

Research Note

Comparative Psychological Study of Narratives in Native Marathi and Acquired Japanese Language

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Abstract

This research note discusses a study that compares narratives in Marathi and Japanese languages. There are five native Marathi participants, who have formally acquired the Japanese language. "Conflictive Thoughts Analysis Inventory" by C.G. Deshpande has been used as the tool for (verbal) data collection. Questions about family, past, present life, society, etc. were asked in both languages with a considerable gap between the two interviews. The interviews were transcribed verbatim, qualitatively analyzed, and compared in both languages on the following points - Codes and Themes, Emotional Expression, Language Specific Terms and their impact on the content, Japanese societal characteristics, and Code-Switching. Variations between the two languages were seen in terms of details in the narratives. Language-specific expressions brought about variation in content, and there were interesting instances of code-switching throughout the interviews. Similarities and differences between the two languages have been analyzed throughout the research note.

Keywords: Native language, Acquired Language, Emotion, Culture, Code-switching

1. Introduction²

Prior bilingual studies have investigated pairs like Japanese-English (Wydell & Butterworth 1999), Japanese-Portuguese (Senaha, M.L.H. & de Mattos Pimenta Parente, M.A. 2012), etc. Many of these studies focus on neurological processes, like Alzheimer's' and dyslexia in bilinguals.

Dr. Prashant Pardeshi has worked on Japanese and South Asian languages, including extensive work on Marathi and Japanese (e.g., Pardeshi 2008; Pardeshi 2011). Other studies comparing Marathi and Japanese are by Matsumoto (1998), Chida (2015), etc. However, they have focused mainly on grammatical aspects, and not the psychological, sociological, or cultural perspective of Japanese-Marathi bilingualism.

A study by Ervin (1964) has taken a psychological perspective to compare responses to the projective Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) by French-English bilinguals. The present study is inspired by this research. It compares Marathi and Japanese responses by the same participants to the same questions, emotional expression, and how language impacts the content of narratives from a cultural perspective.

This note discusses a range of ideas without going into extensive details of a single aspect of analysis. Therefore, this note has attempted to provide a starting point for bilingual and

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multilingual studies of Japanese with Indian languages from psychological and sociocultural perspectives, that go beyond grammar and semantics.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Native language, second language, and emotions

Native language³ is the first tool of interaction used by a child. Languages acquired in childhood are developed at the same time as emotional regulation systems. Hence, they relate to emotional physiology and cover a wide range of emotions (Bloom & Beckwith 1989 in Ayçiçeği & Berko 2003).

Native languages guide further communication (see Sultana 2018). They influence L2 acquisition, both positively and negatively. A study found that many bilinguals, regardless of their learning level, preferred their native language to express strong emotions (Dewaele & Pavlenko 2001 in Yashima 2006). Thus, native languages have an emotional advantage over L2.

On the other hand, non-native languages are languages of detachment. They do not affect the heart (Dewaele & Pavlenko 2004). In such languages, it is easier to use abusive expressions or express difficult emotions. E.g., non-native English speakers find it easier to say "I love you" in English. Thus, bilinguals and multilinguals may use their non-native languages while expressing affection or scolding their kids (Yashima 2006). L2 processing demands more cognitive resources, thus compromising emotional resources (see Morishima 2013). Therefore, native language expresses emotion more clearly while L2 serves a more intellectual function, lacking emotion. However, L2 acquired through immersion learning and interaction with cultural environments and used habitually and in wider contexts are capable of carrying emotions (Pavlenko 2002). Thus, emotional intensity and distance with native and acquired language respectively cannot be generalized. Speakers may use multiple languages to communicate an emotion. Language dominance affects emotional expression (Pavlenko 2004).

In this study, emotional distance with L2 is seen to be played out in the participants' narratives through code-switching.

Ekman & Friesen (1986) suggested that emotions are biological and universal. However, others proposed that emotions are not purely innate. They are influenced by socio-cultural situations, creating complex interaction of innate processes and social situations surrounding a person (see Kitayama & Markus 1994). Fundamental elements of a culture are determined by everyday language. They are internalized by members of a culture, especially during native language acquisition (D'Andrade & Strauss 1992 in Yashima 2006). Emotional scripts (emotional expression in a particular culture and language) are also internalized through socialization.

Culture-specific emotional words are words for which literal translations do not exist in other languages (Wierzbicka 1999). They are naturally acquired through direct emotional experience while learning a language. Thus, so-called culture-specific emotions may be experienced by other cultures as well but labeled specifically by some. Thus, words expressing emotions in one language do not always have a corresponding term in other languages (Wierzbicka 1999).

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³ The language acquired before the age of three is referred to as first language, native language, or mother tongue (Sinha, Banerjee, Sinha, & Shastri 2009 in Deng & Zou 2016). This paper will use the term native language. L2 will refer to non-native languages.

India and Japan are Asian countries with collectivistic cultures that value group cohesion and harmony. They are guided by adherence to certain social norms, unlike individualistic cultures driven by personal needs and a sense of self (Triandis 2001). Emotional scripts of these countries are influenced accordingly.

For example, "Amae" is specific to the Japanese language (and some Asian cultures). The emotion that Amae suggests (depending on others' kindness) is experienced by all humans but is specifically used in Japanese language.

2.2 Code-switching

Code-switching is the alternating between two languages in a single conversation. It can be intersentential i.e., whole sentences spoken in one language before switching to another, or intrasentential, i.e., within the same sentence (Myers-Scotton 1997). Codeswitching is common in bilingual and multilingual communities. Codes of spoken languages do not violate the syntactic rules of either language (Poplack 1980 in Barnali 2017). Code-switching may take place for cognitive control, i.e., to convey the most appropriate meaning using multiple languages, regulate emotional intensity, i.e., switching between native language and L2 depending on emotional intensity (Pavlenko 2005), or cultural frame switching (Williams, Srinivasan, Liu, Lee, & Zhou 2020)

According to census data of 2001, 25 percent of Indians can speak more than one language (Times of India 2010). English was used widely for administration during British rule in India and remains a common language of communication today (Gupta & Bajpai 2016). It has made a significant mark on most Indian languages. Hence, code-switching to English is common, and many times unconscious. Almost no Indian language is pure. There are hybrid languages, like Hinglish, a mixture of Hindi and English. Some English words do not have corresponding terms in Indian languages, and if they do, they are not commonly used (Barnali 2017).

The participants of this study have acquired English in a social setting, where it is spoken habitually. Their medium of education was also English at the university level. Therefore. code-switching to English was extensively seen from Marathi (see section 3.4).

Considering the above findings, this research aims to investigate the differences between the Marathi and Japanese narratives among native Marathi speakers who have formally acquired Japanese language. The study explores the following points through the data collected.

- 1. Possible reasons behind variation of content in response to the same questions in native and second language
- 2. When does code-switching take place while speaking in Marathi and Japanese by native Marathi speakers? What are the possible reasons for this?

The difference of content between the two languages, the emotional expression and cultural differences are discussed in this note. This study does not offer definite findings or generalizable conclusions but offers an insight into the sociocultural and psychological aspects of the two languages that are not explored in prior studies. These factors can be incorporated into future bilingual studies with other languages in focus.

3. Methodology

3.1 Participants

The Japanese Language Proficiency Test (JLPT) is conducted worldwide by "Japan Foundation".4

In July 2019, 192 applicants appeared for the N2 level examination, and 35 people appeared for the N1 exam in Pune. This is the second-highest number of examinees in India for the two examinations after New Delhi (JLPT 2019). Pune is famous for its Japanese language studies (Bari 2017).

Therefore, this study was conducted with skilled Japanese teachers and experts from Pune, who spoke native Marathi. The criterion for selection was based on age (above 30 years), mother tonque (Marathi), and Japanese language proficiency (N1). Participants were fluent in English and used it in their professional lives and daily conversations from time to time. The participants have stayed in Japan for at least one year. They interact with Japanese people and keep visiting Japan from time to time.

The participation of subjects was voluntary. Informed consent was taken before the interviews.

The researcher was a 21-year-old female, native Marathi speaker, a Psychology student, training for JLPT N2 at the time of the interviews. She was junior to the participants in age, proficiency, and education.

Table 1 Participant details

| Participant | Age | Gender | Duration of studying Japanese | Completion of N1/Ikkyuu | Profession | |
|-------------|-----|--------|--|---|--|--|
| 1 | 39 | Female | 10 years | 2011 (8 years ago) | Teacher | |
| 2 | 41 | Female | 24 years | 1999 (20 years ago) | Teacher and interpreter | |
| 3 | 32 | Female | 15 years | NA (Cleared multiple times, latest attempt in 2013, 8 years ago) | Teacher | |
| 4 | 42 | Male | 24 years | 1999 (20 years ago) | Department head at a Japanese firm in India | |
| 5 | 48 | Female | 32 years | December 1992 (27 years ago) | Translator, Interpreter, Teacher, coordinator for Japanese projects | |

⁴ JLPT is being conducted since 1984. It measures Japanese proficiency, especially of non-native speakers. There are five levels, N5 being the easiest and N1, the hardest (JLPT n.d.).

3.2 Tools

Conflictive Thoughts Analysis Inventory (CTAI) by Dr. C.G. Deshpande consists of 30 questions related to "past experiences, present condition, future life, family interactions, and social life". The questions allowed for the elicitation of emotional narratives across a range of topics.

It is a projective test designed to understand the test-taker's conflictive thoughts. However, for the present research, the test was not used as a projective test or for analyzing conflictive thoughts, but as narrative questions. CTAI was translated into both Marathi and Japanese languages. The translation was checked by a skilled Japanese language teacher, a native Marathi speaker who has been studying Japanese for twenty years and has cleared JLPT N1.

"Memory" was formed as an additional category by the researcher for independent analysis.

- 1. Family
- 2. Past
- 3. Memory
- 4. Future
- 5. Present Life
- 6. Society

One question was omitted in data analysis, as it was vague.

3.3 Procedure

CTAI was taken for narrative questions (Deshpande 1988), i.e., questions to elicit responses to provide data for subjective emotional experiences of the participants. This test allowed the researcher to obtain narratives⁵ regarding different topics, which were personal, professional, analytical, and emotional. This allowed for an overall analysis of the participants' speech.

The test was verbally administered to the participants in both languages with a mean gap of 16.14 days. Before both interviews, the participants were told that they will be asked about their thoughts on certain things, and they were asked to elaborate on these thoughts. For example, "About my future life I think", or "My relations with family members are". The Japanese interview was administered to three of five participants first. Two participants took the Marathi interview first.

The mean length of Marathi interviews was 19:04 minutes and Japanese interviews was 17:49 minutes. Transcripts were created verbatim from audio recordings of all the interviews.

⁵ Narratives allow researchers an insight into an interviewee's subjective experiences through their life stories (Schütze 1976 in Flick 2009). These can be analyzed from a linguistic as well as social or cultural perspective.

3.4 Analysis

Considering the abovementioned questions, the following points were explored in the narratives of both languages.

- 1. The data was coded⁶ and categorized into themes⁷. Themes in both languages were identified and compared under each main category.
- 2. Emotional words under each category were compared for both languages, i.e., words that describe universal emotions and adjectives describing emotions.
- Language-specific words were noted. These included culture-specific terms, commonly used phrases (with no corresponding term in the other language to denote the exact meaning), and proverbs commonly used in a language.
- 4. Instances of code-switching were noted. Possible reasons for code-switching were studied.

4. Data and Discussion8

Section 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3 discuss the first research question, i.e., Variations in emotions and content in Marathi and Japanese narratives in response to the same questions, and reasons for the same.

4.1 Codes and Themes

This section discusses the codes and themes that emerged in each category in both languages. The data was coded and re-coded multiple times before moving on to the thematic analysis. It was also checked by an experienced researcher in qualitative analysis.

Thematic analysis provided a basis for analysis of language-specific content, codeswitching, emotions, etc. In cases of a major difference in the content and themes based on language, or where there is significant data, supporting literature is provided with further exploration of the findings.

1. Future

Contribution

Excerpt 1

Marathi - Participant 2

ShikShaN kShetrAt(0.8)samAjAlA kAhitari ApaN deu Shaku asa kShetra Ahe Education field-LOC society-DAT something we give can like field is

tyAmuLe malA nakkich kAm karAychay (0.6) te mAza antim dhyey ahe therefore I definitely.EMPH Work want to do that I. final goal is

The education field is a field through which one can contribute to society. So, I definitely want to work (in this field). That is my ultimate goal.

⁶ Coding refers to labeling and summarizing segments of data (Charmaz 2006 in Thornberg & Charmaz 2009)

⁷ Themes refer to patterns of data that identify meanings relevant to the research question

⁸ Excerpts from interviews have been given in the relevant parts of the report. Names, gender, or identity of any people mentioned by the participants in these quotes have been changed or skipped (except in cases where necessary. E.g., where the answer is gender specific). Personal details or experiences have not been given anywhere in these quotes. If mentioned, they have been modified to protect the speaker's identity (For example, native town, name of their school or college, etc.).

Excerpt 2

Japanese - Participant 4

Kazoku ya jibun no tame ni mo iroiro yatte:: kita to iu ano:: kanji ga suru Family or self IP for for also various did came QT such SF feel SB do

no wa mochiron da ke do: chotto hoka no hito no tame ni shakai no IP TP of course CP-PLAIN but some other IP people IP for society IP

tame ni mo sukoshi gurai wa nani ka ii koto yatta na:: to iu manzokukan TP something good thing did for also some such satisfaction

shite hoshii do want.

Of course, (in the end), I want to feel that I have done things for myself, but I want the satisfaction of knowing that I have done something good for others, a little something for society.

Career Ambitions

Excerpt 3

Marathi - Participant 2

Research work vyavasthit pUrNa (0.8) neTAne chalU THevaychay Properly complete dedication-INST on keep

I want to keep doing my research with dedication

Excerpt 4

Japanese - Participant 3

Keikaku wa (1.0) kaisha wo ookiku shitai company O big want to do TP

My plan is to expand (my) company

Personal Life Goals (Health, children, and travel)

Excerpt 5

Marathi - Participant 2

EkTa malA jarA firAylA AvDel (0.8) kAhiihii laTambar barobar na ghetA Alone I-DAT little travel-DAT anything burden with no take

I would like to travel alone without taking any burden (of family/kids)along with me

Excerpt 6

Japanese - Participant 2

Hitori tabi ni detai desu (omitted) genki de yamanobori Alone journey to go CP healthy and mountain climbing O

shite iru watashi doing me

I want to go on a trip alone (omitted) ((Imagining oneself as) I would be healthy and climbing mountains ((In response to a question asking, how do you imagine yourself in ten years)

Personality

Goals in terms of personality development, personal characteristics, and discipline.

Excerpt 7

Marathi - Participant 2

thoDasa priority Tharvauun consistently prayatna ajuun vADhavtA yetiil Little decide efforts more increase can

I need to decide my priorities and increase my efforts

There was no major difference in the content in both languages by the participants, except for the choice of words and the content that was elaborated upon.

2. Past

There was a great difference in content across participants. They spoke about their experiences, thoughts, and feelings about childhood, school and college, significant people, and situations from the past, ups and downs, learnings, satisfaction, gratitude towards these experiences, and pride. There was a huge variation in the codes that emerged in the interviews of each participant. Some were grateful towards their school, while some had negative experiences. Most participants described challenging phases in their lives, but nobody expressed any regrets.

Excerpt 8

Marathi - Participant 3

Ektar mAjhi shALA muliinci ShALA hotii (omitted) ANi jevhA First of all I-GEN school girls-GEN school was and when

mi college gele tevha pahilyAndA mala mulAn-barobar paN shikAyca I college went then first time I-DAT boys-DAT with also learn

asta he kaLala tyAmuLe te khuup interesting hota (0.8) ANi Is this understood therefore that very was and

Adhii mhaNaje khuup bAvLaT hote mii Before means very stupid was I

First of all, I belonged to a girls' school (omitted) and the first time I found out about co-education was when I entered college so that was very interesting. And, well, I was really stupid before

Excerpt 9

Japanese - Participant 4

Gakkoo de osowatta (0.5) sono kiso ga hijoo ni shikkari dekite ite School at learnt that foundation SB very ADV firm became is

(0.5) sono kiso $\,$ no ue ima no ookina biru $\,$ wo tateru koto ga dekita $\,$ That foundation IP up now IP big $\,$ building O $\,$ build $\,$ thing SB able

To kangaete irun desu ne De (0.8) gakkoo mo soo desu shi gakkoo de no QT think am is IP SF school also that is and school in IP

kodomo ano:: tomodachi mo hotondo minna ano:: chuukaikyuu (0.8) Children SF friends also almost all SF middle-class

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Middle-class IP people IP IP IP thought process etc also match do
karera kara mo (0.8) karera no ryooshin kara mo iroiro manabu koto ga
             they IP parents from also various learn thing SB
They from also
dekita to omoimasu
Able OT think
```

Whatever I learnt at school contributed to building a strong foundation, and therefore I think that I can construct a huge building on that foundation right now. That's about school, but the kids-my friends at school were also from a middle-class background due to which we got along. I could learn a lot from them as well as their parents.

Discussion:

- 1. Three participants were significantly more descriptive about the details in their past while speaking in Marathi. They elaborated on the experiences from their childhood, their school, and college life, and content was much more prominent while speaking about the past in Marathi.
- 2. Four participants expressed in Marathi how the transition from school to college made a difference in their lives, but none of them mentioned this in Japanese. Only one briefly mentioned this point while speaking in Japanese.
- 3. Although themes were almost common in both languages, narratives lacked descriptive quality while speaking in Japanese and were very brief.
- 4. All the themes mentioned appeared to some extent in both languages, except for "pride". Two participants expressed their pride in Marathi, with respect to their past, but not at all in Japanese.

Prior research suggests that stories narrated in the language where the original events took place are more detailed and emotionally intense. When narrated in L2, an experience may become shorter and elaborated differently (Javier, Barroso, & Muñoz 1993). Thus, childhood or adolescence memories are emotionally richer when spoken in a native language and lose their emotional intensity in L2 (Schrauf 2000 in Dewaele 2013). This pattern in seen in the above data.

One of the questions was "What is the most important memory of your life?". Everyone described an emotional or impactful experience from their lives.

Discussion:

- 1. In two interviews, the memory was the same in both languages. There was some difference in the content while talking about memory. One participant has elaborated more while talking in Marathi, while the other has elaborated while speaking in Japanese.
- 2. The memories narrated by three participants were entirely different in both languages.
- 3. In two Japanese interviews, the most important memories described by the participants were events related to their Japanese education and experience, how they felt during that experience and what they learned from it. The same participants described entirely different experiences while speaking in Marathi. These were important events related to their childhood, families, and feelings associated with them. For example, one of the participants elaborated on an incident of a Japanese contest while speaking in

Japanese. The same participant described an early childhood experience that has impacted their life while speaking in Marathi.

Native language has greater emotional involvement (Pavlenko 2012). Relevant to the data obtained in the present research is the pattern of social behaviors or scripts created in certain events and social interactions (Kitayama & Markus 1994). Stories narrated in the language where original events took place are found to be more detailed and emotionally intense (Javier et al. 1993). Emotions are not only manifested biologically but are influenced by social and cultural situations, creating a complex interaction of innate processes and social situations surrounding a person. Emotions are physiological and sensory elements embedded in a social situation (Kitayama & Markus 1994). This explains why participants naturally thought of emotional childhood experiences while speaking in Marathi, and Japanese educational experiences while speaking in Japanese.

For one of the participants, however, it was entirely the opposite. In Marathi, they said that the most important experience was an event related to their Japanese education. While speaking about this, the participant elaborated on certain specificities of the experience. In Japanese, the same participant answered that the birth of their child was the most important experience for them, but the content was not elaborated on. It was mentioned in a single sentence. There are two contradicting explanations for this. Being a second language, it does not resonate, therefore it was mentioned in one sentence. However, although brief, it was a very emotional thing to mention in a second language. Some emotionally laden content may be expressed more comfortably in another language Dewaele & Pavlenko (2004). Another possibility states that second languages that are acquired through immersion learning and used habitually and in wider contexts and different settings can carry emotions as well.

There are multiple explanations to the narrative content above, none of which can be stated conclusively. Therefore, narratives about "past" and "memory" particularly call for deeper investigation in future bilingual studies. In future studies, more specific topics can be studied in more detail. For example, how multilinguals speak about their "teenage" in different languages, or what kind of memories are recalled while speaking in a certain language, etc.

4. Family

There were questions related to feelings about family members, relationship with them, etc. There were times where Marathi interviews were more descriptive and detailed than the Japanese interviews of the same participant. For example, while talking about the nature of their family, or feelings. This difference was not as prominent as in the "Past" category.

The major themes that emerged were

Relationship with family members

Participants spoke about relationships with family, who they feel close to, or if they do not get along with a family member.

Excerpt 10

Marathi - Participant 3

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AmhAlA ek lahAn mulagii Ahe so ticamuLe gharAmadhala
We-DAT one little girl is
                          because of her in the house
```

```
vAtAvaraN ekadam kheLimeLica asata
Environment very lively
```

We have a little girl because of whom our house is very lively.

Feelings toward family members

Participants spoke about the importance of family in life and expressed feelings of gratitude towards their support, etc.

Excerpt 11

Japanese - Participant 5

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Amari iken ga awanai
                      toki mo arimasu keredomo (0.5) watashi wa
Much opinion SB match-NEG time also is but I TP
jibun nari ni ikite kite imasu kara daijoobu desu
Self way by live come am thus ok
There are times when our opinions don't match but I'm someone who lives as I
like, so it is all fine.
```

Some participants also spoke about their children, their feelings about them, and how they contribute to their lives. Under "Family", there were instances where content entirely differed while speaking in both languages (See "Language-specific content").

5. Present Life

Questions in this category were regarding one's daily life, conditions of life, etc. Narratives highly overlapped with content from other categories. This was due to the ambiguity of the category. Participants spoke about many things, tapping on several themes. Sometimes, participants were more descriptive in their content in Marathi, but not very prominently.

Participants spoke about being busy, what makes them happy, etc. and their views on life. They narrated prior experiences and spoke about dissatisfaction and satisfaction. They spoke about wanting to do certain things and wanting to make an effort for that, such as career, personality development, enjoyment, and focusing on children.

Excerpt 12

Marathi - Participant 3

```
Aii vaDilAnnii je kAhi shikavalela ahe AttA paryanta tyAcAmuLe
Mom dad-INST whatever taught is now till because of that
mii Ahe ANi sAsuu
                       sAsare
                                    pan ekdam khuup chhan
I is and mother-in-law father-in-law also very very nice
Ahet ANi umm muLAt
                     tyAnca ekamekanbarobarcha nAta
is-PLU and SF basically they-GEN with each other-GEN relation also
khuup chhan asalyamuLe AmhAla tyAchA khuup fAydA
Very nice is therefore we-DAT it-GEN very benefit happen
```

I am what I am because of what my parents taught me. My in-laws are also wonderful, and basically they have a good relation with each other which is good for us $\frac{1}{2}$

6. Society

Questions were related to thoughts about society and social life. Participants spoke about issues in society, changes, conveniences, inconveniences, etc. They also spoke about social evils, issues in social relations. Some also expressed positive views and hopes for society. Content spoken by participants was similar in both languages, but narratives in Marathi were more descriptive and illustrated with examples.

Positive and Negative Evaluations

The content is regarding the Indian society, and more specifically about the participants' life in Pune city. The participants come from a middle-class lifestyle and face similar daily hassles in their everyday life.

Excerpt 13

Marathi - Participant 5

JyAnnA kAmAlA jAylA (.) travel karAyalA lAgta tyAnnA thoDa those-DAT work-DAT go do have to they-DAT little

tough Ahe paN bAki khuupac smooth Ahe mhaNaje ApalyAla sagaLya Is but other many-EMPH is means we-DAT all

vastunci sahaj upalabdhatA Ahe ANi tashA dainandin Ayushyat AplyalA things-POSS easily available is and that everyday life-LOC us-DAT

yenAre kAhic problem nAhi mhaNaje basic suddhA kAhi chintA nAhii Come some-EMPH no means also some worry no

sagaLya sukh soyii Ahet asa malA waTata
All happy utility is-PLU QT I-DAT think

It's slightly tough for those who have to travel to work but otherwise it's really smooth. We have easy access to everything, and there are no problems related to everyday life, not even basic stuff. I feel we have everything we need.

Excerpt 14

Marathi - Participant 3

AplyA samaJamadhe AtA khuup chAngale badal ghaDuun yAylA lAglet Our society-LOC now many good change evolve come happen

asa distay(0.8) lok swaChhatA baLagAyalA lagalele Ahet kinwa lokAnci QT visible people cleanliness follow started is or people-POSS

sAmAjik jAgrutii kinwA sAmAjik bhAn je Ahe te wADhAyalA Societal awakening or societal awareness that is that growing

lAglay asa waTatay Started QT think

It looks like there are a lot of good changes in society. People have started following cleanliness, or people have become more aware and enlightened about society.

Excerpt 15

Japanese - Participant 1

Shuukyoo ni tsuite ano:: gankoo no kangae wo sutenakereba Religion IP about SF discernment IP thought O throw-COND-NEG

seichoo dekinai Growth be-NEG

I feel that society won't grow unless we throw away our discerning thoughts about religion, etc.

Comparison between India and Japan

Excerpt 16

Marathi - Participant 3

JapAnii lokAnci quality khuup cAngalii ahe mhanuun AmhAlA te Japanese people-POSS very good is so we-DAT the

AvaDtAt he ApaN khuup Avarjuun bolto paN te tasa ka kartAt hyAcA Like this we very strongly say but they that why do

abhyAs karat nAhi kinwA te ApaN ApalyAmadhe AtmasAt karaNyacA prayatna Study do no or that we in us incorporate do-POSS try

karat nAhi so te hii karAyalA pAhije ANi kAhi varshAn nantar nakki Do no that also do should and some years later definitely

 $\verb|chAngale| badal ghadalele| asatiil| asa waTatay mhaNaje| positive| wATatay| \\$ Good changes happened will be QT think means

We strongly say that we like Japanese people because they have good quality, but we don't study why they do so or we don't try to incorporate that in our lives. So we must do that as well, and I feel positive and think that there will be good changes in the next few years.

Excerpt 17

Japanese - Participant 1

Nichijooseikatsu wa nihon dattara benri desu (omitted) chiisana koto Daily life TP Japan is-COND convenient ((India)) little things in

hontooni iroiro gambaranakereba naranai jibun no pasupooto no Really different do one's best-COND have to self IP passport IP

tame ni mo iroiro na koto wo yaranakereba naranai For IP also different things O do-NEG-COND have to

Daily life is convenient in Japan. (In India) we have to struggle for small things, for example, we have struggle for simple things like passport procedures.

Personal behavior

Excerpt 18

Marathi – Participant 5

sAmAjik dabAv koNihii koNavarahii sahaj ANuu shakata asa malA waTata Societal pressure anyone on anyone easily bring can

paN ApaN ApalyA principles var ThAm asalo tar ApalyAvar nahi koNAcA But we us on firm is then on us no anyone

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yeu shakat
Come can
```

I think that people can easily be victims of social pressures, but if we are firm on our principles we won't get pressurized.

Excerpt 19

Japanese - Participant 1

```
Nichijou seikatsu wa isogashii desu ga: (0.5) gambareba nan no tame ni Daily life TP busy is but if I do my best anything IP for IP demo jikan ga tsukureru also time SB can make
```

My daily life is busy, but if I do my best (/take efforts), I can make time for anything.

Nothing conclusive can be stated based on the content analysis of the transcripts. However, the kind of content variations in some cases, and the reasons behind those are very interesting to investigate in further studies. The narratives in the present study are very personal. Future studies can investigate how content plays out while talking about general topics, e.g., discussing a movie, recent news, etc. Social experiments can be done such as manipulating the environment, changing the conversation partners to people of different backgrounds, etc. Cultural backgrounds and social setting are important in such analysis.

4.2 Emotional Expression

Emotional words and phrases⁹ in the data were highlighted. Emotional expression in both languages was compared by listing emotional words and comparing their number.

Table 2Number of Emotional Words and Phrases

| | Japanese Interview | Marathi Interview | | | | | |
|---|--------------------|-------------------|---------------|----------------|-------|--|--|
| | Japanese Total | Marathi Total | English Total | Japanese Total | Total | | |
| 1 | 20 | 30 | 3 | 0 | 33 | | |
| 2 | 49 | 41 | 22 | 2 | 65 | | |
| 3 | 30 | 12 | 4 | 1 | 17 | | |
| 4 | 12 | 30 | 0 | 0 | 30 | | |
| 5 | 40 | 13 | 17 | 0 | 30 | | |

For participants 3 and 5, the number of emotional words was greater in the Japanese interview. Even during the Marathi interview, Participants 2 and 5 have code switched to English frequently while describing emotional content. Thus, of all three languages, Participant 5 has expressed the least emotional content in Marathi. As studied by Dewaele & Pavlenko (2004), emotionally laden content may be comfortably narrated in another

⁹ Ananda (Happiness) would be an emotional word while expressing "I want to be a good human" would be emotional phrases, i.e. there is no emotional word in the sentence, but the emotion was interpreted from the context, and speaker's tone, etc.

language, and as emotionally distant languages, it is also easier to express negative emotions.

Some people experience socialization in the acquired language i.e., they are exposed to and are engaged in social situations more in the acquired rather than in their native language. They may speak fluently in their native language at home, but their home environment does not allow them to be expressive about their emotions, so they fulfill their emotional needs in other settings. In such cases, one may find it easier to express in the acquired language (Pavlenko 2004). This may be specific to Participant 2 and 5 in the present research.

There was no code-switching from Japanese in terms of emotions. However, while speaking in Marathi, four participants used emotional words from English (see Excerpt 35). Two participants also uttered a few Japanese words.

The total number of emotional words and phrases is greater in Marathi for three participants, but the difference between the number was not statistically significant. Studies state that a native language is associated with greater emotional arousal, which is in line with this data, although it is not statistically significant here (see Pavlenko 1998).

Further studies can specifically investigate emotional expression in Marathi and Japanese bilinguals from a psychological perspective, going deeper into case history, such as, whether the person's family environment is conducive for emotional growth, how communication is with people who speak in native language and how that affects emotional expression in L2, and probably how the nature of emotional expression changes in a language along the course of counseling or psychotherapy.

Excerpt 20

Japanese – Participant 2

```
Shippai shita koto mo iroiro arimashita ga matomete ieba
      did things also various was but compile if said fun
Fail
```

iinsei datta life was

There were failures, but overall, it has been a fun life

Excerpt 21

Marathi – Participant 1

```
ThoDese ase diwas kadhi asatAt kI Aj varqAt
                                                nAhI
     like this days some are that today class-LOC no
```

```
shikavAyalA jamala chAngala kinwa ekhAdya diwashI khUp positive wATata
       could do good
                       or some
                                    davs verv
```

There are some days where I feel I wasn't able to teach well today, or some days, I feel very positive

4.3 Language-specific content

Japanese

There are some emotional words in a language that do not have exact translation (Wierzbicka, 1999) e.g., taihen. Taihen has many connotations. Taihen means "very" or "terrible" (Miura 1983). It can be used colloquially, e.g., very hot, to describe a difficult situation, or even a positive situation such as an amazing meal. It can thus be an emotional term too. In Japanese, the word was uttered frequently in one of the interviews, all in the context of describing a difficult situation or a tough spot.

In a Marathi interview, the speaker has code-switched and used the word taihen convey their exact feelings. This is an instance of cognitive control (see Williams et al 2020), where the speaker has chosen the words most appropriate to convey their emotions using two languages.

Excerpt 22

Marathi - Participant 3

```
Kautumbik ayushya anubhavatana (0.8) khup maja yetey (0.8) jababdarya
Family
       life
             experiencing very fun coming
                                                   responsibilities also
astat (1.0) kadhikadhi khup taihen ((code switch with Japanese)) pan hota
           sometimes very stressful
Experiencing family life is very fun. There are responsibilities. It also gets
stressful (taihen) at times.
```

In one instance, taihen appeared in the context of the hassles experienced while raising one's child. In a partially sarcastic narrative, the participant mentioned:

Excerpt 23

Japanese - Participant 2

```
Kosodate
          wa hontooni taihen (hahahah) watashi kodomo futari ite daburu
Child-rearing TP really difficult
                                              kids two is double
                                       Т
desu ne (0.5) (hahahhaa) (0.8) hontooni tokidoki akite shimaun desu ne::
                           really sometimes fed up entirely is IP
   ΙP
Demo akiramenai
but won't give up
Sore wa hahaoya da kara (1.0) ano:: gambatte gaman shite:: (1.2) ie wo
That TP mother is because SF do best patient do
deyou to omou kurai nayami mo arimasu ke do gaman shimasu (hahaha)
Leave QT think much trouble also is
                                       but patient do
Raising children is really difficult (taihen), and I have two, so there's double
trouble for me. I really get fed up sometimes, but I won't give up. That's
because I'm a mother. I will be patient and do my best. There are troubles which
```

Non-native languages are emotionally distant languages at times. Hence, it is easy to use abusive expressions or express things that are hard to say in the native language (Dewaele 2004). Therefore, the above utterance may not be hurtful to mention in

make you feel like running away, but I'll be patient.

Japanese, possibly due to an emotional distance. The same interviewee, while speaking in Marathi has not expressed the above feelings about their children.

Metaphors and proverbs

In Japanese interviews, only one participant used some metaphors. There were no proverbs in any of the Japanese interviews.

Excerpt 24

Japanese - Participant 4

```
Shakai ni wa hito to iu haguruma ga atte (0.5) sono haguruma ga subete Society in TP person QT say gear SB is that gear SB all
```

```
jibun no shitei sareta toori ni kinoo sureba
                                                  shakai tte iu
Self IP specify do-PASS like ADV function if it does society QT say
```

```
ookina kikai ga (0.5) junchooni ugoku no de wa nai ka to watashi wa
Big machine SB well-ADV function IP not Q QT I
```

```
kangaete imasu
Think is
```

Society consists of gears in the form of humans. If those gears function as per their designated tasks, I feel that this machine, i.e. the society will function well.

Excerpt 25

Japanese - Participant 4

```
Jibun no kazoku wa watashi ni totte toodai
                                            no yoo na mono nan desu
Self IP family TP I IP according lighthouse IP like IP thing
```

```
ne:: (0.5) michi ni mayotte shimau to (0.5) sono toodai
                                                      wo mite chanto
         road IP lost completely
                                       that lighthouse O see proper
```

```
hoogaku ga wakaru
                    yoo na sonzai da to omoimasu
Direction SB understand like IP being CP QT think
```

According to me, family is like a lighthouse. If one gets lost, one can look at the lighthouse and find the right direction. That is what a family is.

Proverbs are figurative expressions that capture the shared beliefs and values of a society (Nipold & Hag 1996).

Marathi

Marathi narratives were found to be more descriptive and emotional for some. Narratives are affected by multiple factors, and culture plays an important part in it (see Yashima 2006). Certain words that emerged in Marathi interviews were interesting words used commonly in everyday language.

Following is a common proverb in Marathi, to describe that someone with the slightest knowledge ends up looking smart among a group of fools (Transliteral Foundation n.d.). The participant said that she was considered smart as a child but realized later that it was just an illusion.

Excerpt 26

Marathi - Participant 1

VAsrAt langDi gAy shahANi Calves-LOC paraplegic cow wise

A paraplegic cow seems smart among a group of calves

Metaphors were used frequently in Marathi interviews.

Example

Excerpt 27

Marathi - Participant 2

PAnAtlii kaDU bhAjii sampavaNya sArkha Ahe Plate bitter vegetable finish like is

It is like finishing the bitter food on your plate first.

There were some words used in Marathi for which parallel words were not used in Japanese while speaking about the same content. Some of these were related to old traditions, specific to India, or Maharashtrian culture. The availability of these words in Marathi and their usage had a great impact on some of the content.

Excerpt 28

Japanese - Participant 2

```
Kanojo ga gan no kenkyuu zutto yatte kita hito desu
She SB cancer IP research all along do come person is
```

```
(omitted) kanojo no kenkyuu wa ma (1.0) hijooni korekara mo yuumei
She IP research TP SF very from now also famous
```

ni naru daroo to omoimasu (0.5) de (0.5) hontooni jiman no hanashi nan IP become will QT think SF really proud IP talk EMPH

Desu

Is

She is a cancer researcher (omitted) I believe her research will become famous. It is truly a matter of pride for me.

Excerpt 29

Marathi - Participant 2

```
TicA baddal malA khuup special bhAvanA Ahet kAran ticAt mAzyAt she-GEN about I-DAT lot emotion is because her-LOC I-LOC
```

```
sahA varShAca antar \; Ahe ANi vaDiil gele tevha ti fakta sAt Six year-GEN distance is and father went then she only seven
```

```
varshAci hotii (0.5) dusriit hoti mhaNaje (0.5) tyAmuLe years-GEN was second grade-LOC means therefore
```

```
jAstii mii protective Ahe tica bAbtimadhe (0.5) tii umm ANi
More I is her about-LOC she SF and
```

```
yogAyogAne tica kanyAdAn
```

Coincidentally she-GEN wedding ritual ((of giving away the daughter)

```
paN miic kelay lagnAt tyAmuLe ek thodasa jAsti motherly Ahe
Also I-EMPH did wedding-LOC therefore one little more
```

```
(0.5) emotions jAsti Ahet (0.5) bahiiN fakta hyAchyAvar limited nAhiye
              More is
                              sister only of on
```

I have very special emotions for her, because there's a six-year age gap between us. She was only seven when dad passed away, she was in second grade. So I'm more protective of her, and coincidentally it is I who has performed her kanyadaan as well when she got married. So I have more motherly emotions for her, they're not limited to being a sister.

When asked about her sibling in Japanese, a participant spoke about her younger sister's career and how she makes her proud with her research. In Marathi, the same participant spoke about motherly emotions towards her sister, and how she has performed her sister's kanyadaan (wedding ritual of giving the daughter away to the husband's family), making the bond special.

While talking about their childhood, one of the participants mentioned in Marathi, how they've spent their childhood in a vaadaa (a traditional house in Maharashtra), another spoke about their participation in the Marathi vangmay mandal (Marathi literature club) in college. One of them spoke about specific castes (Kokanastha and Deshastha - two Brahmin sub-castes of Maharashtra) and their differences. These topics were not touched upon while speaking in Japanese, thus bringing out different themes in response to the same question. Furthermore, the events were experienced by the participant in their native language.

Thus, the descriptive nature of the Marathi interviews can be attributed to the availability of these words.

Some words were related to the Maharashtrian/Indian society and customs such as bhishi (kitty party), jaat (caste), aarakshan (reservation based on caste), vasti (slums).

The above words may be translated very well by a proficient speaker, but their nuance is lost in translation. Naturally, the availability of these words in Marathi brought about different codes and themes while speaking about certain topics, and the same topics were not mentioned in Japanese.

One of the participants' interviews displayed that language ability makes a lot of difference to the content expressed. Both interviews with this participant brought out the same content in both languages, in most of the topics, except for the "important memory". A few metaphors and phrases used in the respective languages were different but did not change the content of speech.

One important characteristic of Japanese culture and society, i.e., Honne and Tatemae was seen with one participant while speaking in Marathi and Japanese.

Honne-Tatemae

Honne is one's true intention, reserved for personal spaces. *Tatemae* refers to socially structured intentions (Honna & Hoffer 1986 in Davies & Ikeno 2002). The Japanese consider it a virtue to not express true thoughts and emotions. They are careful to not hurt someone's feelings, thus using *tatemae* and maintaining harmony. Some participants were candid in expressing their thoughts and feelings in both languages.

However, the following are instances of a clear distinction between *Honne-Tatemae*. The statement is socially attuned in Japanese and more straightforward in Marathi.

Excerpt 30

Marathi - Participant 2

```
SAsuu sAsaryAncha::, typically baghAyalA gela tar sAsuu sAsare ANi
Parents-in-law-POSS typically consider if in-laws and
```

```
suun he nAta jarA avghaD Ahe tasa (0.8) paN chAngale Daughter-in-law this relation little difficult is Kind of but good
```

```
guuN gheNyasArakhe astAt tyAnCAmadhe (0.5) ApaN shikaNyasArkhe points worth taking are in them us worth learning
```

Typically, the relationship between parents-in-law and daughter-in-law is kind of difficult, but there are some things that we can learn from them

Excerpt 31

Japanese - Participant 2

```
Giri to iu kotoba wa chotto yokunai na to omoimasu kedo ne (0.8) In-law QT say word TP little qood-NEG IP QT think but IP
```

```
nanka gimu to shite oya \, to yonde iru ki ga shimasu ke do (0.8) like duty QT do parent QT Call \, am feel SB do \, but
```

I don't like the word "in-laws", because I feel like calling them parents because that is the duty they fulfill.

4.4 Code-switching

This section addresses the second research question, i.e., the reasons behind codeswitching while speaking in Marathi and Japanese.

No code-switching was seen to another language in the Japanese interviews, i.e., Marathi or English terms were not used apart from Katakana. Only once, one of the participants emphasized their speech content by switching to English completely.

Excerpt 32

Japanese - Participant 2

```
Seishunki datta toki (0.8) namaiki deshita (.) hontoo ni namaiki deshita. Adolescence was when impertinent was really impertinent was
```

```
I was really moody
```

I was very impertinent as a teenager, really very impertinent. I was really moody

Code-switching in Marathi Interviews:

Code-switching was seen in all the Marathi interviews. Most of the switches were in English and very few in Japanese.

Table 3 Code-Switching in Marathi Interviews

| Participants | Words (Approximate) | Japanese | English | |
|--------------|---------------------|----------|---------|--|
| 1 | 1600 | 1 | 60 | |
| 2 | 2500 | 3 | 141 | |
| 3 | 2000 | 1 | 105 | |
| 4 | 2400 | 0 | 8 | |
| 5 | 1200 | 0 | 107 | |

Following are the instances of using Japanese in a Marathi interview.

Excerpt 33

Marathi - Participant 2

```
AvghaD paN phases kAhi hotyA (1.0) mentally jAsti karun (0.6)
Difficult also some were
                                          mostly do
```

physically kurushii vagaire (0.8)khuup thakwA ANaNAryA ashA goshti painful et cetera Lot tiring bring like things

```
fArsha navtyA paN mentally exhaustive jAstii hotyA
many not
```

There were some difficult phases, mostly mentally, not physically painful per say, they were more mentally exhaustive

Excerpt 34

Marathi - Participant 2

```
ChhAn Ahet kuTumba (0.5) chikara ni narimasu
Good are family
                       power PT become
```

My family is very nice. They are my strength. (code switching with Japanese sentence)

Three of these instances are expressing the speaker's emotion, and twice, these emotions have a negative connotation to them. One of the participants has code-switched to using the word taihen in the Marathi interview (Excerpt 23).

Code-switching to English from Marathi was frequent. Code-switching to English is habitual in Indian languages. Some were related to work and education such as "career, social work, company, corporate, students, thesis", etc.

The experience of certain events and social interactions create patterns of social scripts, i.e., knowledge of the sequence of events as a cognitive structure and these scripts or schemas guide similar interactions in the future (Kitayama & Markus 1994). Thus, speakers tend to speak in English while speaking about their work and education, (the language they have socialized in at their workplaces). The word *happyoo* 発表 (presentation) was also used in the context of the participant's Japanese work-life in Marathi.

Emotional English words used in Marathi interviews were – "positive", "negative", "comfortable", "looking forward", "no one to answer to", "motherly", "close" (relation), "special", "happy", "disturb", "attachment", "enjoy", "support", etc.

As mentioned by Pavlenko (2012) a person may be fluent in several languages but differ in terms of emotional expression. Emotional expression and speech content is largely influenced by culture, environment, and circumstances in which the language was learned (Ervin 1964). Code-switching allows a multilingual speaker cognitive control, regulation of emotional intensity, and cultural frame switching. Cognitive control over a language is disrupted by emotions experienced by a speaker (Williams et al 2020).

Following is an emotional discourse by Participant 2 in Marathi, regarding the ills of the society and their negative impact. Out of about 220 words, there are 49 English words, including entire sentences spoken in English.

Excerpt 35

Marathi - Participant 2

AplyA samAjAmadhe **particularly** malA baryAch weLelA \underline{paper} nahi wAcwat (0.8) Our In the society particularly I-DAT many times.DAT paper not read-POT

newspaper madhe jarA jAstach explicit tyAcha varNan alela asta
newspaper in little lot.EMPH explicit its description come is

news channel tar bhayAnakach astAt (0.5) paN (0.5) he suddhA malA kityek
news channel EMPH horrible are but this also I-DAT many

welela asa wAcwat nahi ki (0.8) malA saglyAt jAsta trAs hoNAri goshTa time-DAT SF read-POT no that I-DAT all-LOC most trouble happen thing

atta kuThli Ahe samAjAtli tar **caste** vagaire he sagLa (0.5) mhaNaje Now what is society-LOC QT et cetera this all means

Ahech (0.5) ki kAy bAlvivAha kinwa ajun kAykAy (0.5) paN malA sagLyAt is-EMPH QT what child-marriage or more whatnot but I-DAT all-LOC

ANi te (0.5) te ekamev jarii **eliminate** kartA Ala nA kAhitari kuthlyAtari And they they one only if do-POT come SF something something

jaducA kAnDine (0.5) tari I'll be the happiest person in the world asa malA magic-DAT wand-INST still OT T-DAT

wATata (0.6) baki saglya goshti na adults shi sambandhit Ahet mhaNaje caste Think other all things SF with related are like

kinwa arakshan kay (0.8) mag quota ch ahe (0.8) mag admission milali nahi Or reservation what then EMPH is then ant

still they can survive (0.8) tyanna tevdhi strength ahe mental, physical they-DAT that much

(0.5) lahan mula weak ahet mhaNaje weakest element of the society ANi tyAnchi and they-DAT Little kids are means

tumhi muskaTdAbii kartay ANi that is something (2.0) mhaNaje mala AttA you-PL torcher do-PL and means

boltAnA paN traas hotoy ((welled up and started sobbing)) speaking Also trouble happen

I feel that there are many evils in the society, I particularly cannot bear to read newspapers, I avoid it most of the time. I cannot tolerate it. And nowadays newspapers have an explicit description of everything, and news channels are even worse. But I cannot tolerate reading about it. The thing that troubles me the most in the society is- of course "caste" is a problem, and child-marriages, etc. but what disturbs me the most is child abuse. If by magic, just that one thing can be eliminated by a magic wand or something, I think I will be the happiest person in the world. All other things have to do with adults, such as caste, reservation, quota or not getting into your desired university (due to caste-based reservation), they can survive as they have the physical and mental strength to do so. But children are so weak, they are the weakest element of the society. Why are you abusing them? And that is something (wells up), I cannot even speak about it.

In both languages, the speaker has talked about the hassles faced while living in the society in both languages, the need to change and adjust. However, while speaking in Marathi, she got involved in the topic and went beyond descriptive statements to express her anger about the situation. After a point, she welled up, and frequently code-switched while doing so.

Prior literature states that native language has greater emotional involvement (Dewaele 2013). Here, the dominant language was Marathi. She did not speak the same content in Japanese. As mentioned earlier, code-switching to English is common and habitual in Indian languages. Heightened emotions interfere with cognitive control mechanisms for people who have multiple languages active in their brains. Therefore, code-switching occurs more loosely when the speaker is emotionally involved (Williams et al. 2020).

5. Conclusion

This study showed that native Marathi speakers with Japanese as an acquired language generally had more detailed and emotional narratives in Marathi than Japanese. This was most prominent while talking about Past and Family. The usage of certain words, characteristic of or specific to either language had an influence on the narratives in both languages - in terms of content, emotions, and subthemes in a category. Code-switching

was prominent in Marathi. Speakers mostly switched to English for multiple reasons (habit, emotional, cognitive control, etc.) and to some extent in Japanese.

6. Limitations

The same questions were presented to the subjects twice, one in each language, subjecting them to a practice effect. Although a considerable gap was given between the two interviews, the questions were familiar. In some interviews, this led to the second interview being shorter than the first one, while sometimes, it was more elaborate. Emotional expression and speech content is influenced by culture, environment, and circumstances in which the language has been learned (Ervin 1964). While some people may have an emotional distance from their native language, others may be more comfortable with their native language in terms of emotional expressions. Therefore, participants cannot be compared homogeneously. With each participant having a considerable amount of experience with the Japanese language, it is not possible to eliminate the impact of Japanese learning on the subjects' discourse in Marathi, and the impact of their Marathi language background on their Japanese speaking. Furthermore, the participant's state of mind during both interviews is also bound to guide their speech content, as an extraneous variable.

Therefore, taking the present research as a basis, this study invites further investigation into the emotional expression of multilingual people, in a more controlled, detailed, and broader manner.

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