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Karolina Krawczak

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## **Contrasting languages and cultures A multifactorial profile-based account of SHAME in English, Polish, and French**

Karolina Krawczak

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The present study investigates the concept of SHAME from a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural perspective. This concept, overarching the field of negative self-evaluative emotions, is operationalized through two lexical categories ('shame' and 'embarrassment') that are comparable in the languages under investigation. The usage of the adjectival exponents of these categories is analyzed in four communities of British English, American English, French and Polish. The study has two goals, one descriptive, the other methodological. Firstly, it aims to identify the conceptual structuring of the two lexical categories relative to their respective socio-cultural contexts. The result will be four sets of culture-sensitive usage profiles. Secondly, the study further advances corpus-driven quantitative methodology for the description of intersubjectively-grounded abstract concepts. The results obtained here provide partial evidence for the existence of a cultural continuum ranging from the Anglo-Saxon communities, through France to Poland along the descriptive dimension of individualism-collectivism.

**Working Papers Series**

# Contrasting languages and cultures

## A multifactorial profile-based account of SHAME in English, Polish, and French

Karolina Krawczak

février 2017

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### The text

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## Abstract

The present study investigates the concept of SHAME from a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural perspective. This concept, overarching the field of negative self-evaluative emotions, is operationalized through two lexical categories ('shame' and 'embarrassment') that are comparable in the languages under investigation. The usage of the adjectival exponents of these categories is analyzed in four communities of British English, American English, French and Polish. The study has two goals, one descriptive, the other methodological. Firstly, it aims to identify the conceptual structuring of the two lexical categories relative to their respective socio-cultural contexts. The result will be four sets of culture-sensitive usage profiles. Secondly, the study further advances corpus-driven quantitative methodology for the description of intersubjectively-grounded abstract concepts. The results obtained here provide partial evidence for the existence of a cultural continuum ranging from the Anglo-Saxon communities, through France to Poland along the descriptive dimension of individualism-collectivism.

## Keywords

Contrastive linguistics, cultural studies, negative social emotions, usage-based approach, multivariate statistics

## Etude contrastive et quantitative sur la conceptualisation de la HONTE en anglais, français et polonais

### Résumé

Cette étude porte sur le concept de la honte dans le langage et dans la culture d'un point de vu contrastif. Ce concept englobe le domaine des émotions auto-évaluatives et négatives. Il est rendu opératoire par l'analyse de deux catégories lexicales (HONTE et EMBARRAS) qui sont comparables dans les langues examinées. L'usage adjectival de ces catégories est analysé en quatre communautés linguistiques, l'anglais britannique, l'anglais américain, le français et le polonais. L'étude a deux objectifs, le premier descriptif et le deuxième méthodologique. Au plan descriptif, l'étude cherche à identifier la structure conceptuelle des deux catégories lexicales dans leurs contextes socio-culturels. Cette description nous donnerait quatre profils d'usage pour chaque culture. Au plan méthodologique, l'étude fait progresser les techniques corpus-driven et quantitatives pour la description des concepts abstraits, spécifiquement les concepts basés dans l'intersubjectivité. Les résultats obtenus fournissent les épreuves partielles pour un continuum de la dimension culturelle de l'individualisme-collectivisme qui mène des communautés anglo-saxonnes par celle de la France jusqu'à celle de la Pologne.

### Mots-clefs

linguistique contrastive, émotions auto-évaluatives négatives, linguistique de corpus, statistique multivariée

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## Introduction

Negative social emotions, also known as self-evaluative, self-conscious, self-regulatory or self-referential (Barret 2005; Beer and Keltner 2004; Lewis 1995, 2008, 2011; Zinck 2008), represent social constructs that are inherently inter-subjective and culture-dependent. The most general among them is shame, which can be regarded as “the central, integrative concept” (Kaufman 1996: 24) of the category. SHAME events necessarily integrate the experiencer’s internal-personal perspective on a given situation prone to instigate negative self-evaluation with the projected external-interpersonal interpretation of it. This inter-subjective sensitivity or awareness is a natural consequence of socialization and a necessary condition for the emergence of self-referentiality. Social emotions are, therefore, by definition, ingrained in a complex system of socio-cultural values defining the limits of social acceptability that should not be transgressed and the standards of desirability that should be aspired to and striven for. In that, negative self-conscious emotions serve as conventionalized “mechanisms of social control” (Creighton 1990: 291) preventing conduct that might lead to stigmatization or ostracism.

In light of this intrinsic socio-cultural anchoring of SHAME, it can be assumed that the conceptualization of this category will vary across different speech communities and the cultures to which they pertain. One of the descriptive dimensions that is commonly employed to capture the nature of this variation is constituted by the discursive constructs of individualism and collectivism (Triandis 1995, 2001; Oyserman *et al.* 2002; Oyserman & Lee 2008). Individualism is typically attributed to the Occidental world and is associated with higher degrees of independence, reliance on internal judgment and standards, and pursuit of personal goals (e.g., Triandis 2001: 909; cf. Triandis *et al.* 1988; Markus & Kitayama 1991). Collectivistic societies, on the other hand, are characterized by interdependence of in-group members, whose behavior is more likely to be guided by social norms than internalized principles, and whose personal goals are backgrounded by those of the in-group (*ibid.*). As opposed to individualists, collectively-oriented people also tend to exhibit considerably lower degrees of social heterogeneity and socio-geographical

mobility (Triandis 1995, 2001). With respect to negative social evaluation, it has been demonstrated that in collectivists, emotions such as shame are more likely to be experienced in the presence of others and as a result of public exposure, while for individualists no external stimulus is required (e.g., Markus and Kitayama 1991; Edelstein and Shaver 2007). Furthermore, given their interdependence relative to the in-group(s), collectivists may also be expected to be more susceptible to “vicarious” shame (Lickel *et al.* 2005), i.e., feeling self-conscious in response to the inappropriate behavior and attitudes of other in-group members. This might be linked to the extended definition of the self in such communities, as opposed to its narrower and self-reliant construal in individualistically-oriented societies.

Naturally, it should be borne in mind that these proposed prototypical distinctions between the two categories should be viewed as idealized rather than categorical and discrete. In reality, they cannot be mapped exactly on any single community. It is, therefore, more accurate to conceive of individualism and collectivism as two continua that can co-exist to varying extents within a given nation at different levels of social organization and which are likely to manifest contextual effects across individuals and groups alike. For example, even though North America has been identified as a country where an individualistic mindset clearly prevails over collectivistic attitudes, the balance is likely to shift at moments of national glory or crisis (Oyserman & Lee 2008: 312). In addition to situational conditioning, there are also other variables that affect the distribution of collectivistic and individualistic values, including education, prosperity, urban-rural settings, social heterogeneity, political views or religion.

The present study takes up the constructs of individualism and collectivism as explanatory tools to investigate the cross-linguistic and cross-cultural variation in the conceptualization of SHAME. The inquiry is based on four distinct communities of Northern America, Britain, France and Poland. The emotion category is operationalized through two of its adjectival exponents, i.e., *ashamed* and *embarrassed* in English and their equivalents in the two other languages. These near-synonymous lexemes were chosen as representative of the lexical categories ‘shame’ and ‘embarrassment’, referring to the two respective emotions of shame



and embarrassment. The former is understood as more grievous in terms of its causes and duration, rooted in morality, and possibly experienceable in solitude. The latter emotion, on the other hand, can be felicitously described as “shame before an audience” (Kaufman 1996: 23). Accordingly, even though much more public, ontologically, it is more ephemeral, inherently interactive and trivial, being typically linked to inconsequential things and situations.

In the context of the four communities under investigation and the two lexical categories, two sets of hypotheses are put forward, one concerning conceptual-lexical structure, the other focusing on the dimension of culture. With respect to the former level, it is expected that, regardless of the language-culture, ‘shame’ will be closely correlated with more serious causes that can be a reason for concern for extended periods of time and that do not require witnesses. The adjectives designating ‘embarrassment’, on the other hand, are expected to be used to describe minor gaffes experienced in front of other people. These behavioral tendencies are hypothesized to appear irrespective of the language.

With regard to the cultural structure, it is assumed that cross-cultural differences will emerge, which will correspond to and reflect differences in patterns of individualism and collectivism across the four societies. More precisely, it is hypothesized that a cultural continuum will emerge ranging from the Anglo-Saxon communities through France to Poland along the dimension of individualism-collectivism. More specifically, in the Anglo-Saxon world, whose members are relatively more independent, negative social emotions are more likely to be experienced as a result of one’s own actions and regardless of the presence of audience. In the comparatively more interdependent society of Poland, by contrast, negative self-evaluation and the resultant emotions, will also commonly arise due to other people’s deeds and in the presence of witnesses. Finally, in France, which is a Western community and yet, historically, predominantly Catholic, the conceptualization of SHAME is expected to be a combination of individualistic and collectivistic values. This assumption is based on two premises. On the one hand, France, similarly to Britain, has an imperial history and, consequently, represents a complex, heterogeneous society. On the other hand, the dominant religion of France, at

least historically, has been Catholicism, typically associated with collectivistic values (cf. Weber 1958, as cited in Inglehart & Oyserman 2004; cf. Oyserman et al. 2002). As a result, it is substantially more sedentary than the Anglo-Saxon communities.

These hypothesized tendencies and the expected resultant cline will be tested here with the use of a specific usage-based methodology, which combines close manual analysis of a large sample of observational data with multivariate statistical modeling. The applicability of this state-of-the-art corpus method to the description of social emotions has already been tested in Krawczak (2014a, 2014b, 2015), but it will be further refined here in the context of cross-linguistic and cross-cultural variation.

## Methodology

To test the above hypotheses and to identify the culture-specific construals of SHAME through the two lexical categories, the study employs the profile-based analysis, also known as configurational or multifactorial usage-feature analysis (Geeraerts *et al.* 1994; Gries 2003; Glynn 2009; Gries & Stefanowitsch 2006; Glynn & Fischer 2010; Glynn & Robinson 2014). The underlying assumption of this usage-based approach to language is that contextualized language use affords access to language structure, which, in turn, is a key to conceptual structure and, by extension, socio-cultural structuring. In other words, usage can provide an insight not only into how speakers talk about the selected aspects of reality, but also into how they understand and think about them. The goal is to reveal recurrent tendencies, frequency-based patterns, which is accomplished through generalization across many usage events.

The method of multifactorial usage-feature analysis involves two steps. Firstly, a large sample of corpus data, i.e., the contextualized occurrences of the investigated linguistic phenomenon, is submitted to meticulous manual annotation for a range of usage characteristics that may concern morpho-syntactic features as well as semantico-pragmatic or sociolinguistic traits. The choice of the variables for which the data are analyzed is determined by the specific research questions and their role should be to operationalize the problematic in such a way as to render it measurable and, hence, amenable to inquiry. The variables are informed by insight into the data as well

as relevant prior research within linguistics and other pertinent disciplines. The outcome of this detailed annotation is a complex multidimensional matrix of usage-features.

To identify regularities in such a complex meta-dataset, and to do so without losing their multidimensional character, it is necessary to employ multivariate statistical modeling. An important advantage that *multivariate* statistical modeling has to offer over other statistical techniques is the possibility to account *simultaneously* for the correlations and anti-correlations obtaining between all the explanatory variables, i.e., the variables that the data were annotated for and which are held critical to answering the specific research questions. This makes the method particularly adequate for any approach to language that treats the object of study as a multifaceted phenomenon. Two types of statistical methods can be used, one involving exploratory statistics, the other confirmatory techniques. Exploratory statistical methods, such as correspondence analysis or hierarchical cluster analysis, make possible the identification of usage patterns within the corpus sample a given study draws on. These patterns, which can also be thought of in terms of regularities or tendencies in language use, emerge on the basis of associations and disassociations of usage-features and can be indicative of an underlying structure in the data. The next step is to verify the descriptive accuracy of the patterns thus revealed beyond the sample. In other words, it is important to see whether the regularities are representative of language use in general, of speakers' linguistic behavior and the choices they make in communication. This can be achieved by means of confirmatory methods such as logistic regression analysis, which provides information regarding the statistical significance of the correlations and their descriptive accuracy as well as predictive strength. Put differently, confirmatory statistical modeling allows us to see whether the explanatory model of a given linguistic phenomenon that is built based upon our qualitative analysis can accurately explain and describe language use.

## Data and Analysis

The data for this study were extracted from the fiction components of the British National Corpus, the Corpus of Contemporary American English, the Polish National Corpus and

Frantext, spanning the period of 1900–2015. The choice of the source was determined by the relative comparability of this type of data as well as ease of access. Naturally, the data are only relatively comparable to the extent that the literary traditions of the four communities over the last 100 years can be held comparable. The concept of SHAME was here operationalized through the adjectival instantiations of the lexical categories of 'shame' and 'embarrassment', which may be held to be the most representative of the concept and the emotional experience thus designated. The lexemes provide indirect access to the concept. The data extracted from the corpora amount to over 660 examples and are summarized in Table 1:

**Table 1.** Data summary

	'embarrassment'	Occurrences	'shame'	Occurrences
French	embarrassé	96	honteux	115
Polish	zazniewany	82	zawstydzony	80
UK	embarrassed	72	ashamed	75
US	embarrassed	70	ashamed	73
Total		320		343

All the contextualized examples were manually analyzed for a range of usage-characteristics that, on the one hand, capture the essential contextual aspects of the emotion frame, while, on the other hand, also serve to operationalize the constructs of individualism and collectivism, as discussed in section 1. These explanatory variables and their respective features are listed in Table 2:



Table 2. Annotation schema

Explanatory variables	Levels
Cause	Bodily; Dubious Status; Failing others; Failing self; Inadequacy; Insecurity; Norm Violation: Politeness; Norm Violation: Decency; Norm Violation: Emotional Reaction; Status Loss: Financial; Status Loss: Unprestigious; Status Loss: Mistreatment
Temporal Scope of the Cause	Present; Past; General/Atemporal
Cause & Emotion Type	Internal-Individual; External-Individual; External-Shared
Audience	Present; Absent

Let us now explain the factors and illustrate them with specific examples from the corpus, starting with the cause of the emotion. With respect to the first type of cause, i.e., bodily sources of negative self-evaluation, it can have to do with appearance-looks, clothes or diseases and other physical conditions, as exemplified in sentences (1)-(3), respectively:

(1) *They knew why Vice always played shirts in pickup hoops – because he was **ashamed** of the scars that the belt had left on his back*

(2) *Elle était **embarrassée** de son sac à main beige et elle envia les toilettes fleuries de ses anciennes camarades de pensionnat.*

(3) *Leży na kanapie, wychudzona, **zażenowana** chorobą i słabością.*

(She is lying on the sofa, emaciated, embarrassed by her illness and weakness).

In example (1), negative self-evaluation is brought on by an inherent physical trait that the person carries on his body and wants to hide from others, as it is evidence of violence and aggression that he has fallen prey to. This example illustrates the etiological complexity of emotion categories, in general, and SHAME events, in particular, in that it shows how the specific stimulus engendering the emotional experience may itself be multifaceted. In (2), the protagonist is described as feeling embarrassed because of the handbag she is carrying, which she finds unappealing when compared to the outfits of others' and which gives her a sense of inferiority. Finally, sentence (3) illustrates yet another aspect of bodily causes of SHAME, i.e., physical weakness and

illness, which make one feel helpless, possibly useless, and which may also lead to the perception of oneself as a burden to others. Ideally, these various types of bodily causes should be treated separately, but due to data sparseness, they are combined in the present study.

The next cause of self-conscious emotions is linked to dubious status, which results from morally questionable actions and attitudes and is a reason for negative self-evaluation irrespective of whether it should be exposed or not. Examples of this type of cause are provided in (4) and (5) below:

(4) *And so the interrogation began, Deena saying, "I want to know everything" – another movie line? She held his entire memory in her hand, his secret history of the past year, and so, "Who is Rosie?" and "Tell me about Vickie." He was mute with embarrassment and anger. **Ashamed, appalled**, he could not account for the number of messages or explain his tone of flirtatious encouragement, his intimacies to strangers, all the irrelevant detail. ... He bowed his head, more to protect himself from her hitting him than in atonement.*

(5) *En retour, Nadia lui avait avoué pourquoi elle-même « collectionnait » les documents sur les camps nazis, pourquoi elle détenait tant de vidéos sur le sujet, pourquoi elle lisait tant de livres consacrés à la question. Elle avait avoué le passé **honteux** de son père, appris par hasard, en apercevant un jour, au fond du piano sur lequel elle avait joué durant toute son enfance, l'adresse d'une famille juive, rue des Archives, à Paris. Ce piano « confisqué » comme d'autres biens juifs par la Milice, avant le départ des Grynbaum pour Drancy, puis Auschwitz... Isy dut déployer des trésors d'éloquence pour persuader Nadia qu'elle devait cesser de se tourmenter.*

In example (4), the character experiences a blend of negative emotions of embarrassment, shame and anger as a result of the unexpected disclosure of the lies and dishonesty in which he has been living. In (5), shame is felt vicariously as a result of the atrocities committed by the experiencer's father, a former fascist. Even though, herself innocent, she is so strongly affected and feels so bad about her father's past that her friend finds it difficult to convince her to *stop tormenting herself*.

The next two types of causes likely to instigate shame emotions concern situations where the

experiencer is disappointed with him-/herself or has failed other people, especially family, friends or colleagues and work superiors, as illustrated in (6) and (7), respectively:

(6) *He knew I wanted this boat and he used it and he got me working for him, which I swore I would never do. I feel **ashamed** because I had a price. He named it. And now I know that about myself.*

(7) *Tous ses copains ? En fait, non : Arthur était là bien sûr, Binh également, mais ni Orhan ni Guillaume. Hector demanda quand ils allaient arriver. Arthur était **embarrassé** : ses parents avaient oublié d'appeler ceux d'Orhan et de Guillaume. Et maintenant il était trop tard.*

In (6), the experience of negative self-evaluation is due to the realization that a personal moral code has been contravened or even decimated, leaving the subject resigned to his new self-awareness. The emotional state is experienced privately and described through the lexeme *ashamed*, which, as pointed out in section 1, carries moral undertones. In (7), on the other hand, the basis of the SHAME event, here captured through the adjectival exponent of 'embarrassment', is failure to friends in a specific situation. The emotion is experienced publically, in front of an audience.

Examples (8) to (10) illustrate three different subtypes of the cause <Inadequacy>, the emergence of which, in the most prototypical cases, requires the presence of an audience:

(8) *Il gratta ses sourcils avec rage. La musique lui faisait peur et il était **embarrassé** de n'y rien comprendre. Il se réconforta en observant timidement que cette païenne faisait du bruit après tout et que les araignées aussi aimaient la musique.*

(9) *Ach, kwiaty! – zawołała – Niech pan tutaj złoży – wskazała na szklany stół. Położył kwiaty, **zawstydzony** ich mizerią. (Ah, flowers! – she exclaimed – Put them down over here – she pointed to the glass table. He put down the flowers, ashamed by their nondescriptness.)*

(10) *potknął się o stół i runął jak długi na posadzkę. Talerz rozbił się, a sos gulaszowy prysnął na buciki i pończochy jakiejś pani. Ogromnie **zawstydzony** zaczął wycierać buciki ściereczką. (he tripped over at the table and fell flat on the floor. The plate broke and the stew's gravy splashed onto the shoes and stockings of some*

lady. Greatly ashamed, he started wiping the shoes with a cloth).

The first example here is an instance of intellectual inadequacy, where the experiencer evaluates himself negatively in the context of not being able to appreciate the music that he is being exposed to. The short excerpt in (9), in turn, is an instance of social inadequacy, where the subject is ashamed because of the inappropriateness of the flowers he has brought. Finally, in (10), it is the subject's physical clumsiness and its consequences that result in the emotional experience. A common denominator of all these cases is their short-lived character and relative insignificance. No psychological aftereffects should be expected, nor should there be any serious social repercussions.

The next type of stimulus that may result in negative social emotions has to do with insecurities and can also be evaluated as relatively light. Similarly to the previous cause, in its typical form, the emergence of the emotion due to this conditioning factor should normally require an audience.

(11) *Enfin j'étais **embarrassé** devant certains de ses regards, de ses sourires. Ils pouvaient signifier moeurs faciles, mais aussi gâté un peu bête d'une jeune fille sémillante mais ayant un fond d'honnêteté.*

(12) *The girls looked a little less sulky and stared at the two townees. Willie was **embarrassed**. Zach, however, enjoyed the attention.*

(13) *Witaj, Koliénka. Chodź tutaj, nie bój się. Chciałabym cię obejrzeć. Zatrzymał się, **zażenowany**. Nie spodziewał się tej dziwnej, dwuznacznej sytuacji.*

(Welcome Koliénka. Come over here, don't be afraid. I wanted to look at you. He stopped, embarrassed. He wasn't expecting this weird and ambiguous situation).

As the examples above illustrate, this cause, in the most general terms, is related to other people's attention being directed at the subject, which puts him/her onstage in the given context and makes him/her feel uncomfortable. In (11), the subject feels embarrassment when confronted with the glances and smiles of a woman that he is probably secretly attracted to. A parallel illustration of a SHAME event, arising due to other people's positive attention, is provided in (12). In (13), on the other hand, the attention received by

the experiencer is much less positive. He is suddenly being waved to come by a strangely-behaved woman, who, apart from taking the boy aback by calling him, also verbalizes her wish to look at him more closely, thus augmenting the discomfort of the situation.

The next set of causes concerns three different forms of norm violations, i.e., breaching social norms that deal with emotional reactions (14), breaking politeness standards (15), and infringing upon principles that define decent conduct (16):

(14) *I'm surprised to see tears glisten in the girl's eyes and she quickly turns away, as though **ashamed** to reveal weakness. But in that vulnerable instant, before she hides her eyes, she brings to mind my own daughter, who was younger than this girl when I lost her. My eyes sting with tears, but I don't try to hide them.*

(15) *Harriet noticed her looking at the groceries and said cheerfully, 'I took one of those cordon bleu cookery courses. Useful. I couldn't boil an egg before.' A little **embarrassed** because it looked as though she had been prying, Meredith murmured, 'I'm not much of a cook.*

(16) *un jour, à la confession, madame expliquait son cas au curé et lui demandait si elle pouvait tricher avec son mari... -qu' est-ce que vous entendez par tricher, mon enfant ? ... fit le curé. -je ne sais pas au juste, mon père, répondit madame, **embarrassée** ... de certaines caresses... -de certaines caresses ! ... mais, mon enfant, vous n' ignorez pas que... certaines caresses... c' est un péché mortel...*

In example (14), the observer attributes negative self-evaluation to his interlocutor, based on some bodily symptoms, such as averting her head, and interprets the state as resulting from her public display of emotions, which might be taken as an indication of weakness. An instance of impoliteness resulting in the state of embarrassment is exemplified in (15), where the experiencer was caught unawares at a moment where she might be thought to be intruding into her interlocutor's private sphere. The last type of social norm violation concerning decency is illustrated in (16), where the experiencer feels embarrassed when discussing her sexuality during confession.

Finally, the last set of causes has to do with the loss of social status due to financial problems (17), mistreatment or rejection (18), and being

classified as socially inferior <Unprestigious> (19).

(17) - *Proszę wziąć te rękawiczki. Jakoś sobie dam radę. - Ależ, młody człowieku! Hm... Dam panu pięćset złotych. - Wie pan... przepraszam, że o tym mówię. Czuję się **zażenowany** ... Jakby upokorzony. Niech je pan weźmie... - Wiem, że one są warte więcej. Ale nie mam pieniędzy. Proszę. Wyjął z portfela pięćsetkę i wyciągnął w moim kierunku.*

(- Please take these gloves. I will manage. - But, young man! Hm... I'll give you 500 zlotys. - You know... I'm sorry I'm talking about it. I feel embarrassed... Kind of humiliated. Please take them ... - I know that they are worth more. But I don't have money. Here you are. He took out a 500 zlotys banknote and held it out for me).

(18) *I have never felt such rage for M -- even that day when she was drunk and hit me in front of that hateful boy Peter Gatesby. I can remember standing there with her slap on my cheek and feeling **ashamed**, outraged, shocked, everything... but sorry for her. I went and sat by her bed and held her hand and let her cry and forgave her and defended her with Daddy and Minny.*

(19) *After my plate has been cleared and my coffee refill refilled, I know it's time to go. I dread walking near them, **ashamed** of my loneliness. But I gather my things and saunter toward the cashier, deceptively oblivious of Oliver and his friends.*

In the short dialog in (17), the experience of embarrassment combined with that of humiliation arises because the experiencer has started discussing financial problems, which draws attention to his inferior economic situation. The example in (18) provides a very clear illustration of social status loss due to mistreatment. The person still remembers the moment when his mother slapped him in front of one of his peers. He also vividly remembers his emotional state, which was a mixture of shame, anger and shock, with a touch of compassion. The last example is a case of an unprestigious social status, here due to loneliness, which, in the experiencer's judgment, belittles him/her in front of the other people present who have a cheerful company.

Apart from the specific causes of the emotion, the data were also annotated for three other variables, which are directly relevant to the



hypotheses formulated in section 1. The first of these concerns the presence or absence of audience, as illustrated in (18) above and (20) below, respectively. The second factor concerns the type of cause and emotional experience, drawing a three-way distinction between emotions that are experienced directly due to either internal <Internal-Individual> or external <External-Individual> stimuli and those that are felt indirectly/second-handedly as a result of other people's behavior <External-Shared>, as exemplified in (19), (11) and (21), correspondingly. Finally, the last explanatory variable distinguishes contexts in which the emotion is experienced simultaneously with the event engendering it and is unlikely to extend much beyond this moment <Temporality – Present> (23), cases where the emotion is felt with respect to past misdeeds <Temporality – Past> (22), and situations where the stimulus is not describable in terms of temporality due to its general nature <Temporality – General> (24).

(20) *I had to admit, I did feel good for a moment or two psychologically speaking, but when I stood up to finish tidying my room I began to feel rather **ashamed**, even though no one had been here to see me or hear me. Wasn't it a touch hypocritical to pray to a god one didn't believe in?*

(21) *Perdita, however, was deeply **embarrassed** to see her mother arriving in unsuitably colourful clothes and dripping wet hair, like a superannuated hippie.*

(22) *Yarni was proud of what her husband had built, and she was equally **ashamed** of the blood money that funded it.*

(23) - *Darling, do come and eat some lunch. - I don't want any lunch. - I wish you'd tell me what's troubling you. - I just want to be left alone. It wouldn't be any good telling you. You'd never understand.... She saw again her mother's face, confused and dreadfully hurt. And was **ashamed**.*

(24) *I am a moral person. I am not **ashamed** of being moral.*

Once all the examples were manually annotated for the contextual usage-features discussed above, the data were submitted to multivariate statistical modeling in the form of exploratory (correspondence analysis) and confirmatory (logistic regression analysis) techniques. This was performed in order to reveal frequency-based patterns in the use of the adjectival exponents of the two lexical

categories across the four linguistic-cultural settings and, ultimately, to establish language- and culture-specific profiles of the conceptualization of SHAME events.

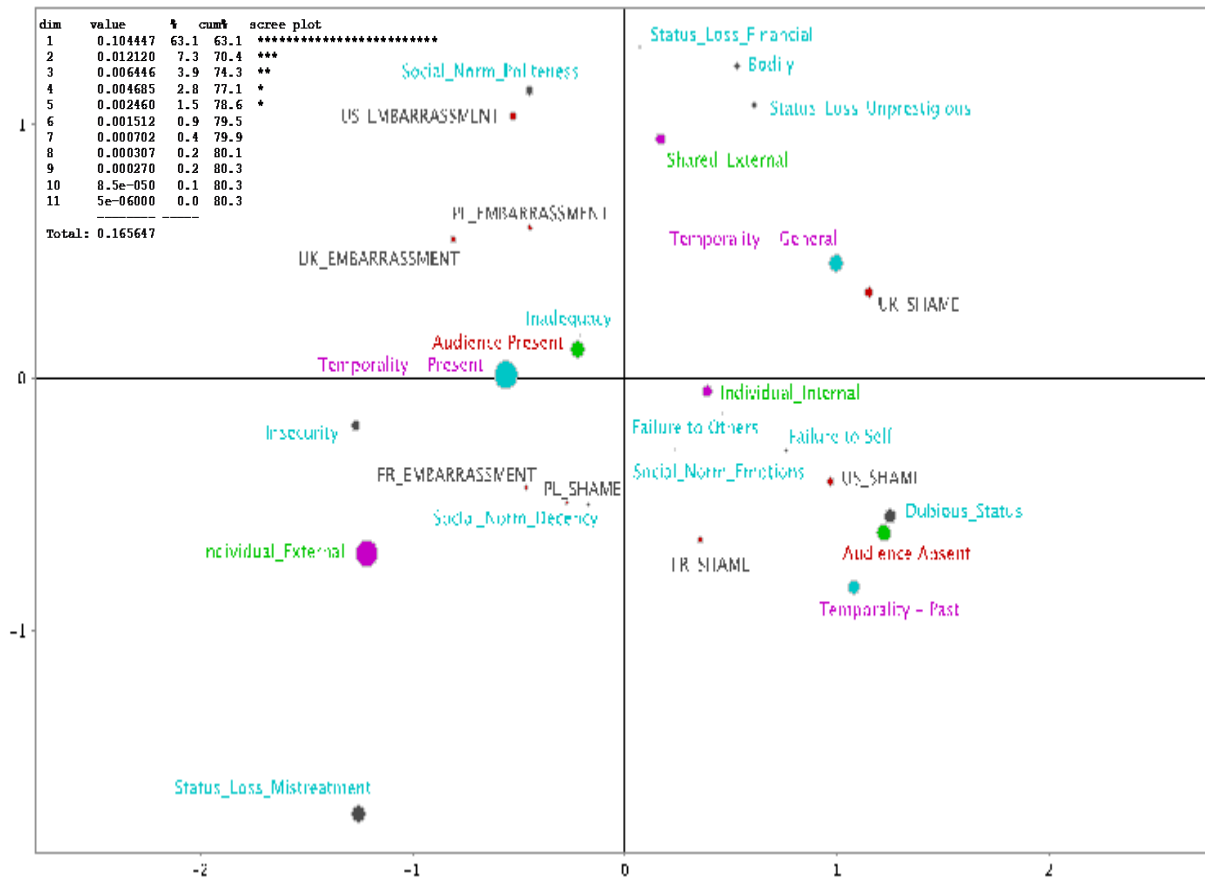
## Results

This section reports the results of the exploratory and confirmatory multivariate modeling of the data. We will firstly consider a multiple correspondence analysis visualization of the associations obtaining between the lexemes in the four communities with respect to the four explanatory variables. This will be followed by a one-dimensional correspondence analysis plot designed to represent the distribution of the data along the hypothesized cline of individualism-collectivism. Finally, to verify the descriptive accuracy of the usage-patterns thus revealed, we will turn to a confirmatory technique in the form of multinomial logistic regression analysis, which will allow us to see whether the results are predictively powerful.

### Exploratory results: Identifying usage patterns within the corpus

The bi-plot in Figure 1 is a multiple correspondence analysis, which is an exploratory statistical technique permitting the identification of usage-patterns in terms of associations of usage-features. It reduces a multidimensional space to just two dimensions in which the relative closeness of data-points is indicative of the degree of their correlation (Glynn 2014).

The size of the individual data points, in turn, represents their contribution to the structuring of the data (ibid.).



**Figure 1.** Multiple correspondence analysis (package: FactoMineR): Lexical Category & Language wrt. Cause, Audience, Cause–Emotion Type, and Temporality

From a coarse-grained perspective, we can see that the data do not form clear clusters structured by either the lexical category or language. The plot does, however, divide into two general halves, one attracting the occurrences of ‘embarrassment’ across the four communities as well as those of ‘shame’ in Polish, the other accommodating the adjectival uses of the latter category in French, British English, and American English. The close co-occurrence of ‘shame’ in Polish with the contextual cues otherwise associated with ‘embarrassment’ may be interpreted as an indication of how *zawstydzony* (‘ashamed’) in this community is used to describe less serious instances of the emotional experience. Let us now look more closely at the specific associations and the profiles that emerge in the plot.

Starting in the left-hand upper quadrant, we find a relatively tight-knit grouping of the adjectival exponents of ‘embarrassment’ in American English, British English, and Polish. A particularly close correlation can be observed between the adjective *embarrassed* in American English and causes designating violations of social norms related to politeness. The lexical category of ‘embarrassment’ in these communities

is also linked to three usage-characteristics that are shared with the usage profile of *embarrassé* in French and that of *zawstydzony* (‘ashamed’) in Polish, both located in the left-hand bottom quadrant. The characteristics in question are the present temporal scope of the cause <Temporality – Present>, the presence of audience <Audience – Present> and <Inadequacy> as a cause of negative self-evaluation. French observations of *embarrassé* and those of *zawstydzony* (‘ashamed’) in Polish are distinctly related to stimuli designating insecurities, indecent conduct and mistreatment as well as to the individual type of the emotion experienced as a result of external influences <Individual-External>. As evidenced by the size of the data-point, this last feature is particularly important in its contribution to the structuring of the data here. Similarly important in this regard is the present temporal scope of the cause, followed by the presence of audience, and the causes denoting status loss due to mistreatment and insecurity.

Clearly, all of the features in this half of the biplot are inherently grounded in the interactive situation in which the emotion arises, thus making the experience necessarily public. Most of the

causes can also be described as non-serious, with the exception of mistreatment, which, as should be noted, is a distinct association for ‘embarrassment’ in French and ‘shame’ in Polish, possibly shared with ‘shame’ in French, but is disassociated from the profile in the left-hand upper quadrant. Overall, the usage-features found in this half of the plot provide some support for the hypothesis formulated in section 1 with regard to the conceptual structuring of the lexical category ‘embarrassment’. The position of Polish ‘shame’ in this context was not expected, but it might be linked to the assumed collectivistic orientation of this community. Given their high level of interdependence, collectivists are more likely to experience negative self-evaluation as a result of revealed misdeeds, as these might jeopardize their in-group status and relations.

As we proceed to the right-hand bottom quadrant, we first find ‘shame’ in French and then slightly higher its equivalent in American English, positioned closer to the profile of ‘shame’ in British English, as situated in the right-hand upper quadrant. The contextual usage-features that are central to this ‘shame’ grouping across the two communities are the absence of audience, the past temporal scope of the cause of the emotion and dubious status as a factor stimulating the experience. Given their position, these three characteristics can be described as distinctly correlated with French and American English uses of the adjectives designating ‘shame’ and can be argued to be disassociated from the left-hand half of the plot. Usage-features that are less salient in their association and that are shared, to a greater or lesser extent, with the left-hand bottom quadrant and the right-hand upper quadrant are the causes linked to inappropriate emotional reaction <Social Norm – Emotions>, failing others, whether family or friends <Failure to Others>, and being disappointed in oneself <Failure to Self>. Finally, the feature <Individual – Internal>, which identifies the emotion as concerning the experiencer him-/herself and as resulting from his/her own actions or properties, adds a relatively important contribution to the structuring of the data in this half of the plot. Being located at the x-axis, it is clearly associated with ‘shame’ in French as well as in the two Anglo-Saxon communities. These findings – relating the usage of ‘shame’ adjectives in French and American English to the absence of audience, to causes that are located in the past and that still affect the

experiencer negatively, as well as to the specific cause of dubious status – all correspond to the hypothesis postulated in section 1 with respect to the semasiological-onomasiological structuring of the two lexical categories. In these communities, the category of ‘shame’ can, indeed, be held to represent those instances of usage where more grievous and, at the same time, private experiences within the emotion frame are described.

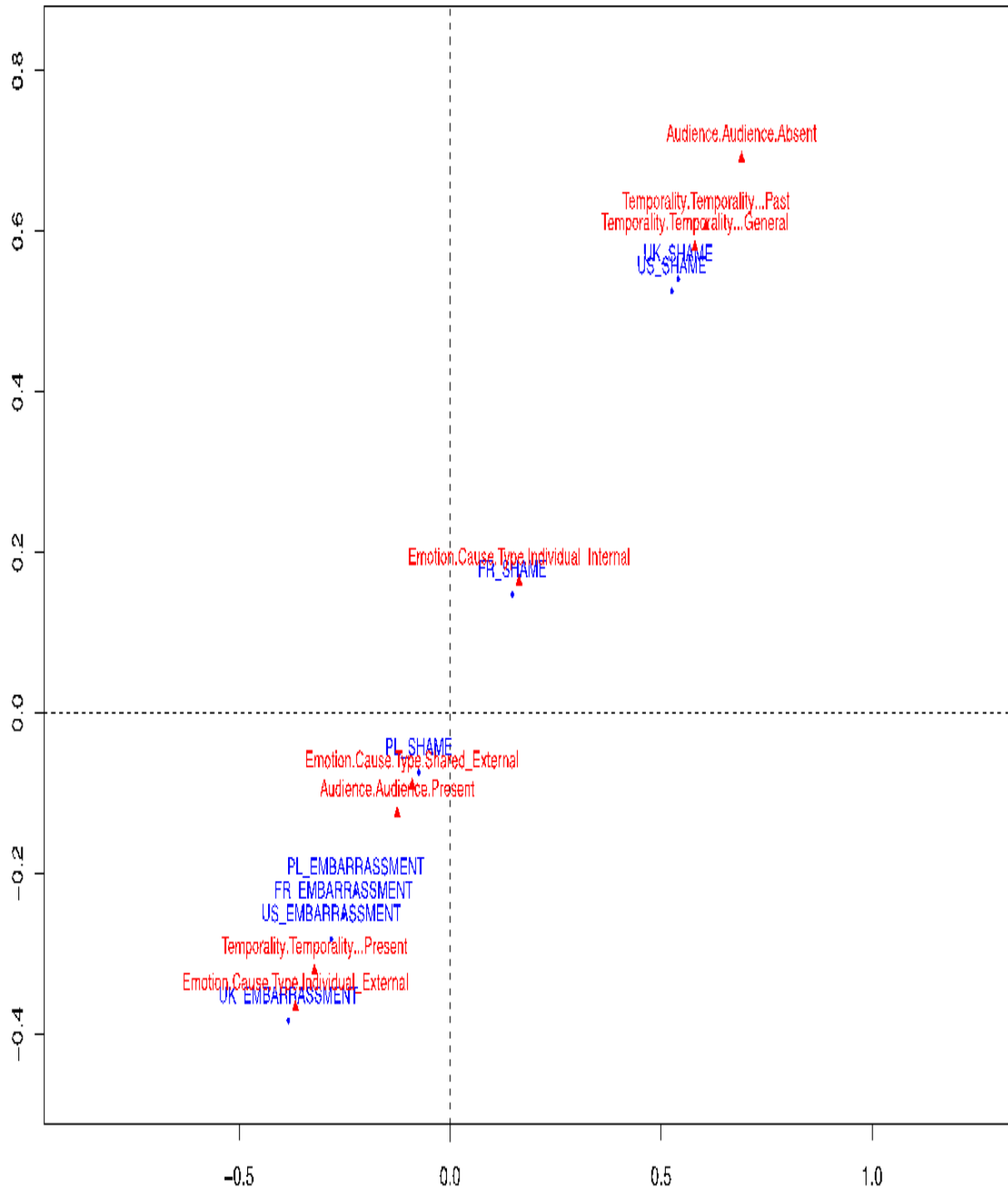
Turning now to the right-hand upper quadrant, we see the usage tendencies revealed for SHAME in British English. In addition to the already mentioned individual-internal type of the emotional experience and its cause, the use of *ashamed* in this linguistic context also correlates closely with causes whose temporal scope can be described as general <Temporality – General>. Such atemporal stimuli resulting in negative self-evaluation are indisputably more serious in nature as they may well result in a permanent state of shame. This distinct association further supports our hypothesis regarding the Anglo-Saxon conceptualization of the category. Another usage-feature that contributes considerably to how the data are distributed is that of <Shared-External>, which designates stimuli coming from the outside world and leading to a secondhand or indirect experience of shame. This data-point is positioned close to the y-axis, which may suggest that it is also linked to the use of ‘embarrassment’, especially in American English and, possibly, Polish. This correlation was not predicted for either of the Anglo-Saxon communities and its presence here goes against one of the assumptions regarding the expected cultural cline. Among the causes that emerge here as related to ‘shame’ in British English, we find unprestigious social status, bodily issues and financial problems. The location of this last usage-feature, which is adjacent to the y-axis, shows that it is also associated with the left-hand upper quadrant cluster for ‘embarrassment’, particularly with the adjectival instantiations of this lexical category in American English. It can, therefore, be interpreted to be attracted in usage to both British English occurrences of *ashamed* and American English observations of *embarrassed*.

Finally, on the basis of the scree-plot provided in the left-hand upper quadrant of the plot, we can see that in the two visualized dimensions, we account for slightly over 70% of the variation in the data. Given the complexity of the analysis,



this is a reasonably good result. However, most of the inertia (63,1%) is explained along the  $x$ -axis, which, in turn, might be interpreted to mean that this multifactorial space of interactions is, in fact, structured along a single dimension. The question that should be posed here is whether this single dimension corresponds to the postulated continuum of individualism-collectivism and whether it reflects the proposed differences between the two lexical categories.

To find an answer to this question, we will now turn to a one-dimensional correspondence analysis visualization of the correlations obtaining between the two lexical categories in the four communities relative to the three explanatory variables which are directly relevant to both the cultural and lexical hypotheses, i.e., the presence of audience, the temporal scope of the cause and the type of the emotion-cause. This analysis is presented in Figure 2.



**Figure 2.** One-dimensional correspondence analysis (package: ca)  
Lexical Category & Language wrt. Cause, Audience, Cause-Emotion Type, and Temporality

The results obtained in Figure 2 clearly demonstrate that the data are structured along a clear cline. It starts at the left-hand bottom corner with a coherent cluster for ‘embarrassment’, proceeding from American and British English through French to Polish. This grouping is clearly related to the present temporal scope of the cause originating outside the experiencer and affecting him-/her directly. These correlations are consistent with the interactive character of ‘embarrassment’ that was hypothesized in section 1. Further up in the plot, and still within the scope of ‘embarrassment’, we find ‘shame’ in Polish, associated with the presence of audience and with external causes of the emotion experienced second-handedly as a result of other people’s conduct or attitudes. This finding, corresponding to what we have seen in Figure 1, implies that, in Polish, the lexical categories of ‘embarrassment’ and ‘shame’, as realized by their respective adjectives, overlap in usage, both occurring with contextual cues typically reserved for the former category.

As we proceed to the right-hand upper quadrant, we first see ‘shame’ in French, which appears to be simultaneously attracted to the more interactive usage context of ‘shame’ in Polish and to that of the Anglo-Saxon profile for this lexical category. Its only distinct association is that with the individual type of the emotion caused by the experiencer’s internal faults. This reflects what we have seen in Figure 1. Finally, the cline revealed in the plot finishes with a cluster for ‘shame’ in British and American English that is closely correlated with the absence of audience and causes that either pertain to the past or that are atemporal. All these characteristics can be considered prototypically representative of the emotional experience designated by ‘shame’, while also pointing to the more private and serious character of events denoted by *ashamed* in the two Anglo-Saxon communities.

Overall, the exploratory results provide only partial evidence to support the hypotheses formulated in section 1 with regard to the lexical and cultural structuring of the concept of SHAME. With respect to the former dimension, it is evident that, in line with our hypothesis, ‘embarrassment’ indeed emerges as directly linked to the interactive context. This is observed regardless of the language. The category of ‘shame’, however, is more varied across the four communities. While its Anglo-Saxon usage-profile can be said

to be linked to the patterns proposed in section 1, the regularities observed for Polish and, to a lesser extent, for French, diverge from the private and grievous picture of ‘shame’ that was expected. With reference to the hypothesis concerning the cross-cultural structuring of SHAME, we see some possible reflection of the collectivistic-individualistic values in the usage tendencies of the lexical category of ‘shame’ across the four communities, but much less so for ‘embarrassment’. Among the patterns that can be argued to correspond to the postulated continuum ranging from Poland through France to the Anglo-Saxon communities, we find the audience-independent image of ‘shame’ in the latter group and its intrinsically situational profile in Polish, with the usage tendencies of this category in French being indeed in between the two other cultural contexts. Let us now turn to the confirmatory method of logistic regression analysis to see whether the patterns we have identified here are also statistically significant and whether they can be generalized beyond the sample to make predictive statements about how the adjectival exponents of the two lexical categories are used in the communities.

### Confirmatory results: Predicting speaker behavior beyond the corpus

This section presents the results of a multinomial logistic regression analysis, which is a confirmatory statistical technique that allows us to model the use of a multi-level phenomenon in a complex multifactorial space. Table 3 provides the statistically significant positive and negative correlations between the two lexical categories across the four linguistic-cultural contexts and the three explanatory variables that are critical to the two sets of hypotheses concerning the lexical-conceptual and cultural dimensions. The first column lists the levels of the explanatory/independent variables (predictors) that were found to be statistically significant in this logistic regression analysis model. The next eight columns, each relative to a different level of the explained variable, list the effect sizes of the statistically significant associations and disassociations between a given predictor and a given level of the response variable. The model was checked for multicollinearity and the maximum variance inflation factor obtained was at 1.68, which may be taken as a

clear indication of the model's orthogonality. Let us now review the specific results starting with French.

In French, the lexical category 'embarrassment', as instantiated by the adjective *embarrassé*, is distinctly associated with the presence of audience relative to the usage of both lexical categories across all the languages. It is also linked to the individual type of the emotion felt as a result of the experiencer's own actions, which is a correlation identified with respect to the use of the

adjectives realizing 'embarrassment' in Polish and British English. Finally, *embarrassé* is also linked to the present temporal scope of the stimulus when its usage is compared to that of *honteux*, on the one hand, and UK and US *ashamed*, on the other. Interestingly, this correlation is not revealed relative to 'shame' in Polish, nor is it identified vis-à-vis 'embarrassment' in the other languages. Overall, all these associations are indicative of the strongly interactive character of the usage-profile of this adjectival exponent of 'embarrassment'.

**Table 3.** Results of multinomial logistic regression analysis (package: Mlogit)  
Language & Lexical Category ~ Audience + Cause & Emotion Type + Temporal Scope of the Cause

Explanatory Variables	Effect sizes of the observed correlations relative to the respective reference level of the explained variable							
	R.L: FR EMB	R.L: FR SHM	R.L: PL EMB	R.L: PL SHM	R.L: UK EMB	R.L: UK SHM	R.L: US EMB	R.L: US SHM
<b>Audience – Present</b>	FR SHM -2.46** PL EMB -1.73* PL SHM -2.05** UK SHM -2.34** US EMB -1.43. US SHM -2.69***	FR EMB 2.46** UK EMB 1.94* US EMB 1.03.	FR EMB 1.73* UK EMB -0.96* PL SHM 0.88* UK SHM 1.66** US EMB 1.04* US SHM 0.77.	FR EMB 2.05** UK EMB 1.53. PL SHM 0.88* UK SHM 1.54* US EMB 0.92*	FR SHM -1.94* PL SHM -1.53. UK SHM -1.83* US SHM -2.18**	FR EMB 2.35** UK EMB 1.83* US EMB 0.92.	FR EMB 1.43. FR SHM -1.03. UK SHM -0.92. US SHM -1.27*	FR EMB 2.69*** PL EMB 0.96* UK EMB 2.18** US EMB 1.27*
<b>Cause/Emotion – Internal-Individual</b>	PL EMB -0.93* UK EMB -0.80*	PL EMB -1.06** UK EMB -0.94*	FR EMB 0.93* FR SHM 1.06** PL SHM 0.88* UK SHM 1.66** US EMB 1.04* US SHM 0.77.	PL EMB -0.88* UK EMB -1.16*	FR EMB 0.80* FR SHM 0.94* PL SHM 0.75. UK SHM 1.54* US EMB 0.92*	PL EMB -1.66** UK EMB -1.37.	PL EMB -1.04* UK EMB -0.92*	PL EMB -0.77.
<b>Cause/Emotion – External-Shared</b>	---	---	---	UK SHM 1.56* US EMB 1.08.	---	PL SHM -1.56* US SHM -1.61*	PL SHM -1.08. US SHM -1.14.	UK SHM 1.61* US EMB 1.14.
<b>Temporality – Present</b>	FR SHM -0.85* UK SHM -2.30*** US SHM -1.99***	FR EMB 0.85* UK EMB 0.87. UK SHM -1.45*** US EMB 1.07* US SHM -1.14**	UK SHM -1.89*** US SHM -1.58***	UK SHM -2.02*** US SHM -1.71***	FR SHM -0.87. UK SHM -2.32*** US SHM -2.01***	FR EMB 2.30*** FR SHM 1.45*** PL EMB 1.89*** PL SHM 2.02*** UK EMB 2.32*** US EMB 2.52***	FR SHM -1.07* UK SHM -2.52*** US SHM -2.21***	FR EMB 1.99*** FR SHM 1.14** PL EMB 1.58*** PL SHM 1.71*** UK EMB 2.01*** US EMB 2.21***
<b>Model Statistics</b>								
<b>C statistic:</b>	<b>0.62</b>	<b>0.59</b>	<b>0.65</b>	<b>0.59</b>	<b>0.68</b>	<b>0.76</b>	<b>0.67</b>	<b>0.74</b>

Signif. codes: 0 '\*\*\*' 0.001 '\*\*' 0.01 '\*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

Turning now to the associations established for *honteux*, we find that when juxtaposed with ‘embarrassment’ in Polish and British English, French ‘shame’, as instantiated by the adjective, is correlated with the internal-individual type of the emotion. The same feature was related to the use of *embarrassé*, which might suggest that in this community, negative self-evaluation generally tends to be experienced first-handedly and as a result of one’s own faults. When contrasted with ‘embarrassment’ in Polish and British English, the lexical category of ‘shame’ in French is also disassociated from the presence of audience. This, as should be noted, is in line with the construal of shame as the more private of the two emotions. The third feature that figures prominently in the emergent usage profile of *honteux* is the present temporal scope of the stimulus. It constitutes a negative correlation when the adjective is compared to the use of *embarrassé* and embarrassed in British and American English. However, relative to ‘shame’ in both Anglo-Saxon communities, ‘shame’ in French is positively correlated with the here-and-now of the interactive situation. This can be taken to mean that it is comparatively more public, being directly grounded in the situational context.

Let us now turn to the emergent profile of the two lexical categories in Polish, beginning with ‘embarrassment’. Its most salient characteristic is its disassociation from the individual-internal type of the emotion, which is true with respect to ‘shame’ across all the languages and with regard to ‘embarrassment’ in all the linguistic settings except British English. This entails that *zażenowany* (‘embarrassed’) is used to refer to events that are caused by external factors. It does not, nonetheless, tell us anything about whether the adjective is more likely to be observed in instances of direct or indirect emotional experience. This information would be important to see whether this allegedly most collectivistic community is more likely to express negative self-evaluation in response to other people’s transgressions. In accordance with our hypothesis regarding the semasiological-onomasiological structure, ‘embarrassment’ in Polish is associated with the present temporal scope of the stimulus, thus being directly linked to the immediate interactive context. This correlation emerges with respect to ‘shame’ in British and American English. Finally, in line with what we could expect, *zażenowany* (‘embarrassed’) is also linked to the presence of

audience when its usage is considered against the backdrop of *ashamed* in British English. Interestingly, however, it is disassociated from this feature relative to ‘embarrassment’ in French. This would suggest that the adjective instantiating ‘embarrassment’ in Polish is used to refer to situations that are less interactively engaged than is the case in French, which is a finding that goes against our expectations concerning the two cultures and their mutual relation.

The usage profile of Polish ‘shame’ that is revealed in the model also diverges to some extent from what was postulated. On the one hand, relative to ‘shame’ in both British English and American English, the adjective realizing the lexical category in Polish emerges as related to the present temporal scope of the cause. This confirms the tendency we have seen in the correspondence analysis plots and it shows that, in Polish, the category is more readily associated with the here-and-now of the interpersonal context. On the other hand, however, *zawstydzony* (‘ashamed’) is disassociated from the shared-external type of the emotion when compared to UK *ashamed* and US *embarrassed*. This clearly demonstrates that, contrary to our assumptions, negative self-evaluation in this arguably collectivistic and interdependent community is not significantly correlated with the indirect experience of the emotion as a result of the wrongdoings of in-group members. What is more, this negative correlation is revealed relative to the two communities which are held to represent strongly individualistic values. Next, when juxtaposed with the adjectival exponents of ‘embarrassment’ in British English and Polish, *zawstydzony* (‘ashamed’) correlates with contexts where the emotion is experienced personally and directly, following the subject’s own faults. Finally, in relation to the lexical category of ‘embarrassment’ in French and British English, ‘shame’ in Polish in its adjectival uses is disassociated from the presence of audience. This result does not come as a surprise and can be regarded as consonant with the general understanding of the two emotions propounded in cognitive psychology.

The lexical category of ‘embarrassment’ in British English, when compared with the behavioral tendencies of ‘shame’ across the four communities, is associated with the presence of audience. Yet, vis-à-vis *zażenowany* (‘embarrassed’) in Polish, UK embarrassed is disassociated from this feature, which implies that in the relatively more



collectivistic community of Poland, this lexical category, as realized through the adjective, is more public in its profiling than is the case in Britain. Next, in relation to 'shame' in French, British English, and American English, the present temporal scope of the cause is foregrounded as a significant contextual characteristic linked to 'embarrassment' in British English. This is congruent with the hypothesis regarding the general differences between 'shame' and 'embarrassment'. Finally, we also find that *embarrassed* in this community is disassociated from the internal-individual type of the emotion when it is contrasted with the usage tendencies of 'shame' in British English and Polish and with those of 'embarrassment' in French and American English. Overall, the behavioral profile of embarrassed in British English that is revealed here emerges as inhering in the interactive context, especially when compared to 'shame'.

Now, when considering the correlations observed for *ashamed* in British English, we can see that its profile is considerably less situational and more private than that of *embarrassed* discussed in the preceding paragraph. This is in accordance with the hypothesis regarding the lexical-conceptual structure. Accordingly, relative to the lexical category of 'embarrassment' in French, British English and American English, *ashamed* is here disassociated from the presence of audience. Likewise, vis-à-vis the usage profiles of 'embarrassment' in all the communities and those of 'shame' in all except the US context, 'shame' in British English is characterized by disassociation from the here-and-now of an intersubjective situation. With respect to the type of the emotion and the stimulus giving rise to it, we find that, when compared to the usage tendencies of 'embarrassment' in Polish and British English, it is linked to the internal-individual type of the emotional experience. However, when juxtaposed with 'shame' in Polish and American English, it is related to the external-shared type of the emotion, a feature that, as already mentioned in the discussion of the exploratory results obtained in Figure 1, was not expected in the context of the more individualistic communities.

Let us finally turn to the American community, commonly assumed to be the most prototypical representative of individualism. Similarly to what we observed for *embarrassed* in British English, here too, the lexical category of 'embarrassment'

is found to be associated with the presence of audience, relative to 'shame' in French, British English and American English, while simultaneously being disassociated from it with respect to 'embarrassment' in French. To complete this interactive profile of US *embarrassed* that emerges here, we also find that it is used to describe emotional experiences that are anchored in the here-and-now of the immediate interpersonal context. This feature is identified in relation to French, British and American 'shame'. Unlike its British equivalent, *embarrassed* in American English is positively correlated with the internal-individual type of the emotion, an association that comes to the fore when the usage of this adjective is compared to the lexical instantiations of 'embarrassment' in Polish and British English. Contrary to our expectations and the hypothesis put forward in section 1, the category is also linked to the vicarious experience of the emotion, a correlation that was also observed for UK *ashamed*. This suggests that in both communities, assumed to be considerably higher on the scale of individualism and independence or autonomous construal of the self, negative social emotions, whether designated by 'embarrassment' (US) or 'shame' (UK), are experienced in connection to other people's actions. This is an interesting finding which calls for further investigation.

Finally, the usage profile of the lexical category 'shame' in American English that emerges in the model corresponds fully to the hypothesized tendencies ascribed to it in section 1. Firstly, similarly to its equivalent in British English it is disassociated from the presence of audience and from the present temporal scope of the stimulus. These characteristics are found relative to 'embarrassment' in French, British English and American English, in the former case, and with respect to *ashamed* in British English for the latter negative correlation. Secondly, it is also disassociated from the indirect type of the emotion, experienced in relation to other people's misdeeds, which is observed when we compare the use of this adjective to that of UK *ashamed* and US *embarrassed*. The last significant association revealed in the model is a positive correlation with the first-hand experience of shame initiated by the subject's own violations. These behavioral tendencies indicate that 'shame' in American English is used in contexts that can be described as maximally private and interactively disengaged, which, in turn, may be taken as an indicator of a more independent

and individualistic image of this community in the context of negative self evaluation.

The overall performance of the multinomial logistic regression analysis model can be evaluated on the basis of the C statistic scores provided at the bottom of Table 3. They are measures that enable us to assess the descriptive accuracy of the proposed model and normally scores of 0.80 are considered an excellent result, while any value of less than 0.70 is regarded as being below the level of “acceptable discrimination” (Hosmer & Lemeshow 2000: 162). Naturally, in highly complex models, one should expect lower measures. The present model with as many as eight different levels of the response variable represents a high degree of complexity. Still, despite this, the results obtained here can be assessed as very good, with the highest C statistic scores at 0.76 and 0.74, relative to ‘shame’ in British and American English, respectively, as the reference levels, and the lowest at 0.59, with respect to ‘embarrassment’ in French and Polish. The most probable reason why it is the uses of ashamed in the two Anglo-Saxon communities that in the function of reference level produce the best discriminative results is their distinct usage profiles. Analogically, we may assume that the other adjectival exponents of ‘shame’ and those of ‘embarrassment’ across the four communities perform worse in this respect because they are much more similar in their behavioral tendencies. This is reflected in Table 4 providing a legible summary of the results of the multinomial logistic regression analysis.

**Table 4.** Summary of results

Lexical category	French	Polish	UK	US
EMBARRASSMENT	+ Audience + Present Scope + Internal-Individual	+ Audience - Audience (FR, EMIB) + Present Scope - Internal-Individual	+ Audience - Audience (PI, EMIB) + Present Scope - Internal-Individual	+ Audience - Audience (FR, EMIB) + Present Scope + Internal-Individual + External-Shared
SHAME	- Audience - Present Scope (EMIB, FR, UK, US) + Present Scope (SIDM: UK, US) + Internal-Individual	- Audience + Present Scope - External-Shared + Internal-Individual	- Audience - Present Scope + Internal-Individual + External-Shared	- Audience - Present Scope + Internal-Individual - External-Shared

Based on the summary presented in Table 4, let us then address the question of whether the two hypotheses formulated in section 1 are confirmed, starting with the lexical-conceptual hypothesis. Within the specific linguistic contexts, it

is evident that ‘embarrassment’ is indeed consistently more directly related to the immediate situational context, while ‘shame’ is systematically more private and withdrawn from the interactive circumstances. From a cross-linguistic perspective, however, more fine-grained variation enters the picture and the situation is less stable. With regard to the hypothesis predicting a cultural continuum from more collectivistic Poland through France to prototypically individualistic Anglo-Saxon communities, we obtain partial supportive evidence. Clearly, ‘shame’, in its adjectival uses in American English and, to a slightly lesser degree, in British English, is relatively more detached from the interactive context than the respective equivalents in either French or Polish. What adds some distance between the more individualistic usage profile of ‘shame’ in American English and its British equivalent is the association of the latter with the shared type of the experience. With regard to the French and Polish conceptualization of ‘shame’, we might postulate that of the two, the former scores higher on the scale of individualism due to its simultaneous association with and disassociation from the immediate situational context <Present Scope>. In the case of ‘embarrassment’, the findings remain rather inconclusive vis-à-vis the postulated cultural continuum.

## Conclusion

The present study demonstrates how advanced corpus methods, combining manual qualitative analysis with multivariate statistical modeling, can be employed for the cross-linguistic description of complex abstract categories designating negative self-conscious emotions. The methodology was applied with a view to identifying culturally-sensitive profiles of the concept of SHAME, which was here operationalized through two lexical categories, namely, ‘shame’ and ‘embarrassment’, that are arguably most representative of the emotional event. In this context, two sets of hypotheses were proposed and tested, one regarding the conceptual structuring of the two lexical categories, the other concerning the cultural dimension. The results provide partial quantitative support for both hypotheses. As regards the former lexical dimension, it was demonstrated that in line with our expectations for each linguistic setting, the category of ‘embarrassment’ is relatively more engaged interactively than that of ‘shame’. With respect to the postulated cultural cline ranging from the Anglo-Saxon



communities through France to Poland along the dimension of individualism-collectivism, we obtain some evidence suggesting that 'shame', as instantiated by the adjectives examined here, is interactively more disengaged, to draw on the terminology used in Kitayama *et al.* (2006), and hence, more private, than is the case in either Polish or French. The results, nonetheless, are not conclusive and some unexpected behavioral patterns are observed which necessitate further investigation. Accordingly, the author intends to conduct another study that will be based on a larger sample of observations, including also other lexical categories associated with the concept of SHAME and covering, in addition to adjectives, also verbal and nominal exponents of the lexical categories, relative to their respective frequency-based salience within the communities.

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