data collected from the three tests naturally differed in type depending on the test format. As previously mentioned, the PDA test is a simple forced multiple-choice test where the respondents were asked to choose one out of 12 emotion labels for each facial expression. As such, the data from the PDA test is quantitative in nature, and with a total of 14 expressions and 65 respondents, the test produced 910 responses. Although the data from the PDA test easily lends itself to statistical analysis, it was decided not to subject the data to statistical procedures as results can fruitfully be compared and discussed in terms of percentages without statistical procedures. In addition, the results of the PDA test will be interpreted upon in relation to the existing body of literature on the recognition of facial expressions of emotions.

5.3.2 Data from the FA Test

The data originating from the FA test consists of free-form written responses. For each of the stimulus words – *guilty*, *ashamed*, and *proud* – the participants were asked two open-ended questions. With a total of 65 participants, the number of written responses to be analysed amounted to 390 (GB:132, JP:120, and CN: 138). These responses vary in length from short simple utterances such as ‘I do not know this word’ and ‘The dog is loyal’, to longer more elaborate explanations and descriptions such as ‘For me, proud is good feeling toward myself after I achieved my goals or toward my friend or family doing good things’. To analyse the responses, an inductive approach and open coding was applied.

To use an open coding method means that, while reading the text, notes and headings are written down to describe features of the content which can later be created into overall categories or themes. The purpose of creating these categories or themes is to provide a means of describing the topic of investigation to increase understanding and generate knowledge (Elo & Kyngäs 2007, Hsieh & Shannon 2005). The researcher decides through interpretation as to which features to put into the same category. The advantage of this approach to the data was that I gained direct information from the participants without imposing preconceived categories or theoretical perspectives. Furthermore, the knowledge and findings generated will be based on the participants’ unique perspective and grounded in the actual empirical data (Hsieh & Shannon 2005)

Despite the extensive literature on the nature of emotions (see Chapter 4), I have in my analysis avoided using predetermined categories and instead allowed the themes to emerge naturally from the data. I began the analysis by immersing myself in the data, repeatedly reading the participants responses word for word, highlighting the words and phrases, and through this process a pattern of key features emerged. I made notes of my first observations and thoughts, re-read the data repeatedly elaborating and reflecting on the features and the themes found. Reading through the participants’ responses it became clear that, even though the three stimulus words are different in meaning, it was possible to create a number of overall categories for the analysis of both the participants’ understanding and their use of the words. First, to get an idea of their perception of the words I explored their descriptions of the words in general, i.e. if what sort of adjectives they used, and noted whether the descriptions were positively- or negatively- loaded. Secondly, as both the descriptions and the examples of use were often descriptions of the emotional experience connected

with the stimulus word rather than the word itself, it was also explored who was the owner of the emotional experiences (i.e. the grammatical subject of the sentence) and who or what caused them.

5.3.3 Data from the CBA Test

The CBA is a forced multiple-choice test but, unlike the PDA test, where only one response was required, this test required the participants to choose four, five or six different options out of 12. However, due to constraints of the survey design program, we were unable to regulate how many choices the participants selected. This meant that some participants selected only one or two options and others selected up to nine. This, however, was only an issue with the Japanese and Chinese data, as by the time the English data was collected, changes had been made in the survey design program which made it possible to control that the respondents selected a minimum of four and a maximum of six descriptors, i.e. the participants were unable to continue to the next question before having selected at least four options, or if they had selected more than six. This deviation from the survey instructions meant that some of the participants had to be excluded from the survey as they did not complete it properly. However, the excluded participants were not among the 65 participants referred to in this study.

Due to the difference in responses required – minimum four, maximum six – the resulting data consists of 260 to 390 selected descriptors for each stimulus word. The descriptors selected are not simply numbers, or yes-no questions, which easily lend themselves to statistical analysis; rather they are meaningful utterances which must be analysed in relation not only to the stimulus word presented in an utterance, but also to each other. This makes the CBA test data difficult to work with in terms of statistical analysis. Instead the content of the descriptors was discussed both per se and in relation to each other. They were also compared to the themes and features found in the FA responses.

The selection of descriptors was arranged according to the three participant groups in order to explore exactly what descriptors were selected most frequently by the groups. The four to six most frequently descriptors selected by a particular group were analysed in their own right and in comparison with each other. Furthermore, both the selection and non-selection of descriptors were compared with each other to. Whereas the selection of four descriptors was compulsory, selection of the fifth and sixth descriptors was optional. Therefore the analysis concentrated on the four most

frequently selected descriptors. These were then compared with the responses from the FA test to examine how the data from the two tests supported and complemented each other in order to arrive at a multi-layered cohesive interpretation of the participants' understanding of the stimulus words.

6 Exploring the Understanding of *Guilty*⁴

In this chapter the responses from the three tests to the stimulus word *guilty* will be explored and analysed. The analysis will start by looking at the results of the Picture Driven Association (PDA) test. This will be followed by an analysis and discussion of the free written responses from the Free Association (FA) test. Finally the Context Bound Association (CBA) test responses will be explored. To conclude the chapter results for all three tests will be discussed and an interpretation of the participants' understanding of *guilty* will be suggested.

6.1 Exploring the Visual Image of *guilty* – The PDA Test

As stated above, up until now researchers have been unable to find evidence for a distinct facial expression of 'guilt' (Chapter 4). This does not mean, however, that such a facial expression does not exist. In the PDA test, the possibility for a facial expression to be connected to feeling or being 'guilty' was investigated. This was not done in order to find a distinct universal facial expression for 'guilt', but rather to investigate what image speakers of English hailing from different languages and cultures attach to the English word *guilty*.

In the PDA test 14 facial expressions were investigated. Out of the total of 262 photographs available, one was identified in advance by the GEBCom research group as a potential facial expression of feeling or being 'guilty': photograph number 13 (see table 7).

As can be seen in table 7, the labelling of this photograph by the participants is far from consistent. In fact, the highest rate of agreement of the facial expression was seen among the British participants, and even then the label is selected by fewer than one third of the British participants. Although the native English speaking group shows the highest agreement on the same label, the result is far from convincing as the label showing the second-highest agreement – 'embarrassed' – differed from 'guilty' by one participant only.

Even though 'guilty' and 'embarrassed' both are selected most frequently among the Chinese participants, the fact that they are selected by only 21.7%, suggests that this selection is not above chance. Support for this fact can be found by looking at the photographs selected for the potential facial expressions for 'shame' — photograph no.7 — and 'sad' — in which 'guilty', along with

⁴ See Appendix 2 for the full set of responses to the stimulus word *guilty*

other emotions, is selected by five out of 23 participants, i.e. 21.7% , similar to photograph no. 13. The Japanese on the other hand, identified photograph no. 13 as a facial expression for ‘anger’, though this was only the case for 25% of the participants. In fact, the Japanese responses display considerable disagreement among the participants to such an extent that it is easier to mention what labels were not selected than discussing the labels that were. However, interestingly, 25% of the Japanese labelled the potential expression for ‘shame’ – photograph no. 7 – as ‘guilty’.


	ENGLAND	JAPAN	CHINA
	- 22 participants	- 20 participants	- 23 participants
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Guilty: 31.8% (7/22) • Embarrassed: 27.3% (6/22) • Ashamed: 13.6% (3/22) • Disappointed: 13.6% (3/22) • Angry : 9% (2/22) • Happy: 4.5% (1/22) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Angry: 25%, (5/20) • Guilty: 15%, (3/20) • Disappointed: 15%, (3/20) • Proud: 15%, (3/20) • Sad: 10%, (2/20) • Afraid: 10%, (2/20) • Arrogant: 5%, (1/20) • Embarrassed: 5%, (1/20) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Guilty: 21.7%, (5/23) • Embarrassed: 21.7%, (5/23) • Sad: 17.4%,(4/23) • Disappointed: 17.4%,(4/23) • Angry: 13%, (3/23) • Ashamed: 4.3%, (1/23) • Excited: 4.3%, (1/23)

Table 7: Overview of Responses for Photograph no.13 (guilty)

the most frequently selected emotion labels, it is interesting to see how different the responses from the Japanese participants generally are as compared with those from the Chinese and English participants. Not only is the most frequently selected emotion label completely different from the most frequently selected label in the two other groups, i.e. ‘angry’ rather than ‘guilty’, but their overall selection is also different from the two other groups. Whereas both the Chinese and British participants identify the facial expression first and foremost as an expression of feeling or being ‘guilty’, or ‘embarrassed’, it is worth noting that the Japanese participants select almost every other emotion label before ‘embarrassed’, and when it is selected, it is only by one person.

As agreement on the facial expression is far from unanimous, either across or within the three language groups, we can conclude that the PDA test shows no evidence of a distinct facial expression for feeling or being ‘guilty’. Though disagreement was expected, especially between the

groups, it was still assumed that there would be at least some agreement within the individual language groups.

To sum up, the results of the PDA test show that there is some agreement as to which image is attached to the word *guilty* though only among the British participants. Furthermore, because intra-group agreement is relatively low, it appears that none of the participants seems to attach a specific facial expression to the word *guilty* or the actual emotion.

6.2 Exploring the Understanding of *guilty* – The FA Test Responses

As this study seeks to investigate emotion words and not concepts, it would be obvious to look at how the word *guilty* is described and defined in dictionaries. However, as the present study focuses on non-native speakers' understanding and usage of *guilty* as compared with native English speakers' understanding and use, a dictionary is perhaps only useful as a starting-point. The focus of the analysis will be solely on the participants' individual responses which will then be compared across the groups.

If we start by looking at how the online *Oxford Learner's Dictionary* (OLD) defines the word *guilty*, we can see that there are two main meanings and uses of the word. The first meaning is '**guilty (about something)** feeling ashamed because you have done something that you know is wrong or have not done something that you should have done'. A second meaning is '**guilty (of something)** having done something illegal; being responsible for something bad that has happened'.⁵ Furthermore, the dictionary expands the usage of the two meanings, linking the first meaning – feeling guilty about something – to the related entry *embarrassed*; the second usage – being guilty of something – is described as the opposite of *innocent*.⁶ Thus the dictionary makes a distinction between the two meanings of the word: one meaning of being or feeling ashamed or embarrassed about one's actions, and another of being responsible for having done something wrong. Whereas the dictionary differentiates between the meaning and usage of *guilty* about something and *guilty* of something, the research within general psychology on the emotion concept of 'guilt' mostly focuses on feeling guilty about something.

⁵ <http://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/guilty?q=guilty>,
<http://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary/guilty>

⁶ <http://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/guilty?q=guilty>,
<http://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary/guilty>

As the FA test consisted of two questions regarding the stimulus words, ‘How do you understand the word GUILTY’ and ‘Please give examples of how you would use the word GUILTY’, the responses were divided into two overall categories, General Descriptions – consisting of the responses to the first question – and Examples – consisting of the examples given as responses to the second question. The analysis will begin with an exploration and discussion of the written responses by the British participants, followed by the Japanese responses and finally the responses from the Chinese participants

6.2.1 The British FA Test Responses

When reading through the responses from the 22 English participants it appears that they understand and prefer to use the word *guilty* both in relation to illegal actions, i.e. being guilty of committing an illegal act, as well as non-criminal acts, which – they call – ‘wrong actions’. Out of the total of 44 responses, 23 are instances of being ‘guilty’ of committing a criminal offence. These instances and references are found both in the General Descriptions and the Examples. The General Descriptions are:

‘Someone who is responsible for a crime...’ (GB3), ‘Also the word that is used when someone is convicted of a crime’ (GB8), ‘Someone who has done something wrong, possibly committed a crime’ (GB12), ‘The state of having committed a crime or sin – or associated feeling’ (GB13), ‘To be proven to have committed a crime of offence’ (GB14), ‘You have committed the crime, the opposite of innocent’ (GB15), ‘Guilty is when somebody has undertaken an act, which is commonly illegal’ (GB16), ‘...OR the legal sense of being convicted of something’ (GB21), ‘A person has committed a crime and is found to be the one who done it’ (GB22).

Examples of specific criminal actions or situations are given below:

‘The murderer was found guilty’ (GB1), ‘He was guilty of the murder’ (GB2), ‘He is guilty of Jane Doe’s murder’ (GB3), ‘In a court, for example; “You have been found guilty”’ (GB4), ‘He was found guilty of 1st degree murder’ (GB8), ‘He was found guilty of murder’ (GB9), ‘He was found guilty of murder’ (GB11), ‘That man is guilty

of murder' (GB12), 'He was found guilty of the murder' (GB13), 'She was found guilty of plotting a murder' (GB14), 'You have been found guilty of committing the crime' (GB15), 'He was found guilty of theft' (GB16), 'He was found guilty. He was guilty of the crime' (GB19).

Although being 'guilty' according to the law is serious thing, it is not an emotion, i.e. there is a difference between being 'found guilty' of doing something and 'feeling guilty'. Nevertheless, as this study is interested in lay people's understanding and use of the word *guilty*, not the actual emotion, it is still worth considering the references to legal guilt in the participants' understanding of the word. To be guilty of a criminal offence according to the law is perhaps the most obvious use of *guilty*, but the majority of the participants refer to both legal guilt and emotional guilt in their general descriptions. When the participants do not refer to being guilty of an illegal act, they offer examples of being and feeling guilty of what they call 'wrong or bad' actions that may sometimes affect other people in a negative manner:

'The opposite of innocent. Culpable' (GB1), 'someone has been proved to have done something wrong' (GB2), '...or someone who feels responsible for something, but it may or may not be their fault' (GB3), 'Someone is guilty when they have done something bad or wrong' (GB4), 'someone who has done something wrong and feels bad about it' (GB5), 'When someone feels that they have hindered someone else in a negative way, that person usually feels guilty' (GB6), 'It is an insecure feeling' (GB7), 'Guilt is an emotion that one feels when they have remorse for an action they have done and regret. Normally as a result of hurting someone. (GB8), 'The sinking feeling when someone knows they have done something wrong' (GB9), 'A feeling when you know you have done something you shouldn't and have potentially upset someone as a consequence' (GB10), 'If something is someone's fault' (GB11), 'OR to feel bad for something you've done' (GB14), 'having done something bad' (GB17), 'Something negative you have been found to have done. An emotion after doing something you regret' (GB18), 'Someone has done something – usually a bad thing' (GB19), 'Guilty

means that you have done something that you feel is not right and you resent having done it' (GB20), 'the feeling of regret after doing something wrong...' (GB21)

It appears from the responses above that 'feeling guilty' involves an action that may or may not affect other people and, most importantly, to regret having committed that act.

When the participants use the expression *is guilty*, i.e. guilty as a description of an individual's persona, it is mostly used to describe people other than themselves, i.e. not *I*, but *he* or *she*. By investigating the use of the pronoun *I* in the responses, it is possible to see how the participants position themselves with regard to 'feeling or being guilty'. In the General Descriptions, there is no use of *I*; nor are there any other first-person references. In fact, some of the general descriptions are so abstract – or vague – that they do not even include a specific subject:

'The opposite of innocent. Culpable' (GB1), 'It is a insecure feeling' (GB7), 'The state of having committed a crime or sin – or associated feeling' (GB13), 'having done something bad' (GB17), 'the feeling of regret after doing something wrong OR the legal sense of being convicted of something' (GB21)

When a specific subject is employed, it is mostly in the form of the pronouns *someone*, *somebody*, or the general *you*:

'someone has been proved...' (GB2), 'Someone who is responsible for a crime or someone who feels responsible for something...' (GB3), 'Someone is guilty when...' (GB4), 'someone who has done something...' (GB5), 'When someone feels that...' (GB6), 'Guilt is an emotion that one feels...Also applicable to saying that someone is responsible for something' (GB8), '...when someone knows they have done something wrong...when someone is convicted of a crime' (GB9), 'A feeling where you know you have done something you shouldn't...' (GB10), 'If something is someone's fault' (GB11), 'Someone who has done something wrong...' (GB 12), '...To feel bad for something you've done' (GB14), 'You have committed a crime...' (GB15), '...when somebody has undertaken an act...' (GB16), 'Something negative

that you have been found to have done. An emotion after doing something you regret' (GB18), 'Someone has done something – usually a bad thing' (GB19), '...you have done something that you feel is not right and you resent having done it' (GB20), 'A person has committed a crime...' (GB22)

Conversely, in the participants' Examples of how they use *guilty*, we find nine instances of the use of *I* or related forms of *I*:

'stop making me feel guilty, I haven't done anything. I've got this horrible guilty feeling' (GB5), 'If I forget to do something a friend has asked me to do I feel guilty' (GB6), 'I felt guilty for reading her diary' (GB9), 'I went out last night, and didn't invite my friend – now I feel guilty' (GB10), 'I feel slightly guilty for leaving the washing up on the side' (GB12), '"I feel so guilty for lying to her"' (GB14), 'I am guilty of eating the last piece of chocolate cake' (GB15), 'If i was to have done something to hurt someone else...in a joking context (if someone said do you think he's attractive i'd say guilty)' (GB18), '"I feel really guilty about this"' (GB21)

It is worth noting that, despite a few unspecified situations (GB5 and GB21) the majority of the situations and actions mentioned in the examples above are all minor, non-moral offences. Except for a few lies and violations of privacy, the actions involving *I* when feeling 'guilty' are all actions with limited, if any, consequences for people other than the wrongdoers. Some of the actions mentioned above as the cause of 'guilt' are in fact non-actions, i.e. the feeling of 'guilt' arises from not doing something, such as not doing what is asked of you, not inviting people, and not doing the 'washing up'. These actions are in stark contrast to the criminal acts mentioned and which are never performed by *I*. When giving examples of criminal acts, the participants refer to other people as the active agents by using personal pronouns such as *he* or *she*, never themselves, i.e. *I*, or *me*. In this way they manage to distance themselves from criminal activity and avoid creating an image of themselves as capable of committing crimes. Perhaps this distance is what makes the descriptions and examples of 'guilty' in relation to criminal offences less detailed compared to the examples

including *I*. These are often more specific and include more details. In other words, it is difficult for them to give details of something they have little if any experience with.

In many of the descriptions and examples given, the ‘guilt’ is decided by people other than the actual guilty person, i.e. others deem the wrongdoer ‘guilty’, or in the words of the participants, the offender is ‘found guilty’ by others. In contrast, when *feel guilty* is used, it is mostly in relation to so-called moral and social transgressions such as lying, being in love with someone, reading a diary, or hurting other people’s feelings – in other words, actions that are not illegal according to the law but condemned by unwritten cultural, moral, and societal rules:

‘She feels guilty about skipping ahead of the queue’ (GB3), ‘Stop making me feel guilty, I haven’t done anything. I got this horrible guilty feeling’ (GB5), ‘If I forget to do something a friend asked me to do I feel guilty’ (GB6), ‘He felt guilty for hitting Hollie’ (GB8), ‘I felt guilty for reading her diary’ (GB9), ‘I went out last night, and I didn’t invite my friend – now I feel guilty’ (GB10), ‘I feel slightly guilty leaving the washing up on the side’ (GB12), ‘I feel so guilty for lying to her’ (GB14), ‘She felt guilty for hurting his feelings’ (GB 20), ‘I feel really guilty about this’ (GB21).

Furthermore, in these examples, the feeling of ‘guilt’ is decided by the wrongdoers only. In other words, the individuals feeling guilty have not been evaluated, proven, or found guilty by outsiders. Instead it is the wrongdoers themselves who judge their own actions against the code of their own moral standards of right and wrong, or even against what they believe others may think is right or wrong in the specific situation. In other words, the wrongdoers know they have done something wrong, or something that might be considered wrong by others, and evaluate themselves accordingly. Based on this, it may be possible to make the distinction that the state of **being** guilty is decided by other people, external standards, and judgement, whereas **feeling** guilty is dependent on one’s own internal standards and judgement, or standards one thinks other people might judge one against. For example, in the phrase ‘I feel slightly guilty leaving the washing up on the side’ (GB12), it appears that the transgressor, *I*, thinks it is acceptable to leave the washing up, although, the transgressor also believes that other people might find it unacceptable. As a consequence, the transgressor feels guilty because the act of leaving the dirty dishes for later is evaluated against

other people's standards of proper behaviour. However, this evaluation by others does not have to be real but could also be imagined, i.e. the wrongdoers only need to imagine the judgement from others in order to feel guilty. Most importantly, it seems that in order to feel guilty the wrongdoers have to be aware of having done something that may be considered wrong or bad, either by themselves or by others:

'...or someone who feels responsible for something...' (GB2), 'Someone who has done something wrong and feels bad about it' (GB5), 'when someone feels that they have hindered someone else in a negative way, that person usually feels guilty' (GB6), 'Guilt is an emotion that one feels when they have remorse for an action that they have done and regret. Normally as a result of hurting someone. Also applicable to say that someone is responsible for something' (GB8), 'The sinking feeling when someone knows they have done something wrong' (GB9), 'A feeling where you know you have done something you shouldn't and potentially upset someone as a consequence' (GB10), 'Someone who has done something wrong...Feel morally wrong about their actions' (GB12), 'To feel bad for something you've done' (GB14), 'An emotion after doing something you regret' (GB18), 'Guilty means that you have done something that you feel is not right and you resent having done it' (GB20), 'The feeling of regret after doing something wrong' (GB21).

Conversely, it appears that in order to be or feel guilty, it does not matter if the guilty individuals themselves consider the act to be acceptable or not; the important point is that other people consider the act committed to be bad:

'Someone had proved to have done something' (GB2), 'Someone who is responsible for a crime', 'She was guilty of being in love with him' (GB3), 'Someone is guilty when they have done something bad or wrong' (GB4), 'If something is someone's fault' (GB11), 'The state of having committed a crime or sin – or associated feeling' (GB13), 'To be proven to have committed a crime or offence' (GB14), 'You have committed the crime, opposite of innocent' (GB15), 'Having done something bad'

(GB17), ‘Something negative you have found to have done’ (GB18), ‘Someone has done something – usually a bad thing’ (GB19)

In these examples people are considered to be guilty of a wrongdoing, but that does not entail that they necessarily feel ‘guilty’.

It is noteworthy that even though there appears to be little if any agreement on a distinct non-verbal display of feeling or being guilty, a few of the participants mention a look of ‘guilt’ in their examples, e.g. ‘The dog looks guilty, perhaps he ate that chocolate’ (GB1), ‘He’s got such a guilty look on his face’ (GB4), and ‘She looked guilty as sin’ (GB13). In fact, even the dictionary refers to the look of ‘guilt’ in one of its example phrases ‘John had a guilty look on his face’.⁷ This suggests that people may in fact attach a facial expression to ‘guilt’, but perhaps feeling and being guilty is too complex an emotion to express in the face alone and even more so in a still photograph. In other words, it may be that being or feeling guilty is not a single emotional state, but rather a succession of emotional states, thereby making it impossible to capture the emotion by means of a single expression. Consequently, it is possible that the non-verbal expression of ‘guilt’ is not a matter of looking guilty but rather of acting guilty, or perhaps both.

Based on the examples and descriptions above, it is possible to argue that the native English speakers understand and use the word *guilty* to describe an offence or wrongdoing an individual is aware of having committed, feels bad about and regrets it. Furthermore, the offence may have affected other people negatively and may be considered to be wrong or inappropriate by other people. The situations and actions about which the British participants feel ‘guilty’ range from criminal offences to offences that are non-criminal but may be considered wrong or bad either by other people or the offenders themselves. These actions may be violations of moral standards such as lying and hurting others, as well as violations of minor social norms such as eating too much cake, leaving the dishes, and not inviting a friend to go out.

⁷ <http://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/guilty?q=guilty>

6.2.2 The Japanese FA Test Responses

The pattern found in the British responses — where a distinction was made between being guilty in the eyes of the law for committing a criminal offence and feeling ‘guilty’ of non-criminal transgression — is also visible in the Japanese responses, both in the general descriptions and in the examples used to illustrate the emotion. Instances of General Descriptions relating to criminal offences are:

‘Or to offend a law [law] or rule’(JP2), ‘I think it’s do bad things like crimes’(JP4), ‘... and for example, killing people or stealing something, or telling lies’ (JP5), ‘When you commit a crime or something, you would be found guilty’ (JP6), ‘Someone is really bad for having done something illegally [illegal]’ (JP18), ‘To feel sorry [sorry] about a crime committed in the past’ (JP20)

The quotations below show the Examples given by the participants with respect to their use of *guilty* in a criminal or legal context:

‘The murder will be suffered from the feeling of guilty through his life’ (JP2), ‘It is guilty to commit a crime like murder’ (JP4), ‘The person who was suspicious of killing a woman was found guilty in the court’ (JP6), ‘Killing people is guilty’ (JP7), ‘The judgments decided the murderer was guilty’ (JP9), ‘If you commit a crime, you will have a guilty’ (JP12), ‘It is guilty to steal [steal] something’ (JP14)

Whereas both the general descriptions and the specific examples of describing ‘guilty’ in relation to criminal offences mention specific actions such as killing and stealing, the responses are less specific when they describe being or feeling ‘guilty’ in relation to non-criminal offences. In these descriptions and examples, the situation or offence which evokes ‘guilt’ is mostly referred to as *doing bad things* or *doing something bad* or *wrong*:

‘It’s a bad thing. It makes me feel sorry’ (JP1), ‘To hurt somebody physically or mentally’ (JP2), ‘The word I use when I feel something bad’ (JP3), ‘It is a negative word...’ (JP5), ‘Guilty is opposite to innocent’ (JP6), ‘To do morally bad things’

(JP7), 'It is the feeling that we do or did bad things' (JP8), 'I think that guilty is suffering other people' (JP9), 'It is the word we use when we want to tell there is a fault to someone or there is someone who did something that should not have done', 'You are a guilty person' (JP10), 'The feeling I feel when I do something that I'm not supposed to do' (JP11), 'It is not a forgiven thing in society' (JP12), 'Something you are forbidden to do by the social community' (JP14), 'I feel guilty if I think I did something wrong, or I cause [cause] trouble to someone' (JP16), 'Guilty describes the situation where a person has sin' (JP17), 'Guilty is a feeling you get when you do something bad', 'I use the word guilty when I did something bad to someone' (JP19)

Based on these responses it seems that the Japanese participants feel 'guilty' about doing something that is frowned upon by the social community. However, unlike the British understanding, there is only very little mention of 'regret' in the Japanese understanding. Furthermore, the guilt-eliciting act may also involve hurting other people:

'To hurt somebody...' (JP1), '...for example, killing people or stealing something, or telling lies' (JP5), '...guilty is suffering other people' (JP9), 'Did you cheat on him? How guilty you are' (JP11), 'To tell lies' (JP15), '...I cause [cause] trouble to someone' (JP16), 'She should have helped him...but she did not' (JP17), 'The chairperson, of the Korean ship is guilty for leaving the ship before the passengers' (JP18), '...I did something bad to someone' (JP19), '...I love John whom my best friend loves too' (JP20)

In these quotations, people are either affected in unspecified ways or affected directly by an action e.g. by being hit, killed, cheated on, or lied to. Furthermore, people may also be affected indirectly through the act described, which may be an act that will inevitably involve victims, e.g. a love triangle may necessarily at some point end up with winners and losers.

Although the Japanese general descriptions of being or feeling 'guilty' are on the whole less abstract than the British explanations, it is necessary to look at the examples to obtain a more

specific account of what sort of non-criminal actions elicit feelings of ‘guilt’ among the Japanese participants:

‘If I don’t complete my assignment, I feel guilty’ (JP1), ‘I feel guilty because I broke the promise’ (JP3), ‘If someone told a lie for a bad situation, I think it is guilty and I will tell her that’ (JP5), ‘Did you cheat on him? How guilty you are!’ (JP11), ‘It is impossible for me to avoid this word when I leave the lab before I finish my work’, ‘Sweet snacks that are a guilty food. I can’t stop eating this’ (JP13), ‘To eat a lot of food. To tell lies’ (JP15), ‘I feel guilty after eating too much sweets’ (JP16), ‘She should have helped him at the time. But she did not. She has guilty’ (JP17), ‘I feel guilty because I love John whom my best friend loves too’ (JP20).

As for the situations or offences that cause feelings of ‘guilt’, except for the example given by JP18,⁸ many of the actions and situations mentioned can be regarded as trivial or minor offences of unwritten social and cultural rules rather than moral transgressions. Furthermore, some of the situations mentioned above involve actions and non-actions that do not necessarily affect other people, e.g. eating unhealthy food and not completing one’s homework. These situations can hardly be considered violations of morality, but rather violations of social and personal norms and rules. Therefore the Japanese participants, feeling or being ‘guilty’ is a matter remaining true to one’s own conscience in relation to what is considered acceptable and unacceptable, not only by oneself but also by the surrounding social community. Thus, whereas the criminal actions are judged by the law, one’s own non-criminal actions are evaluated only by oneself, though still according to the (unwritten) rules of the social community. Consequently, it can be argued that they may also be evaluated by others.

In the Japanese written responses, there are ten instances of *feeling guilty*, in most cases in response to having done something, or in a few cases, not having done something:

‘If I don’t complete my assignment, I feel guilty’ (JP1), ‘The murder will be suffered from the feeling of guilty through his life’ (JP2), ‘The word that I use when I feel

⁸ ‘The chairperson of the Korean ship is guilty for leaving the ship before the passengers’ (JP18)

something bad', 'I feel guilty because I broke the promise' (JP3), 'He might feel guilty all night long' (JP8), 'The feeling I feel when i do something that I'm not supposed to do' (JP11), 'I feel guilty if I think I did something wrong, or I couse [cause] a trouble to someone', 'I feel guilty after eating too much sweets' (JP16), 'To feel sory [sorry] about a crime comitted [committed] in the past', 'I feel guilty because I love John whom my best friend loves too' (JP 20)

It is noteworthy that their use of *feeling guilty* is mostly in combination with the personal pronoun *I*, and rarely in relation to criminal offences. The participants also use the expression *is guilty* to describe the personal characteristics of people who have committed an offence, and more interestingly the offence itself. Examples of both types are given below:

'...someone who did something that should not have done, 'You are a guilty person' (JP10), 'Did you cheat on him? How guilty you are!' (JP11), 'The chairperson of the Korean ship is guilty for leaving the ship before the passengers' (JP18)

'It's a bad thing' (JP1), 'To hurt somebody...or to offend a low [law] or rule' (JP2), '...it's to do bad things...', 'It is guilty to commit crime...' (JP4), 'If someone told a lie for a bad situation, I think it is guilty...' (JP5), 'To do morally bad things', 'Killing people is guilty' (JP7), '...guilty is suffering other people' (JP9), 'It is not a forgiven thing in society' (JP12), 'Sweet snacks is a guilty food. I can't stop eating this' (JP13), 'Something you are forbidden to do by the social community', 'it is guilty to steel [steal] something' (JP14), 'To eat a lot of food. To tell lies' (JP15)

As can be seen above, instead of describing the emotion that arises from reflecting upon an offence committed and its consequences, the Japanese participants describe the act itself as being guilty, i.e. the act is reprehensible. Consequently, one is given the impression that it is not the wrongdoers that are or feel 'guilty', but rather the offence, bad action, or situation itself that is guilty, i.e. the action of lying, stealing, killing, or doing something bad is guilty by nature. In other words, it seems that the Japanese participants presuppose that reflecting upon an offence, and the concomitant feelings

of ‘responsibility’, ‘regret’, and ‘remorse’ of committing that offence, i.e. the emotion of ‘guilt’, is an inherent component of the actual offence itself. Therefore the feeling of ‘guilt’ cannot be separated from the actual offence. Based on this, it may be argued that it is impossible for the Japanese to commit an offence without feeling ‘guilty’.

If we explore the participants’ use of pronouns, we find that, unlike the British participants, the Japanese participants show a clear tendency to use the first-person pronoun *I*. In the General Descriptions of their understanding of *guilty*, there are instances of the use of *I* as well as *you* and *someone*:

‘It’s a bad thing. It makes me feel sorry’ (JP1), ‘the word that I use when I feel something bad’ (JP3), ‘When you commit a crime...you would be found guilty’ (JP6), ‘...or there is someone who did something that should not have done’ (JP10), ‘The feeling I feel when i do something that I’m not supposed to do’ (JP11), ‘...when I leave the lab before I finish my work’ (JP13), ‘Something you are forbidden to do by the social community’ (JP14), ‘I feel guilty if I think I did something wrong, or I couse [cause] a trouble to someone’ (JP16), ‘...where a person has sin’ (JP17), ‘Someone is really bad...’ (JP18), ‘Guilty is a feeling you get when you do something bad’ (JP19)

Whereas the British participants produced relatively abstract descriptions and employed second or third, but not first, personal pronouns in their General Descriptions of *guilty*, the Japanese use second or third person pronouns to a much lesser degree in their General Descriptions. Conversely, they employ *I* in five instances, including the pronoun *we*: ‘It is the feeling that we do or did bad things’ (JP8). If we look at the Examples, there are only six instances of the use of *I* in combination with feeling or being ‘guilty’:

‘If I don’t complete my assignment, I feel guilty’ (JP1), ‘I feel guilty because I broke the promise’ (JP3), ‘Sweet snacks that is a guilty food. I can’t stop eating this’ (JP13), ‘I feel guilty after eating too much sweets’ (JP16), ‘I use this word when I did

something bad to someone' (JP19), 'I feel guilty because I love John whom my best friend loves too' (JP20)

When comparing all the examples given, it is worth noting that when *I* is the guilty wrongdoer, the feeling of 'guilt' is imposed by oneself, e.g. 'If I don't complete my assignment, I feel guilty' and 'I feel guilty after eating too much sweets', whereas if *he*, *she*, *you* or *someone* is the wrongdoer, the feeling of 'guilt' is imposed by another person, e.g. 'If someone told a lie for a bad situation, I think it is guilty and I will tell her that', 'You are a guilty person', 'Did you cheat on him? How guilty you are!'. This suggests that the Japanese make a distinction between being and feeling guilty, with the former being a judgement forced upon a person by an evaluating other person, and the latter an emotion stemming from an internal evaluation and judgement of oneself. However, as previously mentioned, this self-judgement may be guided by an overarching set of social and cultural norms of right and wrong.

If we return to the use of *I*, we can see that the Japanese use the pronoun in both the General Descriptions and in the Examples. However, unlike the British responses, the Japanese do not give very detailed examples of how they use *guilty*, even when using the personal pronoun *I*. This may be a result of their lack of fluency in the English language. That being said, many of the situations and offences the Japanese participants refer to are similar to the ones mentioned by the British participants, i.e. non-criminal actions which may or may not affect other people but albeit without severe consequences, if any at all. In contrast, the criminal offences mentioned are for the most parts quite violent such as killing people, and only occur in combination with: *the murderer* or *the person*:

'The murder will be suffered from the feeling of guilty through his life' (JP2), 'The person who was suspicious on killing a woman was found guilty in the court' (JP6), 'The judgments decided the murderer was guilty' (JP9)

Sometimes the subject is absent in the descriptions: 'Killing people is guilty' (JP7), 'It is guilty to steel [steal] something' (JP14). The only instance where a specific pronoun is used is in combination with an unspecified criminal offence, and in this case the unspecified general *you* is

employed: ‘If you commit a crime, you will have a guilty’ (JP12). As observed in the case of the responses from the British participants, the more distant and unfamiliar a situation or offence is to the participants, the more abstract their descriptions and examples become, i.e. it is more difficult for them to specify the acts and situations with which they have little or no experience. Perhaps this is also why they only use *I* with non-criminal, less serious, and not necessarily morally related wrongdoings and situations. This may be understood as a means of distancing themselves from serious offences in order to avoid evaluation and negative appraisal by others.

To sum up, the Japanese responses describe and use the word *guilty* both in relation to being guilty of a criminal offence according to the law, as well as feeling ‘guilty’ of a non-criminal offence. However, overall the Japanese participants understand and use *guilty* mostly to describe feelings in relation to non-criminal violations of (unwritten) social norms, though not moral ones. Therefore, the general understanding of the English word *guilty* by the Japanese participants can be summed up as follows: feeling bad or sorry for doing something which may affect other people in a negative way and which is condemned by the surrounding community. The situations that are described by means of *guilty* by the Japanese are mostly minor social and personal violations such as making mistakes, not completing one’s work on time, and eating too many snacks.

6.2.3 The Chinese FA Test Responses

It appears that the Chinese participants, first and foremost, understand and use the word *guilty* in relation to carrying out non-criminal but hurtful acts towards other people. Furthermore, feeling or being guilty, according to them, also includes feeling sorry about their acts and behaviours which affect others:

‘Guilty is a feeling when someone has done something wrong and he does not feel good’ (CN1), ‘If I did something wrong I may feel guilty’ (CN2), ‘If someone has done something wrong, he may feel guilty’ (CN3), ‘If I do not obey my own principles, I will feel guilty’ (CN4), ‘Do something bad to others’ (CN5), ‘A sense of sin, or a feeling of deplore’ (CN6), ‘Someone did bad things which might hurt somebody or something’ (CN7), ‘Guilty means that you feel very sorry for other

people or just yourself because you did something wrong' (CN8), 'Guilty can have several meanings. Firstly, the word "guilty" can mean someone has made mistakes or commit a crime. It also means that someone feels sorry for what he has done' (CN9), '...or have made mistakes' (CN11), 'When I behave badly before many people and lose my face' (CN12), 'In my opinion, "guilty" means having done something wrong legally or morally, and it has the opposite meaning with "innocent"' (CN13), 'The feeling people have when they do things which don't suit their own principles or hurt others' (CN14), 'It is a kind of feeling sorry, regretting' (CN17), 'Feeling sorry for someone about something you should not have done in the first place' (CN19), 'Somebody is responsible for a bad thing...' (CN20), 'Somebody does something bad' (CN22), 'Guilty is the feeling what when someone did something he or she feels it was wrong and they feel ashamed or regretted [regret]' (CN23)

As can be seen from the responses above, being or feeling guilty about committing bad or wrong actions implies feeling sorry for committing the acts, i.e. a sense of regret and remorse. In line with the two other groups, the Chinese participants also use the word *guilty* in relation to criminal offences. Out of a total of 46 written responses, there are 15 references to being guilty of criminal offences divided evenly between the General Descriptions and the Examples. Compare the two types below:

'Guilty can have several meanings. Firstly, the word "guilty" can mean someone has made mistakes or commit a crime' (CN9), 'Someone who has committed crimes...' (CN11), 'In my opinion, "guilty" means having done something wrong legally or morally and, it has the opposite meaning with "innocent"' (CN13), 'Guilty is doing something immoral or illegal' (CN16), 'Behaving illegally or immorally...' (CN18), 'Somebody is responsible for a bad thing, especially a crime' (CN20), 'Or he is accused of a crime' (CN22),

'The judge sentenced his guilty' (CN7), 'The boy felt guilty for the crime he has committed' (CN9), 'A murderer was caught by the police, and the evidence showed

that the murderer did killed a person. So the person was proved guilty' (CN11), 'John is guilty of stealing the money from the old lady' (CN13), 'He is proved guilty in court' (CN18), 'Jone is found guilty for the crime' (CN20), 'He was guilty because he had murdered his brother' (CN22), 'Out of a sense of guilty, the thief returned the ID card in the purse to Mr. Jones' (CN23).

Although the descriptions above have been chosen solely on account of their reference to the word *guilty* in relation to criminal offences, many of them also express an entirely different aspect which appears to be prevalent in the Chinese responses: the aspect of morality and principles:

'If I do not obey my own principles, I will feel guilty' (CN4), 'A sense of sin, or a feeling of deplore' (CN6), '...having done something wrong legally and morally...' (CN13), 'The feelings people have when they do things which don't suit their own principles...' (CN14), 'When I do something [that] go against my conscience or social codes of conduct' (CN15), 'Guilty is doing something immoral or illegal' (CN16), 'Behaving illegally or immorally...' (CN18), 'Doing something that is against my conscience and my personal principle about life' (CN21), 'Guilty can be very deep and burning feelings....and may lead to confessions, a sequence of condemning [condemning] behaviors' (CN23)

This emphasis on moral principles and conscience, public as well as personal, is something peculiar to the Chinese responses. Whereas both the British and Japanese data refer to 'bad' and 'wrong' actions, the Chinese refer directly to immoral behaviour and acts, as well as behaviours that go against personal principles. However, the fact that the two other groups do not explicitly specify their offences as immoral does not mean that the so-called bad and wrong actions – which the Chinese also mention – are not immoral. Nevertheless, it is striking that the aspect of (im)morality is directly addressed by many of the Chinese participants in their responses, and not at all by either the British or the Japanese. That being said, if we examine more closely what acts and situations the Chinese participants use as examples when they employ the word *guilty* in relation to committing immoral acts, or behaviour that goes against their personal (moral) principles, it appears that many

of the situations are in fact not so different from the examples of bad and wrong behaviour and situations given by the two other groups:

‘He should feel guilty because he slept with other woman’ (CN4), ‘John is guilty of stealing the money from the old lady’ (CN13), ‘If what I did hurts my friend’s feeling, I would use guilty’ (CN14), ‘It is guilty not to return the money found on the ground. I feel guilty when I cheat at the exam’ (CN15), ‘I feel guilty for cheating you’ (CN16), ‘I felt guilty after I had criticized her’ (CN18), ‘I don’t give the seat to an older lady in the bus’ (CN21)

It appears that there is a marginal difference in the acts considered to be immoral as compared with the offences that are merely wrong and bad. When describing *guilty* in relation to committing immoral offences, or not obeying one’s own principles, the examples given are: cheating on a partner, stealing money, not returning money found, cheating at an exam, criticising other people, and not offering one’s seat to the elderly. While some of these can definitely be viewed as moral transgressions, others may belong to the varied pool of social and cultural unwritten rules and norms. Nevertheless, many of the examples given when simply describing feeling or being guilty as a response to doing something wrong or bad, e.g. lying and stealing, are similar to the so-called moral transgressions. Though many of the actions and situations are similar or identical to the examples mentioned by the Japanese and British participants, these situations and actions are not described as immoral by the Japanese and British, but simply as wrong or bad actions. Except for a few immoral offences, such as cheating people and cheating at an exam, the examples appear mostly to be violations of social and cultural rules and norms. In fact, looking at the rest of the Examples given by the Chinese, i.e. when they do not refer specifically to immoral behaviour but merely to wrong and bad behaviour, it appears that there is no ostensible distinction between immoral and wrong or bad actions and behaviours:

‘I broke my friends glass, I feel guilty’ (CN2), ‘The doctor felt guilty as he failed to save the dying man’ (CN3), ‘When I blame innocent persons; when I have hurt [hurt] someone physically or psychologically (CN5), ‘He is full of guilty. His guilty is

so heavy' (CN6), 'For example, I make a mistake and this caused my friend to suffer from this result, and then I will feel very guilty for her' (CN8), 'I feel guilty because I have broken a glass' (CN9), 'In class I cannot answer the question while others all know the answer' (CN12), 'I feel guilty to waste food' (CN17), 'I feel guilty using up my sister's makeup without telling her' (CN19), 'As a young baby as Sam, he feels guilty after pushing his sister to the floor' (CN23)

In these examples, with no specific reference to morality, situations such as making mistakes, breaking glasses, and wasting food, are lumped together with more serious situations pertaining to life and death and hurting other people emotionally as well as physically. Furthermore, quite a few of the situations described in the Examples are in fact unintentional and not necessarily moral. Thus, perhaps immorality is presumed to be a natural component of a wrongdoing whether it is intentional or not. Either way, compared to the other groups, the Chinese participants seem more concerned with morality.

The Chinese participants also use *guilty* in combination with both *feeling* and *being guilty*, i.e. they refer to *guilty* both as an emotion as well as a characteristic personal feature. Although they use both collocations, the majority prefer *feel guilty* in 25 instances. These can be seen in the General Descriptions:

'Guilty is a feeling...' (CN1), 'If I did something wrong, I may feel guilty' (CN2), 'If someone has done something wrong, he may feel guilty' (CN3), 'If I do not obey my own principles, I will feel guilty' (CN4), 'Guilty means that you feel very sorry...' (CN8), '...someone feels sorry for what he has done' (CN9), 'Why are you feel guilty?' (CN10), 'The feeling people have...' (CN14), 'It is a kind of feeling of sorry...' (CN17), '...or just feeling bad alone' (CN18), 'Feeling sorry for someone about something you should not have done...' (CN19), 'Guilty is the feeling...Guilty can be very deep and burning feelings...' (CN23)

They can also be seen in the Examples:

‘I just lied to him and I feel really guilty’ (CN1), ‘I broke my friends glass, I feel guilty’ (CN2), ‘The doctor felt guilty as he failed to save the dying man’ (CN3), ‘He should feel guilty...’ (CN4), ‘...and then I will feel very guilty for her’ (CN8), ‘The boy felt guilty for the crime...’ (CN9), ‘I feel guilty because I have broken a glass’ (CN10), ‘I feel guilty when I cheat at the exam’ (CN15), ‘I feel guilty for cheating you’ (CN16), ‘I feel guilty to waste food’ (CN17), ‘I felt guilty after I had criticized her’ (CN18), ‘I feel guilty using up my sister’s makeup...’(CN19), ‘...he feels guilt after pushing his sister...you don’t have to feel guilty...’ (CN23).

As can be seen from these examples, most of the uses of *feel guilty* occur in combination with *I*. By contrast, the responses that include *guilty* as a descriptor, i.e. *is guilty*, mostly use *he* as the subject:

‘He is full of guilty. His guilty is so heavy’ (CN7), ‘John is guilty of stealing money...’ (CN13), ‘It is guilty not to return the money found on the ground’ (CN15), ‘Guilty is doing something immoral or illegal’ (CN16), ‘He was guilty because he had murdered his brother’ (CN22),

It is worth noting that, similar to the Japanese, the Chinese also refer to the offence itself – rather than the offender – as being guilty. However, by carrying out the guilty act the person also becomes guilty.

With regard to the use of the personal pronoun *I*, the Chinese participants combine it with feeling or being guilty much more frequently than do the two other groups. In the General Descriptions there are 12 instances of the pronouns *someone*, *somebody*, *you*, and *they*, and five instances of *I*:

‘If I did something, I may feel guilty’ (CN2), ‘If I do not obey my own principles, I will feel guilty’ (CN3), ‘When I behave badly before many people and lose my face’ (CN12), ‘When I do something go against my conscience or social codes of conduct’

(CN15), ‘Doing something that is against my conscience and my personal principle about life’ (CN21)⁹

In the Examples there are no fewer than 13 instances of the use of *I*:

‘I just lied to him and I feel really guilty’ (CN1), ‘I broke my friends glass, I feel guilty’ (CN2), ‘...when I have hurted [hurt] someone physically or psychologically’ (CN5), ‘For example, I make mistake and this cause my friend to suffer from this result, and then I will feel very guilty for her’ (CN8), ‘I feel guilty because I have broken a glass’ (CN10), ‘In class, I cannot answer the question while others all know the answer’ (CN12), ‘If what I did hurt my friend’s feeling, I would use guilty’ (CN14), ‘I feel guilty when I cheat at the exam’ (CN15), ‘I feel guilty for cheating you’ (CN16), ‘It feel guilty to waste food’ (CN17), ‘I feel guilty after I had criticised her’ (CN18), ‘I feel guilty using up my sister’s makeup without telling her’ (CN19), ‘I don’t give the seat to an older lady in the bus’ (CN21).

The Chinese participants use *I* in combination with non-criminal, relatively trivial and harmless offences that do not involve other people, such as breaking a glass, not knowing the answer to questions, wasting food, cheating at an exam, etc. However, unlike the other groups, the Chinese also include situations and offences which affect other people and can be said to be immoral and go against social codes of conduct, e.g. lying, hurting others physically and psychologically, cheating others, using other people’s things without asking, criticising other people, and not offering a seat to the elderly. Based on this, it seems that the Chinese participants are not afraid of associating themselves with immoral and antisocial behaviour. Nevertheless, the responses containing examples with actual criminal offences are still without *I* (see that paragraph above for quotes pertaining to criminal behaviour only).

To sum up, according to the FA test, the Chinese participants understand and use the word *guilty* in relation to committing immoral, wrong, bad, and illegal actions that hurt other people and which

⁹ Though the participant does not specifically write *I*, the use of the phrase *my conscience and my personal principle* implies that the subject is *I*.

they regret committing. As can be seen above, the situations in which the Chinese participants use the word *guilty* are quite varied, and cover everything from breaking a glass to cheating on people, and that is excluding all the criminal offences such as stealing and murdering people.

6.3 Exploring the Image and Idea of *Guilty* – The CBA Test

In the CBA test the participants were asked about their understanding of the meaning of *guilty* in a specific utterance. The utterance chosen was: ‘I feel guilty because I did something bad’. Although this utterance may be considered somewhat vague, it was impossible to specify the context in more detail without guiding the participants’ understanding of the word in a particular direction. Nonetheless, there was one area where it was felt necessary to direct the participants and this is reflected in the decision to use the expression *feel guilty* instead of *be guilty* (‘I am guilty’). With this choice of words the participants were encouraged to view ‘guilt’ as an emotion they felt rather than a characteristic ascribed to them.

The twelve descriptors included in the selection for *guilty* reflect a range of features that can act as potential components in the meaning and understanding of the word *guilty*. Some descriptors reflect acceptance of responsibility and regret about the action performed, e.g. the Responsibility-descriptor ‘I feel responsible’ and the Regret-descriptor ‘I want to undo what I did’, while others include the idea that feeling ‘guilty’ functions as a punishment for bad and wrong behaviour, i.e. the feeling of ‘guilt’ is in itself a punishment for hurting others, or committing an offence.

Furthermore, it may not be enough to feel ‘guilty’; one may also have to show others that one feels this way, since by showing other people that one has accepted the punishment of feeling ‘guilty’, one eradicates the feeling of ‘guilt’. These two features – guilt as punishment and that it must be shown to others – are reflected in the Punishment-descriptor ‘I need to feel this way’ and the Reveal-descriptor ‘I want people to see how I feel’.

The descriptors ‘This feeling goes away when I say to people how I feel’ (Confession-descriptor), ‘I want to make things good again’(Reparation-descriptor), and ‘I show people I feel bad’ (Display-descriptor), are linked closely with the notion of making amends, not just for the sake of the people affected by the misconduct, but also for the sake of oneself, i.e. to make amends and reparations as a punishment for the wrongdoing and as a way of removing the feeling of ‘guilt’.

In complete opposition to this, we find the descriptors ‘I don’t want people to see how I feel’ (Hide-descriptor) and ‘I don’t want to look at people’ (Avoidance-descriptor), which reflect the aspects of feeling inferior and wanting to hide as a consequence of one’s actions. The Affect-descriptor, ‘What I did makes other people feel bad’, refers not only to somebody else being affected by the actual misconduct, but also to the possibility that other people affiliated with the wrongdoer may also feel ‘guilty’ about the situation.

Finally, the Body-descriptor ‘I feel sick inside my body’ represents the embodied and physical aspect of feeling ‘guilty’, i.e. that the feeling of ‘guilt’ exists not only mentally in one’s mind but also that it is deeply anchored in the body and experienced physically. Even though not all the descriptors necessarily have their own distinct linguistic expressions in the English language, they are nevertheless potential components of the meaning of the English word *guilty*.

On the basis of the considerations above, it is possible to provide an analysis of the responses from the CBA test, where the participants were asked to choose the four to six descriptors which most aptly described their understanding of *guilty* in the specific utterance. An overview of the participants’ responses can be seen in table 8.

‘I feel guilty because I did something bad’	ENGLAND (22 participants)	JAPAN (20 participants)	CHINA (23 participants)
I need to feel this way	5	7	2
I want people to see how I feel	6	7	10
This feeling goes away when I say to people how I feel	0	5	3
Something good happened	0	1	1
I want to make things good again	13	9	14
I show people I feel bad	3	10	11
I feel responsible	21	11	15
What I did makes other people feel bad	11	12	10

I feel sick inside my body	19	6	8
I don't want people to see how I feel	0	4	2
I want to undo what I did	19	9	16
I don't want to look at people	8	6	6

Table 8: The CBA Test Responses for Guilty

Whereas the selection of four descriptors was compulsory, selection of the fifth and sixth descriptors was optional. Therefore the analysis will concentrate on the four most frequently selected descriptors. The descriptors will be compared with the responses from the FA test to see how the data from the two tests support and complement each other so that we can arrive at a multi-layered cohesive idea of the participants' understanding of the word *guilty*.

6.3.1 The British CBA Test Responses

The descriptors selected may either add emphasis to features of *guilty* already found in the FA responses, or add new meanings. The following four descriptors were selected most frequently by the British participants:

- I feel responsible (21)
- I feel sick inside my body (19)
- I want to undo what I did (19)
- I want to make things good again (13)

As can be seen, there is agreement among the participants on what descriptors to select. Almost all of the 22 participants selected the first three, though only ten selected all four descriptors. However, there is a major leap from the third (19) to the fourth (13), which is closely followed by the fifth most frequently selected (11) (see below). The specific choice of descriptors made by the British participants enables us to discover additional meanings and features of their understanding of 'guilty' rather than find further evidence for existing ones.

It is no surprise that the Responsibility-descriptor is the most popular one as this feature is also prevalent in the FA responses. With 95.5%, the selection of this descriptor enhances the role of responsibility in the British understanding of ‘guilt’. The Regret-descriptor (‘I want to undo what I did’) can also be found in the FA test either through direct expressions of regret and remorse, or through indirect expressions such as disgusts of one’s actions.

Neither the bodily aspect nor the feature of making amends can be seen in the free written responses although it could be argued that the expression *feel bad* may refer to a bad physical sensation in the body. Nevertheless, with a selection rate of almost 60% and higher, these two descriptors convincingly add to the overall understanding.

The feature of other people being affected by the wrongdoers’ action is partly visible in the FA responses. In the CBA, it has been selected by exactly half of the participants:

- What I did makes other people feel bad (11)
- I don’t want to look at people (8)

As the stimulus for the CBA test – ‘I feel guilty because I did something bad’ – does not specify the exact action that caused the ‘guilt’, or whether other people are affected by this action, it is up to the participants’ themselves to decide whether or not the meaning of feeling guilty in this context requires that other people are affected by the wrongdoing. Since only half selected this option, and since the feature is only partially expressed in their free responses, it would appear that it is only a possibility, and not a requirement for other people to be affected in order for the wrongdoers to feel *guilty*.

With respect to the descriptor ‘I don’t want to look at people’, there is no direct evidence in the FA responses to support this aspect of avoiding and hiding from people. However, this descriptor can be combined with the facial expression component of gaze aversion to imply that people who feel guilty avert their gaze to avoid eye contact. Nevertheless, although this feature has been selected and therefore forms part of overall understanding, the fact that it has only been selected by eight participants – less than a third – shows that this feature is not strongly emphasised by the British.

In order to fully understand the results of the CBA test, it is necessary to also investigate the descriptors that were not selected. This may be especially important in the cases where descriptors have been selected by one participant group but not by another. With respect to the British understanding of *guilty*, it is worth looking more closely at the Reveal- and Display-descriptors ‘I want people to see how I feel’ and ‘I show people I feel bad’.

The Reveal-descriptor – ‘I want people to see how I feel’ – reflects the notion that it is a positive thing to show others that one feels ‘guilty’. This descriptor was selected by less than a third of the British participants. In contrast, both of the two other language groups included this descriptor among the most frequently selected descriptors. In continuation of this, we find that, unlike the two non-native groups, almost none of the native English speakers selected the Display-descriptor, which was one of the most popular ones among the Asian groups.

The Display-descriptor is related to the Reveal-descriptor, and together they illustrate the idea that it is necessary to reveal and show one’s ‘guilt’ as a form of (self)-punishment or apology for committing the offence that caused the feeling of ‘guilt’ in the first place. The non-selection of this descriptor, combined with the selection of the Avoidance-descriptor – ‘I don’t want to look at people’ – suggests that the British participants do not show their ‘guilt’ as a form of punishment, remorse, or a way of making amends. Evidence to support this argument can be found from the fact that not a single British participant selected the descriptor ‘This feeling goes away when I say to people how I feel’. In fact, these three descriptors, which all refer to a means of showing one’s ‘guilt’ in some way, were selected by only few native speakers, if any.

By combining the features found in both the FA and CBA test responses, it is possible to create a simplified paraphrase of our interpretation of the British participants’ understanding of *guilty* (fig.6) in an emotional context, i.e. a context in which there is no reference to legal ‘guilt’:

I did something that I know is bad. I feel responsible for it and it makes me feel sick inside. I wish it had not happened and I want to make things good again. What I did might make other people feel bad I do not want to look at them.

Figure 6: Paraphrase of the British Understanding of Guilty

6.3.2 The Japanese CBA Results

Unlike the British participants, the Japanese are divided as to what features to include in the overall understanding of *guilty*. All 12 descriptors were selected at least once, including the distractor, and the most frequently selected descriptor was selected by only 12 participants. Nevertheless, 12 people still constitute 60% of the Japanese participants. The most popular descriptors among the Japanese were:

- What I did makes other people feel bad (12)
- I feel responsible (11)
- I show people I feel bad (10)
- I want to undo what I did (9) / I want to make things good again (9)

As can be seen, two descriptors with related meanings – ‘I want to undo what I did’ and ‘I want to make things good again’ – were both selected as the fourth most frequently selected descriptor. Out of the four descriptors only two can be found among the FA responses: the feature of other people being affected and the feature of regret.

That people other than the wrongdoer are affected is expressed both directly (‘To hurt somebody’ JP2), and indirectly through situations where it is unavoidable that someone will become hurt, e.g. ‘Did you cheat on him!’ (JP11). By selecting the Affect-descriptor the participants enhance the emphasis on this feature. The other feature which can be found in both the FA and CBA responses is that of regret. Through expressions such as *feel sorry* and *regret*, the aspect of regret is partially visible in the FA responses. However, by selecting the Regret-descriptor the participants confirm the inclusion of regret in their understanding of *guilty*.

In contrast, the Responsibility-descriptor is not visible in the FA responses. In fact, the word *responsible* is not mentioned a single time. Furthermore, there is no direct evidence in the Examples for this feature either. The third and fourth most frequently selected descriptors – the Display- and Reparation-descriptor respectively – are also not to be found in the FA responses. Through the selection of these descriptors the Japanese reveal additional aspects of their understanding of *guilty*.

As the sixth and seventh most selected descriptors, we find the descriptors which reflect the idea of feeling guilty as a form of (self)-punishment for the offence committed.

- I need to feel this way (7)
- I want people to see how I feel (7)

Although these features are not overtly expressed in the FA test, the selection of them in the CBA supports the notion that it is impossible for the Japanese to avoid feeling ‘guilty’ when committing an improper act. Except for one example in the FA responses, ‘It is impossible for me to avoid this word...’ (JP13), there is no mention of the necessity to feel ‘guilty’ as a (self)-punishment for the wrongdoings, perhaps because feeling ‘guilty’ is an inherent quality of committing an improper act. Furthermore, the features of confessing one’s guilt as a way of apologising are perhaps so inherent in the Japanese idea of ‘guilt’ that it is superfluous to explicitly mention it. When the wrongdoers experience ‘guilt’, it is not really a question of needing to make the ‘guilt’ known, nor wanting other people to see it; for them there is no choice: the feeling of ‘guilt’ **cannot** be avoided and it **must** be made visible and known to others.

All 12 descriptors were selected by at least one Japanese participant. The inconsistency with respect to the aspects included in the meaning of *guilty* may be a reflection of the fact that English is not their native language, and therefore not a part of their psychophysiological network (see 2.1.1). Consequently, they are unable to agree upon a uniform understanding of the word. It is nevertheless worth looking at the Body-descriptor ‘I feel sick inside my body’, which was among the least selected descriptors by the Japanese but highly popular among the British participants, where it was selected by almost all the participants. In contrast, only six of the Japanese selected the Body-descriptor as a feature to be included in their understanding of *guilty*. This perhaps suggests that *guilty* is not as deeply seated within the Japanese as within the native English speakers, i.e. for the Japanese ‘guilt’ is felt less intensely. Furthermore, this may perhaps also be the reason that it is considered sufficient to tell others how one feels in order to remove the feeling of ‘guilt’, i.e. ‘This feeling goes away when I say to people how I feel’. Even though it was not among the most frequently selected descriptors, it was still selected by 25% of the Japanese, which is a much higher

percentage than the 0% found with the British participants. ‘Guilt’ is not so deeply physically manifested within the body of the Japanese and therefore it is easy to get rid of.

The features found in the FA test and selected in the CBA test can be combined to create the following brief paraphrase of the researcher’s interpretation of the overall understanding of *guilty* by the Japanese participants:

I did something bad and it made other people feel bad. I feel responsible for what happened and I regret what I did. I need to feel this way and I show people how bad I feel about it to make things good again.

Figure 7: Paraphrase of the Japanese Understanding of Guilty

6.3.3 The Chinese CBA Results

Though the Chinese show higher agreement in their selection of descriptors than the Japanese, they are not as uniform in their responses as the British participants. The most frequently selected descriptor was chosen by 16 out of 23 participants – almost 70%. The Chinese participants selected the following four descriptors.

- I want to undo what I did (16)
- I feel responsible (15)
- I want to make things good again (14)
- I show people I feel bad (11)

To feel sorry about an act committed implies that one regrets it, and it is in this way the Chinese express in their FA responses that they want to undo what happened. In addition to this, the FA responses also include a few direct instances of *regret* as well as the expression ‘something you shouldn’t have done in the first place’ (CN19), both of which can be said to illustrate the feature of wanting to undo one’s action. This suggests that regret is heavily emphasised in the Chinese understanding.

In contrast, the feature of responsibility is not visible at all in the FA test. Therefore it is only included in the understanding of *guilty* as a result of being selected in the CBA test. The same can be said for the features expressed in the third and fourth most selected descriptors – the Reparation- and Display-descriptors respectively – neither of which were found in the participants FA responses. Through the selection of these three descriptors, the Chinese reveal new meanings and features which adds to the researcher's interpretation of their existing understanding.

Further support for the feature of displaying one's 'guilt' can be found in the selection of the descriptor:

- I want people to see how bad I feel (10)

This Reveal-descriptor, combined with the Display-descriptor, 'I show people I feel bad', and the Reparation-descriptor, 'I want to make things good again', corroborates the notion discussed in relation to the Japanese responses: that it is possible to make amends by showing one's 'guilt'. Although this feature is not evident in the FA responses, the fact that these three related descriptors have been selected suggests that this notion also exists among the Chinese participants.

The feature that other people are affected by one's actions is expressed in the sixth most frequently selected descriptor

- What I did makes other people feel bad (10)

This feature is also strongly supported by the participants' FA responses, both in the General Descriptions, where they directly mention that offences committed may include hurting other people, and in the Examples, which often describe situations where other people are affected.

Exploring the descriptors that were not selected, we can see that the Chinese participants did not select the Body-descriptor 'I feel sick inside my body'. As mentioned, this might indicate that the feeling of 'guilt' is not so deeply embodied and therefore is felt less intensely than by the British, almost all of whom selected this descriptor. The non-selection of this descriptor, combined with the selection of the descriptors 'I want people to see how I feel' and 'I show people I feel bad', makes it

plausible that because the feeling of ‘guilt’ is not so deeply felt by the Chinese, it is possible to make amends and rid oneself of ‘guilt’ merely by displaying and verbally expressing it.

The paraphrase in figure 8 is a simplified presentation of how the Chinese participants’ understanding of *guilty* is interpreted:

I did something bad but I wish it had not happened. What I did makes other people feel bad. I feel responsible for it and I want to make things good again. I show people how bad I feel about it and I want people to see it.

Figure 8: Paraphrase of the Chinese Understanding of Guilty

6.4 Summary of Findings

To conclude the analysis of how the participants understand and use the word *guilty*, it is crucial to explore whether or not there are differences in their understanding and usage, and if so, what these differences are. However, before a discussion can take place, it is necessary to sum up the different participant groups’ understanding. In the responses provided by the three groups to both the FA and CBA test, it appears that the participants more often than not describe the emotion connected with ‘guilty’ rather than the word *guilty*. As lay persons they are probably unable to differentiate between the two. This does not mean that their responses are invalid in an investigation of their understanding of the word. On the contrary, by describing the emotional experience of ‘guilt’ in detail, and their understanding of the emotion, they also describe their understanding of the word, as their experiences with feeling ‘guilt’ is reflected in their understanding of the word *guilty*. Consequently, it is still possible to derive from their responses how they understand and use the word *guilty*. It has been established that all three groups understand and use *guilty* to describe situations in which a person has been proven or found guilty of a criminal offence. However, here the focus was on the understanding and use of *guilty* to describe the emotion of ‘guilt’ in relation to non-criminal offences.

The native English speakers understand the word *guilty* as describing situations in which people are aware of, and acknowledge the responsibility of, having committed an action that is considered to be bad or wrong either by themselves or others. The action may have also affected other people.

This emotion of 'guilt' also includes regret about committing the action in the first place, followed by a wish to change the situation to something better. The 'guilt' may be imposed by others or by oneself. Often this emotion is grave enough to manifest itself physically within the body of the offender. This makes it a deep-seated feeling that is difficult to rid oneself of. The situations which elicit these emotions of 'guilt' involve an individual doing something that is considered wrong. These wrong actions can both be immoral, e.g. betraying other people's trust, and violations of social norms and rules such as jumping the queue and eating other people's food. In some cases they may also be violations of personal rules such as eating sweets. In such cases other people are rarely affected.

When the Japanese participants use the English emotion word *guilty*, they understand and use it in relation to situations where people have committed an action that is considered to be a wrongdoing either in their own view or in that of others. Though these actions do not always affect others directly, they probably affect them indirectly. Either way, people feel responsible for the action committed and it is therefore important to make amends for the wrongdoing. The emotion of 'guilt' is perceived as a necessary consequence and unavoidable punishment for committing the wrong action in the first place. To compensate for this, it is essential to show other people that one has received the punishment in the form of the emotion of 'guilt', i.e. their 'guilt' needs to be visible to others. The punishment will disappear quickly if others know that one is experiencing this emotion. The situations which elicit this emotion are those where people do something that is considered wrong. For the Japanese participants, the guilt-eliciting situations involve actions that are condemned by the social community. Some may pertain to morality such as cheating and lying, but most are violations of personal standards and norms, such as breaking promises, eating too many sweets, not helping others, etc.

The Chinese appear to use the word *guilty* mostly to describe situations in which a person has committed an offence which has affected other people. In this situation the person feels responsible for, and sorry about, the action and regrets it. However, this emotion is not an obligatory consequence of committing a wrongdoing. Whether feeling guilty about committing a wrongdoing is obligatory or not, the emotion will disappear if it is made visible to others. To make the emotion visible is also a means of making amends. The situations which elicit this emotion involve

committing actions that are considered wrong. For the Chinese participants, these acts are mostly of an immoral character such as lying, cheating at an exam, hurting other people, and abusing people's trust. Furthermore, they may also be acts that violate social norms and rules such as wasting food and showing courtesy to the elderly. The actions may even include accidents such as breaking a glass.

The overall understanding of *guilty* by the three language groups have been summed up in table 9 where the different features and meanings are presented according to their emphasis in the different understandings, i.e. the higher up the list a feature or meaning component is, the more emphasis it is given by the respective language groups. If (+) is added to a feature, this feature is relatively more dominant in this understanding compared with the other understandings of *guilty*.

ENGLAND	JAPAN	CHINA
Responsibility (+)	Others are affected	Others are affected
Others may be affected	Obligatory	Responsibility
Embodiment	Regret (+)	Regret (+)
Regret	Responsibility	Display (+)
Reparation	Reparation (+)	Reparation
Difficult to eradicate	Display	Easy to eradicate
Display (-)	Punishment	
	Easy to eradicate	
CAUSES OF GUILT		
Immoral acts and behaviours	Violation of social norms	Immoral acts and behaviours
Violation of social norms	Violation of personal rules	Violation of personal rules

Table 9: Overview of the Features Included in the Participants' Understanding of *guilty* in Order of Importance

6.5 Concluding Remarks

Based on the analysis above it should now be possible to determine whether there are differences in the participants' understanding and use of the word *guilty*. The data presented suggests that there

are indeed different understandings and usages of *guilty*. However, it also suggests that there are certain similarities.

Besides their mutual understanding and use of *guilty* in relation to criminal activity and legal guilt, the three participant groups also agree that the following meaning components should be included in their understanding of feeling guilty: other people are affected, responsibility, and making amends/reparation. Even though the three groups include these features, they are emphasised in differing degrees in the three groups. This concerns e.g. the extent to which other people are affected by one's action and the need to make amends, both of which appear to be emphasised more heavily by the Japanese. Although the guilt-eliciting situations may also seem similar across the three language groups – all three groups refer to what they call wrong and bad actions and give examples of crime, immoral actions, violations of social norms, and violations of personal rules – the emphasis on the various situations differs. Whereas the British emphasise immoral actions, the Japanese focus on violations of personal rules of behaviour – though often these are similar to social and cultural rules and norms. The Chinese emphasise both violations of morality and personal rules.

The most obvious difference is that guilt seems to manifest itself bodily in the British participants. This feature is not present with the two Asian groups. This may suggest that the native English speakers experience guilt more intensely than the non-native speakers. Support for this can be found in an early study on cultural determinants in experiencing 'guilt' and 'shame' where results showed that in collectivistic cultures such as Japan and China, 'shame' as well as 'guilt' experiences were infrequent, less expected, and less immoral. Consequently, these 'guilt' and 'shame' experiences also had fewer negative consequences for the individual (Wallbot & Scherer 1995:476). Accordingly, for the Asian participants, the emotion of 'guilt' is a less serious emotion than for the British. As such it is not as deeply anchored in the body. This is also linked to the notion that one's 'guilt' can disappear through confession and apologies as atonement for one's wrongdoing. Therefore, because the emotion of 'guilt' is less serious for the Japanese and Chinese participants, it is sufficient to make their guilt visible to others for it to end, e.g. through confession and apology.

As for the non-verbal expression of 'guilt' the data suggests that there is no specific image connected to the feeling of guilt, or at least it is not the same image for the three language groups.

In the PDA test, the British group was the only group that showed any form of agreement on a facial expression for 'guilt'. Furthermore, they were the only ones to refer in their free written responses to a non-verbal expression of 'guilty', i.e. a 'guilty' look. But even if they have a way to show that they feel guilty non-verbally, it is clear from the PDA test that it is not through one single static facial expression.

At a more general level, differences between the groups were also visible, not in the content of the responses, but in the form of the responses. Although we did not ask the participants to rate the different descriptors according to importance or intensity, the fact that some descriptors were selected more frequently than others – and some not at all – is an indication that differences do exist in the meanings the participants attach to the emotional experience of 'guilt' as well as the word *guilty*. The selection of the descriptors shows that some features are more popular in one group than others. In other words, different meaning components are valued and emphasised differently in different cultures and languages. As a consequence, the understanding and use of a word may vary between different language groups as different meanings are included and emphasised in the understanding and use of a word, though they may not be overtly visible.

7 Exploring the Understanding of *Ashamed*¹⁰

In this chapter the responses from the three tests to the stimulus word *guilty* will be analysed. The analysis will start by looking at the results of the Picture Driven Association (PDA) test. This will be followed by an analysis and discussion of the free written responses from the Free Association (FA) test. Finally the Context Bound Association (CBA) test responses will be explored, and to conclude the chapter the interpretation and findings of the data will be discussed.

7.1 Exploring the Visual Image of Ashamed – The PDA Test

The debate on whether or not the emotion of ‘shame’ has its own distinct facial expression – and whether it is universal – is still ongoing, with empirical studies providing evidence for both arguments. However, in the PDA test the aim was not to find a distinct universal facial expression for ‘shame’, but rather to explore what visual image – if any – speakers of English from different languages and cultures attach to the English word *ashamed*.

In the PDA test, 14 photographs of different facial expressions were investigated. Out of these, two photographs were selected in advance by researchers in the GEBCom group as potential facial expressions of ‘shame’: photographs no. 2 and 7 (tables 10 and 11 respectively). Both of these were selected because they contain features which are hypothesised to be a part of the non-verbal expression of ‘shame’ such as lowering of the eyes, decreased muscle tone of the face and neck, which result in lowering of the neck.


	ENGLAND	JAPAN	CHINA
	- 22 participants	- 20 participants	- 23 participants
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disappointed: 68.2% (15/22) • Ashamed: 13.6% (3/22) • Sad: 13.6% (3/22) • Guilty: 4.5% (1/22) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disappointed: 40% (8/20) • Sad: 35% (7/20) • Guilty: 10% (2/20) • Ashamed: 5% (1/20) • Embarrassed: 5% (1/20) • Afraid: 5% (1/20) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sad: 43.5% (10/23) • Disappointed: 35% (8/23) • Guilty: 8.7% (2/23) • Ashamed: 4.3% (1/23) • Arrogant: 4.3% (1/23) • Embarrassed: 4.3% (1/23)

Table 10: Overview of Responses for Photograph no.2 (*Ashamed*)

¹⁰ For the full set of responses in relation to *ashamed* see Appendix 3

As can be seen in table 7.1, the identification of photograph number 2 is far from consistent. Across all three language groups this facial expression was most frequently selected as a non-verbal expression of ‘disappointed’ by two groups and ‘sad’ by one group. Only few people – five out of a total of 65 participants – identified the photograph as a facial expression of ‘ashamed’.

However, with an impressive 15 out of 22 native English speakers selecting ‘disappointed’, there is some evidence for a non-verbal expression of the emotion ‘disappointment’ which, according to some, belongs to the overarching emotion category ‘sadness’ (Johnson-Laird & Oatley 1989). The fact that ‘disappointed’ and ‘sad’ were selected so overwhelmingly, as compared with the other emotions, across all three groups provides support for this notion of ‘sadness’ as an emotion category. However, although the result shows some agreement among the participants with regard to the emotion expression in photograph no. 2, this finding diverts from the predicted result.

In contrast, photograph no. 7 (table 11), shows absolutely no agreement either across or within the three language groups. As can be seen from table 7.2, the highest percentage of agreement for ‘ashamed’ is found among the British participants, but it was still only selected by 22.7%, i.e. five out of 22 participants. Interestingly, ‘disappointed’ was selected by an equal number of British participants.


	ENGLAND	JAPAN	CHINA
	- 22 participants	- 20 participants	- 23 participants
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ashamed: 22.7% (5/22) • Disappointed: 22.7% (5/22) • Guilty: 18.2% (4/22) • Sad: 18.2% (4/22) • Angry : 9% (2/22) • Embarrassed: 9% (2/22) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Guilty: 25% (5/20) • Sad: 20% (4/20) • Ashamed: 20% (4/20) • Embarrassed: 15% (3/20) • Angry: 10% (2/20) • Afraid: 5% (1/20) • Disappointed: 5% (1/20) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Guilty: 21.7% (5/23) • Sad: 21.7% (5/23) • Disappointed: 17.4% (4/23) • Embarrassed: 13% (3/23) • Ashamed: 13% (3/23) • Afraid: 8.7% (2/23) • Angry: 4.3%, (1/23)

Table 11: Overview of Responses for Photograph no.7 (Ashamed)

Whereas the British group selected ‘ashamed’, the results in the two other language groups were quite different. Both the Japanese and Chinese participants selected ‘guilty’ as the emotion expressed in photograph number 7. The highest overall agreement was found among the Japanese (for ‘guilty’) but even then it was a mere 25% of the participants. ‘Ashamed’ and ‘sad’ were both selected by 20%. The expression was identified as ‘guilty’ 21.7% of the Chinese. However, the selection rate for ‘sad’ is also 20%. To sum up, there is no agreement on a distinct facial expression for ‘ashamed’ either across or within the three language groups. Although the majority of the Japanese (albeit this constitutes only 25%) perceive the facial expression as ‘guilty’, 20% identified it as ‘ashamed’ and another 20% as ‘sad’. Interestingly enough, the Chinese did not select ‘ashamed’ as the emotion expressed in either of the two photographs.

While the discussion on a universal facial expression of ‘shame’ is still ongoing, the results from the PDA test provide empirical evidence for the argument that ‘shame’ does not have a distinct universal facial expression, or even a distinct culture-specific facial expression. However, the PDA does lend support to the notion of ‘sadness’ as an overarching category of emotions which includes ‘disappointment’.

7.2 Exploring the Understanding of *Ashamed* – The FA Test Responses

If we look at how the word is generally understood and used in the English language, the dictionaries describe it in terms of feeling guilty and embarrassed, i.e. feeling embarrassed and guilty or feeling uncomfortable because of something embarrassing¹¹. These definitions clearly reflect the notion that ‘guilt’, ‘shame’ and ‘embarrassment’ are closely linked. This is also visible in the participants’ free written response. When first reading through all of the participants’ responses, it became clear that they often use *embarrassed* in their descriptions of *ashamed*. Therefore the analysis of the responses will begin with an exploration of the ways the participants use *embarrassed* to refer to their understanding and use of *ashamed*. In addition to this, the participants do not distinguish between being and feeling ‘ashamed’. Instead they use the two expressions interchangeably. However, this chapter will use only the expression *feel ashamed* for instances of both being and feeling ‘ashamed’.

¹¹ <http://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary/ashamed>
<http://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/ashamed?q=ashamed>

In the test they were asked to respond to two questions regarding the stimulus words, ‘How do you understand the word ASHAMED’ and ‘Please give examples of how you would use the word ASHAMED’. In the analysis, the responses were divided into two overall categories, General Descriptions – consisting of the responses to the first question – and Examples– consisting of the examples given as responses to the second question. As per usual we will begin by looking at the responses from the British participants.

7.2.1 The British FA Test Responses

The 22 participants produced a total of 44 written responses explaining how they understand and use the word *ashamed*. Out of their 44 responses, nine contain references to the word *embarrassed*:

‘being embarrassed about something, particular your own actions’ (GB1), ‘to feel embarrassed about and to regret something you have done’ (GB2), ‘to be more than just embarrassed about something because it was morally wrong, not just embarrassing OR to be really upset, more than embarrassed about a situation or something/someone’ (GB3), ‘it is an embarrassing feeling that you do not want to be publically known’ (GB7), ‘ashamed is being embarrassed or disappointed in something, because it is something that can be considered “bad” or “negative”’ (GB8), ‘you are perhaps embarrassed and do not wish to own up to something that you have done/completed’ (GB15), ‘embarrassed or regretful of a bad thing you might have done’ (GB19), ‘the feeling of regret after doing something embarrassing or for which you could be ridiculed’ (GB21), ‘when you feel embarrassed and regret doing something’ (GB22)

As can be seen, from these General Descriptions, the participants appear to equate ‘embarrassment’ with ‘shame’. Except for one person (GB3), they all consider feeling embarrassed and ashamed as the same thing, i.e. they do not distinguish between the two words, or perhaps the two emotional concepts, and therefore they use the words interchangeably. In view of this resemblance between *embarrassed* and *ashamed* in these descriptions, it is worth looking at the descriptions which explain ‘ashamed’ through the use of *embarrassed*. According to some researchers, the main difference between ‘embarrassment’ and ‘shame’ is the eliciting events. As the events that normally

elicit ‘embarrassment’ are trivial, accidental and without serious consequences, ‘embarrassment’ is also felt as less serious and intense. In contrast, the events that elicit ‘shame’ are more severe transgressions with more severe consequences and therefore the emotion is felt more strongly and intense. Thus by investigating the situations in which the participants use *embarrassed* interchangeably with *ashamed*, we can see if they merely use the word *embarrassed* to help describe their understanding of *ashamed* or if they are unable to distinguish between the two concepts:

‘He was ashamed when he admitted to having stolen from the shop’ (GB1), ‘She was ashamed of her actions. You should be ashamed of yourself’ (GB2), ‘If your friend has committed a crime, they would feel ashamed to tell you’ (GB7), ‘He was ashamed that he had left her there alone. My mother was ashamed that I cheated’ (GB8), ‘I am ashamed to tell you that it was me that stole your purse. I am ashamed of myself for how I acted last night’ (GB15), ‘He was ashamed of himself for losing his temper’ (GB19), ‘I felt so ashamed to admit how I felt’ (GB21), ‘You should feel ashamed about what you did’ (GB22).

As can be seen from these examples, except for a few unspecified shame-eliciting activities, the situations and behaviours mentioned above are all of a severe nature. Furthermore, in all except example — ‘I felt so ashamed to admit how I felt’ (GB21) — it is impossible to replace *ashamed* with *embarrassed* without changing the essential meaning of the sentence, i.e. the word *embarrassed* does not match the context of cheating, losing one’s temper, stealing, and other criminal acts. Therefore, it can be argued that *embarrassed* cannot be used interchangeably with *ashamed* in the examples above. The fact that the participants in their General Descriptions equate ‘embarrassed’ with ‘ashamed’, but describe situations of ‘shame’ in the Examples, suggests that they rely on the traditional theoretical notion that the two emotions are similar, related, and possibly even different versions of the same emotion with ‘shame’ being describes as ‘embarrassed’ and sometimes even as superordinate to ‘embarrassed’, i.e. stronger or more than ‘embarrassed’.

In addition to the use of *embarrassment* as a way to describe ‘ashamed’, another noteworthy feature is the number of instances of ‘regret’. This aspect is regularly mentioned in the General Descriptions:

‘...and to regret something you have done’ (GB2), ‘...and something which they really regret.’ (GB4), ‘wishing that you haven’t done something’ (GB5), ‘a negative feeling of regret and remorse’ (GB18), ‘... regretful of a bad thing you might have done’(GB19), ‘the feeling of regret after doing something ...’ (GB21), ‘...and regret doing something’ (GB22).

The fact that ‘regret’ is included in their understanding of ‘ashamed’ suggests that the offenders must be aware that their actions are regarded as improper by someone, either themselves or others which are aware of the actions. This awareness of having committed an act that may be viewed as improper is evident from the following examples of General Descriptions:

‘A sense that you have done something morally wrong’ (GB1), ‘A person feels ashamed when they have done something really wrong, that they know is really wrong ...’(GB4), ‘Ashamed is the feeling you get when you have done something terribly wrong that is not just wrong but not very nice either’ (GB6), ‘Ashamed is being embarrassed or disappointed in something, because it is something that can be considered ‘bad’ or ‘negative’” (GB8), ‘similar to guilty but more negative feelings, when you have something wrong (or that you perceive to be wrong) but have been caught out in it, and are made to feel bad for something (GB9), ‘A feeling where you know you have done something wrong – realise it, and therefore feel bad’ (GB10), ‘Feeling bad or guilty about some wrongdoing...’(GB12), ‘Embarrassed or regretful of a bad thing you might have done’ (GB19)

In these General Descriptions, it is clear how feeling ‘regret’ as a component of ‘shame’ requires the wrongdoer to be aware of the fact that the act committed is considered inappropriate by someone. In other words, if the act is not improper there is no reason to regret it or feel ‘ashamed’

of it. Furthermore, many of the descriptions above also include feeling bad about having done something wrong or bad. Here, *to feel bad* about something can be viewed as an expression of the physicality of the emotion. In these cases, *to feel bad* means that something inside one's body does not feel right and thus the emotion can be seen as being physically anchored. In other words, the expression refers to the irregular, uncomfortable feeling a person experiences inside their body in connection with, e.g. feeling 'ashamed', similar to how a body feels wrong, heavy, painful, unwell, and uncomfortable when actually sick. Nevertheless, this physical embodiment of 'shame' is rarely overtly mentioned, much in the same way the participants also do not overtly specify the nature of the shame-eliciting act committed, i.e. whether it is good or bad, positive or negative, etc.:

'to feel embarrassed about and to regret something you have done' (GB2), 'wishing that you hadn't done something' (GB5), 'When someone is unhappy about something they or someone else did' (GB11), 'Feeling guilty and bad for an action committed' (GB12), 'Ashamed is when you feel bad for doing something' (GB14), 'You are perhaps embarrassed and do not wish to own up to something that you have done/completed' (GB15), 'Ashamed is when someone is ashamed for their actions' (GB16), 'to have resentful feelings toward someone or about something you have done' (GB17), 'Ashamed: To disapprove of your own past actions' (GB20), 'When you feel embarrassed and regret doing something' (GB22)

In these descriptions the acts committed are not said to be bad or wrong. Nevertheless, the participants feel 'ashamed' of committing them. Consequently these acts must implicitly be erroneous; if not, why would people feel 'ashamed' of them and disapprove of them? It is theoretically possible that any sort of act or form of behaviour – good or bad, right or wrong – is able to evoke feelings of 'shame'. Nevertheless, as the General Descriptions include expressions and words such as *guilt*, *regret*, *feeling bad*, *resentful*, and *disapprove*, the more likely explanation is that acts, behaviours, and situations eliciting 'shame' are regarded as being of an improper nature.

By exploring the rest of the Examples, it should be possible to deduce more about what type of acts, behaviours, and situations are able to cause feelings of 'shame':

‘He was ashamed when he admitted to having stolen from the shop’ (GB1), ‘I was ashamed of what I’d done. She was ashamed of her mother’ (GB3), “‘I am ashamed of you”, “You should be ashamed”” (GB4), ‘I would feel ashamed if I had stolen off somebody because it’s an unkind thing to do’ GB6), ‘If your friend has committed a crime, they would feel ashamed to tell you’ (GB7), ‘He was ashamed that he had left her there alone. My mother was ashamed that I cheated’ (GB8), ‘I was ashamed to find out what happened last night’ (GB9), ‘I was ashamed of what I did’ (GB10), ‘That man ought to be ashamed of himself. I am deeply ashamed to have to admit that I was negligent in this matter’ (GB13), ‘I am ashamed of myself for not admitting my true thoughts’ (GB 18), ‘He was ashamed of himself for losing his temper’ (GB19), “‘I felt so ashamed to admit how I felt”” (GB21)

These situations show a great deal of variation covering anything from criminal offences, wrongful treatment of others to (non)declarations of emotions and thoughts. It is interesting that in some of these examples people are ‘ashamed’ not of the wrongdoing itself, but worried that the wrongdoing is, or may become, known to others. In other words, the offenders are aware of having done something improper, but it is the idea of other people knowing about it and judging and condemning them that makes the offenders ‘ashamed’ rather than the act itself. Thus, it is not the inherent wrongness of the fact that the offender has committed the act, but the expected evaluation and judgement by others that arouse feeling ‘ashamed’. This is also evident in the examples where judgement and ‘shame’ of a wrongdoing or a person is imposed by others:

‘You should be ashamed of yourself’(GB2), ‘She was ashamed of her mother’ (GB3), ‘...a person can feel ashamed of someone else, if that other person is guilty of such and act’, “‘I am ashamed of you”, “You should be ashamed”” (GB4), ‘My mother was ashamed that I cheated’ (GB8), ‘When someone is unhappy about...or someone else did’ (GB11), ‘That man ought to be ashamed of himself’ (GB13), ‘You should be ashamed of yourself!’ (GB14), ‘I am ashamed of you’ (GB17), ‘You should feel ashamed of what you did’ (GB22)

All these examples refer either to people being ‘ashamed’ of others or to people requiring of others that they feel ‘ashamed’. The reasons for this apparent need for ‘shame’ are not made clear although it seems reasonable to assume that the judging other believes the person put to shame to be responsible for committing an improper action. Therefore the quotations above can be seen as illustrative examples of the aspect expressed by participant GB9: ‘...when you have done something wrong (or that you perceive to be wrong) but have been caught out in it, and are made to feel bad for something’. In other words, when you have been exposed of committing an action that is viewed as improper by someone, you will be evaluated and judged for it and it is through this evaluation and judgement by others that the feeling of ‘shame’ arises. It is worth noting that even without the visible judgement by others, the wrongdoers still feel ‘ashamed’ of their actions and behaviours. This suggests that the offenders do not need actual real people to evaluate and judge them in order to feel ‘ashamed’; the mere idea and expectation of the judgement by others is sufficient. This is can be seen in the following examples:

‘He was ashamed when he admitted to having stolen from the shop’ (GB1), ‘If your friend committed a crime, they would feel ashamed to tell you (GB7), ‘I am deeply ashamed to have to admit that I was negligent in this matter’ (GB13), ‘I am ashamed to tell you that it was me that stole your purse’ (GB14).

In these examples, people are ‘ashamed’ to admit to, or tell others, that they have committed what may be considered an inappropriate act. As a consequence, it appears to be the prospect of other people knowing about what one has done and the concomitant evaluation and judgement of one’s persona that triggers the feeling of ‘shame’.

If we pursue the idea found in the previous chapter of how the participants use pronouns differently across the three language groups, we find that similar to their responses to the stimulus word *guilty*, the British participants also do not use the personal pronoun *I* at all in the General Descriptions for *ashamed*. Instead they use third-person pronouns such as *someone*, *somebody*, *one* or the general *you*, which may be interpreted as an indication of the participants directing their communication at

the hearer in accordance with their supertype (see 3.3). In contrast, the Examples contain 15 instances of *I* in combination with *ashamed*:

‘I was ashamed of what I’d done’ (GB3), ‘I am ashamed of you’ (GB4), ‘I am so ashamed that it happened’ (GB5), ‘I would feel ashamed if I had stolen off somebody...’ (GB6), ‘I was ashamed to find out what happened last night’ (GB9), ‘I’m ashamed of what I did’ (GB10), ‘I’m ashamed of you’ (GB12), ‘I am deeply ashamed to have to admit that I was negligent in this matter’ (GB13), ‘I’m so ashamed that I ate all of that chocolate!’ (GB14), ‘I am ashamed to tell you that it was me that stole your purse. I am ashamed of myself for how I acted last night’ (GB15), ‘I am ashamed that I ignored him’ (GB16), ‘I am ashamed of you’ (GB17), ‘I am ashamed of myself for not admitting my true thoughts’ (U18), ‘I felt so ashamed to admit how I felt’ (GB21).

Although a few of these refer to *I* being ashamed of someone else, most of the examples are instances of feeling ‘ashamed’ of one’s own action or behaviour, criminal as well as non-criminal ones. Interestingly enough, out of these 15 instances of *I*, one is not a real but a hypothetical situation ‘if I...’ (GB6), while two participants (GB 14 and 21) use quotation marks as if the phrase in the example is direct speech uttered by someone. This shows that even though they use *I*, they do not refer directly to themselves and their own feelings and experiences of ‘shame’.

To sum up, in their free written responses, the native English speakers present an understanding of the word *ashamed* as feeling ‘regret’ about an act, behaviour, or situation that is viewed as, or expected to be, evaluated and judged as, improper by others, though the situation *per se* may not be inherently wrong. They understand the emotion of ‘shame’ to be bodily experienced, and include feelings of regret because of an act which may be considered wrong by themselves or others. Because one has committed this wrong act, one expects other people to think badly of one and that makes one feel bad inside: *I did something which is wrong. Because I did this other people will think badly of me and therefore I will feel bad inside. I wish I had not done this.*

7.2.2 The Japanese FA Test Responses

With nine instances of the word *embarrassed* out of the 20 General Descriptions, almost half of the Japanese participants employ ‘embarrassment’ in their description and understanding of ‘ashamed’:

‘It is to be embarrassed and to be laughed by people’ (JP4), ‘When you do something embarrassing, you would feel ashamed’ (JP6), ‘I think ASHAMED is like EMBARRASED’ (JP9), ‘It is the word to express the feeling of embarrassnes [embarrassment] to do or to say or to behave in surtain [certain] way’ (JP10), ‘the feeling when I feel embarrassed to myself or to what I’ve done’ (JP11), ‘It is storonger [stronger] than the word, embarrassing. I would feel this sence [sense], when I do something out of human dignity (JP13), ‘Embarrassed’ (JP14), ‘Being embarrassed’ (JP18), ‘be embarrassed, feel bad about something’ (JP19).

One participant employs ‘embarrassed’ as a standard against which to measure the high level of intensity of ‘ashamed’, i.e. the feeling of ‘embarrassment’ is used as a yardstick to describe ‘ashamed’ as being stronger than ‘embarrassment’. Of particular interest is the description provided by participant JP10 who writes that *ashamed* ‘...is the word to express the feeling of embarrassnes [embarrassment]...’. This is interesting as JP10 appears to describe one emotion with the word for a different, though related, emotion. This suggests that for the Japanese English speakers, the two emotions and their linguistic expressions in English have been merged into one. This may be explained by the fact that the English language distinguishes between the meaning of *embarrassed* and *ashamed*, and that Japanese do not make the same distinction between the Japanese equivalents of *shame* and *embarrassment* (see chapter 4, Farese 2016, Lebra 1983).

Once again we explore the Examples that belong to the General Descriptions above to see if they contain situations of ‘embarrassment’ and/or ‘shame’:

‘I was ashamed because I made a mistake in the presentation’ (JP4), ‘They have to be ashamed because they belittled the opposition, and got beaten’ (JP6), ‘Sometimes I am so ashamed of myself’ (JP9), ‘I am ashamed to say such a thing’ (JP10), ‘I made a huge unbelievable mistake at my work, I’m ashamed of myself so bad’ (JP11), ‘I

couldn't do a good presentation. It was ashamed' (JP14), 'I am ashamed of myself that I am still scared of bugs [bugs]' (JP18), 'phrase like "you should be ashamed of yourself" I use this when I make some mistake, forgetting something, or doing something bad' (JP19).

In most of these examples, it is possible to argue that the word *ashamed* could easily be replaced by *embarrassed* without changing the essential meaning. Although the situations may belong to the category of eliciting events that emotion researchers have called trivial and less serious and therefore ought to evoke feelings of 'embarrassment' rather than 'shame', among the Japanese participants these situations appear to be considered severe and intense enough to evoke feelings of 'shame'. In other words, actions and situations that Western psychologists view as trivial, harmless, and embarrassment-causing, may be perceived as intense, severe, and shame-evoking for Japanese people.

When the participants do not describe 'ashamed' through the use of *embarrassed* or equate it with 'embarrassment', they use various, though similar, ways to describe their understanding of *ashamed*:

'It's to be irritated. It makes me nervous [nervous]' (JP1), 'To be laughed by people' (JP2), 'I feel it when I was laughing to someone, I do not know something important, or taking mistakes' (JP5), 'Making the same mistakes again is ashamed' (JP7), 'It is feeling we want to avoid there' (JP8), 'It is feeling bad when I fail or make a mistake in front of people' (JP12), 'I cannot be up in my face' (JP15), 'Feeling bad about myself or someone because me or they did wrong things or behaved badly' (JP16), 'It described a person who do not want someone know about her' (JP17), 'To become shy with doing something wrong' (JP20)

The majority of these descriptions are general and do not give much information on how the participants experience 'shame' except for feeling 'irritated', 'nervous', 'embarrassed', bad and shy in response to performing an act. If we explore the situations in which the participants use *ashamed*,

i.e. which situations they describe as eliciting feelings of ‘shame’, we find examples of both abstract and more specific situations:

‘I was ashamed making a lot of mistakes’ (JP1), ‘What an ashamed thing to do such and idiot thing’ (JP2), ‘I feel ashamed’ (JP3), ‘I was ashamed because I made a mistake in the presentation’ (JP4), ‘I will use this word when I talk to my friends or my parents that I took mistakes’ (JP5), ‘They have been ashamed because they belittled the opposition, and got beaten’ (JP6), ‘I repeated the same mistakes in class again and again’(JP7), ‘I was ashamed because I went into the wrong classroom’ (JP8), ‘sometimes I am so ashamed of myself’ (JP9), ‘I am ashamed to say such a thing’ (JP10), ‘I made a huge unbelievable mistake at my work. I’m ashamed myself so bad’ (JP11), ‘When I made a mistake in class, I really felt ashamed’ (JP12), ‘I didn’t know what you did for me and I told you such terrible words. I’m ashamed’ (JP13), ‘I couldn’t do good presentation. It was ashamed’ (JP14), ‘I ASHAMED that I was late to arriving our office’ (JP15), ‘I ashamed of my father behaving badly to the waiter’ (JP16), ‘Why did I do that? I am ashamed it’ (JP17), ‘I am ashamed of myself that I am still scared of bags [bugs]’ (JP18). ‘Phrase like “you should be ashamed of yourself” I use this when I make some mistake, forgetting something, or doing something bad’ (JP19), ‘I was ashamed with the mistake’ (JP20)

As mentioned earlier, many of these quotations do not specify the exact act or behaviour which causes ‘shame’. When the participants do write examples of specific acts, behaviours or situations, these often turn out to be involuntary, accidental, and harmless, such as walking into the wrong classroom, being afraid of bugs, or making mistakes, which is the most frequently mentioned cause of ‘shame’ among the Japanese. The examples also contain acts of a more serious nature such as hurting other people. This mix of situations of various levels of graveness supports the notion that the Japanese neither distinguish between ‘shame’ and ‘embarrassment’ in their description of emotions nor in their linguistic expressions. Therefore, they are unable to differentiate between the English emotions of ‘shame’ and ‘embarrassment’ and their corresponding linguistic expressions.

Although many of the situations may be accidental or unintentional, a few involve other people being affected by the offenders' actions. However, the majority refer to mistakes which appear to have no visible or direct effect on other people. In these situations the people who are directly affected are the offenders whose self-confidence and image of self is wounded by not being able to live up to the ideal they have of themselves, i.e. the offenders thought they were able to e.g. make a perfect presentation, not make mistakes in class, not be late for work, or not be afraid of bugs, but they were not. This is made worse by the fact that these situations take place in a public setting where there is an audience. Consequently, the offenders may feel judged by the audience, which leads to their public image becoming damaged:

'To be laughed [laughed] by people' (JP2), 'It is to be embarrassed and to be laughed by people', 'I was ashamed because I made a mistake in the presentation' (JP4), 'I will use this word when I talk to my friends or my parents that I took mistakes' (JP5), 'I repeated the same mistakes in class...' (JP7), 'I made a huge and unbelievable mistake at my work...' (JP11), '...when i fail or make a mistake in front of people', 'When i made a mistake in class...' (JP12), 'I couldn't do a good presentation' (JP14), '...I was late to arriving our office' (JP15), '...my father behaving badly to the waiter' (JP16), 'To become shy with doing something wrong' (JP20)

In all these descriptions and examples, the feature of the shame-provoking situation taking place in public or in front of an audience is directly and indirectly visible. It is directly visible through expressions such as 'when I fail or make a mistake in front of people', and indirectly in that many of the situations take place in a setting that normally includes other people such as classrooms, restaurants and workplaces. Furthermore, it is also possible to see how important a role the evaluation of judgement by others plays in 'ashamed'. Expressions such as *to be laughed at by people*, and situations where one tells friends and family about one's mistakes, show that the evaluation and judgement by others play a crucial role in evoking 'shame'. Therefore, it is possible to suggest that for the Japanese participants, the feeling of 'shame' requires judgement of one's actions by others, either in the actual situation or through later learned knowledge of the wrongdoing.

One final aspect to consider in the Japanese responses is their use of pronouns. Out of a total of 40 written responses the Japanese participants produce 23 instances of *I* in combination with *ashamed*. The instances of *I* are found in both the General Descriptions and the Examples:

‘I was ashamed making a lot of mistakes’ (JP1), ‘I feel ashamed’ (JP3), ‘I was ashamed because I made a mistake in the presentation (JP4), ‘I feel it when I was laughing to someone, I do not know something important, or taking mistakes’, ‘...when I talk to my friends or my parents that I took mistakes’ (JP5), ‘I repeated the same mistakes in class...’ (JP7), ‘I was ashamed because I went into wrong classroom’ (JP8), ‘sometimes I am so ashamed myself’ (JP9). ‘I am ashamed to say such a thing’ (JP10), ‘...when i feel embarrassed to myself or to what I’ve done’, ‘I made a huge and unbelievable mistake at my work. I’m ashamed myself so bad’ (JP11), ‘It is feeling bad when I fail or make a mistake...’, ‘When I made a mistake in class, I really felt ashamed’ (JP12), ‘I would feel this sence [sense], when I do something out of human dignity’, ‘...I told you such terrible words. I’m ashamed’ (JP13), ‘I couldn’t do good presentation. It was ashamed’ (JP14), ‘I ASHAMED that I was late to arriving our office’ (JP15), ‘I ashamed of my father behaving badly to the waiter’ (JP16), ‘Feeling bad about myself or someone because me or they did wrong things...’, ‘Why did I do that? I am ashamed it’ (JP17), ‘I am ashamed of myself that I am still scared of bags [bugs]’ (JP18), ‘I use this when I make some mistake, forgetting something, or doing something bad’ (JP19), ‘I was ashamed with the mistake’ (JP20)

Their preference for the personal pronoun *I*, (which was also visible in their responses for *guilty*), suggests that they communicate about the stimulus words from their own experience of reality. This may be interpreted to indicate that, just like the British participants, the Japanese also communicate according to their linguistic supertype (see 3.3). Except for one response (JP16), all these instances of *I* feeling ashamed are situations where *I* is ashamed of their own behaviour or actions. This suggests that for the Japanese, ‘shame’ is an emotion you yourself feel, i.e. other people cannot make you to feel this way. Nevertheless, there are a few examples of ‘shame’ being imposed from the outside (JP19). However, in these examples the phrase ‘you should be ashamed of yourself’ is

used in reference to what appears to be an internal conversation, i.e. the person is imposing shame on him/herself. However, this does not mean that ‘shame’ cannot be imposed upon the offender from the outside. As previously mentioned, the feature of a judging audience is crucial for the elicitation of ‘shame’ among the Japanese. Similar to the British understanding, it can be argued that the Japanese feel ‘ashamed’ not only because of the inherent improper nature of the act committed, but also, and perhaps even more so, because of the real or expected judgement by others.

To sum up, the Japanese understanding of the word *ashamed* can be described as feeling bad about a mistake or a wrong action committed in the presence of other people. The situations in which they use the word may involve mistakes that affect other people, though mostly it affects themselves and the image they want to project of themselves. Their understanding of ‘ashamed’ is a feeling experienced when having done something wrong or behaved in a way that is considered bad or wrong and may affect other people. Because one has committed this act or behaviour, one is judged negatively by other people and this affects the image one has of oneself.

7.2.3 The Chinese FA Test Responses

With respect to the Chinese participant group, among the 46 written responses in relation to *ashamed*, there are 10 instances of describing ‘ashamed’ by means of *embarrassed*:

‘Ashamed is a feeling that someone is in an embarrassing situation’ (CN1), ‘A feeling of embarrassment’ (CN2), ‘Ashamed means the feeling of embarrassment and guilty when doing something opposite to morality’ (CN7), ‘Ashamed means that you feel very embarrassing and awkward about something that you have done.’(CN8), ‘It means that someone feels embarrassed’ (CN9), ‘The sense of feeling embarrassed or inferiority, frequently not knowing what to do next’ (CN11), ‘If someone says “I am ashamed of being your friend”, I will be quite embarrassed.’(CN13), ‘People do things which make them embarrassed’ (CN14), ‘Ashamed is a feeling after you do something immoral or embarrassing’ (CN16), ‘Embarrassed or losing face’ (CN17)

As in the case of both the British and Japanese participant groups, many of the descriptions by the Chinese equate ‘ashamed’ with ‘embarrassed’, i.e. they appear to be able to use the two emotions. Nevertheless, some of the descriptions deviate from the general pattern and are worth exploring further. For example, participant CN7 seems to view ‘ashamed’ not as equivalent to ‘embarrassed’, but as a hybrid emotion of ‘embarrassment’ and ‘guilt’, i.e. ‘embarrassment’ plus ‘guilt’ equals ‘shame’. The description by participant CN13 is also interesting as one’s (wrong) behaviour leads to ‘shame’ in others, which then again leads to ‘embarrassment’ in oneself. In other words, the offenders feel ‘embarrassed’ that their act or behaviour affects other people and makes them (i.e. the other people) ‘ashamed’ of the offenders. As a final example, participant CN16 uses ‘embarrassment’ as an elicitor of ‘shame’, i.e. it is not one’s actions that cause ‘shame’ but the ‘embarrassment’ one feels as a result of them. In this view, ‘embarrassment’ can be seen as a precondition to ‘shame’ so that the offenders need to feel ‘embarrassed’ before they can feel ‘ashamed’. This can also be viewed in relation to the previously mentioned notion found in the British and Japanese data that ‘shame’ arises from the attention and judgement by others. Consequently, it is possible to hypothesise that if the committed wrong actions become the focus of attention and judgement, this will lead to ‘embarrassment’ on the part of the person committing them followed by ‘shame’.

As always, a breakdown of the corresponding Examples is needed in order to determine whether the Examples contain shame-causing situations or correspond to the General Descriptions above by representing embarrassment-causing situations:

‘Didn’t you feel ashamed when he revealed what you had done?’ (CN1), ‘If there is one thing that I don’t know but every other people knows, I feel ashamed’ (CN2), ‘I am ashamed for my brother who cheated in his examination’ (CN7), ‘For example, when my teacher asks me to do something easy, but I do not finish it very well’ (CN8), ‘The teacher scolded me and I felt ashamed’ (CN9), ‘In an English class, I raised my hand to answer the teacher’s questions. When my teacher picked me to answer, I forgot what to say. In this situation, I feel ashamed’ (CN11), ‘I am ashamed of being your friend’ (CN13), ‘If someone cheated in the exam and was caught, I

would say he was shamed' (CN14), 'I felt ashamed when my teacher criticized me' (CN16), 'It is ashamed to cheat others' (CN17)

Except for a few non-specific examples, the actions, behaviours, and situations quoted above can be divided into both the category of 'shame'- and 'embarrassment'-elicitors. According to research on emotions (see chapter 4), to be unable to answer a question in class, or being unable to complete a school assignment satisfactorily, can be categorised as elicitors of 'embarrassment' rather than 'shame'. Nevertheless, it appears that the Chinese participants view these as causes of 'shame' rather than 'embarrassment'. This suggests that the Chinese, like the Japanese, are also unable to differentiate between 'shame' and 'embarrassment'. Another explanation might be that actions that are considered trivial, harmless, embarrassment-causing in the Western psychology literature may be considered severe, shame-eliciting event among Chinese lay persons.

If we look beyond the association between 'embarrassed' and 'ashamed', the Chinese participants describe their understanding of 'ashamed' in the following ways:

'Ashamed is used to reprimand those who have done something wrong but don't feel regret' (CN3), 'Do something not appropriate in certain situation' (CN4), 'Losing face, which means failure in some situations' (CN5), 'To describe the feeling of shame, abashment' (CN6), 'The feeling that I have when I have done something wrong' (CN10), 'I was caught by others when I am doing something bad' (CN12), 'To me, it is a word embedded with negative connotation' (CN13), 'Lose face' (CN15), 'Feeling disappointed at oneself who acted below his/her moral standards' (CN18), 'Feeling bad about something you have done and it does not make you look good' (CN19), 'Somebody feel ashamed after doing a wrong thing and they realize he has done it wrongly' (CN20), 'Doing something that goes against the social morality' (CN21), 'Someone has done something awful and he regrets about doing that' (CN22), 'Ashamed is the feeling that one has done something that is not integrated, nor appropriate in their eyes. Every person has self-respect. They feel ashamed when such self-respect has been challenged because they did something wrong themselves

or they are in the situation that they witness some people have been deprived of self-respect' (CN23)

In these descriptions there are some aspects that are worth exploring. First of all, unlike the two other participant groups, the Chinese overtly specify that the shame-eliciting acts and behaviours are wrong, bad, inappropriate, below moral standards, against social morality or awful. In other words, the wrongness needed for the acts and behaviours to cause 'shame' is overtly visible in their descriptions. Secondly, the concept of 'losing face' is introduced. Though three instances out of 46 cannot be considered enough to make generalisations, it is interesting that the participants who refer to the expressions *to lose face* or *losing face* believe that they are adequate explanations to describe the emotion of 'shame'. In order to understand exactly why they understand feeling 'ashamed' as similar to the concept of 'losing face', an exploration of the Chinese concept of 'face' is necessary. However, as it is beyond the scope of this study to provide a complete examination, a very brief presentation of the concept will have to suffice. The Chinese distinguish between two kinds of face: *mianzi* and *lian*. The *mianzi* face is related to prestige and emphasises the reputation an individual achieves through status, hard work, and success in life. In contrast, the *lian* face represents the integrity and moral character of an individual (Hu 1944, Ho 1976). Whereas *mianzi* is something people acquire in the course of their lives, everybody is entitled to *lian* by virtue of being born into society. *Lian* can never be gained, only lost or restored. Regardless of one's role in life, one is expected to behave in accordance with the norms and standards of the culture. If one's conduct is performed correctly it is added to one's *mianzi*, if not one loses *lian*. *Lian* is lost when an individual's performance is judged to be below the minimum accepted level, or when expectations placed upon the individual are not met (Ho 1976;879). These levels and expectations differ according to the individual's role in society and to uphold *lian* the individual must satisfy these requirements. Lost *lian* can be restored to the original level but a person can never gain more than that. The final aspect worth mentioning here is that neither *mianzi* nor *lian* is conceptualised privately or internally within a person. They are conceptualised in relation to other people and their opinion and view of the person (Ho1976). This feature of *lian* is clearly visible in the Chinese participants' FA responses.

Another aspect worth exploring is how the participants use other emotions or emotion related words to describe ‘ashamed’. From the use of words such as *embarrassed*, *disappointed*, *awkward*, *inferiority*, *bad*, *regret*, and *guilty*, it can be seen that the Chinese understand ‘ashamed’ as quite a complex emotion. This complexity may therefore also entail that the situations which may elicit shame can be quite varied in their nature.

Finally, there is the aspect of improper actions and behaviours taking place in the presence of an audience or becoming known to others. Although the General Descriptions only contain few specific descriptions of improper situations that are known to or judged by others – ‘I was caught by others when I am doing something bad’ (CN12), ‘Feeling bad about something you have done and it does not make you look good’ (CN19), ‘...they witness some people have been deprived of self-respect’ (CN23) – the Example responses are full of references, direct as well as indirect, to feeling ‘ashamed’ because one’s wrongdoing took place in the presence of an audience, or because it became known to others that one had committed a wrongdoing:

‘Didn’t you feel ashamed when he revealed what you had done?’ (CN1), ‘If there is one thing that I don’t know but every other people knows, I feel ashamed’ (CN2), ‘The teacher scolded me and I felt ashamed’ (CN9), ‘In an English class, I raised my hand to answer the teacher’s questions. When my teacher picked me to answer, I forgot what to say. In this situation, I feel ashamed’ (CN11), ‘...I skipped class, and then my head teacher found that’ (CN12), ‘If someone cheated in the exam and was caught, I would say that he was shamed’ (CN13), ‘I felt ashamed when my teacher criticized me’ (CN14)

In all of these examples, the offence or improper acts and behaviours either become known to other people or the situations described indirectly refer to the aspect of public evaluation because they take place in settings that normally include other people. Consequently, as the situations include an audience the experience leads to ‘shame’. Again we see how it is not necessarily the action itself that causes ‘shame’, but rather the fact that there is an audience to witness the action. In the situations the offenders are evaluated and judged by others and it is this consideration of what other people might think of them that leads to feelings of ‘shame’ in the wrongdoers. In other words, it is

when one's self-image, through the eyes of others, is under threat that feelings of shame arise. If one does not automatically realise that one's self-image is damaged in the eyes of others, these others, who evaluate and judge, will let you know, i.e. people will impose feelings of shame upon the wrongdoer:

'You should be ashamed for what you have done to her!' (CN3), 'I am ashamed for my brother who cheated in his examination' (CN7), 'For example, when my teacher asks me to do something easy, but I do not finish it very well' (CN8), 'I am ashamed of being your friend' (CN13), 'You should be ashamed for getting such a low score' (CN19), '...seeing old people dying in the train station because of cold makes me feel ashamed because no one is offering a helping hand. You should feel ashamed of yourself as a 24 year man with no income' (CN23)

In these examples, the actions, behaviours, and situations are being evaluated and judged, either by a person other than the wrongdoers, or by the wrongdoers themselves through the expectation that someone else will judge them, e.g. they expect their teacher to judge or scold them if they do not complete the assignment.

An examination of the remaining examples, enables us to construct an idea of what sort of acts, behaviours, and situations can lead to feelings of 'shame' among the Chinese participants:

'Didn't you feel ashamed when he revealed what you had done?' (CN1), 'If there is one thing I don't know but every other people knows...' (CN2), 'I feel ashamed because I shout at my mom at birthday' (CN4), 'When I fail my exam; when I have been betrayed by my most honest friend...' (CN5), 'I am ashamed for my brother who cheated in his examination' (CN7), '...when my teacher asks me to do something easy, but I do not finish it very well' (CN8), 'The teacher scolded me and I felt ashamed' (CN9), 'I am ashamed for I've done a wrong thing' (CN10), 'In an English class...I forgot what to say. In this situation, I feel ashamed' (CN11), '...I skipped class, and then my head teacher found that' (CN12), 'I am ashamed of being your friend' (CN13), 'If someone cheated in the exam and was caught, I would say that he

was shamed' (CN14), 'When I failed the exam, I felt ashamed' (CN15), 'I felt ashamed when my teacher criticized me' (CN16), 'It is ashamed to cheat others' (CN17), 'You should be ashamed for getting such a low score' (CN19), 'Peter feel ashamed for failing in the test' (CN20), 'Adultery' (CN21), 'He is ashamed of grabbing the toy from his younger brother' (CN22), '...seeing old people dying in the train station because of cold makes me feel ashamed...You should feel ashamed of yourself as a 24 year man with no income (CN23)

In addition to the usual examples of non-specific shame-causing situations, e.g. unspecified mistakes, actions and behaviours, the situations that evoke 'shame' include improper acts and behaviours such as adultery, not knowing things, and failing the exam. Naturally, as the participants are university students, many of the examples described take place in, or are related to, classrooms and exam situations. However, regardless of the situation, action or behaviour that transpires, the majority of the examples involve situations in which people are unable to fulfil either their own or other people's expectations of them. In many of the situations, it is not the acts themselves that cause the shame but other people's disappointment with the wrongdoers for performing those acts. In some cases the disappointment is caused by people failing to do something they were expected to do. By performing an improper act, or by not performing or behaving according to other people's expectations, the wrongdoers disappoint other people and therefore the wrongdoers feel ashamed. This is especially obvious in the examples where people are ashamed of something another person has done, or where the offenders are scolded or punished for doing something. This relates to the previously mentioned feature of 'shame' being a response to other people's judgement of the wrongdoer rather than the wrongdoing itself, as well as the improper situation becoming publically known. By considering the use of *I* in combination with *ashamed*, this aspect of not fulfilling expectations becomes much clearer:

'If there is one thing that I don't know but every other people knows, I feel ashamed' (CN2), 'I feel ashamed because I shout at my mom at birthday' (CN4), 'When I fail my exam; when I been betrayed by my most honest friend, I will feel ashamed' (CN5), 'I am ashamed for my brother who cheated in his examination' (CN7), 'For example,

when my teacher asks me to do something easy, but I do not finish it very well' (CN8), 'The teacher scolded me and I felt ashamed' (CN9), 'I am ashamed for I've done a wrong thing' (CN10), '...When my teacher picked me to answer, I forgot what to say. In this situation, I feel ashamed' (CN11), '...I skipped the class, and then my head teacher found that' (CN12), 'I am ashamed of being your friend' (CN13), 'When I failed the exam, I felt ashamed' (CN15), 'I felt ashamed when my teacher criticized me' (CN16), 'I feel extremely ashamed' (CN18), '...seeing old people dying in the train station because of cold makes me feel ashamed because no one is offering a helping hand' (CN23)

In these examples, the greatest cause of 'shame' in connection with the use of *I* occurs in situations in which people are unable to meet the expectations set either by themselves or others, whether these are expectations for exams, school performance, or general human behaviour. In most of the examples, the people using *I* feel 'ashamed' because they themselves have done something that can be considered improper such as skipping class, treating other people wrongly, or not completing an assignment properly. Sometimes users of *I* are 'ashamed' of other people close to them, e.g. a friend or a brother, because they have done something improper. However, most of these examples are of people failing to do something and thereby disappointing other people, or losing face. The 14 instances of *I* in the Examples are matched by only three instances in the General Descriptions:

'The feeling that I have when I have done something wrong' (CN10), 'I was caught by other when I am doing something bad' (CN12), 'If someone says "I am ashamed of being your friend", I will be quite embarrassed' (CN13)

To sum up, the Chinese understanding of the word *ashamed* can be described as having done something wrong by being unable to fulfil the expectations of proper behaviour set either by oneself or others. Not fulfilling these expectations may be viewed negatively by others. When this happens, one's image is damaged, i.e. one loses face, both in the eyes of oneself and others, and one feels 'disappointed', 'regret', and 'guilt', in other words, 'ashamed'.

7.3 Exploring the Image and Idea of *Ashamed* – The CBA Test

Whereas the FA test focused on the participants' free understanding, use, and associations relating to the word *ashamed*, the CBA test focuses on the meaning and understanding of the word in a specific utterance. The utterance used for *ashamed* was: 'I am ashamed of myself because I did something bad'. This utterance reflects the idea that as a result of performing an improper act the person (*I*) now feels ashamed. Furthermore, the feeling of 'shame' comes from within oneself rather than it being imposed by other people. An unspecified inappropriate act was selected as the source of 'shame', as it was speculated that 'shame' can be evoked by a range of different situations. Therefore it was decided not to include details of the inappropriate act in the context, but to let the participants create their own understanding of what might be included in an inappropriate act. Furthermore, similar to the stimulus sentence for *guilty*, it would have been impossible to specify the improper act in more details without priming the participants' understanding of the word.

The twelve descriptors used for the test (see table 12), reflect different aspects and features that may or may not be included in the meaning and understanding of the word *ashamed*. As individuals – lay people and professionals alike – often find it difficult to distinguish between 'guilt' and 'shame', some of the descriptors used as potential meaning components of *guilty* were also used in the selection of descriptors for *ashamed*. In this way it was possible to examine more precisely by means of which components the participants differentiate between the meanings of the two words.

The descriptors available for both *guilty* and *ashamed* were 'I feel responsible' – the Responsibility-descriptor – and 'I want to undo what I did' – the Regret-descriptor. Another descriptor that was reused is 'This feeling goes away when I say to people how I feel'. This Confession-descriptor essentially means that if the offenders let other people know that they feel 'ashamed', the feeling will disappear. In other words, by confessing responsibility for an inappropriate situation and that they feel ashamed and sorry about what happened the burden of shame will be removed from the wrongdoers. In relation to this, the feature of how strongly the emotion is situated within a person's body and felt physically is expressed in the Body-descriptor 'I feel sick inside my body'. The final descriptors that were reused – 'I don't want to look at people' (Avoidance-descriptor) and 'I want people to see how bad I feel' (Reveal-descriptor) – reflect two complete opposite notions. Whereas the latter is an expression of the offenders' need and wish to let other people know that they feel 'shame', perhaps as a sign of remorse and as a method for atonement, the former is a reflection of

the tendency to feel small and inferior. This notion also includes a wish to hide and to avoid other people and their judgement of the offence committed. This aspect is also visible in the Hide-descriptor ‘I don’t want people to see me’. The Affect-descriptor for *ashamed* – ‘What I did makes my family feel bad’ – indicates that the offenders may not be the only ones affected by the improper act that has taken place. However, instead of the act having a direct negative affect on other people, i.e. hitting people, cheating people, and lying to people, this descriptor implies that people affiliated with the offenders may also feel ‘ashamed’ of the offenders because of what has transpired.

In complete opposition to this, the descriptor ‘Only I feel this way’ (Ego-descriptor), describes the notion that only the offenders, and no one else, feel ‘ashamed’. Connected to the idea of atonement, the Punishment-descriptor – ‘This feeling is good for me’ – expresses that feeling ‘ashamed’ can be seen as a means of repairing the misconduct. In other words, the negative emotion experience of ‘shame’ may be perceived as positive because it punishes the offenders for what they did. Finally, the Childhood-descriptor ‘I remember this feeling from when I was a child’ represents the possibility that feeling ‘ashamed’ is deeply seated and so intensely felt within a person that it conjures up memories of shameful situations in a person’s childhood which is the period where the awareness of, and ability to feel ‘shame’ is acquired (see chapter 4). Both the descriptors and the participants’ selection of them can be seen in table 12.

‘I am ashamed because I did something bad’	ENGLAND (22 participants)	JAPAN (20 participants)	CHINA (23 participants)
I want people to see how bad I feel	6	5	7
I want to undo what I did	19	12	18
Nothing happened	1	0	0
I know this feeling from when I was a child	3	7	4
What I did makes my family feel bad	1	7	3
This feeling goes away when I say to people how I feel	3	4	2

I feel responsible	20	9	14
I feel sick inside my body	18	10	15
This feeling is good for me	1	0	1
I don't want to look at people	14	12	14
I don't want people to see me	16	13	17
Only I feel this way	5	5	2

Table 12: Overview of the CBA Test Responses for Ashamed

On the basis of the participants' responses above it is possible to provide the following analysis of the responses from the CBA test, where the participants were asked to choose the four to six descriptors which most aptly describe their understanding of the word *ashamed* in the specific utterance. The analysis below will mostly focus on the four most frequently selected descriptors and how they support and complement the participants' understanding in the FA test. By comparing and combining the responses from the two tests it is possible to acquire a more detailed awareness of the participants' understanding of the stimulus word.

7.3.1 The British Test CBA Responses

The four descriptors which were selected to express the British participants understanding of *ashamed* in the context above are:

- I feel responsible (20)
- I want to undo what I did (19)
- I feel sick inside my body (18)
- I don't want people to see me (16)

As with most of their responses, the British participants' rate of agreement is high. Almost all of the 22 participants selected the three most popular descriptors, and almost 75% chose the fourth most frequently selected descriptor. More than half agree on the fifth most frequently selected descriptor.

With a difference of eight participants, there is quite a large gap from the fifth to the sixth descriptor:

- I don't want to look at people (14)
- I want people to see how bad I feel (6)

These two descriptors are contradictory in their meanings. However, as one is selected by more than twice as many people as the other, and as its meaning complements the feature already expressed in 'I don't want people to see me', it suggests that the feature of wanting to avoid and hide from others when experiencing 'shame' is more prevalent than the need to show one's emotions. As a consequence, the sixth most frequently selected descriptor will not be included in the British participants understanding of *ashamed*.

Through their selection of descriptors, the participants either add new meanings and features to their understanding of the stimulus word, or provide confirmation for meanings and features already expressed in the FA responses. By comparing responses from the two tests, it can be seen that in the CBA the British participants mostly provide support understandings already expressed in their FA responses. In these, in order to feel 'ashamed' the offenders must acknowledge their responsibility for the shame-eliciting situations. In their descriptions of 'ashamed' the British participants include the feature of feeling sorry about their actions. This can be interpreted as an indication of feeling responsible for their actions. It could be argued that 'feeling sorry' and 'feeling responsible' for one's actions are inseparably linked and that it is therefore impossible to feel sorry about an act without also feeling responsible for it. In a similar fashion people may also feel sorry about something they have failed to do because they somehow feel responsible for failing to perform the action.

As for 'regret', though it is far from always explicitly visible, there is some support for this feature in the FA responses. Through descriptions and examples which reveal disapproval of their actions, the participants imply that feeling 'ashamed' includes regretting acts, behaviours and situations, as well as a wish to undo them. The participants' selection of the Regret-descriptor manifests the role of regret in their understanding of 'ashamed'.

As previously mentioned it is assumed that emotion words are always physically embodied – felt as a sensation in the body – by the person experiencing the emotion. In the case of the British participants, this embodiment is visible through the linguistic expression *to feel bad*. The bodily manifestation of ‘shame’ is not widely expressed in FA responses, but by selecting the Body-descriptor the aspect of physical embodiment becomes more established in the overall understanding.

Similar to the other features, the notion of wanting to hide and avoid the judgement of others is not overtly expressed in the FA responses. However, it can be found in a few of the General Descriptions and in many of the Examples, directly¹² as well as indirectly. Because the participants write that they are ashamed, not of their actions but of having to disclose their actions to others, the participants show that they do not want other people to know what they have done. Therefore, by avoiding other people, they are able to hide their wrongdoings as well as their ‘shame’. Furthermore, by hiding and avoiding people the offenders avoid confrontation as well as having to reveal what they have done. Consequently, they also avoid the evaluation and judgement by other people of their behaviour and hence the feeling of ‘shame’.

By combining the aspects found in the FA test and the selected descriptors it is possible to create the following simplified paraphrase (fig.9) of the British understanding of *ashamed*:

I did something that other people think is bad, I feel responsible for it and I wish it had not happened. It makes me feel sick inside and I do not want people to see me or to look at people.

Figure 9: Paraphrase of the British Understanding of Ashamed

7.3.2 The Japanese CBA Test Responses

As with the previous questionnaires, the Japanese participants are far from unanimous in their responses. The most popular descriptor was selected by what amounts to only 65% of the total of 20 participants. Furthermore, except for one descriptor, almost all the descriptors were selected (often more than once). The four most frequently selected descriptors were:

¹² Appendix: GB7,GB9, GB21

- I don't want people to see me (13)
- I don't want to look at people (12)
- I want to undo what I did (12)
- I feel sick inside my body (10)

Through their selection of CBA descriptors the Japanese add a range of new meaning components to their understanding of 'ashamed' as well as providing further support for an already strongly emphasised feature. By selecting the Hide- and Avoidance-descriptors as the most popular ones, the Japanese add even more emphasis to the role of public evaluation and judgement in relation to feeling 'shame'. Since the majority of the FA descriptions and example situations of 'shame' take place in the presence of an audience, it makes perfect sense that the two most popular descriptors are the ones that express a wish to avoid and hide from other people. If the feeling of 'shame' typically arises in the presence of judging others, it is only natural that the offenders want to hide from people in order to avoid them and their judgement. Furthermore, even when the situation does not have an actual audience, the FA responses suggest that it is expected future judgement that elicits 'shame'. Therefore it is also in the offenders' interest to prevent other people from becoming aware of what they have done. This can be achieved by hiding from people so the offenders do not have to reveal to others what they have done.

The feature of regret is not overtly visible among the Japanese FA responses and therefore the selection of the Regret-descriptor is the addition of a new feature to their understanding. However, in the FA responses, the people who feel 'ashamed' often find the situation uncomfortable. This suggests that they are unhappy with the situation and wish to return to an earlier more comfortable situation or perhaps undo what they did in order to avoid the current situation. Therefore it can be argued that it is inherent in embarrassing and uncomfortable situations that one wishes to change them into a better, more comfortable state by undoing the action that led to the uncomfortable situation.

Another added feature is the embodiment of 'shame'. In the FA responses there is only a single reference to a bodily aspect of 'shame' – 'I cannot be up in my face' – which is likely to refer to blushing rather than an internal uncomfortable feeling. Therefore, the selection of this descriptor

adds a new feature to the Japanese understanding of ashamed rather than supporting already existing ones.

Interestingly enough, the most popular descriptor among the British participants, is only the fifth most frequently selected descriptor among the Japanese:

- I feel responsible (9)

This descriptor is also one of the only ones with a huge difference in selection rate between the three groups. Although the Japanese do not at all refer to being or feeling responsible for their actions in the FA responses the fact that almost 50% of them have selected this feature is enough for it to be added to the Japanese understanding of *ashamed*.

Each having seven responses, the two descriptors below have to share the position as the sixth most frequently selected descriptor:

- What I did makes my family feel bad (7) /I know this feeling from when I was a child (7)

The Affect-descriptor corresponds to the role of interpersonal relationships in collectivistic cultures. In collectivistic cultures such as Japan and China, interpersonal relationships are emphasised and valued more than the individual. Accordingly, it is only natural that people affiliated with the offenders may also be affected or feel ashamed by the wrongdoings. Although there are only few instances in the FA responses of other people being directly ‘ashamed’ of the wrongdoings committed by others, this feature can also be found in the Examples where ‘shame’ is enforced upon people, e.g. through the expression *you should be ashamed of yourself*. In such cases it can be argued that it is those imposing ‘shame’ – shame-imposers – on the offender who experience feelings of ‘shame’ for what has happened rather than the actual offender. Therefore, by imposing ‘shame’ on its rightful owner, the shame-imposers rid themselves of their undeserved ‘shame’ while making sure that the offenders receive their punishment for their wrongdoings in the form of feeling ‘ashamed’. This also relates to the judgement of the improper act or behaviour by others, i.e. why would people judge a person badly if they were not affected by what happened?

The final descriptor – the Childhood descriptor – can be seen in combination with the Body-descriptor. As mentioned in chapter 4, the ability to feel ‘shame’ is acquired in early childhood through interaction and socialisation with one’s primary carers, i.e. one’s parent or parents. This negative judgement by the most important person/people in the life of a child is felt so deeply and intense that it can always be remembered in one’s body. Consequently, every time people feel ‘ashamed’, they are brought back to the emotional experience they had as children.

By combining the features found in both the FA and CBA responses, it is possible to produce the following paraphrase of the Japanese understanding of *ashamed*:

I did something and other people saw it. Now I do not want people to see me and I do not want to look at people. I want to undo what happened because I am responsible for what happened and other people think I am bad for doing it. What I did makes other people feel bad and it makes me feel sick inside my body.

Figure 10: Paraphrase of the Japanese Understanding of Ashamed

7.3.3 The Chinese CBA Test Responses

The last participant group, the Chinese English speakers, show high agreement in their selection of descriptors, not only among themselves, but also with the British group. The six most popular descriptors among the Chinese are also the six most frequent descriptors among the British, though the order in which they occur differs:

- I want to undo what I did (18)
- I don’t want people to see me (17)
- I feel sick inside my body (15)
- I feel responsible (14) / I don’t want to look at people (14)

Similar to the other two groups, the selection of some of these descriptors provide support for features already found in the FA responses, while others add new meanings to the Chinese understanding of *ashamed*. One of the descriptors that adds to the Chinese understanding is the

Regret-descriptor. Regret is almost not expressed at all in the FA responses. This may be explained by the fact that for the Chinese, ‘shame’ often appears to be a response to both performed and non-performed wrong acts and behaviours. Often the non-performance has to do with not fulfilling one’s role in the community and the accompanying expectations. Accordingly, for the Chinese, regret, not only has to do with wanting to undo an improper action, but also with undoing the non-performance so that it becomes the expected performance.

Another added meaning is that of the embodiment of ‘shame’. Despite the lack of references to this physical aspect of ‘shame’ in their free written responses, the fact that almost two thirds of the participants selected this descriptor shows that it can safely be added to their understanding.

The descriptors that support already existing features are the Hide- and Avoid-descriptors. If we compare the descriptors selected with the overall understanding of *ashamed* found in the FA responses, it becomes obvious that since most of the situations in which *ashamed* is used include an audience, naturally the two aspects of avoiding and hiding from people are popular among the Chinese. As many of the Descriptions and Examples in the FA responses mention being caught doing something wrong, or simply describe situations that take place in the presence of an audience, it is only natural that the feeling of ‘shame’, as viewed from the person experiencing it, includes a wish to hide from and avoid the judging audience. In complete opposition to this we find the sixth descriptor:

- I want people to see how bad I feel (7)

By selecting this descriptor the participants wish to show their shame to other people. However, as this was only selected by seven people – half the number that selected the previous descriptor and less than a third of the total group, it will not be included in the overall understanding.

Considering that Chinese culture is also designated as a collectivistic culture where there is greater emphasis on interpersonal relationships than the individual, it is somewhat surprising that only 13% (3 people) selected the Affect-descriptor. This does not fit the previously mentioned notion that loss of face goes beyond the individual and extends to those affiliated with the wrongdoer. Instead this

feature is visible in the fact that feeling of ‘shame’ is a reaction of not meeting other people’s expectations.

By combining the responses from the two tests it is possible to create the following simplified paraphrase of our interpretation of the Chinese understanding of *ashamed*:

I did something which people did not think that I should do; this makes me look bad and makes other people think I am bad. I want to undo it. Because of what happened I feel sick inside. I feel responsible and I want to hide and not look at people.
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Figure 11: Paraphrase of the Chinese Understanding of Ashamed

7.4 Summary of Findings

Similar to their responses to the stimulus word *guilty*, it is clear that the participants more often than not describe the emotion ‘ashamed’ rather than the word *ashamed*. Again, this does not make their responses invalid in the investigation of how they understand and use the word.

The native English speakers understand and use the word *ashamed* to describe situations in which people are aware of having committed, and are responsible for acts, behaviours, and situations, that are considered or expected to be considered wrong or bad by others. Because other people consider these acts, behaviours or situations to be wrong they think badly of the wrongdoers and judge them negatively. This judgement may come directly from others through their judgement of the wrongdoer and the act committed, or indirectly, as the wrongdoers themselves expect that others will judge them once it becomes known that they have done something that is wrong. It is through this judgement that the wrongdoers start to feel ‘ashamed’. This emotion includes regret about committing the action and is manifested within the body. Therefore people wish to avoid and hide from others so that their actions remain unknown and they can avoid judgement. The situations which elicit this emotional experience involve acts and behaviours that may affect other people either directly or indirectly by becoming known to them. Sometimes these acts are criminal, though mostly they are situations of wrong or hurtful behaviour towards others.

When the Japanese participants use the English word *ashamed*, they appear to use it in a similar way as the word *embarrassed*. In these situations people either perform actions that are considered bad or wrong by others or they make a mistake that is considered bad or wrong by themselves. Often these situations take place in public where other people witness the wrongdoers' actions. Because of this other people judge the wrongdoers directly for what they have done, or the wrongdoers expect that the audience will condemn them for the accidental, unintentional mistake they have made. This makes them want to avoid and hide from the judgement of others. It is this real or expected judgement that makes the wrongdoers feel 'ashamed'. It includes feeling responsible for what has happened and a wish to undo the act. Furthermore, the 'shame' is manifested within their body and people affiliated with the wrongdoers are also judged and affected by the wrongdoers' actions.

The Chinese English speakers use the word *ashamed* to describe situations in which a person either has performed a wrongdoing or not performed an act expected of them. Either way, other people are disappointed with the wrongdoers and judge them negatively. Because of this judgement the emotional experience of 'shame' arises. Therefore, 'shame' is either imposed directly by others or indirectly as the wrongdoers expect such a judgement and therefore impose it on themselves, i.e. 'I feel ashamed because I know other people will judge me if they knew what I have done'. The feeling of 'shame' includes regret about the act committed or behaviour performed and a wish to hide from people in order to avoid judgement. The emotion is also manifested in the body and includes responsibility for the actions committed. The situations which elicit judgement by others and thereby the emotional experience of 'shame' often involve disappointing others by not acting according to their expectations. Other situations involve committing morally wrong acts, such as cheating in an exam and adultery, or behaving inappropriately according to unwritten social norms, e.g. shouting at one's parents or skipping class, all of which can also be viewed as transgressions of expected behaviour.

These understandings have been summed up in table 13 where the different features and meanings are presented according to their emphasis in the different understandings, i.e. the higher up the list a feature or meaning component is, the more emphasis it is given by the respective language groups.

If (+) is added to a feature, this feature is relatively more dominant in this understanding compared with the other understandings of *ashamed*.

ENGLAND	JAPAN	CHINA
Responsibility (+)	Embarrassment	Regret
Regret (+)	Avoidance / Hide (+)	Avoidance/ Hide
Embodiment	Regret	Embodiment
Avoidance/Hide	Embodiment	Responsibility
	Responsibility	Embarrassment
	Others are affected	
CAUSES OF SHAME		
Improper and bad acts and behaviours	Mistakes in presence of audience	Not meeting expectations of correct behaviour
	Improper acts and behaviours (in presence of audience)	
Real or expected judgements by others	Real or expected judgement by others	Real or expected judgement by others

Table 13: Overview of the features included in the participants' understanding of *ashamed* in order of importance

7.5 Concluding Remarks

On the basis of the analysis above it is clear that there are both similarities and differences in the three groups' understanding and use of the word *ashamed*.

If we start by looking at the differences in the format of the responses, it is obvious that unlike the responses to *guilty*, there are not many discrepancies between the groups' selection of descriptors in the CBA tests for *ashamed*. However, it is obvious that the Japanese participants stand out from the other two groups in that their free written responses are shorter and their selections in the questionnaires lack agreement. Furthermore, by selecting two descriptors that were not selected by the two other groups, and by selecting one of the most frequently selected descriptors by the other

two groups as their least frequent descriptor, the Japanese again stand out. In contrast, the Chinese and British selected exactly the same descriptors – albeit with different emphasis.

The most common similarity is that the feeling of ‘shame’ arises through the real or expected judgement by others because of something one has done. Although all three groups feel ‘ashamed’ because of the judgement by others, the acts and behaviours that lead to this judgement are different across the three groups. Whereas for the British any act or behaviour can be considered wrong or bad by either themselves or others, the Japanese mostly refer to unintentional mistakes or poor fulfilment of an undertaking. Similar to this, the Chinese are judged for being unable to meet expectations of proper and good behaviour, which is related to Chinese concept of face.

In addition to this the three groups also agree on including the features of responsibility for and regret about the act committed, as well as the physical manifestation of ‘shame’ in the body. However, the degree of emphasis on these aspects varies. Whereas the Chinese, and especially the British, are characterised by taking responsibility for and regretting their actions, the Japanese emphasise the features of wanting to avoid and hide from people. Where they differ the most is in the feature of the wrongdoings affecting other people. Here the Japanese group is the only one that includes this feature in their understanding of *ashamed*. As a result the Japanese differ from the two other groups in their understanding of *ashamed*. However, this is not tantamount to saying that the Chinese and British participants have the same understanding and use of *ashamed*, only that they have more similarities and that their differences are a matter of emphasis. Nevertheless, it is clear that the Chinese also share similarities in their understanding of *ashamed* with the Japanese.

As for the non-verbal expression of ashamed the data suggests that there is no specific image attached to the feeling of ‘shame’. Of the two potential expressions only one was identified as an expression of ‘ashamed’ by five British participants, with the two Asian groups selecting the same photograph as an expression of ‘guilty’. However, the data does show evidence of the possibility of a cross-culturally recognisable image attached to ‘disappointment’.

8 Exploring the Understanding of *Proud*

In this chapter the responses from the three tests to the stimulus word *proud* will be analysed. The analysis will start with the results of the PDA test followed by a discussion and analysis of the three groups' free written responses from the FA test. The groups' selection of descriptors in the CBA test will be explored before finalising the analytical section of the thesis by a discussion and conclusion of how the participants understand and use *proud*.

8.1 Exploring the Visual Image of *proud* – The PDA Test

Findings from empirical studies suggest that a distinct non-verbal expression of 'pride' exists. However, unlike the non-verbal expressions of the so-called basic emotions which can be recognised by the face alone, the expression of 'pride' includes the body and preferably other contextual information as well. In this study, the focus is on facial expression only. In the PDA test we included the facial components for the so-called prototypical expression of 'pride': a low intensity smile and the head tilted slightly backwards (see Chapter 4).

Out of the 14 expressions, two expressions were identified in advance by the GEBCom research group as potential expressions of 'proud'. The first expression – photograph no.3 – was predicted to be identified as either 'happy' or 'proud'. This prediction proved to be correct (see table 14).¹³ The photograph was identified as 'happy' by 77.3% of the British participants, and 52.2% of the Chinese participants. The Japanese were divided evenly with respect to these labels, with 50% labelling the photograph as an expression for feeling 'proud' and 50% labelling it as an expression for 'happy'. In the two other language groups 'proud' was the second most frequently selected emotion. It was selected by 39.1% of the Chinese, and a mere 9% of the British participants. Since the majority of all the participants selected this photograph as an image of 'happy', it suggests not only that photo no.3 is in fact a non-verbal expression of 'happy' rather than 'proud' but also that it is recognised as such across the three cultures.

¹³ See appendix 4 for the full set of responses to the stimulus word *proud*

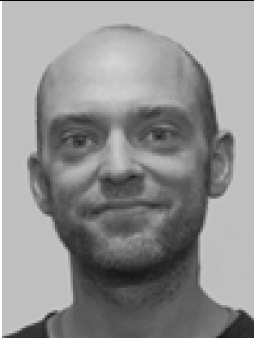
	ENGLAND - 22 participants	JAPAN - 20 participants	CHINA - 23 participants
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Happy: 77.3% (17/22) • Proud: 9% (2/22) • Guilty: 4.5% (1/22) • Arrogant: 4.5% (1/22) • Embarrassed: 4.5% (1/22) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Happy: 50% (10/20) • Proud: 50% (10/20) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Happy: 52.2% (12/23) • Proud: 39.1% (9/23) • Surprised: 4.3% (1/23) • Embarrassed: 4.3% (1/23)

Table 14: Overview of Responses for Photograph no. 3 (Happy/Proud)

The other potential facial expression for ‘proud’ – photograph no.12 (table 15) – was also identified as ‘proud’ by the GEBCom research group. Interestingly, only the British participants identified the image as ‘proud’ (54.5%), followed by ‘arrogant’ as the second most frequently selected label (41%). By contrast, 87% of the Chinese participants identified the expression as ‘arrogant’ and only 13% selected ‘proud’. The Japanese participants were located between the two, identifying the expression as both ‘arrogant’ (50%) and ‘proud’ (45%). Thus, for the expression expected to display ‘pride’, only the British participants agreed with the prediction, while the East-Asian groups identified the photograph as a facial expression for ‘arrogant’.


	ENGLAND - 22 participants	JAPAN - 20 participants	CHINA - 23 participants
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proud: 54.5% (12/22) • Arrogant: 41% (9/22) • Happy: 4.5% (1/22) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arrogant: 50% (10/20) • Proud: 45% (9/20) • Surprised: 5% (1/20) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arrogant: 87% (20/23) • Proud: 13% (3/23)

Table 15: Overview of Responses for Photograph no. 12 (Proud)

The results above show that the researchers’ selection of potential facial expressions for ‘proud’ was not unambiguously recognised as such across the three different language groups. It has been argued by emotion theorists that ‘pride’ has a distinct and universally recognised prototypical non-

verbal expression which includes both bodily posture and facial components. As this study only included the potential facial component of the expression for 'pride', it was to be expected that there would be disagreement both within the groups and across the groups. Thus the findings from the PDA test yield evidence for the view that bodily and contextual components rather than facial components determine whether a particular expression of 'pride' is recognisable or that the facial expression needs to be supplemented by bodily components.

The results show that the facial expression in photograph no.12 was identified as an expression for 'proud' only by the British native English speakers. It was identified as 'arrogant' by the Chinese and Japanese participants. The expression was selected by the research group as a potential expression for 'proud' as it included the component 'head tilt backward' which according to Tracy & Robins (2008) is a universal component in the expression of 'pride'. However, in the current study it appears that it was not universally recognised as 'pride'. The result is possibly an expression of different cultural views of 'pride'. As suggested previously (see Chapter 4), in individual cultures such as the US and the UK – where the individual comes before the group – it is acceptable to feel and show individual 'pride', whereas in collectivistic cultures, such as China and Japan, the interest of the group comes before the individual and therefore individual 'pride' is frowned upon (Tracy et al 2010). The Japanese proverb 'the nail that stands out gets pounded down' (Markus & Kitayama 1991) aptly illustrates that any expressions of self-promotion are viewed negatively, and that is perhaps the reason that the potential expression for 'proud' is identified as 'arrogant' by the Japanese. Similarly, as previously mentioned (Chapter 4), both Buddhism and Chinese philosophy condemn 'pride', which perhaps explains the Chinese identification of the facial expression as 'arrogant'. A final explanation for the difference in identification is that the non-verbal expression of 'pride' may in fact not be universal – either expressed or recognised – and that the facial components of what has been termed the prototypical expression for 'pride' are in fact the visual image of the conceptualisation of 'pride' in Western/Anglo-Saxon cultures.

8.2 Exploring the Understanding of *Proud* – The FA Test Responses

With respect to how *proud* can be understood, the dictionaries define *proud*, as an adjective with the meaning of being pleased and satisfied with something that one owns or has done, or is connected with, i.e. what we may call a positive feeling. However, according to the dictionaries, *proud* can also have the meaning of feeling better and more important than other people, having too high an opinion of oneself, and having so much self-respect that one is embarrassed to ask for help when in a difficult situation¹⁴. These definitions of *proud* clearly correspond to descriptions of the emotion ‘pride’ found in the literature (Chapter 4).

In the FA test the participants were given a free reign as to describing what features and understandings they associated with the word *proud* and the situations in which they used it. When reading through their responses, it is clear that the participants do not distinguish between being and feeling ‘proud’ as they use the two expressions interchangeably. However, as this study focuses on the understanding of emotion words the remainder of the chapter will use only the expression *feel proud* for instances of both being and feeling ‘proud’.

In the test they were asked to respond to two questions regarding the stimulus words, ‘How do you understand the word PROUD’ and ‘Please give examples of how you would use the word PROUD’. In the analysis, the responses were divided into two overall categories, General Descriptions – consisting of the responses to the first question – and Examples– consisting of the examples given as responses to the second question.

8.2.1 The British FA Test Responses

With 22 individuals, the group of British participants produced a total of 44 written responses describing how they understood and used the stimulus word *proud*. When first reading their responses it was obvious that the participants understood *proud* in both negative and positive terms. Therefore, the analysis will begin by exploring which meaning of the word the participants described and used. As can be seen below, in the General Descriptions the participants predominantly referred to *proud* by means of positively-laden terms and expressions:

¹⁴ http://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/proud_1?q=proud
<http://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary/proud>

‘Pleased in oneself, pleased with someone else’ (GB1), ‘to feel good about something you or someone else has done or accomplished’ (GB2), ‘A positive thing that means you are pleased with an achievement...’ (GB3), ‘Feeling extremely content of a certain outcome...’ (GB7), ‘A feeling of intense happiness and elation for yourself or someone else, after an achievement etc’(GB8), ‘When you feel good about your achievements and then about yourself’ (GB9), ‘A feeling of being happy about something you have done...’(GB10), ‘When someone is happy about something they or someone else has done that involved achievement’ (GB11), ‘Being extremely happy with someone’s achievements...’(GB12), ‘1. Feeling good about oneself or a member of one’s close circle because of that person’s achievements or merits’ (GB13), ‘You are very emotional pleased about something’ (GB15), ‘to feel constantly please with someone or something you have done’ (GB17), ‘A positive overwhelming emotion felt when you/someone else has achieved something’ (GB18), ‘Feeling happy, or please about an achievement’ (GB19), ‘To feel attached to someone or something which has proven to do or be good; so as to allow you to have positive feelings’ (GB20), ‘Being happy about an achievement...’(GB21), ‘When you are happy about what yourself or someone has achieved’ (GB22)

In the quotations above, the participants describe *proud* as a positive, pleasant emotional response to achievements by themselves or others. The few participants who do not describe *proud* directly as a pleasing emotion do so indirectly by describing the context in which *proud* occurs in positive (agreeable) terms:

‘A person can feel proud of themselves or someone else when they have achieved something they at [as] really good or noteworthy’ (GB4), ‘When someone close to you have done something amazing’ (GB5), ‘Someone is proud of someone else when they have achieved at something that sometimes outdoes their expectations and standards’ (GB6), ‘Proud is when you feel like someone (or yourself) did something

well' (GB14), 'Proud is when an individual has a strong sense of achievement towards something or someone' (GB16)

In these Descriptions it is not *proud* that is described as *good* or *amazing*, but the situations which cause people to feel 'proud'. Therefore, as 'proud' is a reaction to something positive taking place, it is only logical to conclude that *proud* in these contexts is also viewed as agreeable and pleasant.

Although few, there are also some instances in the General Descriptions where feeling 'proud' is viewed as an unpleasant emotion or used to describe unpleasant behaviours:

'Or to not want to ask for help or support for fear of losing face' (GB2), 'Or a negative quality that means you are stubborn and unable to accept something, usually help' (GB3), 'Often has negative connotations, however, if someone is seen as too proud' (GB4), 'someone who is conceited and arrogant, and refuses to back down even when they know they're wrong' (GB9), '2.A feeling of superiority over others, resulting in certain patterns of behaviour' (GB13).

Unlike the positive descriptions of proud, these five quotations all describe a feeling of 'proud' that is not based on achievement. What is interesting in these responses is that, although they do not refer to feeling 'proud' in the positive sense, the majority of them also do not refer to feeling 'proud' in the superior, self-satisfied, and self-important sense. Instead the descriptions refer to a 'pride' disguised as stubbornness and obstinacy as a mechanism to hide insecurity and wrongful actions. Therefore, even though the people in these examples feel 'proud' in what is regarded as a disagreeable manner, they do not necessarily feel that they are superior to, or more important than other people; instead it is a matter of hiding one's faults and of not admitting defeat. Consequently, it is possible to argue for the possibility of two aspects of negative 'pride': one of obstinacy and stubbornness, and another of conceit, arrogance, and superiority, i.e. excessive pride.

If we explore what sort of situations that evoke feelings of 'pride', we can see that the General Descriptions refer to these only in vague terms. They do not specify which accomplishments, achievements, and unexpected amazing results entitle them to feel 'proud', i.e. a justifiable 'pride'.

As for the more specific instances of pride-eliciting events, the participants provide Examples of events from all areas of life:

‘I’m so proud of you for trying. He was proud that he’s achieved a first’¹⁵ (GB1), ‘She was proud of her exam results’ (GB2), ‘I’m so proud of my friend, she just got came first in her race’ (GB3), “‘I was quite proud of my results in that exam’” (GB4), ‘my sister got into uni [university], I’m so proud’ (GB5), ‘I was proud of my brother when he got a job promotion. I was proud of my mum for not getting upset when my dad had to leave the country’ (GB6), ‘Graduating from university with a First Degree’ (GB7), ‘I’m so proud that Rachel gave it a go, He’s so successful, I’m so proud’ (GB8), ‘I am so proud I finished my essay on time’ (GB9), ‘I am proud to watch my brother do that’ (GB10), ‘I am proud of my daughter’s exam results’ (GB11), “‘Do you feel proud that you didn’t eat that chocolate?’”, “‘You should be proud of that work!’” (GB14), ‘I am very proud of how you performed today. I am proud of how my cake turned out’ (GB15), ‘I am so proud of how far we have come’ (GB16), ‘I have never felt more proud of an essay before’ (GB17), ‘I was proud of the way he handled the situation, I’m proud of myself for all my hard work’ (GB18), ‘I was proud of myself for passing the exam’ (GB19), ‘The mother was proud of her children’ (GB20), “‘I passed my exams, I’m so proud’”. “‘I’m really proud of you for doing so well’” (GB21), ‘I am so proud of my daughter with her exam results’ (GB22)

Although the majority of the examples above refer to achievements and accomplishments such as job promotions, exams, and graduations, all of which are the result of hard work, a few of the instances refer to people being proud of non-actions such as refraining from becoming upset and eating chocolate. However, even though these can be classified as non-actions they are nevertheless still acts in that they are instances of controlled behaviour. Whereas quite a large number of the pride-eliciting events above (i.e. from the Examples) are examples where an individual feels

¹⁵ A *first* means graduating from university with First Class Honours

‘proud’ of a specific act, behaviour, or achievement performed by someone else, the Examples also contain instances where people rather than achievements are the subject of ‘pride’ from others:

“‘I am so proud of you’” (GB4), ‘He was proud of me’ (GB10), ‘You have made me very proud!’(GB12), ‘1. Peter had scarcely ever been so proud of Jane’ (GB13), “‘I’m so proud of her/myself!’” (GB14), ‘I am so proud of my son’ (GB16), ‘The mother was proud of her children’ (GB20)

These Examples illustrate that people feel ‘proud’, not only of themselves and their own achievements, but also of other people. However, from the Examples it is not clear if the individuals mentioned have accomplished something specific to cause another person to feel ‘proud’, or if they evoke ‘pride’ by their mere existence. In the case of parental pride (GB16 & GB20), it is likely that the children are viewed as the successful outcome of the parents’ emotional investment, hard work, and efforts.

This brings us to the question of what sort of persons people feel ‘proud’ of. As already mentioned, ‘pride’ is described as a pleasant feeling by the participants, when it is a response to the achievements by themselves and others. However, from the General Descriptions we can see that it is not just any person that people feel ‘proud’ of, but individuals with whom they are affiliated:

‘...you are pleased with an achievement/person who is connected to you...You have usually put some effort into the scenario or person...’(GB3), ‘when someone close to you has done something amazing’ (GB5), ‘Being happy with someone’s achievement, usually someone you know well’ (GB12), ‘...or a member of one’s close circle...’ (GB13), ‘To feel attached to someone...which has proven to do or be good...’(GB20)

This affiliation is also visible in the previously quoted Examples (p.12) where the participants mention feeling ‘proud’ of children, siblings, parents, and friends. Thus, for the British participants it seems that they need to be personally and emotionally involved with a person in order to feel ‘proud’ of them and their accomplishments. Furthermore, in order to be entitled to feeling ‘proud’

of people other than themselves, an emotional investment in or contribution to those people and their achievements must have taken place.

If we look at the participants' use of *I* in combination with the stimulus word *proud* – with either *feel* or *am* proud – it is obvious that they continue the pattern found in the FA responses for *guilty* and *ashamed*. In the General Descriptions for *proud*, there is not a single instance of *I*. Instead the participants only employ third personal pronouns such as *someone*, *one*, *a person*, and the general *you*. In contrast, the Examples contain 24 instances of *I* – or variations thereof – in combination with *proud*, i.e. where *I* is the person that feels 'proud'. Many of these examples have already been presented above in connection with the discussion of the object of people's 'pride'. However, it is worth exploring the Examples where the *Is* are proud of themselves and their own accomplishments:

“‘I was quite proud of my results in that exam’” (GB4), ‘I am so proud I finished my essay on time’ (GB9), “‘I’m so proud of her/myself!’” (GB14), ‘I am proud of how my cake turned out’ (GB15), ‘I am so proud of how far we have come’ (GB16), ‘I have never felt more proud of an essay before’ (GB17), ‘I’m proud of myself for all my hard work’ (GB18), “‘I passed my exams, I’m so proud’” (GB21)

As we can see, there are only eight instances of people feeling 'proud' of themselves, the majority of which refer to achievements one can feel 'proud' of. Note though that in one of these instances the *I* feels 'proud' of a joint collaboration, i.e. *we*. Furthermore, a few other examples contain direct speech within quotation marks which creates a distance between the participants and the example. In other words, the phrase is not an example of the participant's own 'pride' but someone else's. As to other people feeling 'proud' it is worth noting that the few times the participants use *proud* in a negative context, the owner of the 'pride' is always someone else, never *I*:

‘Her mother was too proud to ask for help’ (GB2), ‘He is too proud to admit that what he said was offensive’ (GB9), ‘...Fitzwilliam, like so many proud men, was hiding, somewhere under his feigned diffidence, an insecure interior that verged on the childlike’ (GB13)

Like the instances of negative ‘pride’ in the General Descriptions, the Examples above also refer to a disapproving use of *proud*, where it describes unpleasant behaviours used to hide insecurity and failing to admit responsibility. That being said, most of the Examples where individuals other than *I* feel ‘proud’, are examples of pleasant, justifiable, and achievement-based ‘pride’.

To sum up, the British participant group understands and uses the word *proud* to describe a pleasant feeling where individuals feel pleased with or good about something they themselves or others have accomplished. However, in order to experience this feeling, the individuals must qualify through the effort of hard work. *Proud* may also be used to describe people who feel self-satisfied, have an inordinately high opinion of themselves, and feel superior to other people, as well as refuse to reveal any signs of weakness.

8.2.2 The Japanese FA Test Responses

The general understanding and use of *proud* by the Japanese participants appears to be positive. In fact, none of the participants refer to feeling ‘proud’ in a disapproving manner, i.e. feeling excessively ‘proud’ to the point of arrogance. Instead, in the General Descriptions they describe *proud* in positive terms:

‘It’s a good feeling. I use this word when I praise [praise] someone’(JP1), ‘It is honor, and it is a very glad thing’ (JP5), ‘Feel good to tell someone about my successive story or my good point’ (JP14), ‘For me, proud is a good feeling towards myself after I achieved my goals or toward my friend or family doing good things’ (JP16), ‘Being so happy, content and grateful with the event occurred to someone close to me’ (JP18), ‘Being satisfied, feeling happy’ (JP19)

When *proud* is not directly described as a good and happy feeling, it is nevertheless often used in situations that are implicitly agreeable and satisfying. In addition, it can be understood as a pleasant and joyful reaction to the accomplishments and achievements by either oneself or others:

‘To have confidence about something’ (JP2), ‘I use this word when someone who I know well or love, achieve [achieve] thier [their] own gole [goal]’ (JP3), ‘It’s the felling [feeling] that I respect a person’ (JP6), ‘The feeling toward a person who has accomplished a difficult task’ (JP6), ‘Accomplish something’ (JP7), ‘It is the feeling that we want to save in order to keep self-confidence’ (JP8), ‘I think PROUD means that you or someone have some great part of their characteristics’ (JP9), ‘It is the word to express the confidence or honor to do something’ (JP10), ‘The feeling i feel when i satisfy and please myself, my family, friends or boss. (or when i achieve my goal)’(JP11), ‘It is confident for myself’ (JP12), ‘It is the base of my behaviour. Based on this feeling I can study hard’ (JP13), ‘It is most important to live. To have confidence’ (JP15), ‘A feeling of self-esteem’ (JP17), ‘The confidence that he has good abilities and will not [be] beaten about it’ (JP20)

Even when not specifically described through the use of positive words, it is still visible in these General Descriptions that *proud* is viewed positively, for the most part in relation to achievements and accomplishments of tasks that are difficult and require hard work and great effort. This suggests that people have to qualify in order to feel ‘proud’. What is even more interesting in these Descriptions is that the participants appear to equate ‘feeling proud’ with having confidence and self-esteem. In this understanding, feeling ‘proud’ is not a transient feeling that is evoked sporadically in response to a specific accomplishment, but rather a permanent general pleasant feeling of contentedness on the basis of general skills and abilities, as well as past achievements. This feature of the feeling of ‘pride’ as confidence is also visible in some of the Examples:

‘He is proud of his baseball life’ (JP8), ‘My teacher is proud of his skill’ (JP12), ‘My friend is proud of being a fire fighter when she was young’ (JP13), ‘I am proud of my dance’ (JP20)

In these Examples the individuals feel ‘proud’, not of a specific accomplishment they worked hard to achieve, but of general skills and abilities. However, this does not mean that these proud individuals have not deserved to be confident and feel ‘proud’ of those skills. Although the

quotations above refer to feeling ‘proud’ of oneself – in both the General Descriptions and the Examples – the Japanese participants overwhelmingly refer to feeling ‘proud’ as a response to other people and their accomplishments:

‘I use this word when I praise [praise] someone’, ‘I’m proud of my sister’ (JP1), ‘...when someone who I know well or love, achieve [achieve] their [their] own goal [goal]’, ‘I am proud of you. You made it’ (JP3), ‘I am proud of my mother...’ (JP4), ‘...when my parents were received some awards’ (JP5), ‘The feeling toward a person who has accomplished a difficult task’ (JP6), ‘...someone have some great part of their characteristics’, ‘I am very proud of you, your work was so great’ (JP9), ‘I got the job offer and my mom is proud of me about that’ (JP10), ‘I’m proud of you’ (JP14), ‘I am proud of my friends, they are nice people’ (JP15), ‘For me, proud is good feeling...toward my friend or family doing good things’, ‘I am really proud of my sister. She made effort and passed the exam’ (JP16), ‘Being so happy, content and grateful with the event occurred to someone close to me’, ‘I am really proud of my student who got a full mark on the exam’ (JP18), ‘...”I am proud of you”’ (JP19)

However, this set of quotations is counterbalanced by a set of quotations with Descriptions and Examples of people feeling ‘proud’ of themselves and their own accomplishments:

‘I was proud of myself to get a high score on the exam’ (JP2), ‘I’m so proud of having won the first prize in the competition’ (JP6), ‘When my dream come true’ (JP7), ‘I’m proud to have a such big prize’ (JP10), ‘The feeling I feel when I satisfy and please myself, my family, friends or boss. (or when I achieve my goal)’ (JP11), ‘Feel good to someone about my successive story or my good point’ (JP14), ‘For me, proud is a good feeling toward myself after I achieve my goals...’(JP16), ‘I am proud of having good friend’ (JP17)

As can be seen, people feel just as 'proud' of themselves as they do of others. But whether they feel 'proud' of themselves or of others, this 'pride' is always justified as it is prompted by the successful completion of difficult tasks and great accomplishments.

The situations and events which evoke feelings of 'pride' in the Japanese are relatively diverse. However, based on all the previous quotations it is possible to divide the causes of 'pride' into two overall categories: feeling 'proud' because of a specific achievement based on effort, and feeling 'proud' of having a skill or ability. The achievements the participants mention in the Examples are mostly within the domains of education, work, and receiving awards:

'I was proud of myself to get a high score on the exam' (JP2), '...when I my parents were received some awards' (JP5), '...having won the first prize in the competition' (JP6), 'When my dream come true' (JP7), '...your work was so great' (JP9), 'I'm proud to have such a big prize' (JP10), 'I got the job offer and my mom is proud of me about that' (JP11), 'She made an effort and passed the exam' (JP16), '...my student who got a full mark on the exam' (JP18)

However, there are also many examples where the pride-evoking event is not a specific situation or achievement, but another person. As in the case of the British responses, these people are persons to whom the participants feel close, and who play an important role in the participants' lives either personally or professionally:

'I'm proud of my sister' (JP1), '...when someone who I know well or love...' (JP3), 'I am proud of my mother...' (JP4), '...when my parents...' (JP5), '...when i satisfy and please myself, my family, friends or boss...', '...and my mom is proud of me...' (JP11), 'I am proud of my friends, they are nice people' (JP15), '...or toward my friend or family doing good things', 'I really proud of my sister' (JP16), '...the event occurred to someone close to me', '...proud of my student...' (JP18)

In some of these quotations it is the achievements of the individuals mentioned that evoke 'pride' and it is because of a personal investment in these individuals, their efforts and achievements that

people feel ‘proud’ of them. However, sometimes it appears to be the individuals as such, or the ideas of being acquainted with these individuals that causes the participants to feel ‘proud’. Even so, it can be assumed that these individuals have accomplished something to cause another person to feel ‘proud’ of them or feel connected with them.

Just as the British participants, for *proud*, the Japanese also continue the pattern found in the responses for *guilty* and *ashamed* with respect to the use of the first personal pronoun *I* and its variations. In the Examples all except one of the participants (JP8) use *I* in combination with *proud*. In the General Descriptions half of the responses refer to *I*:

‘I use this word when I praise [praise] someone’ (JP1), ‘I use this word when someone who I know...’ (JP3), ‘...that I respect a person’ (JP4), ‘I think PROUD means...’ (JP9), ‘The feeling i feel when i satisfy...’ (JP11), ‘It is confident for myself’ (JP12), ‘It is a base of my behaviour. Based on this feeling I can study hard’ (JP13), ‘...about my successive story or good point’ (JP14), ‘For me...toward myself after I achieved my goals...’ (JP15), ‘Being so happy, content and grateful with the event occurred to someone close to me’ (JP16)

Thus, as in the FA responses to the other stimulus words, the Japanese participants show a clear preference for the use of *I* in their descriptions of how they understand and use *proud*.

To sum up, the Japanese participants think of ‘proud’ as a pleasant and happy emotion in connection with their own and other people’s achievements. However, it appears that ‘pride’ and feeling ‘proud’ is also understood as a general innate feeling of self-worth and satisfaction with oneself, i.e. a form of general confidence and self-esteem that – unlike conceit, arrogance, and excessive pride – is justifiably founded on great achievements and accomplishments and is therefore unlikely to be perceived negatively by others.

8.2.3 The Chinese FA Test Responses

When examining their General Descriptions and Examples, it is clear that that Chinese also understand and use *proud* mainly as a word to describe a pleasant and joyful emotion. This is

especially visible in their General Descriptions, where they describe ‘proud’ mostly by means of positive terms:

‘Happy for myself’ (CN5), ‘Adjective, a feeling of being content, respect and satisfaction’ (CN6), ‘It means that sb. [somebody] is happy for his or her achievements and thanks [thinks] that he or she deserves that’ (CN9), ‘...it is a positive adjective...’ (CN13), ‘A kind of feeling like happy, satisfied and confident. This kind of feeling would appear when you do things better than others’ (CN14), ‘A sense of honour’ (CN18), ‘A sense of satisfaction’ (CN22), ‘Proud is the feeling that is positive and warm...’ (CN23)

When ‘proud’ is not described in such positively-laden terms, the participants instead employ it in contexts that are perceived as positive and which therefore imply that ‘proud’ is also positive, i.e. it is not the word or the emotion that is described as joyful or pleasant, but the context within which it is used:

‘Proud is a feeling when someone has achieved something wonderful through his endeavour which he wanted for a long time’ (CN1), ‘Something I achieved through my hard work’ (CN4), ‘Proud means the feeling that I or someone I care about finished something successfully’ (CN7), ‘Proud means that you...do something successful, then you feel proud about yourself’ (CN8), ‘The feeling you have when you have done something great’ (CN10), ‘I achieve my objectives through my own efforts’ (CN12), ‘When I get some honour or make some achievements’ (CN15), ‘Proud means...or a feeling for someone in honour’ (CN16), ‘Admire and appreciate someone’ (CN17), ‘Somebody is proud if another person meets or surpasses his expectation (CN20), ‘Feel so confidence about yourself and you can do anything if you really want to do it’ (CN21), ‘...It happens when one believes that he or she believes that he or she has done something right or great’ (CN23)

In these Descriptions the actual emotion of feeling ‘proud’ is not described by means of positive adjectives but rather the context in which it appears. This suggests that ‘proud’ should also be understood as a positive word or feeling. As in the case of the Japanese, the Chinese participants also describe feeling ‘proud’ as a response to a joyful and pleasant event. However, the Chinese participants also have quite a few Descriptions in which ‘proud’ is described and referred to negatively:

‘If someone always brag about his achievement, he is proud’ (CN3), ‘The feeling of superiority over other people. (negative)’ (CN11), ‘Proud means arrogant...’ (CN16), ‘Sometimes you identify you [your] merits and sometimes you exaggerate them’ (CN21), ‘...Proud can also be the feeling of superior [superiority] because one has something they believe is better than others’’ (CN23)

In these Descriptions *proud* is used in a disapproving manner to describe the unpleasant and self-important behaviour and characteristics of other people. This disapproving view of ‘proud’ only emerges in two of the Examples:

‘He is an intelligent guy, but he is proud as well, and that’s why he doesn’t have many friends’ (CN3), ‘...If you win the football game and you think you can conquer any sports, you are exaggerating yourself’ (CN21)

In addition to these, there is also the Description ‘I own something big, but most people don’t, I feel proud’ (CN2), which could either be interpreted as a positive understanding of ‘proud’ or as describing a form of ‘pride’ which includes a sense of superiority. This aspect of superiority, or being better than other people, is evident not only from the negatively loaded Descriptions and Examples above (CN11, CN23) but also from Descriptions and Examples with an otherwise positive or achievement-based context of ‘proud’:

‘I get a job in Deloitte, but most people failed the interview and don’t get it. I feel proud’ (CN2), ‘For example, me and my classmate apply for the same job, she failed

but I passed, I will feel very proud' (CN8), '...This kind of feeling would appear when you do things better than others' (CN14), 'I am proud that I am the only person in the company that can finish all the tasks in one day' (CN23)

In these quotations it appears to be implied that the proud individuals are superior to other people because they were able to accomplish something the others were not. Therefore it appears that some of the Chinese include an aspect of superiority in their positive understanding and use of *proud*. Related to this, we can see that the majority of the responses contain instances of 'self-pride', i.e. feeling proud of oneself and one's own achievements. The General Descriptions provide ample examples of people feeling 'proud' of themselves:

'If I own something big, but most people don't, I feel proud' (CN2), 'Something I achieved through my hard work' (CN4), 'Happy for myself' (CN5), 'Proud means that I...finished something successfully' (CN7), 'Proud means that you have some advantages and do something successful, then you feel proud about yourself' (CN8), '...sb.[somebody] is happy for his or her achievements and thanks [thinks] that he or she deserves that' (CN9), 'The feeling you have when you have done something great' (CN10), 'I achieve my objectives through my own effort' (CN12), '...when you do things better than others' (CN14), 'When I get some honour or make some achievements' (CN15), 'Feel so confidence about yourself and you can do anything...' (CN21), '...It happens when one believes that he or she has done something right or great...' (CN23)

It can also be seen in the Examples:

'I get a job in Deloitte...I feel proud' (CN2), 'I am proud of my previous work' (CN4), 'When I have been rewarded for my outstanding performance...' (CN5), 'When my boss said that I have done a great job, I felt so proud of myself' (CN7), '...I passed, I will feel very proud' (CN8), 'I am proud of being Chinese' (CN10), 'I get my drive [driving] license in such a short time, I am really proud of it' (CN12),

‘If I get full scores in the exam, I would say that I’m proud’ (CN14), ‘JJ is so proud about his relationship with YH that he is not afraid to tell the world he is gay’ (CN19), ‘When I won the football game which I know I can achieve, I felt so proud of myself’ (CN21), ‘I am proud that I am the only person in the company that can finish all the tasks in one day’ (CN23)

In these Descriptions and Examples, people feel proud of themselves, the majority because they have achieved or accomplished something through hard work and great effort, i.e. it is a justifiably deserved ‘pride’. The preponderance of instances of ‘pride’ of oneself in the responses does not mean that there are no examples of people being proud of other individuals and their achievements. However, in the General Descriptions there are only few instances:

‘Proud means the feeling that I or someone I care about finished something successfully’ (CN7), ‘...being proud of someone, something or doing something’ (CN13), ‘Admire and appreciate someone’ (CN17), ‘Somebody is proud if another person meets or surpasses his expectations’ (CN20)

In contrast, the Examples are full of instances of people feeling ‘proud’ of other individuals and their achievements:

‘The mother was really proud of her little boy who finally learned to walk’ (CN1), ‘...when my younger sister succeeded in her college entrance examination’ (CN5), ‘My parents are proud of my success. Every Chinese is proud of the successful application of Beijing Olympics’ (CN6), ‘...and my parents are proud of me’ (CN9), ‘I am proud of my mentor for teaching me so many practical skills in the process of job seeking’ (CN11), ‘I am proud of being your daughter’ (CN13), ‘My parents are proud of me when I won the champion of the competition’ (CN15), ‘Mom always says she feels proud of me’ (CN16), ‘Parents are proud of their children’s wonderful performance’ (CN17), ‘I am proud of my country that has lasted for centuries. Everybody feels proud of their local culture’ (CN18), ‘Mom is proud that Jone got A

in the test' (CN20), 'I am really proud of my country' (CN21), 'Being Chinese, I feel very proud when the athletes won the gold medals in the Olympic Games' (CN23)

In these Examples, people feel 'proud' of other individuals because they have accomplished something great. As in the case of the British and Japanese responses, in the Chinese responses the proud individuals also need to be closely affiliated with these talented people in order to feel proud. Although the majority of these examples include people feeling 'proud' of specific successful accomplishments, a few mention feeling 'proud' of group membership. This also entails that they feel 'proud' of the accomplishments of other members of the group even when they are not closely affiliated, e.g. 'I am proud of being Chinese' (CN10) and CN6, CN18, CN 21 and CN23 above. However, it is doubtful how much these individuals have actually influenced or helped with China's long history and culture, or the Beijing Olympics and the gold medals won. Therefore it can be argued that these examples are instances of group-pride where the success of one group member extends to all members of the group.

If we look at what sort of accomplishments that evoke feelings of 'pride' we can see that they come from all aspects of life:

'...proud of her little boy who finally learned to walk' (CN1), 'I got a job...' (CN2), 'I am proud of my previous work' (CN4), '...rewarded for my outstanding performance;...succeeded in her college entrance examination' (CN5), '...proud of my success...the successful application of the Beijing Olympics' (CN6), '...I have done a great job...' (CN7), '...I passed...' (CN8), 'I have been admitted into one of the best universities in China...' (CN9), 'I am proud of being a Chinese' (CN10), 'I am proud of my mentor...' (CN11), 'I get my drive [driving] license in such short time...' (CN12), 'I am proud of being your daughter' (CN13), 'I get full scores in the exam...' (CN14), '...I won the champion of the competition' (CN15), '...their children's wonderful performance' (CN17), '...my country...our local culture' (CN18), '...his relationship with YH...' (CN19), '...that Jone got A in the test' (CN20), 'When I won the football game...' (CN21), 'I am really proud of my

country’ (CN22), ‘...when the athletes won the gold medals in the Olympic Games...that I am the only person who can finish all the tasks in one day’ (CN23)

The majority of these pride-evoking events are achievements and accomplishments based on hard work and great effort. These achievements are either one’s own or achievements by people whom one is affiliated with in one way or another or people one has invested in, or feels connected to. Therefore it can be said that the feeling of ‘pride’ has to be justified and that one has to qualify in order to feel ‘proud’.

With respect to their use of *I* and variations thereof, we can see from the quotations above that the Chinese use *I* and its variants to a much greater extent in the Examples (18 instances) than in the Descriptions (six instances).

The Chinese participants understand and use *proud* to describe a pleasant emotion where individuals feel pleased and happy with themselves because they were able to achieve something they put a great effort into. However, the participants also use the word in a disapproving manner to describe the behaviour of people who have an inordinately high opinion of themselves and who feel superior to others. Furthermore, the Chinese also feel ‘proud’ if people they feel connected to (either through close affiliation or group membership) have accomplished something great.

8.3 Exploring the Image and Idea of *Proud* – The CBA Test Responses

In the CBA test the participants were asked about their understanding of the meaning of *proud* in a specific utterance. The utterance chosen was: ‘I am proud of myself’. However, it is not clear from the utterance whether the feeling of ‘pride’ stems from achievement and accomplishments or whether it is an ingrained feeling of self-satisfaction. It was therefore up to the participants themselves to determine how they interpreted the ‘pride’ feeling expressed in the utterance. This ambiguity was intentional as it was important that the participants were able to express their own understanding of whether or not ‘pride’ is positive or negative.

As always, the participants were asked to express their understanding by selecting different meanings and aspects presented in 12 descriptors (including the distractor ‘I don’t like myself’). The descriptor ‘It is good to feel this way about myself’ – the Positivity-descriptor – refers to the

view that ‘pride’ is a good and pleasant emotion and that it is acceptable to experience this emotion. Furthermore, in this view, ‘pride’ also functions as a booster for confidence and the image of self, i.e. experiencing ‘pride’ enhances one’s self-esteem and positive image of self. In order to represent the feature that one has to deserve to feel ‘proud’, or that ‘pride’ is prompted by achievements and accomplishments, the Achievement-descriptor – ‘I did many things to feel this way’ – was included in the selection of descriptors. The descriptor ‘I believe in myself’ (the Confidence-descriptor) refers to the aspect of having self-esteem and confidence in oneself. The Satisfaction-descriptor – ‘I feel good about myself’ – represents the notion that when people feel ‘proud’ they feel satisfied with themselves and their actions and therefore feel pleased with themselves (However, this last descriptor may also refer to an innate general form of self-satisfaction that is not based on skills and achievements but on an unjustifiably high opinion of oneself). These four descriptors primarily represent the positive, achievement-based meaning of ‘pride’, i.e. a form of ‘pride’ that is based on hard work and achievements, which leads to confidence and justified self-satisfaction.

The descriptors that are primarily meant to reflect the disapproving features of ‘pride’, i.e. a personality trait or ingrained feeling of superiority, self-aggrandisement and arrogance, are the following: the Personality-descriptor: ‘I am a good person’, which refers to the idea of self-esteem and self-respect based on an inordinately high opinion of oneself rather than real merits; the Superiority-descriptor – ‘I am better than other people’ – which is a reflection of people feeling superior to others; the Recognition-descriptor, ‘Other people think I am good’, which expresses the notion that other people recognise one’s worth; and the Character-descriptor ‘I always feel this way’ which is the feature that ‘pride’ may be an unchanging personality characteristic where people innately have a high opinion of themselves and always feel satisfied with themselves. Although these descriptors primarily reflect the negatively viewed features of ‘pride’, it is also possible to select them as features in the positive understanding of ‘pride’ as their meanings change when combined with the primarily positive features.

The final three descriptors represent various features relating to how the meaning of *proud* in the utterance is judged, not only by the person feeling ‘proud’ but also by other people. The descriptor ‘Other people think this is bad’ (the Disapproval-descriptor) expresses the feature that proud individuals may be disapproved of by other people, or viewed as self-important and arrogant. The

Reveal-descriptor – ‘I want other people to see it’ – can be selected if the participants wish other people to see their ‘pride’. The final descriptor, the Acceptance-descriptor, ‘It is okay to show that I feel this way’, indicates whether or not it is acceptable to other people that individuals display their ‘pride’.

Although the descriptors can on the whole be categorised as being representative of either the negative or positive meaning of ‘pride’, the meanings of some descriptors are dependent on the meanings of others and change according to how the descriptors are combined. For example, the meaning of ‘I am better than other people’ can be interpreted as less presumptuous when combined with the Achievement-descriptor ‘I did many things to feel this way’. In contrast, the Personality- and Confidence-descriptor may acquire negative connotations if combined with the Character-descriptor or Superiority-descriptor. By making the descriptors context-dependent, it was possible to create a less biased framework within which the participants could express their understandings. The participants’ selections can be seen in table 16.

‘I am proud of myself’	ENGLAND (22 participants)	JAPAN (20 participants)	CHINA (23 participants)
I don’t like myself	0	0	0
It is good to feel this way about myself	22	17	16
I did many things to feel this way	9	9	13
Other people think this is bad	1	1	0
I am good person	7	7	10
I believe in myself	20	19	20
I am better than other people	0	4	7
Other people think I am good	1	5	9
I want other people to see it	10	4	8
I feel good about myself	20	18	18
I always feel this way	0	2	6
It is okay to show that I feel this way	17	4	10

Table 16: Overview of the CBA Test Responses for Proud

8.3.1 The British CBA Test Responses

To express how they understand the meaning of *proud* in the utterance ‘I am proud of myself’, the British participants selected the following four descriptors:

- It is good to feel this way about myself (22)
- I believe in myself (20)
- I feel good about myself (20)
- It is okay to show that I feel this way (17)

As always the British participants show high agreement in their selection of descriptors. The Positivity-descriptor was the most popular descriptor (100% agreement), followed closely by the Confidence- and Satisfaction-descriptors (both 90%). The combination of these three descriptors shows that feeling ‘proud’ is a pleasing and joyful experience which increases their feeling of self-worth. This view is also supported by the FA responses where the participants mostly described *proud* as a good, pleasing, and satisfactory emotion prompted by the successful completion of a task. By selecting the Acceptance-descriptor – ‘It is okay to show that I feel this way’ – the participants indicate that they believe it is perfectly acceptable, for themselves and others, to publically display ‘pride’. This feature is supported by the Reveal-descriptor, which is chosen as the fifth most frequently selected descriptor. By selecting these two descriptors, the British participants indicate that not only is it acceptable for them to display their ‘pride’, but they also actively want to do so:

- I want other people to see it (10)
- I did many things to feel this way (9)

Considering that all except one participant mentioned hard work, achievements, and accomplishments as a prerequisite for feeling ‘proud’ in the FA responses, it is surprising that the Achievement-descriptor was selected by fewer than 50% of the participants and consequently only as the sixth most frequently selected descriptor. Nevertheless, even though it is not among the most

frequently selected descriptors in the CBA, the feature is relatively dominant in the FA responses and therefore also in my interpretation of how the British participants understand *proud*.

Despite the occasional occurrence of the disapproving notion of ‘pride’ in the FA test responses, very few of the British participants select descriptors that represent the self-important and arrogant form of ‘pride’. This may be because the CBA utterance refers to feeling ‘proud’ of oneself and because *proud*, according to the literature, is used in a disapproving manner to describe other people’s self-satisfaction and excessive ‘pride’, never one’s own ‘pride’ (see Chapter 4).

If we combine the FA responses and the CBA selection, we can arrive at a fuller picture how the British participants understand the positive feeling of ‘pride’. Our interpretation is presented in the simplified paraphrase below.

I did many things and now I feel good about myself and believe in myself. It is good to feel this way. I want people to see how I feel and it is okay to show it.

Figure 12: Paraphrase of the British Understanding of Proud

8.3.2 The Japanese CBA Test Responses

Unlike their previous CBA results, the selections by the Japanese participants for the stimulus word *proud* show surprisingly high agreement. With an unprecedented 95% agreement, the Japanese participants selected the Confidence-descriptor as the most popular descriptor, followed closely by the second and third most selected descriptors (90% and 85% respectively):

- I believe in myself (19)
- I feel good about myself (18)
- It is good to feel this way about myself (17)
- I did many things to feel this way (9)

The selection of the Confidence-descriptor supports the feature found in their FA responses, i.e. that the Japanese participants understand and use *proud* to describe feelings of general confidence, self-esteem, and belief in their general skills and abilities in a non-presumptuous manner. The second,

third, and fourth most frequently selected descriptors provide further support for the positive meaning of ‘proud’ which emerged from the FA responses, i.e. that one feels pleased with oneself because of great accomplishments. However, despite the high agreement in the selection of the first three descriptors, there is a major gap between the third and fourth most selected descriptors. The fourth most selected descriptor is the Achievement-descriptor which is selected by just under 50% of the participants. This could suggest that it may not be necessary for the Japanese to achieve something in order to feel ‘proud’. Nevertheless, as the feature is also expressed in their FA responses, the selection of the Achievement-descriptor can be said to provide support for the Japanese participants’ inclusion of this feature in their understanding of ‘pride’.

As the fifth and sixth most frequently selected descriptors we find the Personality-descriptor and Recognition-descriptor respectively:

- I am a good person (7)
- Other people think I am good (5)

The Recognition-descriptor can be viewed in the light of the majority of the FA responses referring to feeling ‘proud’ of other people. It would appear that feelings of ‘pride’ are evoked when individuals experience that other people recognise and approve of their efforts and achievements. It is the recognition of their skills and abilities by others that makes individuals feel ‘pleased’ with and ‘proud’ of themselves. Thus, the image and confidence of self is based on the positive evaluation, recognition, and acceptance by other people.

It is worth noting that some of the least selected descriptors by the Japanese – the Display- and Reveal- descriptors – were among the most frequently selected descriptors by the British group. This suggests that there is a difference in the two groups’ understanding of ‘proud’ in terms of whether it is acceptable or not to display feelings of ‘pride’. It appears that for the Japanese it is not.

Based on the Japanese participants’ FA and CBA responses it is possible to present a paraphrase of how their understanding of the meaning of *proud* can be interpreted.

I did many good things and now I believe in myself and feel good about myself. This is a good feeling and other people also think I am good.

Figure 13: Paraphrase of the Japanese Understanding of Proud

8.3.3 The Chinese CBA Test Responses

The Chinese understanding of *proud* in the CBA test is relatively similar to that of the British and differs only with respect to one descriptor. The Chinese also show high internal agreement in their selection of descriptors, the four most frequently selected descriptors being:

- I believe in myself (20)
- I feel good about myself (18)
- It is good to feel this way about myself (16)
- I did many things to feel this way (13)

As all the features expressed in these descriptors can also be found in their FA responses, the selection of these descriptors does not add new meaning to our understanding of how the Chinese perceive and use *proud*. Rather it provides further support for features already found. By selecting the Confidence- and Satisfaction-descriptors, the Chinese emphasises the feature of self-satisfaction. On the basis of their selection of these descriptors, combined with the fact that some of the FA responses reflect a sense of superiority in otherwise achievement-based ‘pride’ contexts, it is possible to interpret the Chinese understanding of feeling ‘proud’ as emphasising high self-importance and self-worth. However, this high self-importance and self-worth is not used or viewed in a disapproving manner, i.e. for the Chinese participants, high self-importance and self-worth are acceptable and not condemned by others.

For the fifth most frequently selected descriptor, by the participants two descriptors are in competition: the Personality-descriptor and the Acceptance-descriptor.

- I am a good person (10) / It is okay to show that I feel this way (10)

Whereas the Personality-descriptor can be found in the FA responses, the Acceptance-descriptor adds the new feature of displaying one's 'pride' and the fact that it is acceptable to do so. However, although the participants do not directly refer to displaying 'pride' in the FA responses, the fact that individuals share and feel 'proud' of other people's accomplishments implies that the 'pride' needs to be visible to them. As the final most frequently selected descriptor, the Chinese selected the Recognition-descriptor.

- Other people think I am good (9)

Similar to the Japanese, the Chinese describe situations in which individuals feel 'proud' of other people to express the feature that it is through other people's recognition and approval of achievements and worth that people create confidence and a pleasing image of self.

Overall, the Chinese CBA selection provides robust support for the already existing features and understanding found in the FA responses. With the additional corroboration from the CBA test, it is possible to create the following paraphrase of how the Chinese understanding of *proud* can be interpreted.

I did many good things and now I believe in myself and feel good about myself. It is good to feel this way about myself. I am a good person and it is okay to show that I feel this way as other people also think I am good.

Figure 14: Paraphrase of the Chinese Understanding of Proud

8.4 Summary of Findings

Before discussing and concluding whether or not the participants express differences in their understanding of *proud*, it is useful to provide a summary of how they understand and use *proud*. In their responses the participants did not differentiate between being or feeling 'proud'. Furthermore, they also mostly referred to the feeling of 'pride' rather than describing the emotion

word *proud*. Nevertheless, it is still possible to arrive at an interpretation of their understanding and use of *proud* based on their responses.

The British participants understand and use the word *proud* to describe situations in which individuals have worked hard, put a great effort into something, and thereby accomplished a goal or a difficult task. Because of this, they feel confident, happy, pleased, and contented with themselves. Other people closely affiliated with the individuals, or people who feel connected to the individuals and their accomplishments, may also take part in the individuals' feelings of happiness, pleasure, and contentedness. Because the individuals have worked hard in order to achieve something, other people think the individuals' satisfaction with themselves is justified and therefore it is also acceptable for the individuals to show and share this satisfaction and contentedness with other people. Sometimes *proud* is used in a disapproving manner to describe situations where people other than themselves display unjustifiable self-satisfaction or behave insolently in order to hide their insecurity or faulty behaviour.

For the Japanese, *proud* is used to describe situations in which individuals feel happy, pleased, and content with either themselves or people close to them. These joyful feelings are evoked when either the individuals or people close to them have worked hard to achieve something. Furthermore, the Japanese also understand and use *proud* to describe an innate feeling of justified self-esteem and confidence in their own skills and abilities, i.e. not only in relation to a specific accomplishment. These feelings of contentedness and confidence in their own abilities are evoked when other people recognise the individuals' worth and show their approval of the individuals' achievements, skills, and abilities.

As in the case of the two other groups, the Chinese also understand and use *proud* to describe situations in which individuals feel pleased and contented with themselves or others because they have invested a great effort into achieving something. Since people affiliated with the individuals, both personally and professionally, recognise and approve of the individuals, their achievements, and their concomitant satisfaction, it becomes acceptable for the individuals themselves to feel 'proud'. In other words, it is through the recognition of one's achievements and worth by others that feelings of 'pride' are evoked. The individuals are also able to feel 'proud' of being a member of a larger group and of any accomplishment other members of that group may achieve, even if the

individuals are not directly affiliated with them. The Chinese also occasionally use *proud* in a disapproving manner to describe the insolent behaviour of people who show an inordinately high opinion of themselves, i.e. excessive ‘pride’.

The interpretation of the groups’ understanding and use of *proud* have been summarised in table 17 where the different features are listed according to how they are emphasised by the three language groups. The higher on the list the feature is placed, the more it is emphasised. If a feature is followed by a (+) it means that this feature is relatively speaking more dominant than the other understandings.

ENGLAND	JAPAN	CHINA
Justified self-satisfaction	Self-confidence (+)	Self-confidence
Pleased with close others	Justified self-satisfaction	Justified self-satisfaction (+)
Acceptable to display (+)	Pleased with close others	Pleased with close others
Unjustified self-satisfaction		Pleased with wider group
		Acceptable to display
		Unjustified self-satisfaction
CAUSES OF PRIDE		
Own achievements	Own achievements	Own achievements
Others’ achievements	Others’ achievements	Others’ achievements
	General skills and abilities	Group member achievements

Table 17: Overview of the features included in the participants’ understanding of proud in order of importance

8.5 Concluding Remarks

On the basis of the analysis above, it is clear that there are both similarities and differences in the three groups’ understanding and use of the stimulus word *proud*. In terms of similarities, it is clear that all three language groups mainly use *proud* to describe feeling pleased, happy, and satisfied with oneself as a response to great achievements based on hard work. However, despite this overall agreement there are also variations in their understandings.

The most striking differences between the three understandings and use of *proud* are to be found with the Japanese participants. First of all, they were the only group who did not refer to a negative understanding and use of *proud*. Unlike both the British and Chinese participants, who use *proud* to disapprovingly describe situations where other people have an inordinately high opinion of themselves and feel superior, the Japanese only mention the form of 'pride' where others and they themselves feel 'proud' of achievements. This is surprising seeing that Japan is generally considered to be a collectivistic culture, i.e. a culture where the group is put above the individual. Consequently, it was expected that there would be negative descriptions and uses of *proud*, as 'pride' according to research is an emotion that promotes the individual and is therefore likely to be viewed negatively in collectivistic cultures (see chapter 4). However, this was not the case in this study. Another interesting finding that emerged from the Japanese free written responses is that feeling 'proud' is perceived as meaning something like having confidence and self-esteem. *Proud* was by many of the Japanese participants understood and used in terms of describing general self-confidence. Thus, whereas the British use *proud* to describe a sporadic emotion elicited by specific achievements, the Japanese appear to use it to describe an innate feeling of confidence in oneself based on hard work and successful accomplishments. A final difference relates to the display of 'pride'. For the Japanese, it may be acceptable to feel 'proud', but it is not acceptable to display their 'pride'. However, this is perfectly acceptable to both the Chinese and British participants.

As for the Chinese, it appears that some of them include a sense of superiority in their understanding of *proud*. However, this superiority is not negatively viewed by the Chinese as the fact that they were able to accomplish something that others were not makes them justifiably better than others. Another interesting feature not found with the Japanese and British group was that of group-pride, i.e. where the accomplishments and 'pride' of one group-member extends to all the other members of the group. Although this may be the same principle that applies to the feature of feeling 'proud' of other people and their achievements that is found in the Japanese and British understandings, the Chinese feeling differs from that of the other groups because they conceive of the group as being much larger. Whereas the British and Japanese group members include close family, friends, and the occasional professional connection, the Chinese group members include not only close family and friends but also the entire population of China across the entire history of Chinese culture.

In the PDA test, there appears to be a degree of agreement with respect to the identification of the facial expression in photograph no. 3. However, this agreement was not for an expression for 'proud' but for 'happy'. By contrast, the groups were divided as to their identification of the expression in photograph no. 12, with the two Asian groups labelling it as a facial expression for 'arrogant' and the British participants identifying it as an expression for 'proud'. Thus, the PDA test shows some evidence for a cross-cultural expression for 'happy'. There was also some documentation for a British facial expression for 'proud' but this expression was perceived as 'arrogant' by the Japanese and Chinese.

9 Conclusions

9.1 Summary of Study and Findings

Positioned in the intersection between language, culture, and thought, this exploratory empirical study has investigated the understanding and use of the English emotion words *guilty*, *ashamed*, and *proud* by Japanese and Chinese speakers of English as a lingua franca. In addition, it was examined if their understanding and use differed from that of native English speakers, and if so, what these differences were. The overall aim of the study was to provide new empirical insights to the field of cross-cultural communication and the role of English as a lingua franca in international encounters. In addition, it was hoped that the findings would provide new empirical knowledge to other related fields of research, e.g. those dealing with emotions across cultures and the relationship between language, culture, and thought. Furthermore, by creating a new methodological framework, the thesis has also aimed at contributing methodologically to further research.

After having explored the theoretical, conceptual and methodological literature, it was decided that it would be necessary to construct a new methodological framework as existing methods were not adequate for the purpose of answering the research questions. Although the form and format was new, the design of the framework was based on features from existing methods within a range of scientific fields that have been used for testing language association and the universality of emotions and their expressions; it was also inspired by models for exploring cultural semantics. The framework, which was based on the theoretical notion of the word as an Image-Idea pair as suggested by the theory of linguistic supertypes (see 2.1.1) consisted of three tests each addressing three different aspects of the understanding and use of the stimulus words.

The aim of the Free Association test was to gain insight into the participants understanding of the stimulus words through descriptions of the words, and through their associations, connotations, and context. In order to do this, the participants provided free written answers in response to two questions regarding their understanding and use of the stimulus words. In the Context Bound Association test, the participants selected four to six descriptors from a set of descriptors expressing potential meaning components in order to describe their understanding of the stimulus words in a specific context. By creating contexts for the stimulus words which insisted on the participants as the subject of the context, i.e. as the protagonist in the situation described, it was possible to gain

insight into their own experiences of the stimulus words in that context. The Picture Driven Association test was a facial recognition test where the participants had to match emotional facial expressions with an emotion word. This test was included to examine the possibility that individuals from the same language community may attach similar visual images to the same word. However, the PDA test showed no definitive results to support this notion.

The analyses of the empirical data showed that the understanding and use of the stimulus words by the Chinese and Japanese non-native participants differed from that of native English speakers. However, there were also similarities in their understandings. Most importantly, the participants generally did not differentiate between the emotional **experiences** of ‘guilt’, ‘shame’ and ‘pride’ and their linguistic expressions, i.e. the emotion **words** investigated. Consequently, the data consisted of descriptions of the emotions rather than of the emotion words.

The participants agreed on the use of the word *guilty* to describe the emotion of ‘guilt’ both for criminal offences and non-criminal moral and social transgressions which often affect other people. All three groups also agreed that emotion included feelings of responsibility and the need to make amends for the transgression. However, whereas the Chinese and Japanese viewed confession and apologies as enough to rid themselves of the ‘guilt’, and therefore emphasised the need to display their feelings of ‘guilt’, the British felt their ‘guilt’ much more intensely. Thus confessions and apologies were insufficient for the release of ‘guilt’, and the feature of displaying their ‘guilt’ is not included in their understanding of the emotion.

The three groups agreed that ‘ashamed’ is an emotion that is elicited through the real or expected judgement by others as a result of something an individual has done. One of the major differences between the groups was to be found in the acts and behaviours that cause this judgement and the subsequent feeling of ‘shame’. For the British participants, any act or type of behaviour judged as improper by others may function as an elicitor for ‘shame’, but for the Japanese the eliciting events were for the most part unintentional mistakes or poor fulfilment of an undertaking. In a similar vein, the Chinese understanding of ‘shame’ included being condemned for being unable to meet expectations of proper and good behaviour. Thus, although the three groups agreed on many of the features to be included in their understanding of the emotion, they varied with respect to the emphasis placed on the different features.

Across all three groups *proud* was used to describe a pleasant and positive emotion in response to successful achievements. However, both the British and the Chinese participants also understood and used the word in a disapproving manner to describe individuals whose behaviour is considered arrogant and self-important. In spite of general agreement on the understanding and use of *proud*, the Japanese diverged in their understanding from that of the others in that they used *proud* to describe a feeling of confidence and self-esteem. Furthermore, unlike the others, the Japanese did not find public displays of 'pride' acceptable.

Beyond the findings related to the research questions, it was also noted that there were inconsistencies in their rate of agreement in the responses. Whereas the British participants generally expressed high agreement in their selections in both the PDA and CBA tests, the selections by the two non-native groups were much more diverse. In the free written FA responses, there were also clear differences. With respect to the use of pronouns, the British participants generally preferred second and third person personal pronouns in their descriptions whereas the Japanese and Chinese favoured the use of the first person personal pronoun *I*. This pattern emerged from their responses to all three stimulus words.

9.2 Contributions

The aim of this study was not to develop a new independent theory, but it was hoped that it would contribute theoretically in other ways. First of all, by showing that there are covert discrepancies in the understanding of English when it is used as a lingua franca, the study contributes to the discussion on the role of English as a lingua franca within various disciplines. The findings suggest that we may be necessary to look beyond grammar, pronunciation, and pragmatics to account for misunderstandings and miscommunication in ELF situations. The results point to the necessity of incorporating the issue of covert semantic discrepancies into existing theories of cross-cultural communication. In addition, it is clearly important to draw attention to these features in the teaching of ELF. Finally, new insights have also been obtained on the interplay between language and cultures as the findings indicate that the differences in understanding and use may be ascribed to linguistic and cultural backgrounds of the participants (see below).

Secondly, the study contributes methodologically by providing a framework which allows researchers to reveal and explore the differences that may exist in people's understandings and use of words. The strength of the framework developed for this study is that it is able to elicit both the crude differences and the more subtle nuances. Although open for further development, it is anticipated that the framework will be able to contribute methodologically to other studies in the future. Finally, I feel confident that related disciplines such as Second Language Acquisition, cross-cultural psychology, and cross-cultural semantics will also be able to draw new theoretical and empirical insights from the data through their own analyses. To accommodate for this, the raw data will in the near future become available in its raw form on the GEBCom website.

9.3 Limitations & Suggestions for Future Research

Owing to its exploratory nature, the study was not conducted with the aim to test a specific hypothesis in order to make generalisations. Furthermore, since a newly developed framework was employed, it is still too early to make conclusive statements about the reliability of the data. However, the fact that the FA and CBA tests were able to reveal both differences and similarities in the responses, both across and within the groups, may be seen as a testament to the validity of the tests. Further research will have to determine the soundness of the framework, which is still under development. Another limitation of the study is the sample size. With only approximately 20 participants representing the languages to be compared – most of which were female university students in their early twenties – the sample size is far from balanced in terms of age or gender. Consequently, it is necessary to collect additional data both in terms of the numbers of participants and native language backgrounds. As for the PDA test, it is clear from the inconsistent results that it needs further development, preferably in the form of a normalisation test. In such a test, individuals from England, Japan, and China would be asked to label the photographs with their own emotion terms rather than by means of pre-defined labels. In this way it would be possible to see exactly how people actually perceive the expressions in the photographs without forcing them to choose between pre-defined emotion concepts.

Although it was not included in the research questions to investigate the source of the differences, the findings suggest that the linguistic and cultural backgrounds of the participants play a significant role in their different understandings and use of the stimulus words.

Research of emotions across cultures (see 4.5) discuss the independent and interdependent ‘selves’ and how these are highlighted in individualistic and collectivistic cultures. It is argued that the role of these ‘selves’ is important for how people interact with one another in a culture and therefore they also play a role in the conceptualisation and construction of self-conscious emotions in various cultures. It is obvious from the participants’ FA responses that interpersonal relationships are crucial for how they understand and think about the stimulus words. This is especially visible in the Japanese and Chinese responses, notably in the ways ‘shame’ is evoked across all the groups, i.e. it is elicited through the judgement of ‘self’ by other people. Consequently, it would appear that in order to investigate the source of the differences in the participants’ understanding of the stimulus words, it is necessary to explore more systematically the roles of ‘self’ and its relationship with others in the data.

Support for the fact that the differences that emerged from my data are likely to stem from the different linguistic and cultural backgrounds of the participants can be found in other studies of the Chinese and Japanese counterparts to English guilt and shame (see 4.5), which have shown that these terms are in fact conceptually different from their English counterparts and describe different emotional experiences than those described by the English terms. It would appear that the Japanese and Chinese understandings found in the present study correspond well with the descriptions found in the literature. Consequently it is possible to suggest that the Japanese and Chinese participants’ descriptions of the English words in this study are in fact descriptions of the Japanese and Chinese counterparts. I would therefore suggest that it is possible that the findings are instances of cross-linguistic conceptual transfer (see 2.7.2). However, as it was not the intention of the study to investigate the conceptual transfer of emotion words, the appropriate methods for identifying and measuring this were not employed (see Jarvis & Pavlenko 2010: Ch.2), and it is therefore not possible to state conclusively that the findings are instances of conceptual transfer.

Finally, it is also possible to ascribe the differences found to the theory of linguistic supertypes which suggests that the three languages (English, Japanese, and Chinese) belong to three different supertypes, i.e. hearer-oriented, speaker-oriented, and reality-oriented respectively. This theory proposes that the speakers of the three languages communicate in different ways about reality according to their supertype, even when they communicate in another language (see 3.3). Although

this theory may not be directly applicable to the content of the participants' understandings, it is possible to investigate the form of their written responses within this framework, notably in the participants' use of pronouns. It is possible that by favouring the personal pronoun *I*, the Japanese group communicates about the word by embedding the discourse in a first person view, i.e. they communicate about the situation from the speaker's experience of reality. In contrast, the British participants direct their communication at the hearer by using the pronouns *somebody*, *someone*, and the general *you*. Furthermore, the degree of variation in the non-native speakers' responses in the PDA and CBA tests, as compared with the consistent high agreement in the native speaker group, can perhaps be interpreted as support for the fact that because the Japanese and Chinese participants are questioned about a non-native word, they do not have access to a psychophysiological network of the English stimulus words in the same way as native speakers (see 2.9 & 3.3).

9.4 Concluding Remarks

The findings in this study suggest that when the Japanese and Chinese participants communicate using English as a lingua franca they employ emotion words in different contexts and with different characteristics in the meaning than native English speakers. The differences in the participants' understanding are found in the semantic components the participants include in their understanding, and more importantly in how they emphasise these components. Consequently, the differences may be too complex to account for in absolute terms and in terms of clear-cut oppositions. The study suggests that even though English as a lingua franca may often be the best solution for communication in cross-cultural encounters, this may not always be the case.

The fact that Chinese and Japanese participants understand and use English emotion words in different ways from native speakers of English suggests that this may also hold true for other words when using English as a lingua franca. This may have implications for successful communication if there is no awareness of these covert but important differences. Unlike the linguistic discrepancies found in the formal aspects of the language such as grammar and pronunciation, variations in the semantic features of words – both which are included and how they are emphasised – are not overtly visible. This may have implications in communicative situation as they are not visible and therefore cannot immediately be adjusted for. As a consequence, for successful communication to take place it is essential to be aware of these potential differences.

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Appendix 1: Full Test

Please enter your email address to start the survey

In this survey we would like to ask you some questions regarding your understanding and use of English words.

The survey consists of three parts.

In the first part you will be asked to write down your own understanding and use of English words.

In the second part you will be given a sentence and then asked to choose some descriptions of the meaning of the sentence.

In the last part of the survey you will be asked to match words with pictures.

This is a survey about how YOU use the English language, so please remember that there are no right or wrong answers. We would like YOUR own understanding, opinions and thoughts, so please be spontaneous and try not to spend too much time on each question.

Do not use your mobile phone or any other devices for help

Click on the right arrow to continue to the survey.

PART I

- Please read the instructions carefully before beginning the survey.

In this part of the survey you will be asked to give descriptions of how you understand and use 9 English words.

Please DO NOT give definitions we can find in the dictionary but YOUR own understandings, opinions and uses of the words.

You will not be timed, but please do not think too much about your response. Be spontaneous and write down your immediate thoughts.

Please write full sentences.

When you have read and understood the instructions, click the right arrow to start the survey.

Please write in your own words

How do you understand
the word GUILTY

Please give examples of
how you would use the
word GUILTY

Please write in your own words

How do you understand
the word LOYALTY

Please give examples of
how you would use the
word LOYALTY

Please write in your own words

How do you understand
the word ASHAMED

Please give examples of
how you would use the
word ASHAMED

Please write in your own words

How do you understand
the word DISAPPOINTED

Please give examples of
how you would use the
word DISAPPOINTED

Please write in your own words

How do you understand
the word JEALOUS

Please give examples of
how you would use the
word JEALOUS

Please write in your own words

How do you understand
the word PROUD

Please give examples of
how you would use the
word PROUD

Please write in your own words

How do you understand

the word ANGRY

Please give examples of
how you would use the
word ANGRY

Please write in your own words

How do you understand
the word EMBARRASSED

Please give examples of
how you would use the
word EMBARRASSED

Please write in your own words

How do you understand
the word ARROGANT

Please give examples of
how you would use the
word ARROGANT

PART II

- Please read the instructions carefully before starting the survey.

In this part of the survey you will be presented with 9 sentences. Each sentence will be followed by 12 statements that may or may not describe different aspects of the sentence.

Please choose minimum 4 and maximum 6 of the statements which, in your opinion, best fit the sentence.

You might feel that none of the statements contain aspects included in the sentence, in that case please choose 4 statements you believe come closest.

Please do not think too much about the statements, be spontaneous and give us

your immediate response.

When you have read and understood the instructions, click the right arrow to start the survey.

Please choose 4-6 of the descriptions below which in your opinion best fit the sentence

"I feel guilty because I did something bad"

- ☐ I want to make thing good again
- ☐ What I did makes other people feel bad
- ☐ I want to undo what I did
- ☐ I show people I feel bad
- ☐ Something good happened
- ☐ I don't want to look at people
- ☐ I want people to see how I feel
- ☐ I don't want people to see how I feel
- ☐ This feeling goes away when I say to people how I feel
- ☐ I feel responsible
- ☐ I feel sick inside my body
- ☐ I need to feel this way

Please choose 4-6 of the descriptions below which in your opinion best fit the sentence

"I feel loyalty towards my parents"

- ☐ I do not say bad things about my parents
- ☐ My parents expect this quality from me
- ☐ I am the only person in this world with this quality

- ☐ I respect my parents
- ☐ If my parents are wrong I do not tell them
- ☐ I think this quality is necessary
- ☐ I tell my parents the truth
- ☐ I do what is right according to me
- ☐ Society expect this quality from me
- ☐ I do what is right according to my parents
- ☐ I do anything to keep my parents safe
- ☐ I will look after my parents

Please choose 4-6 of the descriptions below which in your opinion best fit the sentence

"I am ashamed of myself because I did something bad"

- ☐ I don't want people to see me
- ☐ Only I feel this way
- ☐ This feeling is good for me
- ☐ This feeling goes away when I say to people how I feel
- ☐ I want people to see how bad I feel
- ☐ What I did makes my family feel bad
- ☐ I don't want to look at people
- ☐ I know this feeling from when I was a child
- ☐ I feel sick inside my body
- ☐ I feel responsible
- ☐ I want to undo what I did

☐ Nothing happened

Please choose 4-6 of the descriptions below which in your opinion best fit the sentence

"I am disappointed with my friend"

- ☐ This feeling lasts for a long time
- ☐ I cannot control this feeling
- ☐ I did not think my friend could do this
- ☐ This feeling goes away if I say to people how I feel
- ☐ This feeling goes away if I say to my friend how I feel
- ☐ This feeling lasts for a short time
- ☐ My friend made me feel bad
- ☐ I know this feeling from when I was a child
- ☐ I feel sick inside my body
- ☐ I feel responsible
- ☐ I do not like my friend anymore
- ☐ I still like my friend

Please choose 4-6 of the descriptions below which in your opinion best fit the sentence

"My partner makes me jealous"

- ☐ It is NOT okay to feel this way
- ☐ I cannot control this feeling
- ☐ I feel this way because I love my partner
- ☐ My partner gives someone too much attention

- ☐ It is okay to feel this way
- ☐ I feel very good
- ☐ I want to make my partner feel bad
- ☐ I want my partner to know how I feel
- ☐ I feel sick inside my body
- ☐ I do not trust my partner
- ☐ I want my partner's attention
- ☐ Someone gives my partner too much attention

Please choose 4-6 of the descriptions below which in your opinion best fit the sentence

"I am proud of myself"

- ☐ I am better than other people
- ☐ I did many things to feel this way
- ☐ I always feel this way
- ☐ Other people think this is bad
- ☐ It is good to feel this way about myself
- ☐ I am good person
- ☐ Other people think I am good
- ☐ I believe in myself
- ☐ I want other people to see it
- ☐ It is okay to show that I feel this way
- ☐ I don't like myself
- ☐ I feel good about myself

Please choose 4-6 of the descriptions below which in your opinion best fit the sentence

"I am angry with my friend"

- ☐ I want my friend to know how I feel
- ☐ This feeling lasts for a long time
- ☐ I cannot control this feeling
- ☐ Other people think it is okay for me to feel this way
- ☐ I think this is good
- ☐ This feeling is bad
- ☐ My friend makes me feel bad
- ☐ I don't want people to see how I feel
- ☐ I feel sick inside my body
- ☐ I want to make my friend feel bad
- ☐ I want this feeling to go away
- ☐ I feel I cannot do anything

Please choose 4-6 of the descriptions below which in your opinion best fit the sentence

"I am embarrassed because something happened"

- ☐ I don't want people to see me
- ☐ I want this feeling to go away
- ☐ This feeling lasts for a long time
- ☐ I feel I cannot do anything
- ☐ I feel bad about what happened

- ☐ Someone else did something bad
- ☐ I don't want to look at people
- ☐ I know this feeling from when I was a child
- ☐ I feel sick inside my body
- ☐ I feel responsible
- ☐ I want to undo what happened
- ☐ I think this is good

Please choose 4-6 of the descriptions below which in your opinion best fit the sentence

"One of my friends is arrogant"

- ☐ He feels he is better than other people
- ☐ He only thinks about himself
- ☐ He makes me feel bad
- ☐ Other people think this is bad
- ☐ It is not okay that he feels better than other people
- ☐ He did many things to feel this way
- ☐ Other people think this is good
- ☐ He always feels this way
- ☐ He shows other people how good he is
- ☐ It is okay that he feels better than other people
- ☐ He does not like himself
- ☐ He does not know that he is this way

PART III

- Please read the instructions carefully before starting the survey.

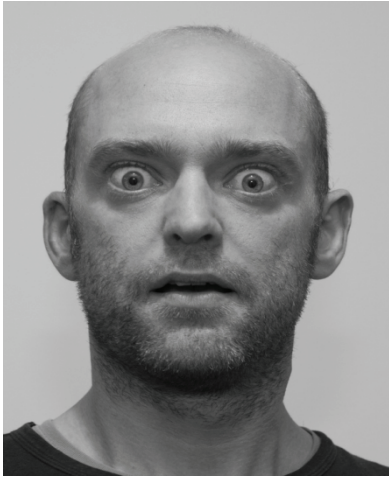
This is the third and final part of the survey.

Here you will be presented with 14 photographs of different facial expressions.

Below the photo you will find a list of words that may or may not match the facial expression in the photograph. Please choose the word you feel best match the expression in the photograph.

You will not be timed, but please do not think too much about your response, be spontaneous and follow your immediate thought. Remember, there are no right or wrong answers.

When you have read and understood the instructions, please click the right arrow to start



Please choose one of the following emotions which in your opinion best match the facial expression above

- ☐ Proud
- ☐ Ashamed
- ☐ Arrogant
- ☐ Surprised
- ☐ Afraid
- ☐ Disappointed
- ☐ Angry
- ☐ Excited
- ☐ Guilty
- ☐ Happy
- ☐ Sad
- ☐ Embarrassed



Please choose one of the following emotions which in your opinion best match the facial expression above

- ☐ Proud
- ☐ Ashamed
- ☐ Arrogant
- ☐ Surprised
- ☐ Afraid
- ☐ Disappointed
- ☐ Angry
- ☐ Excited
- ☐ Guilty
- ☐ Happy
- ☐ Sad
- ☐ Embarrassed



Please choose one of the following emotions which in your opinion best match the facial expression above

- ☐ Proud
- ☐ Ashamed
- ☐ Arrogant
- ☐ Surprised
- ☐ Afraid
- ☐ Disappointed
- ☐ Angry
- ☐ Excited
- ☐ Guilty
- ☐ Happy
- ☐ Sad
- ☐ Embarrassed



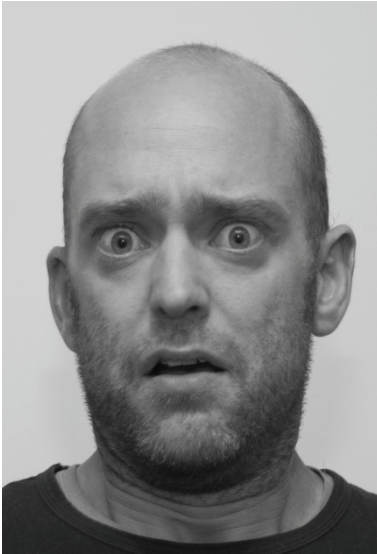
Please choose one of the following emotions which in your opinion best match the facial expression above

- ☐ Proud
- ☐ Ashamed
- ☐ Arrogant
- ☐ Surprised
- ☐ Afraid
- ☐ Disappointed
- ☐ Angry
- ☐ Excited
- ☐ Guilty
- ☐ Happy
- ☐ Sad
- ☐ Embarrassed



Please choose one of the following emotions which in your opinion best match the facial expression above

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- ☐ Ashamed
- ☐ Arrogant
- ☐ Surprised
- ☐ Afraid
- ☐ Disappointed
- ☐ Angry
- ☐ Excited
- ☐ Guilty
- ☐ Happy
- ☐ Sad
- ☐ Embarrassed



Please choose one of the following emotions which in your opinion best match the facial expression above

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- ☐ Ashamed
- ☐ Arrogant
- ☐ Surprised
- ☐ Afraid
- ☐ Disappointed
- ☐ Angry
- ☐ Excited
- ☐ Guilty
- ☐ Happy
- ☐ Sad
- ☐ Embarrassed



Please choose one of the following emotions which in your opinion best match the facial expression above

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- ☐ Ashamed
- ☐ Arrogant
- ☐ Surprised
- ☐ Afraid
- ☐ Disappointed
- ☐ Angry
- ☐ Excited
- ☐ Guilty
- ☐ Happy
- ☐ Sad
- ☐ Embarrassed



Please choose one of the following emotions which in your opinion best match the facial expression above

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- ☐ Ashamed
- ☐ Arrogant
- ☐ Surprised
- ☐ Afraid
- ☐ Disappointed
- ☐ Angry
- ☐ Excited
- ☐ Guilty
- ☐ Happy
- ☐ Sad
- ☐ Embarrassed



Please choose one of the following emotions which in your opinion best match the facial expression above

- ☐ Proud
- ☐ Ashamed
- ☐ Arrogant
- ☐ Surprised
- ☐ Afraid
- ☐ Disappointed
- ☐ Angry
- ☐ Excited
- ☐ Guilty
- ☐ Happy
- ☐ Sad
- ☐ Embarrassed



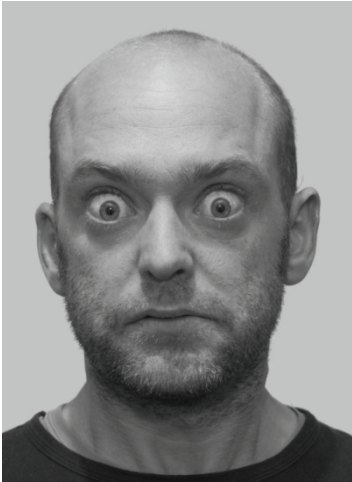
Please choose one of the following emotions which in your opinion best match the facial expression above

- ☐ Proud
- ☐ Ashamed
- ☐ Arrogant
- ☐ Surprised
- ☐ Afraid
- ☐ Disappointed
- ☐ Angry
- ☐ Excited
- ☐ Guilty
- ☐ Happy
- ☐ Sad
- ☐ Embarrassed



Please choose one of the following emotions which in your opinion best match the facial expression above

- ☐ Proud
- ☐ Ashamed
- ☐ Arrogant
- ☐ Surprised
- ☐ Afraid
- ☐ Disappointed
- ☐ Angry
- ☐ Excited
- ☐ Guilty
- ☐ Happy
- ☐ Sad
- ☐ Embarrassed



Please choose one of the following emotions which in your opinion best match the facial expression above

- ☐ Proud
- ☐ Ashamed
- ☐ Arrogant
- ☐ Surprised
- ☐ Afraid
- ☐ Disappointed
- ☐ Angry
- ☐ Excited
- ☐ Guilty
- ☐ Happy
- ☐ Sad
- ☐ Embarrassed



Please choose one of the following emotions which in your opinion best match the facial expression above

- ☐ Proud
- ☐ Ashamed
- ☐ Arrogant
- ☐ Surprised
- ☐ Afraid
- ☐ Disappointed
- ☐ Angry
- ☐ Excited
- ☐ Guilty
- ☐ Happy
- ☐ Sad
- ☐ Embarrassed



Please choose one of the following emotions which in your opinion best match the facial expression above

- ☐ Proud
- ☐ Ashamed
- ☐ Arrogant
- ☐ Surprised
- ☐ Afraid
- ☐ Disappointed
- ☐ Angry
- ☐ Excited
- ☐ Guilty
- ☐ Happy


☐ Sad

☐ Embarrassed


Thank you for completing the survey, your help is much appreciated. To finish, please click the X button.

Appendix 2: Full Set of Responses for *Guilty*

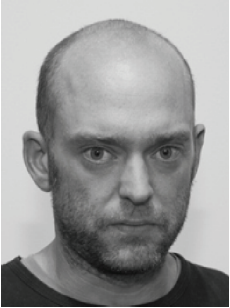
The British PDA Test Responses for Photograph no. 13

	Happy	Disappointed	Afraid	Excited	Ashamed	Embarrassed	Angry	Arrogant	Guilty	Sad	Proud	Surprise
GB1						1						
GB2						1						
GB3					1							
GB4							1					
GB5					1							
GB6									1			
GB7						1						
GB8						1						
GB9						1						
GB10		1										
GB11		1										
GB12									1			
GB13	1											
GB14									1			
GB15									1			
GB16									1			
GB17						1						
GB18									1			
GB19		1										
GB20									1			
GB21					1							
GB22							1					
TOTAL	1	3			3	6	2		7			

The Japanese PDA Test Responses for Photograph no. 13

		Happy	Disappointed	Afraid	Excited	Ashamed	Embarrassed	Angry	Arrogant	Guilty	Sad	Proud	Surprise
													
JP1								1					
JP2								1					
JP3											1		
JP4											1		
JP5								1					
JP6											1		
JP7				1									
JP8			1										
JP9								1					
JP10										1			
JP11			1										
JP12								1					
JP13											1		
JP14											1		
JP15							1						
JP16										1			
JP17			1										
JP18								1					
JP19										1			
JP20			1										
TOTAL			3	2	3	1	5	1					

The Chinese PDA Test Responses for Photograph no.13

	Happy	Disappointed	Afraid	Excited	Ashamed	Embarrassed	Angry	Arrogant	Guilty	Sad	Proud	Surprise
												
CN1							1					
CN2									1			
CN3						1						
CN4				1								
CN5										1		
CN6					1							
CN7						1						
CN8							1					
CN9		1										
CN10										1		
CN11										1		
CN12		1										
CN13						1						
CN14									1			
CN15		1										
CN16									1			
CN17		1										
CN18									1			
CN19							1					
CN20										1		
CN21						1						
CN22									1			
CN23						1						
TOTAL		4		1	1	5	3		5	4		

The British FA Test responses

	How do you understand the word GUILTY	Please give examples of how you would use the word GUILTY
GB1	The opposite of innocent. Culpable	'The dog looks guilty, perhaps he ate that chocolate' 'The murderer was found guilty'
GB2	someone has been proved to have done something	He was guilty of the murder. She was guilty of being in love with him
GB3	Someone who is responsible for a crime or someone who feels responsible for something, but it may or may not be their fault.	He is guilty of Jane Doe's murder. She feels guilty about skipping ahead in the queue.
GB4	Someone is guilty when they have done something bad or wrong	In a court, for example; "You have been found guilty". Or "He's got such a guilty look on his face", when you know someone is up to no good
GB5	someone who has done something wrong and feels bad about it	stop making me feel guilty, I haven't done anything I've got this horrible guilty feeling
GB6	When someone feels that they have hindered someone else in a negative way, that person usually feels guilty.	If I forget to do something a friend has asked me to do I feel guilty
GB7	It is a insecure feeling	When someone is lying to or they are not telling the truth
GB8	Guilt is an emotion that one feels when they have remorse for an action that they have done and regret. Normally as a result of hurting someone. Also applicable to say that someone is responsible for something.	He felt guilty for hitting Hollie. He was found guilty of 1st degree murder.
GB9	The sinking feeling when someone knows they have done something wrong. Also the word that is used when someone is convicted of a crime	I felt guilty for reading her diary. He was found guilty of murder.
GB10	A feeling where you know you have done something you shouldn't and have potentially upset someone as a consequence.	I went out last night, and didn't invite my friend - now I feel guilty.
GB11	If something is someone's fault	He was found guilty of murder
GB12	Someone who has done something wrong, possibly committed a crime. Feel morally wrong about their actions.	That man is guilty of murder. I feel slightly guilty leaving the washing up on the side
GB13	The state of having committed a crime or sin -- or associated feeling	1. He was found guilty of the murder. 2. She looked as guilty as sin
GB14	To be proven to have committed a crime or offence. OR To feel bad for something you've done	"She was found guilty of plotting a murder", A: "Did you eat my carrots?" B: "Guilty (as charged)", "I feel so guilty for lying to her"
GB15	You have committed the crime, the opposite	You have been found guilty of committing the

	of innocent.	crime. I am guilty of eating that last piece of chocolate cake.
GB16	Guilty is when somebody has undertaken an act, which is commonly illegal.	He was found guilty of theft.
GB17	having done something bad	he is guilty
GB18	Something negative that you have been found to have done. An emotion after doing something you regret	If i was to have done something to hurt someone else, to describe the verdict of someone in court, in a joking context (if someone said do you think he's attractive i'd say guilty)
GB19	Someone has done something - usually a bad thing.	He was found guilty. He was guilty of the crime
GB20	Guilty means that you have done something that you feel is not right and you resent having done it	She felt guilty for hurting his feelings. But not: The guilty girl.
GB21	the feeling of regret after doing something wrong OR the legal sense of being convicted of something	"I feel really guilty about this" "he's not even guilty" OR "He was found guilty"
GB22	A person has committed a crime and is found to be the one who done it.	You are found guilty.

The Japanese FA responses

	How do you understand the word GUILTY	Please give examples of how you would use the word GUILTY
JP1	It's a bad thing. It makes me feel sorry	If I don't complete my assignment, I feel guilty.
JP2	To hurt somebody physically or mentally. Or to offend a law or rule.	The murderer will be suffered from the feeling of guilty through his life
JP3	the word that I use when I feel something bad	I feel guilty because I broke the promise.
JP4	I think It's to do bad things like crimes.	It is guilty to commit a crime like murder
JP5	It is negative word, and for example, killing people or stealing something, or telling lies.	If someone told a lie for a bad situation, I think it is guilty and I will tell her that
JP6	When you commit a crime or something, you would be found guilty. Guilty is opposite to innocent	The person who was suspicious on killing a woman was found guilty in the court
JP7	To do morally bad things	Killing people is guilty
JP8	It is the feeling that we do or did bad things.	He might feel guilty all night long
JP9	I think that guilty is suffering other people	The judgments decided the murderer was guilty
JP10	It is the word we use when we want to tell there is a fault to someone or there is	You are a guilty person

	someone who did something that should not have done	
JP11	The feeling I feel when i do something that I'm not supposed to do.	Did you cheat on him? How guilty you are!
JP12	It is not a forgiven thing in society	If you commit a crime, you will have a guilty
JP13	It is impossible for me to avoid this word when I leave the lab before I finish my work	Sweet snacks that is a guilty food. I can't stop eating this
JP14	Something you are forbidden to do by the social community	It is guilty to steel something
JP15	To eat a lot of food. To tell the lies	I think it is important to have image for GUILTY
JP16	I feel guilty if I think I did something wrong, or I couse a trouble to someone	I feel guilty after eating too much sweets
JP17	Guilty describes the situation where a person has sin	She should have help him at that time. But she did not. She has guilty
JP18	Someone is really bad for having done something illegally	The chairperson of the Korean ship is guilty for leaving the ship before the passengers
JP19	Guilty is a feeling you get when you do something bad.	I use the word guilty when I did something bad to someone.
JP20	To feel sory about a crime comitted in the past.	I feel guilty because I love John whom my best friend loves too

The Chinese FA responses

	How do you understand the word GUILTY	Please give examples of how you would use the word GUILTY
CN1	Guilty is a feeling when someone has done something wrong and he does not feel good	I just lied to him and I feel really guilty
CN2	If I did something wrong, I may feel guilty.	I broke my friends glass, I feel guilty
CN3	If someone has done something wrong, he may feel guilty	The doctor felt guilty as he failed to save the dying man.
CN4	If I do not obey my own principles, I will feel guilty	He should feel guilty because he slept with other woman
CN5	Do something bad to others	when I blame innocent persons; when I have hurted someone physically or psychologically
CN6	A sense of sin, or a feeling of deplore	He is full of guilty. His guilty is so heavy.
CN7	Someone did bad things, which might hurt somebody or something.	The judge sentenced his guilty.
CN8	Guilty means that you feel very sorry for other people or just yourself because you did	For example, I make a mistake and this caused my friend to suffer from this result, and then I will feel

	something wrong	very guilty for her
CN9	Guilty can have several meanings. Firstly, the word "guilty" can mean someone has made mistakes or commit a crime. It also means that someone feels sorry for what he has done.	The boy felt guilty for the crime he has committed
CN10	Why are you feel guilty?	I feel guilty because I have broken a glass
CN11	Someone who has committed crimes or have made mistakes.	A murderer was caught by the police, and the evidence showed that the murderer did killed a person. So the person was proved guilty
CN12	When I behave badly before many people and lose my face	In class, I cannot answer the question while others all know the answer
CN13	In my opinion, "guilty" means having done something wrong legally or morally, and it has the opposite meaning with "innocent".	John is guilty of stealing the money from the old lady
CN14	The feelings people have when they do things which don't suit their own principles or hurt others	If what I did hurt my frined's feeling, I would use guilty
CN15	When I do something go against my conscience or social codes of conduct	It is gulty not to return the money found on the ground. I feel guilty when I cheat at the exam
CN16	Guilty is doing something immoral or illegal	I feel guilty for cheating you
CN17	It is a kind of feeling of sorry, regretting	I feel guilty to waste food
CN18	Behaving illegally or imorally or just feeling bad alone	I felt guilty after I had criticized her. He is proved guilty in court.
CN19	Feeling sorry for someone about something you should not have done in the first place.	I feel guilty using up my sister's makeup without telling her.
CN20	Somebody is responsible for a bad thing, especially a crime.	Jone is found guilty for the crime.
CN21	Doing something that is against my conscience and my personal principle about life	I don't give the seat to an old lady in the bus
CN22	Somebody has done something bad. Or he is accused of a crime	He was guilty because he had murdered his brother.
CN23	Guilty is the feeling that when someone did something he or she feels it was wrong and they feel ashamed or regreted. Guilty can be very deep and burning feelings. It is natural, spontaneous, and may lead to confessions, a	Out of a sense of guilty, the thief returned the ID card in the purse to Mr. Jones. As a young baby as Sam, he feels guilty after pushing his sister to the floor. You don't have to feel guilty, it is Alex's fault.

	sequence of condemning behaviors.	
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The British CBA responses to the utterance: ‘I feel guilty because I did something bad’

GB	I need to feel this way	I want people to see how I feel	This feeling goes away when I say to people how I feel	Something good happened	I want to make things good again	I show people I feel bad	I feel responsible	What I did makes other people feel bad	I feel sick inside my body	I don't want people to see how I feel	I want to undo what I did	I don't want to look at people
GB1					1		1		1			1
GB2	1	1					1		1		1	
GB3	1				1		1	1	1			1
GB4					1		1	1	1			1
GB5					1		1	1	1			1
GB6	1	1			1						1	
GB7					1		1	1	1			
GB8							1	1	1			1
GB9	1						1	1	1			1
GB10					1		1	1	1			
GB11					1		1		1			
GB12						1	1		1			
GB13					1		1		1			1
GB14		1					1	1				
GB15		1				1	1		1			
GB16	1						1	1	1			
GB17		1			1		1	1				
GB18					1		1		1			
GB19					1		1	1	1			
GB20					1	1	1		1			1
GB21							1		1			1
GB22		1					1		1			
TOTAL	5	6	0	0	13	3	21	11	19	0	19	8

The Japanese CBA responses to the utterance: ‘I feel guilty because I did something bad’

JP	I need to feel this way	I want people to see how I feel	This feeling goes away when I say to people how I feel	Something good happened	I want to make things good again	I show people I feel bad	I feel responsible	What I did makes other people feel bad	I feel sick inside my body	I don't want people to see how I feel	I want to undo what I did	I don't want to look at people
JP1	1	1				1		1				
JP2	1							1	1			1
JP3	1					1				1		1
JP4						1	1	1				1
JP5					1		1	1		1		1
JP6	1	1				1		1				
JP7					1				1	1	1	
JP8			1		1	1						
JP9		1				1	1	1				
JP10	1		1				1	1	1		1	
JP11	1	1			1		1	1			1	
JP12		1	1		1		1					
JP13					1		1		1	1		1
JP14						1	1	1			1	
JP15			1		1		1					
JP16						1			1		1	1
JP17		1	1				1	1			1	
JP18						1	1	1			1	
JP19					1			1	1		1	
JP20	1	1			1	1						
TOTAL	7	7	5	1	9	10	11	12	6	4	9	6

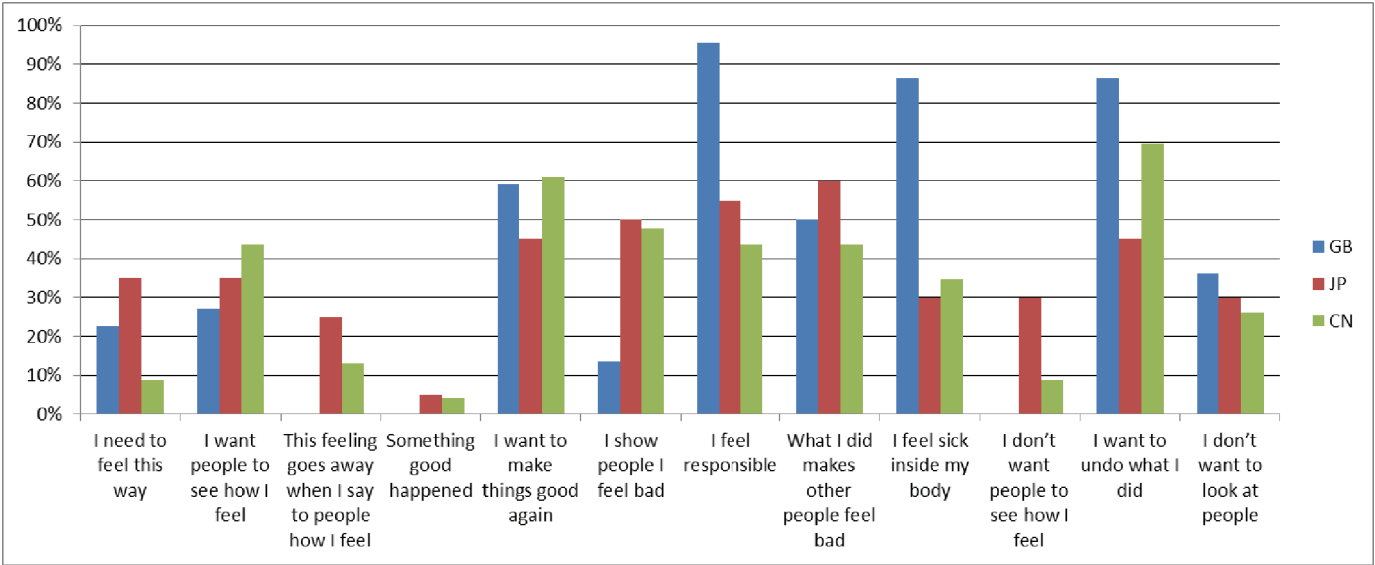
The Chinese CBA responses to the utterance: ‘I feel guilty because I did something bad’

[illegible]

Overview of the CBA test responses in percentages


GUILTY	I need to feel this way	I want people to see how I feel	This feeling goes away when I say to people how I feel	Something good happened	I want to make things good again	I show people I feel bad	I feel responsible	What I did makes other people feel bad	I feel sick inside my body	I don't want people to see how I feel	I want to undo what I did	I don't want to look at people
UK	22.73%	27.27%	0%	0%	59.09%	13.64%	95.45%	50%	86.36%	0%	86.36%	36.36%
JP	35%	35%	25%	5%	45%	50%	55%	60%	30%	30%	45%	30%
CN	8.70%	43.48%	13.04%	4.35%	60.87%	47.83%	43.48%	43.48%	34.78%	8.70%	69.57%	26.09%

Graph of the CBA test responses




Appendix 3: Full Set of Responses for *Ashamed*


The British responses for photograph no. 2

	Happy	Disappointed	Afraid	Excited	Ashamed	Embarrassed	Angry	Arrogant	Guilty	Sad	Proud	Surprise
GB1		1										
GB2										1		
GB3		1										
GB4		1										
GB5									1			
GB6		1										
GB7		1										
GB8		1										
GB9		1										
GB10		1										
GB11		1										
GB12		1										
GB13										1		
GB14		1										
GB15		1										
GB16					1							
GB17		1										
GB18		1										
GB19					1							
GB20					1							
GB21										1		
GB22		1										
TOTAL		15			3				1	3		


The Japanese responses for photograph no.2

		Happy	Disappointed	Afraid	Excited	Ashamed	Embarrassed	Angry	Arrogant	Guilty	Sad	Proud	Surprise
JP1			1										
JP2			1										
JP3											1		
JP4				1									
JP5											1		
JP6											1		
JP7						1							
JP8											1		
JP9			1										
JP10											1		
JP11			1										
JP12											1		
JP13									1				
JP14											1		
JP15			1										
JP16			1										
JP17							1						
JP18			1										
JP19			1										
JP20										1			
TOTAL			8	1		1	1			2	7		


The Chinese responses for photograph no.2

	Happy	Disappointed	Afraid	Excited	Ashamed	Embarrassed	Angry	Arrogant	Guilt	Sad	Proud	Surprise
		1										
										1		
										1		
					1							
		1										
		1										
		1										
										1		
									1			
		1										
		1										
						1						
										1		
										1		
										1		
										1		
								1				
										1		
										1		
										1		
									1			
		1										
										1		
									1			
		8				1	1	1	2	10		


The British responses for photograph no. 7

	Happy	Disappointed	Afraid	Excited	Ashamed	Embarrassed	Angry	Arrogant	Guilty	Sad	Proud	Surprise
GB1					1							
GB2		1										
GB3									1			
GB4						1						
GB5									1			
GB6					1							
GB7		1										
GB8		1										
GB9								1				
GB10						1						
GB11									1			
GB12		1										
GB13						1						
GB14					1							
GB15								1				
GB16		1										
GB17									1			
GB18					1							
GB19								1				
GB20								1				
GB21						1						
GB22					1							
TOTAL		5			5	2	2		4	4		

The Japanese responses for photograph no. 7

	Happy	Disappointed	Afraid	Excited	Ashamed	Embarrassed	Angry	Arrogant	Guilty	Sad	Proud	Surprise
JP1						1						
JP2									1			
JP3						1						
JP4						1						
JP5					1							
JP6									1			
JP7									1			
JP8		1										
JP9					1							
JP10										1		
JP11					1							
JP12							1					
JP13										1		
JP14									1			
JP15					1							
JP16			1									
JP17										1		
JP18							1					
JP19									1			
JP20										1		
TOTAL		1	1		4	3	2		5	4		

The Chinese responses for photograph no. 7

		Happy	Disappointed	Afraid	Excited	Ashamed	Embarrassed	Angry	Arrogant	Guilty	Sad	Proud	Surprise
CN1											1		
CN2			1										
CN3				1									
CN4											1		
CN5					1								
CN6					1								
CN7							1						
CN8								1					
CN9											1		
CN10			1										
CN11							1						
CN12											1		
CN13			1										
CN14							1						
CN15			1										
CN16										1			
CN17										1			
CN18										1			
CN19											1		
CN20										1			
CN21										1			
CN22				1									
CN23						1							
TOTAL			4	2		3	3	1		5	5		

The British FA responses

	How do you understand the word ASHAMED	Please give examples of how you would use the word ASHAMED
GB1	Being embarrassed about something, particular your own actions. A sense that what you have done is morally wrong.	He was ashamed when he admitted to having stolen from the shop.
GB2	to feel embarrassed about and to regret something you have done	She was ashamed of her actions. You should be ashamed of yourself
GB3	To be more than just embarrassed about something because it was morally wrong, not just embarrassing OR to be really upset, more than embarrassed about a situation or something/someone	I was ashamed of what I'd done. She was ashamed of her mother.
GB4	A person feels ashamed when they have done something really wrong, that they know is really wrong and may have hurt other people, and something which they really regret. On the other hand a person can feel ashamed of someone else, if that other person is guilty of such an act	"I am ashamed of you" "You should be ashamed"
GB5	wishing that you hadn't done something	I'm so ashamed that it happened
GB6	Ashamed is the feeling you get when you have done something terribly wrong that is not just wrong but not very nice either.	I would feel ashamed if I had stolen off somebody because it's an unkind thing to do
GB7	It is an embarrassing feeling that you do not want to be publically known	If you friend has committed a crime, they would feel ashamed to tell you
GB8	Ashamed is being embarrassed or disappointed in something, because it is something that can be considered 'bad' or 'negative'.	He was ashamed that he had left her there alone. My mother was ashamed that I cheated.
GB9	Similar to guilty, but more negative feelings, when you have done something wrong (or that you perceive to be wrong) but have been caught out in it, and are made to feel bad for something	I was ashamed to find out what happened last night
GB10	A feeling where you know you have done something wrong - realise it, and therefore feel bad	I'm ashamed of what I did.
GB11	When someone is unhappy about something they or someone else did	He was ashamed of his low mark
GB12	Feeling guilty and bad for an action committed.	I'm ashamed of you!
GB13	Feeling bad or guilty about some wrongdoing, particularly in front of other people	That man ought to be ashamed of himself. I am deeply ashamed to have to admit that I was negligent in this matter.

GB14	Ashamed is when you feel bad for doing something	"I'm so ashamed that I ate all of that chocolate!", "You should be ashamed of yourself!"
GB15	You are perhaps embarrassed and do not wish to own up to something that you have done/completed.	I am ashamed to tell you that it was me that stole your purse. I am ashamed of myself for how I acted last night.
GB16	Ashamed is when someone is ashamed for their actions.	I am ashamed that I ignored him.
GB17	to have resentful feelings towards someone or about something you have done	I am ashamed of you
GB18	A negative feeling of regret and remorse	I am ashamed of myself for not admitting my true thoughts
GB19	Embarrassed or regretful of a bad thing you might have done.	He was ashamed of himself for losing his temper.
GB20	Ashamed: To disapprove of your own past actions	She was ashamed of the way she treated him. Not: The ashamed girl, sound odd in this position
GB21	The feeling of regret after doing something embarrassing or for which you could be ridiculed.	"I felt so ashamed to admit how I felt"
GB22	When you feel embarrassed and regret doing something.	You should feel ashamed about what you did.

The Japanese FA responses

	How do you understand the word ASHAMED	Please give examples of how you would use the word ASHAMED
JP1	It's to be irritated. It makes me nervous	I was ashamed making a lot of mistakes.
JP2	To be laughed by people	What an ashamed thing to do such an idiot thing.
JP3	Ashamed is like someone's feeling?	I feel ashamed.
JP4	It is to be embarrassed and to be laughed by people	I was ashamed because I made a mistake in the presentation.
JP5	I feel it when I was laughing to someone, I do not know something important, or taking mistakes.	I will use this word when I talk to my friends or my parents that I took mistakes.
JP6	When you do something embarrassing, you would feel ashamed	They have to be ashamed because they belittled the opposition, and got beaten.
JP7	Making the same mistakes again is ashamed.	I repeated the same mistakes in class again and again
JP8	It is feeling that we want to avoid there	I was ashamed because I went into wrong

		classroom
JP9	I think ASHAMED is like EMBARRASED	sometimes I am so ashamed myself
JP10	It is the word to express the feeling of embarrasssness to do or to say or to behave in surtain way	I am ashamed to say such a thing.
JP11	The feeling when i feel embarrassed to myself or to what I've done	I made a huge and unbelievable mistake at my work. I'm ashamed myself so bad
JP12	It is feeling bad when i fail or make a mistake in front of people	When i made a mistake in class, i really felt ashamed
JP13	Is is storonger than the word, embarrassing. I would feel this sence, when I do something out of human dignity.	I didn't know what you did for me and I told you such a terrible words. I'm ashamed
JP14	Embarrassed	I couldn't do good presentation. It was ashamed.
JP15	I cannot be up my face.	I ASHAMED that I was late to arriving our office.
JP16	Feeling bad about myself or someone because me or they did wrong things or behaved badly	I ashamed of my father behaving badly to the waiter.
JP17	It describes a person who do not want someone know about her	Why did I do that? I am ashamed it.
JP18	Being embarrassed	I am ashamed of myself that I am still scared of bags.
JP19	be embarrassed, feel bad of about something	Phrase like "you should be ashamed of yourself" I use this when i make some mistake, forgetting something, or doing something bad.
JP20	To become shy with doing something wrong.	I was ashamed with the mistake.

The Chinese FA responses

	How do you understand the word ASHAMED	Please give examples of how you would use the word ASHAMED
CN1	Ashamed is a feeling that someone is in a embarrassing situation	Didn't you feel ashamed when he revealed what you had done?
CN2	A feeling of embarrassment	If there is one thing that I don't know but every other people knows, I feel ashamed
CN3	Ashamed is used to reprimand those who have done something wrong but don't feel regret.	You should be ashamed for what you have done to her!
CN4	Do something not appropriate in certain situation	I feel ashamed because I shout at my mom at birthday

CN5	Losing face, which means failure in some situations	When I fail my exam; when I have been betrayed by my most honest friend, I will feel ashamed.
CN6	Adjective. To describe a feeling of shame, abashment.	Tony felt shamed of his mistake. Shamed, John went to room silently
CN7	Ashamed means the feeling of embarrassment and guilty when doing something opposite to morality.	I am ashamed for my brother who cheated in his examination.
CN8	Ashamed means that you feel very embarrassing and awkward about something that you have done. These things are very easy but you do not do very well.	For example, when my teacher asks me to do something easy, but I do not finish it very well.
CN9	It means that someone feels embarrassed	The teacher scolded me and I felt ashamed.
CN10	The feeling that I have when I have done something wrong	I am ashamed for I've done a wrong thing
CN11	The sense of feeling embarrassed or inferiority, frequently knowing nothing what to do next	In an English class, I raised my hand to answer the teacher's questions. When my teacher picked me to answer, I forgot what to say. In this situation, I feel ashamed
CN12	I was caught by others when I am doing something bad	Once upon a time, I skipped the class, and then my head teacher found that
CN13	If someone says "I am ashamed of being your friend", I will be quite embarrassed. To me, it is a word embedded with negative connotation. The usual collocation of this word is "ashamed of".	I am ashamed of being your friend.
CN14	People do things which make them embarrassed	If someone cheated in the exam and was caught, I would say that he was shamed
CN15	Lose face	When I failed the exam, I felt ashamed.
CN16	Ashamed is a feeling after you do something immoral or embarrassing	I felt ashamed when my teacher criticized me
CN17	Embarrassed and losing face	It is ashamed to cheat others
CN18	Feeling disappointed at oneself who acted below his/her moral standards	I feel extremely ashamed
CN19	Feeling bad about something you have done and it does not make you look good	You should be ashamed for getting such a low score.
CN20	Somebody feel ashamed after doing a wrong thing and realize he has done it wrongly.	Peter feel ashamed for failing in the test.
CN21	Doing something that goes against the social morality	adultery

CN22	Somebody has done something awful and he regrets about doing that	He is ashamed of grabbing the toy from his younger brother.
CN23	Ashamed is the feeling that one has done something that is not integrated, nor appropriate in their eyes. Every person has self-respect. They feel ashamed when such self-respect has been challenged because they did something wrong themselves or they are in the situation that they witness some people have been deprived of self-respect. Ashamed can be strong and weak, but it annoys people.	I have to say, seeing old people dying in the train station because of cold makes me feel ashamed because no one is offering a helping hand. You should feel ashamed of yourself as a 24 year man with no income

The British CBA responses to the utterance: ‘I am ashamed because I did something bad’

GB	I want people to see how bad I feel	I want to undo what I did	Nothing happened	I know this feeling from when I was a child	What I did makes my family feel bad	This feeling goes away when I say to people how I feel	I feel responsible	I feel sick inside my body	This feeling is good for me	I don't want to look at people	I don't want people to see me	Only I feel this way
GB1		1					1	1			1	
GB2		1				1		1		1	1	
GB3	1						1			1	1	
GB4	1					1	1			1	1	
GB5		1					1	1		1	1	1
GB6		1					1		1		1	
GB7			1					1		1	1	
GB8		1				1	1	1		1		1
GB9		1		1			1	1		1	1	
GB10		1					1	1			1	
GB11	1						1	1		1		
GB12		1		1			1	1		1		
GB13		1					1	1		1	1	
GB14		1					1	1				1
GB15	1	1					1	1		1	1	
GB16		1					1	1			1	
GB17							1	1		1	1	
GB18		1					1	1				1
GB19	1	1					1	1				
GB20	1	1					1	1		1	1	
GB21		1		1			1	1		1	1	
GB22		1			1		1				1	1
TOTAL	6	19	1	3	1	3	20	18	1	14	16	5

The Japanese CBA responses to the utterance: ‘I am ashamed because I did something bad’

JP	I want people to see how bad I feel	I want to undo what I did	Nothing happened	I know this feeling from when I was a child	What I did makes my family feel bad	This feeling goes away when I say to people how I feel	I feel responsible	I feel sick inside my body	This feeling is good for me	I don't want to look at people	I don't want people to see me	Only I feel this way
JP1	1			1						1	1	
JP2					1			1		1	1	
JP3				1		1				1		1
JP4				1			1			1	1	
JP5							1			1	1	1
JP6	1	1								1	1	
JP7		1		1			1	1				
JP8				1			1			1	1	
JP9	1						1			1		1
JP10		1		1			1	1				
JP11		1			1		1	1				
JP12		1			1			1				
JP13		1					1	1		1	1	
JP14		1		1	1						1	
JP15		1					1			1	1	
JP16		1			1			1			1	
JP17		1			1					1	1	
JP18	1	1						1		1	1	1
JP19		1			1			1			1	
JP20	1					1		1				1
TOTAL	5	12	0	7	7	4	9	10	0	12	13	5

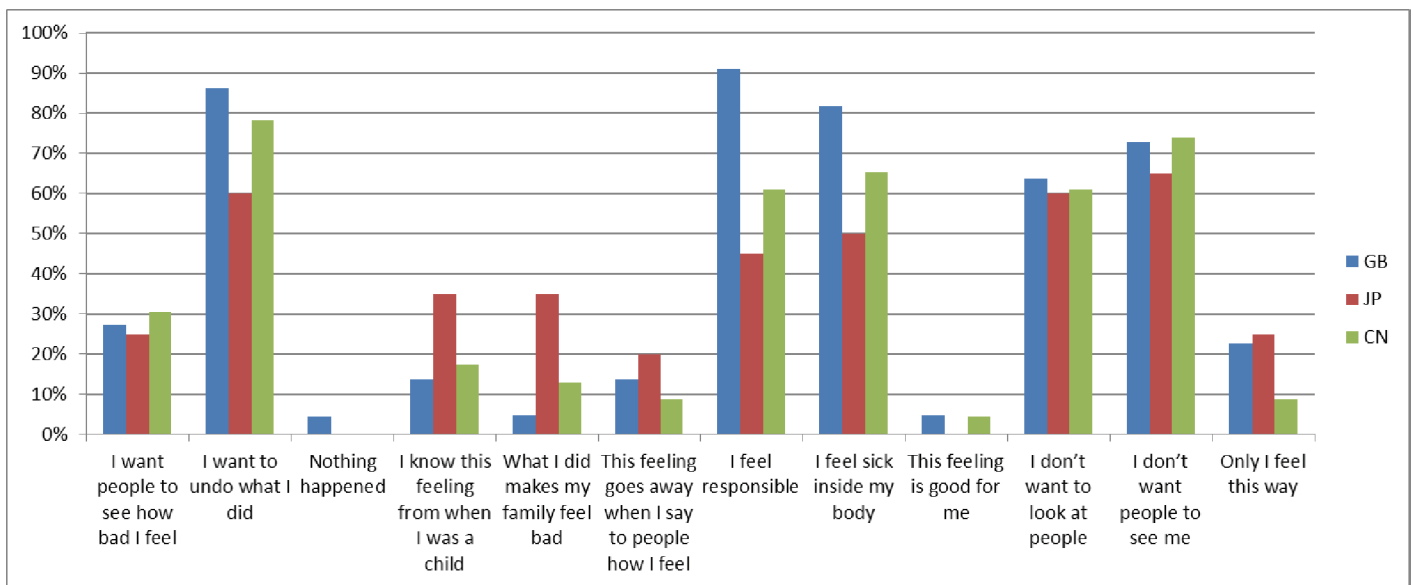
The Chinese CBA responses to the utterance: ‘I am ashamed because I did something bad’

CN	I want people to see how bad I feel	I want to undo what I did	Nothing happened	I know this feeling from when I was a child	What I did makes my family feel bad	This feeling goes away when I say to people how I feel	I feel responsible	I feel sick inside my body	This feeling is good for me	I don't want to look at people	I don't want people to see me	Only I feel this way
CN1		1						1		1	1	
CN2		1					1	1				1
CN3		1					1			1	1	
CN4	1						1	1		1		
CN5		1					1			1	1	
CN6	1	1					1				1	
CN7				1	1		1			1	1	
CN8		1			1		1	1		1	1	
CN9	1	1					1	1				
CN10	1	1								1	1	
CN11		1						1		1	1	
CN12		1		1			1				1	
CN13	1	1					1	1		1		
CN14		1					1	1				1
CN15		1						1		1	1	
CN16		1					1	1		1		
CN17	1							1			1	
CN18		1		1							1	1
CN19		1						1		1	1	
CN20	1	1					1	1				
CN21					1		1	1			1	
CN22							1	1		1	1	
CN23		1		1			1	1	1	1	1	
TOTAL	7	18	0	4	3	2	14	15	1	14	17	2


Overview of the CBA test responses for ashamed in percentages

	I want people to see how bad I feel	I want to undo what I did	Nothing happened	I know this feeling from when I was a child	What I did makes my family feel bad	This feeling goes away when I say to people how I feel	I feel responsible	I feel sick inside my body	This feeling is good for me	I don't want to look at people	I don't want people to see me	Only I feel this way
GB	27.27%	86.36%	4.55%	13.64%	4.55%	13.64%	90.91%	81.82%	4.55%	63.64%	72.73%	22.73%
JP	25%	60%	0%	35%	35%	20%	45%	50%	0%	60%	65%	25%
CN	30.43%	78.26%	0%	17.39%	13.04%	8.70%	60.87%	65.22%	4.33%	60.87%	73.91%	8.70%


Graph of the CBA test responses for ashamed




Appendix 4: Full Set of Responses for *Proud*
The British response for photograph no.3

	Happy	Disappointed	Afraid	Excited	Ashamed	Embarrassed	Angry	Arrogant	Guilty	Sad	Proud	Surprise
GB1	1											
GB2	1											
GB3	1											
GB4								1				
GB5	1											
GB6										1		
GB7	1											
GB8	1											
GB9	1											
GB10	1											
GB11	1											
GB12									1			
GB13	1											
GB14	1											
GB15	1											
GB16	1											
GB17	1											
GB18	1											
GB19	1											
GB20						1						
GB21	1											
GB22										1		
TOTAL	17					1		1	1		2	


The Japanese responses for photograph no. 3

	Happy	Disappointed	Afraid	Excited	Ashamed	Embarrassed	Angry	Arrogant	Guilty	Sad	Proud	Surprise
JP1											1	
JP2											1	
JP3											1	
JP4	1											
JP5	1											
JP6	1											
JP7	1											
JP8	1											
JP9											1	
JP10	1											
JP11											1	
JP12	1											
JP13											1	
JP14	1											
JP15											1	
JP16											1	
JP17											1	
JP18											1	
JP19	1											
JP20	1											
TOTAL	10										10	


The Chinese responses for photograph no. 3

		Happy	Disappointed	Afraid	Excited	Ashamed	Embarrassed	Angry	Arrogant	Guilty	Sad	Proud	Surprise
CN1		1											
CN2											1		
CN3		1											
CN4											1		
CN5											1		
CN6											1		
CN7											1		
CN8											1		
CN9		1											
CN10		1											
CN11		1											
CN12		1											
CN13											1		
CN14		1											
CN15		1											
CN16	1												
CN17		1											
CN18							1						
CN19											1		
CN20		1											
CN21		1											
CN22											1		
CN23		1											
Total		12					1					9	1


The British responses for photograph no. 12

	Happy	Disappointed	Afraid	Excited	Ashamed	Embarrassed	Angry	Arrogant	Guilty	Sad	Proud	Surprise
GB1								1				
GB2										1		
GB3	1											
GB4								1				
GB5								1				
GB6										1		
GB7										1		
GB8										1		
GB9										1		
GB10								1				
GB11								1				
GB12										1		
GB13								1				
GB14								1				
GB15										1		
GB16										1		
GB17								1				
GB18										1		
GB19										1		
GB20										1		
GB21								1				
GB22										1		
TOTAL								9			12	
												1

The Japanese responses for photograph no. 12

	Happy	Disappointed	Afraid	Excited	Ashamed	Embarrassed	Angry	Arrogant	Guilty	Sad	Proud	Surprise
JP1								1				
JP2								1				
JP3										1		
JP4								1				
JP5								1				
JP6								1				
JP7										1		
JP8								1				
JP9								1				
JP10								1				
JP11										1		
JP12										1		
JP13										1		
JP14								1				
JP15								1				
JP16										1		
JP17											1	
JP18										1		
JP19										1		
JP20										1		
TOTAL								10			9	1

The Chinese responses for photograph no.12

	Happy	Disappointed	Afraid	Excited	Ashamed	Embarrassed	Angry	Arrogant	Guilty	Sad	Proud	Surprise
CN1								1				
CN2								1				
CN3								1				
CN4								1				
CN5								1				
CN6								1				
CN7								1				
CN8								1				
CN9								1				
CN10								1				
CN11								1				
CN12								1				
CN13								1				
CN14								1				
CN15								1				
CN16										1		
CN17										1		
CN18										1		
CN19								1				
CN20								1				
CN21								1				
CN22								1				
CN23								1				
TOTAL								20			3	

The British FA responses

	How do you understand the word PROUD	Please give examples of how you would use the word PROUD
GB1	Pleased in oneself, pleased with someone else	I'm so proud of you for trying. He was proud that he'd achieved a first
GB2	to feel good about something you or someone else has done or accomplished. Or to not want to ask for help or support for fear of losing face	She was proud of her exam results. Her mother was too proud to ask for help
GB3	A positive thing that means you are pleased with an achievement/person who is connected to you, and the outcome of a scenario is as good as or better than you'd hoped. You have usually put some effort into the scenario or person in order to qualify to be proud. Or a negative quality that means you are stubborn and unable to accept something, usually help	I'm so proud of my friend, she just got came first in her race. He was too proud to admit he needed help.
GB4	A person can feel proud of themselves or someone else when they have achieved something they see as really good or noteworthy. Often has negative connotations, however, if someone is seen as too proud.	"I am so proud of you" "I was quite proud of my results in that exam" "Pride comes before a fall"
GB5	when someone close to you has done something amazing	my sister got into uni, I'm so proud
GB6	Someone is proud of someone else when they have achieved at something that sometimes outdoes their expectations and standards.	I was proud of my brother when he got a job promotion. I was proud of my mum for not getting upset when my dad had to leave the country.
GB7	Feeling extremely content of a certain outcome that you have worked hard for	Graduating from university with a First Degree
GB8	A feeling of intense happiness and elation for yourself or someone else, after an achievement etc	I'm so proud that Rachel gave it a go. He's so successful, I'm so proud.
GB9	When you feel good about your achievements and then about yourself/someone who is conceited and arrogant, and refuses to back down even when they know they're wrong	I am so proud I finished my essay on time He is too proud to admit that what he said was offensive
GB10	A feeling of being happy about something you have done, potentially even if it is unexpected.	He was proud of me. I am proud to watch my brother do that.
GB11	When someone is happy about something they or someone else has done that involved achievement	I am proud of my daughter's exam results
GB12	Being extremely happy with someone's achievements, usually someone you know well	You have made me very proud!

GB13	1. Feeling good about oneself or a member of one's close circle because of that person's achievements or merits. 2. A feeling of superiority over others, resulting in certain patterns of behaviour.	1. Peter had scarcely ever been so proud of Jane. 2. Of one thing she was now certain: Fitzwilliam, like so many proud men, was hiding, somewhere under his feigned diffidence, an insecure interior that verged on the childlike.
GB14	Proud is when you feel like someone (or yourself) did something well	"I'm so proud of her/myself!", "Do you feel proud that you didn't eat that chocolate?", "You should be proud of that work!"
GB15	You are very emotional pleased about something. You are very happy of someone/something.	I am a very proud of how you performed today. I am proud of how my cake turned out.
GB16	Proud is when an individual has a strong sense of achievement towards something or someone	I am so proud of my son. I am so proud of how far we have come.
GB17	to feel constantly pleased with someone or something you have done	I have never felt more proud of an essay before
GB18	A positive, overwhelming emotion felt when you/someone else has achieved something	I was proud of the way he handled the situation, I'm proud of myself for all my hard work
GB19	Feeling happy, or pleased about an achievement.	I was proud of myself for passing the exam.
GB20	To feel attached to someone or something which has proven to do or be good; so as to allow you to have positive feelings.	The mother was proud of her children. The proud mother stood smiling.
GB21	Being happy about an achievement, your own achievement or someone elses	"I passed my exams, I'm so proud" "I'm really proud of you for doing so well"
GB22	When you are happy about what yourself or someone has achieved.	I am so proud of my daughter with her exam results.

The Japanese FA responses

	How do you understand the word PROUD	Please give examples of how you would use the word PROUD
JP1	It's a good feeling. I use this word when I praise someone	I'm proud of my sister.
JP2	To have confidence about something	I was proud of myself to get a high score on the exam
JP3	I use this word when someone who I know well or love, achieve thier own goale	I am proud of you. You made it.
JP4	It's the felling that I respect a person	I am proud of my mother and want to be a person like her
JP5	It is honor, and it is very glad thing	I use this word when my parents were

		received some awards.
JP6	The feeling toward a person who has accomplished a difficult task.	I'm so proud of having won the first prize in the competition.
JP7	Accomplish something	When my dream come true
JP8	It is feeling that we want to save in order to keep self confidence	He is proud of his baseball life
JP9	I think PROUD means that you or someone have some great part of their characteristics.	I am very proud of you, your work was so great.
JP10	It is the word to express the confidence or honor to do something.	I'm proud to have a such big prize.
JP11	The feeling i feel when i satisfy and please myself, my family, friends or boss.(or when i achieve my goal)	I got the job offer and my mom is proud of me about that.
JP12	It is confident for myself	My teacher is proud of his skill
JP13	It is a base of my behavior. Based on this feeling I can study hard	My friend is proud of being a fire fighter when she was young
JP14	Feel good to tell someone about my successive story or my good point	I'm proud of you
JP15	It is most important to live To have confidence	I am proud of my friends, they are nice people.
JP16	For me, proud is good feeling toward myself after I achieved my goals or toward my friend or family doing good things.	I really proud of my sister. She made effort and passed the exam
JP17	A feeling of self-esteem.	I am proud of having good friends.
JP18	Being so happy, content and grateful with the event occurred to someone close to me	I am really proud of my student who got a full mark on the exam
JP19	Being satisfied, feeling happy	I think I used the word proud with phrases like " I am proud of you"
JP20	The confidence that he has good abilities and will not beaten about it.	I am proud of my dance.

The Chinese FA responses

	How do you understand the word PROUD	Please give examples of how you would use the word PROUD
CN1	Proud is a feeling when someone has achieved something wonderful through his endeavour which he wanted for a long time	The mother was really proud of her little boy who finally learned to walk
CN2	I own something big, but most people dont, I	I get a job in Deloitte, but most people failed

	feel proud.	the interview and don't get it. I feel proud
CN3	If someone always brag about his achievement, he is proud	He is an intelligent guy, but he is proud as well, and that's why he doesn't have many friends
CN4	Something I achieve through my hard work	I am proud of my previous work
CN5	Happy for myself	When I have been rewarded for my outstanding performance; when my younger sister succeeded in her college entrance examination
CN6	Adjective, a feeling of being content, respect and satisfaction	My parents are proud of my success. Every Chinese is proud of the successful application of Beijing Olympics.
CN7	Proud means the feeling that I or someone I care about finished something successfully	When my boss said that I have done a great job, I felt so proud of myself.
CN8	Proud means that you have some advantages and do something successful, then you feel proud about yourself	For example, me and my classmate apply for the same job, she failed but I passed, I will feel very proud.
CN9	It means that sb. is happy for his or her achievements and thanks that he or she deserves that.	I have been admitted into one of the best universities in China, and my parents are proud of me.
CN10	The feeling you have when you have done something great.	I am proud of being a Chinese
CN11	The appreciation of a person after the accomplishment of a tough task simply because of his aid.(positive) The feeling of superiority over other people.(negative)	I am proud of my mentor for teaching me so many practical skills in the process of job seeking
CN12	I achieve my objectives through my own efforts	I get my drive license in such a short time, i am really proud of it
CN13	It means taking pride in something. It is a positive adjective. The usual collocation of this word is "being proud of someone ,something or doing something	I am proud of being your daughter
CN14	A kind of feeling like happy, satisfied and confident. This kind of feeling would appear when you do things better than others	If I get full scores in the exam, I would say that I'm proud.
CN15	When I get some honour or make some achievements	My parents are proud of me when I won the champion of the competition
CN16	Proud means arrogant or a feeling for someone in honour.	Mom always says she feels proud of me

CN17	Admire and appreciate someone	Parents are often proud of their children's wonderful performance
CN18	A sense of honour	I am very proud of my country that has lasted for centuries. Everybody feels proud of our local culture.
CN19	The feeling that something really makes you moved and you want to share it with everybody.	JJ is so proud about his relationship with YH that he is not afraid to tell the world he is gay
CN20	Somebody is proud if another person meets or surpasses his expectation	Mom is proud that Jone got A in the test.
CN21	Feel so confidence about yourself and you can do anything if you really want to do it. Sometimes you identify you merits and sometimes you exaggerate them.	When I won the football game which I know I can achieve, I felt so proud of myself. If you win the football game and you think you can conquer any sports, you are exaggerating yourself.
CN22	A sense of satisfaction	I am really proud of my country.
CN23	Proud is the feeling that is positive and warm. It happens when one believes that he or she has done something right or great. They have served the benefit of an organization. Proud can also be the feeling of superior because one has something that they believe is better than others'.	Being a Chinese, I feel very proud when the athletes won the gold medals in the Olympic Games. I am proud that I am the only person in the company that can finish all the tasks in one day.

The British CBA Test Responses to the utterance: ‘I am proud of myself’

GB	I don't like myself	It is good to feel this way about myself	I did many things to feel this way	Other people think this is bad	I am good person	I believe in myself	I am better than other people	Other people think I am good	I want other people to see it	I feel good about myself	I always feel this way	It is okay to show that I feel this way
GB1		1				1				1		1
GB2		1				1				1		1
GB3		1	1			1				1		1
GB4		1			1	1			1	1		1
GB5		1				1				1		1
GB6		1				1				1		1
GB7		1			1	1			1	1		
GB8		1	1	1		1						1
GB9		1			1	1			1	1		1
GB10		1				1		1	1	1		
GB11		1				1			1	1		1
GB12		1	1	1		1			1	1		
GB13		1							1	1		1
GB14		1	1	1		1			1	1		1
GB15		1	1	1		1				1		1
GB16		1				1				1		1
GB17		1	1	1		1			1	1		
GB18		1			1	1				1		1
GB19		1	1	1		1			1	1		1
GB20		1			1	1				1		1
GB21		1	1	1	1	1				1		
GB22		1	1	1		1						1
TOTAL	0	22	9	1	7	20	0	1	10	20	0	17

The Japanese CBA Test Responses to the utterance: ‘I am proud of myself’

JP	I don't like myself	It is good to feel this way about myself	I did many things to feel this way	Other people think this is bad	I am good person	I believe in myself	I am better than other people	Other people think I am good	I want other people to see it	I feel good about myself	I always feel this way	It is okay to show that I feel this way
JP1		1	1			1				1		
JP2		1			1	1	1		1	1		
JP3		1				1			1	1		
JP4		1			1	1		1		1		
JP5		1	1			1				1		
JP6		1				1				1		
JP7		1	1			1				1		
JP8						1			1		1	1
JP9		1			1	1				1		
JP10		1				1		1		1		
JP11		1				1				1		1
JP12			1	1		1	1					
JP13		1	1			1				1		
JP14		1				1	1	1	1	1		
JP15		1	1			1		1		1	1	
JP16					1	1	1			1		
JP17		1	1			1				1		
JP18		1	1		1	1				1		1
JP19		1			1	1				1		
JP20		1	1		1			1		1		1
TOTAL	0	17	9	1	7	19	4	5	4	18	2	4

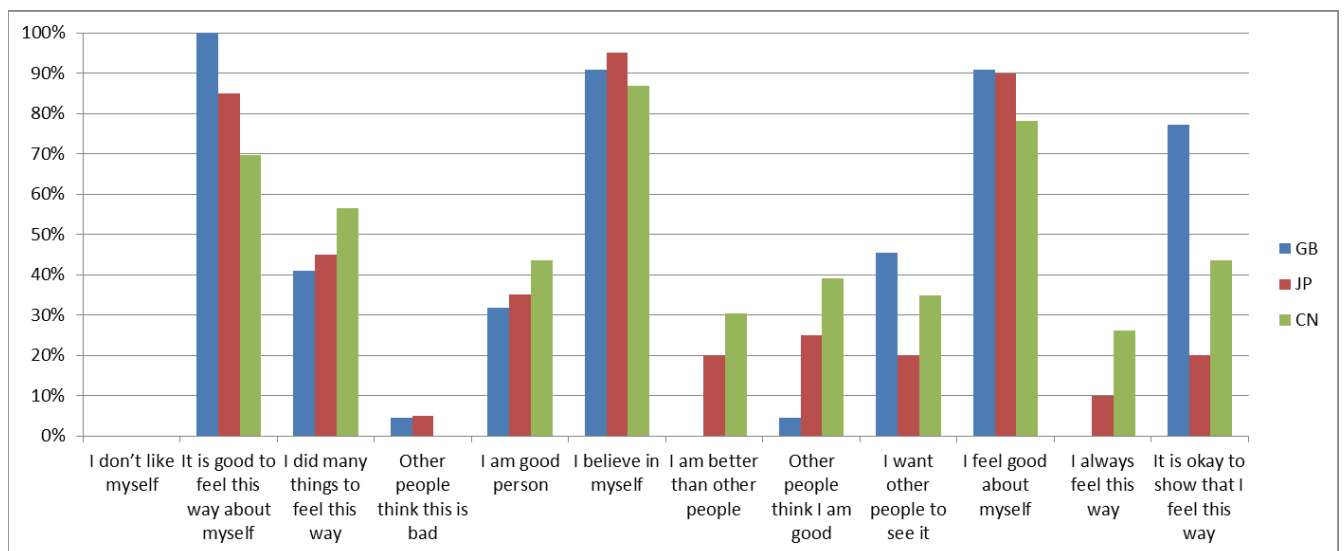
The Chinese CBA Test Responses to the utterance: ‘I am proud of myself’

CN	I don't like myself	It is good to feel this way about myself	I did many things to feel this way	Other people think this is bad	I am good person	I believe in myself	I am better than other people	Other people think I am good	I want other people to see it	I feel good about myself	I always feel this way	It is okay to show that I feel this way
CN1		1	1			1				1	1	1
CN2		1	1		1		1			1	1	
CN3		1				1			1	1		1
CN4		1	1			1		1	1			
CN5			1			1			1	1	1	
CN6		1				1		1		1		1
CN7		1	1		1	1		1	1	1	1	1
CN8			1		1	1	1			1		
CN9		1			1					1		1
CN10					1	1	1			1		
CN11		1	1			1	1			1		
CN12		1	1			1		1				
CN13		1	1			1		1	1	1		1
CN14		1			1	1	1			1		
CN15					1	1		1		1		
CN16		1				1	1				1	
CN17			1			1		1				1
CN18			1		1	1				1	1	1
CN19		1			1	1			1	1		
CN20		1							1	1		1
CN21		1	1		1	1			1	1		
CN22						1	1	1	1			1
CN23		1	1			1		1		1		
TOTAL	0	16	13	0	10	20	7	9	8	18	6	10

Overview of the CBA test responses in percentages

PROUD	I don't like myself	It is good to feel this way about myself	I did many things to feel this way	Other people think this is bad	I am good person	I believe in myself	I am better than other people	Other people think I am good	I want other people to see it	I feel good about myself	I always feel this way	It is okay to show that I feel this way
GB	0%	100%	40.91 %	4.55%	31.82 %	90.91 %	0%	4.55%	45.45 %	90.91 %	0%	77.27 %
JP	0%	85%	45%	5%	35%	95%	20%	25%	20%	90%	10%	20%
CN	0%	69.57 %	56.52 %	0%	43.48 %	86.96 %	30.43 %	39.13 %	34.78 %	78.26 %	26.09 %	43.48 %

Graph of the CBA test responses in percentages



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