

“That’s bitter!”

**Culture specific effects of gustatory experience on judgments of fairness and
advancement**

By

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. ABSTRACT

2. INTRODUCTION

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1. Conceptual Metaphor

3.2. Metaphorical Effect in Different Culture

3.3. Language Acquisitions and Acculturation

4. PRESENT RESEARCH

5. STUDIES

6. GENERAL DISCUSSION

7. REFERENCES

8. APPENDIX:

Abstract

In English, unfair treatment and social injustice are often described as “bitter” experiences, but in Chinese “eating bitterness” refers to endurance in the face of hardship. We tested the influence of these metaphors by assessing Canadian and Chinese participants’ responses to a fairness and an achievement scenario after incidental exposure to a bitter, sweet or neutral taste. A bitter taste experience increased Chinese (but not Canadian) participants’ judgments of effort and motivation in the face of hardship (Study 1). Bitter taste also increased perceptions of unfairness for Canadian participants (Studies 1-3) as well as Chinese participants who lived in Canada, provided they were tested in English (Studies 1 and 3) rather than Chinese (Study 3); it did not influence fairness perceptions of Chinese participants who had never lived in an English speaking country (Study 2).

Bitter food is rejected by most people, presumably because it is associated with toxins, which makes its avoidance adaptive (Desor, Maller & Andrews 1975; Glendinning, 1994). Nevertheless, bitter taste plays an important role in Chinese cuisine (Newman, 2004) and bitter tea is considered the soul of Chinese drink (Evans, 1992). In Chinese sayings, bitterness is associated metaphorically with concepts related to adversity. *Chi-Ku* (“eating bitterness”) means “to endure a hardship,” “to overcome difficulties,” and “to forge ahead” (Loyalka, 2012). Chinese children are taught to embrace the experience of *Chi-Ku* (eat their bitterness) because it is considered a necessary step on the road to success, as illustrated by sayings such as “only via eating bitterness can you surpass your peers.” Compatible with this link between bitter taste and hardship, Chen and Chang (2012) observed that a bitter taste experience increased the accessibility and retention of survival related words for Chinese participants.

This metaphorical meaning of bitter taste is uncommon in the English language and largely unfamiliar to Americans and Canadians. Instead, English speakers use the term *bitter* to describe a negative experience that results from unfair treatment or injustice (Oxford Dictionary, n.d). This link is exemplified by a famous quote from Emmeline Pankhurst, an early British feminist leader, who observed, “I have not personally suffered from the deprivations, the bitterness and sorrow which bring so many men and women to a realization of social injustice.”

These observations suggest an association between bitter taste and endurance of hardship in Chinese (but not in Canadian) culture and between bitter taste and injustice in Canadian (but not in Chinese) culture.

The present studies test whether these cultural differences in metaphors have downstream consequences: Does tasting something bitter influence Chinese (but not Canadian) participants' judgments of endurance and Canadian (but not Chinese) participants' judgments of injustice? We further test whether such cultural differences fade during extended exposure to the other culture and whether such acculturation effects depend on the language in which participants are tested.

Theoretical Background

Conceptual Metaphor

A rapidly growing body of research shows that abstract concepts are grounded in low-level, concrete concepts, consistent with the assumptions of conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999). From this perspective, people grasp concrete, lower-level constructs, such as bitterness, before they understand abstract constructs, such as hardship or injustice. The concrete construct can then be used to conceptualize abstract constructs, such as unfairness or adversity.

These metaphorical associations provide a pathway for the influence of sensory experience on judgment and choice (for reviews, see Landau, 2017; Landau, Meier, & Keefer, 2010; Lee & Schwarz, 2014). For example, physical temperature is used to describe social closeness and rejection as reflected in numerous sayings, such as giving someone a *warm welcome*, a *cold shoulder* or an *icy stare* (Ijzerman et al., 2012; Zhong & Leonardelli, 2008). More important, others are perceived as socially warmer when the perceiver experiences physical warmth (e.g., Williams & Bargh, 2008). Conversely, being socially isolated increases the desire for physical warmth (Zhong & Leonardelli, 2008). Other examples include the association of physical cleanliness and moral purity (Zhong & Liljenquist, 2006; for a review, see Lee & Schwarz, 2016) and the association of

smell and suspicion (Lee & Schwarz, 2012).

Metaphorical Effect in Different Culture

Whereas some metaphors are assumed to be universal (e.g., the links between physical and social warmth, smell and suspicion, and cleanliness and purity), others are culture specific. For example, in Chinese and English, describing a person as “spicy” conveys that the person is easy to anger and has aggressive qualities (Ji, Ding, Deng, Jing, and Jiang, 2013), whereas the same term in Hebrew conveys that the person is smart (Gilead, Gal, Polak and Cholow, 2015). Similarly, for English speakers, describing a person as “sweet” conveys that the person has an agreeable personality and is kind (Meier, Moeller, Riemer-Peltz, and Robinson, 2011) and benevolent (Gray, 2012). Consistent with this metaphor, tasting something sweet increases self-reported agreeableness and actual helping behavior among English speakers (Meier et al., 2011). In contrast, “sweetness” refers to inauthenticity and dishonesty in Hebrew (Kartriel, 1986; Gilead et al. 2015). Accordingly, Jewish-Israeli participants judged others as less authentic after tasting something sweet (Gilead et al. 2015). These findings suggest that similar sensory experiences can influence different judgments in different cultures and that their influence can be predicted on the basis of the respective culture’s applicable metaphor. But to date, the evidence is limited to comparisons across studies with

different sensory experiences, procedures, and dependent variables. The present studies provide a more direct test by using the same sensory experiences, procedures and judgment tasks in two different cultures.

Language Acquisitions and Acculturation

Acculturation, the process whereby the attitudes and/or behaviors of people from one culture are modified as a result of contact with a different culture (Maxwell 2002), or the integration of the second language speakers into the first language community is the most important factor resulting from second language acquisition (Schumann 1986). The acculturation the second language learners contact with the target linguistic speakers and interact with those speakers, which immediately causes language acquisition (Schumann 1978, 1986). The preceding sentence need revision. More importantly, Schumann (1976, 1978) proposed that the degree to which a learner acculturates to the target linguistic community influences the process of language acquisition. This means second language speakers (Chinese students in Canada) who live and study in Canada, bringing them socially and psychologically close to English language speakers (native peers and professors), have sufficient interaction with English speakers and absorb language knowledge. This kind of acquisition of new language (English) makes them bring a new metaphorical link into their minds (Sfard 1998). Finally, they

may own their knowledge on metaphorical link between bitterness and unfairness, and generate some extent of unfairness perception when tasting bitterness based on this knowledge. However, we proposed that this acquisition of English metaphors and acculturation influences bilingual participants on fairness perception only when they are tested in English. The Chinese language may provide greater distance for metaphorical effects because "language is a cultural mindset prime". Different cultural mindsets (e.g. values, beliefs, judgments) could be primed by different languages among bilingual speakers. (Chiu, Leung, & Kwan, 2007; Oyserman & Lee, 2007, 2008a; Lee et al 2010). For example, bilingual Chinese students' English values were primed and metaphorical link between bitterness and injustice was more salient for them when they were tested in English than those were tested in Chinese.

Present Research

We test the influence of incidental bitter, sweet, and neutral tastes on judgments of endurance in the face of hardship and judgments of fairness among native Chinese and native English speakers. In all studies, the native English speakers were Canadian students tested at a Canadian university; in studies 1 and 3, the native Chinese speakers were Chinese students in Canada and in study 2 they were students at a Chinese university who have never lived abroad. Based on the culture-specific metaphors discussed above, we predict that bitter taste influences (1) endurance related judgments for Chinese, but not for Canadian, participants and (2) fairness related judgments for Canadian, but not for Chinese, participants. We also explore (3) whether Chinese students living in Canada acquire the metaphors of their host country, resulting in an influence of bitter taste on judgments of fairness that is not observed among Chinese participants who have never lived in an English-speaking country. We further test (4) whether this acquisition of the host country's metaphor is more likely to be observed when the Chinese participants are tested in English rather than Chinese.

In addition to a bitter and neutral taste, we included a sweet taste for exploratory purposes. There is no specific metaphor that links sweetness with effort or fairness in a straightforward way. For example, an advantageous deal may

be described as “sweet” in either culture and this may or may not have connotations that the deal included some unfair advantage. However, sweetness is hedonically pleasant and its hedonic valence may improve evaluations across both judgments.

Study 1

Methods

This study follows a 3 (taste: bitter/water/sweet) x 2 (culture: Canadian/Chinese) factorial between-participant design. Previous effect sizes range from a partial $\eta^2 = .224$ for the influence of bitter taste on moral judgment (Eskine et al. 2011) to a partial $\eta^2 = .088$ for the influence of sweet taste on romantic perception (Ren et al. 2014). Using the latter effect size estimate leads to a required $N = 164$ for 95% power. Participants ($N = 165$; average age 20, 55.5% female) were students at a major Canadian university; 84 were native speakers of Chinese and 81 native speakers of English.

All participants were asked to complete three tasks presented in English. They first participated in a blind taste test in which they were randomly assigned to taste bitter lotus seeds (adapted from Chen & Chang, 2012; $n = 30$ Chinese, $n = 27$ Canadians), sweet candy ($n = 27$ Chinese, $n = 28$ Canadians), or water ($n = 26$ Chinese, $n = 27$ Canadians). The cover story of this task was that a food company

was interested in introducing new products, and the marketing department was testing which price consumers might be willing to pay for them.

Next, participants were asked to read two paragraphs, one related with adversity, and another related with fairness. The order of two paragraphs are randomized. For adversity task, they had to read a scenario about a suggested university rule that would require students to attend 12 courses and obtain at least an A grade in each course during their senior year. In addition, students would have to complete a thesis. Pretest participants drawn from the same population (N=90, $M_{\text{age}}=22.4$, 49.4% female) had perceived these rules as imposing a considerable degree of adversity on students ($M = 5.5$ on a 7-point scale). Participants reported how motivated they would be if they were facing these conditions and how much effort they would invest (for both questions, 1 = *not at all*, 7 = *very much*).

For fairness task, participants read a scenario describing an imagined job search experience. They had applied for a job in a very competitive industry and were rejected by the recruiter. Participants evaluated this scenario on a 3-item scale measuring perceived fairness and justice through the following questions (adapted from Gilliland, 1994): “How fairly were you treated by the recruiter?” “How likely is it that you were treated as equally as other applicants?” and “How fair is the decision?” (for all questions, 1 = *not at all*, 7 = *very much*). After having responded

to the dependent measures, participants reported, along 7-point rating scales, how bitter the food sample had tasted. ($1 = \textit{not bitter at all}$, $7 = \textit{very bitter}$). We put the taste manipulation check in the end of research to ensure that participants were not aware of bitterness priming because if we ask taste perception early, participants may be conscious of the bitterness, which would discount the effect of taste on the following dependent variables measurements.

Results and Discussion

Manipulation check. A one-way ANOVA confirmed the successful manipulation of participants' taste experience, $F(2, 162) = 88.978, p < .001, \eta^2 = 0.523$. Those assigned to the bitter taste condition perceived that taste as more bitter ($M = 5.68, SD = 1.98$) than those assigned to the sweet ($M = 1.92, SD = 1.56, p < .001$) and neutral ($M = 2.04, SD = 1.48, p < .001$) taste conditions. Also a one-way ANOVA showed there is no difference on participants' willing to pay for three different taste food. ($p > 0.250$)

Effort and motivation judgments. Our predictions hold that a bitter taste will influence Chinese, but not Canadian, participants' judgments of motivation and effort. Both of these interaction effects of culture and taste were obtained; $F(2, 159) = 5.253, p = .001, \eta^2 = 0.080$ for motivation, and $F(2, 159) = 3.722, p$

= .001, $\eta^2 = 0.081$, for effort. Simple effects and post hoc analyses showed that Chinese participants, who tasted bitter lotus seeds ($M = 5.70$, $SD = 1.09$) reported higher motivation than Chinese participants who tasted candy ($M = 4.14$, $SD = 1.27$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.908, 2.21]) or water ($M = 4.42$, $SD = 1.36$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.60, 1.95]); the latter two groups did not differ ($p > .250$). Chinese participants were also willing to put in more effort after a bitter taste ($M = 5.90$, $SD = 0.76$) than after a sweet ($M = 4.54$, $SD = 1.40$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.76, 1.97]) or neutral taste ($M = 5.04$, $SD = 1.48$; $p = .007$, 95% CI [.24, 1.48]). The latter two groups did not differ ($p > .250$). In contrast, the taste experiences did not influence Canadian participants' reports of effort or motivation (both $p > .250$).

In sum, experiencing a bitter taste influenced Chinese participants' judgments of effort and motivation, consistent with the Chinese metaphor of "eating bitter", but did not influence Canadian participants' judgments along these dimensions. These findings provide first evidence that a concurrent taste experience can influence judgments of effort and motivation. They further show that this influence is culturally constrained and only observed when participants' culture offers the applicable metaphor.

Fairness judgments. Our predictions further hold that a bitter taste will influence Canadian, but not Chinese, participants' judgments of fairness. However, the expected interaction effect of culture and taste was not significant, $F(2, 159) =$

1.640, $p = .197$, $\eta^2 = 0.020$.

As predicted, simple effects and post hoc analyses showed that Canadian participants judged the described job situation as more unfair after they tasted something bitter ($M = 2.11$, $SD = 0.83$) rather than something sweet ($M = 3.16$, $SD = 1.04$, $p = .004$, 95% CI [-1.76, -0.34]) or neutral ($M = 3.11$, $SD = 1.29$, $p = .004$, 95% CI [-1.71, -0.29]). The latter two conditions did not differ ($p > .250$).

Also as predicted, the fairness judgments of Chinese participants were not significantly influenced by the taste experience. Chinese participants did not judge the described job situation as more unfair after they tasted something bitter ($M = 2.94$, $SD = 1.59$) rather than something sweet ($M = 3.24$, $SD = 1.66$, $p > .25$, 95% CI [-0.991, 0.404]) or neutral ($M = 3.13$, $SD = 1.32$, $p > .25$, 95% CI [-0.895, 0.528]). As the results showed, only those Canadian participants who eat bitter food consider that the job rejection is less fair than those who eat sweet or drink water. This means the previous adversity task did not influence the following perception of fairness on job rejection.

In sum, the Chinese and Canadian patterns were sufficiently similar to thwart the predicted culture x taste interaction effect. This may reflect that the Chinese students acquired some of the cultural associations of their host country during their studies in Canada. If so, bitter taste should not influence fairness judgments among Chinese students who were not exposed to these cultural

influences. Study 2 addresses this possibility.

Study 2

Study 2 sought to replicate the fairness conditions of Study 1 in Chinese with Chinese students in China, who were never directly exposed to Anglo-American culture, to see whether language acquisition and acculturation influence the downstream effect of English metaphor of bitterness. (confusing here)

Methods

This study follows a 2 (culture: Canadian/Chinese) x 3 (taste: bitter/sweet/neutral) design. Consistent with the N of Study 1, we recruited a total of 160 participants, namely 72 native speakers of English from a major Canadian university ($n = 27, 24, 21$ in the bitter, sweet, and neutral conditions, respectively; average age=21.99, 43.1% female) and 88 native speakers of Chinese from a top Chinese university ($n = 30, 30, 28$ in the bitter, sweet, and neutral conditions, respectively; average age=20.3, 43.2% female). The Chinese participants had never lived in an English-speaking country. Participants were tested in their respective native language. The English language materials of study 1 were translated into Mandarin by a bilingual speaker and, for quality control, back-translated by a different bilingual speaker.

Following the procedures of Study 1, participants were assigned to one of

three taste conditions (bitter, sweet, neutral) and then read the job rejection paragraph and responded to measures of perceived fairness.

Results and Discussion

Manipulation check. After responding to the dependent variables, participants rated how bitter or sweet the tasted food was. A one-way ANOVA confirmed the effectiveness of the taste manipulation, $F(2, 157) = 128.32, p < .001, \eta^2 = 0.620$. Those assigned to the bitter taste condition ($M = 5.40, SD = 1.71$) perceived the food as more bitter than those assigned to the sweet ($M = 1.39, SD = 1.14, p < .001$) and neutral taste ($M = 1.92, SD = 1.37, p < .001$) conditions; the latter two conditions did not differ significantly.

Fairness judgments. A 3 (bitter vs. sweet vs. neutral) x 2 (Canadian vs. Chinese) factorial ANOVA revealed a significant main effect of culture, $F(2, 154) = 30.437, p < .001, \eta^2 = 0.165$, and a significant interaction effect between culture and taste, $F(2, 154) = 8.000, p < .0001, \eta^2 = 0.094$. Replicating Study 1, Canadians found the job situation less fair after tasting something bitter ($M = 2.05, SD = .95$) than after tasting something sweet ($M = 3.38, SD = 0.97, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [-1.89, -.761]$) or neutral ($M = 3.25, SD = 1.36, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [-1.79, -.62]$); the latter two conditions did not differ.

In contrast, Chinese participants were not influenced by the taste manipulation. They found the job situation similarly fair after tasting something

bitter ($M = 3.78$, $SD = .84$), sweet ($M = 3.57$, $SD = 0.96$, $p > 0.250$, 95% CI [-
.343, .765]), or neutral ($M = 4.02$, $SD = 1.07$, $p > 0.250$, 95% CI [-.810, .318]).

In sum, an incidental bitter taste influenced the fairness judgments of Canadian but not of Chinese participants. This pattern is reflected in a significant taste x culture interaction in Study 2 but not in Study 1, where the cultural differences were less pronounced. This suggests that some of the Chinese students tested in Canada had acquired their host country's metaphor. An influence of this Canadian metaphor may have been facilitated by testing the Chinese participants of Study 1 in English. Study 3 addresses this possibility.

Study 3

Study 3 provides a replication of Study 2 with students at a Canadian university who are either native speakers of English, tested in English; native speakers of Chinese, tested in Chinese; or native speakers of Chinese, tested in English. We expect that the fairness judgments of native speakers of English are influenced by incidental bitter tastes, replicating the preceding studies. Of interest is whether incidental bitter tastes also influence the fairness judgments of Chinese students living in Canada and whether this influence, if any, is more pronounced when tested in English than when tested in Chinese. In addition, we assessed participants' affective responses to the taste test to address the possibility that bitter

tastes may elicit a more negative response from Canadian than from Chinese participants, consistent with cultural taste preferences.

Methods

This study follows a 2 (taste: bitter/neutral) x 3 (culture: English tested in English/Chinese tested in Chinese/Chinese tested in English) between-participants design. A total of 276 students (42% female) at a major Canadian university participated. Of these participants, 114 were native speakers of English (n = 57 in the bitter and 57 in the neutral condition), 83 were native speakers of Chinese tested in English (n = 41 in the bitter and 42 in the neutral condition), and 79 were native speakers of Chinese tested in Chinese (n=36 in the bitter and 43 in the neutral condition). The uneven cell sizes are due to no-shows that could not be compensated for given the population limitations of the participant pool.

Following the procedures of Study 1 and 2, participants were assigned to one of two taste conditions (bitter, and neutral) and then read the job rejection paragraph and responded to measures of perceived fairness. In addition, participants report how negative they had felt after the taste test (1 = *not negative at all*, 7 = *extremely negative*), for how long they have spoken English and for how long they have been in Canada.

Results and Discussion

Manipulation check. After responding to the dependent variables,

participants rated how bitter or sweet the tasted food was. An independent t-test confirmed the effectiveness of the taste manipulation, $t(274) = 17.494$, $p < .001$, $d = 2.10$. Those assigned to the bitter taste condition ($M = 5.78$, $SD = 1.58$) perceived the food as more bitter than those assigned to the neutral taste conditions ($M = 2.29$, $SD = 1.73$).

In addition, participants reported feeling more negative after a bitter than after a neutral taste ($F(1,270) = 101.31$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .272$). However, reported affect did not differ between cultures ($F(1,270) = .30$, $p = .970$, $\eta^2 < 0.001$). Hence, observed cultural differences in judgment cannot be traced to differential affective responses to bitter tastes.

Fairness judgments. A 2(bitter vs neutral) x 3 (Canadian vs. Chinese tested in Chinese, vs Chinese tested in English) factorial ANOVA revealed a significant main effect of culture, $F(2,270) = 11.309$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .077$, a significant main effect of taste $F(1,270) = 4.782$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2 = .017$, and a significant interaction effect between culture and taste, $F(2,270) = 5.285$, $p = .006$, $\eta^2 = .038$. Replicating Studies 1 and 2, Canadians found the job situation less fair after tasting something bitter ($M = 2.18$, $SD = 1.09$) than after tasting something neutral ($M = 3.11$, $SD = 1.31$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [-1.389, -.470]). In contrast, Chinese participants tested in Chinese were not influenced by the taste manipulation. They found the job scenario as fair after tasting something bitter ($M = 3.63$, $SD = 1.09$) as after tasting

something neutral ($M = 3.38$, $SD = 1.34$), $p > .25$, 95% CI [-.304, .804]. Chinese participants tested in English fell in between these conditions. After tasting something bitter, they found the job scenario less fair ($M = 2.96$, $SD = 1.16$) than Chinese students tested in Chinese ($M = 3.63$, $SD = 1.09$, $p = .019$ 95% CI [-1.231, -.110]) and more fair than Canadian participants who were native speakers of English ($M = 2.18$, $SD = 1.09$, $p = .003$ 95% CI [.276, 1.280]) (Figure 1). No cultural differences emerged after a neutral taste, ($M = 3.11$, $SD = 1.31$ for Canadians; $M = 3.38$, $SD = 1.34$ for Chinese tested in Chinese; and $M = 3.12$, $SD = 1.32$, for Chinese tested in English).

Replicating Study 1, contrast analyses do not show a significant culture x taste interaction when we contrast Canadian participants with Chinese participants tested in English ($F [1,193] = 2.867$, $p = 0.09$, $\eta^2 = 0.015$); replicating Study 2, contrast analyses do show a significant interaction when we contrast Canadian participants with Chinese participants tested in Chinese ($F [1,189] p = 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.055$). In combination, these results suggest that people acquire the metaphors of their host country, but that these metaphors are more accessible and influential while speaking the host language rather than one's native language, in which the metaphor is not represented. (**Table 1**)

General Discussion

These studies highlight that members of different cultures can infer different things from the same sensory experience. In Chinese culture, bitterness represents endurance in adversity and children are taught to “eat their bitterness” in order to forge ahead (Loyalka, 2012). This association does not exist among native speakers of English, for whom bitterness is associated with concepts of unfairness and injustice. Accordingly, Chinese students who read about challenging academic requirements reported higher motivation, and the intention to invest more effort, when they had just tasted something bitter rather than something sweet or neutral (Study 1). In contrast, Canadian students’ reports of motivation and effort were unaffected by their taste experience (Study 1). We also explored deeper on this cultural difference from indulgence vs restraint in cross cultural model (Hofstede, 2011). Chinese society is a restrained community where people think gratification is regulated and controlled by strict norms, and they consider good results coming from adversity. On the other hand, Canada is a indulgent country where people tend to allow free gratification of basic human desires that bitterness is a disaster nothing related with future good outcomes.

Conversely, Canadians perceived a job rejection as less fair when they had just tasted something bitter rather than sweet or neutral, consistent with English language metaphors (Studies 1-3). However, Chinese students’ fairness judgments

depended on their exposure to the English language metaphor and the language of testing. The fairness judgments of Chinese students who had not been exposed to Canadian culture and were tested in their home country in Chinese were unaffected by the taste experiences (Study 2). The same held for Chinese students at a Canadian university, when tested in Chinese (Study 3). However, a significant influence of the host country's metaphors was observed when these students were tested in English (Study 3). The latter observation suggests that the language used influences the accessibility of the respective metaphors, which in turn moderates the inferences drawn from the same sensory experience. Future research may fruitfully address the trajectory of these learning processes and explore whether the acquisition of a new metaphoric association impairs the operation of a previously acquired metaphoric association.

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Figure 1

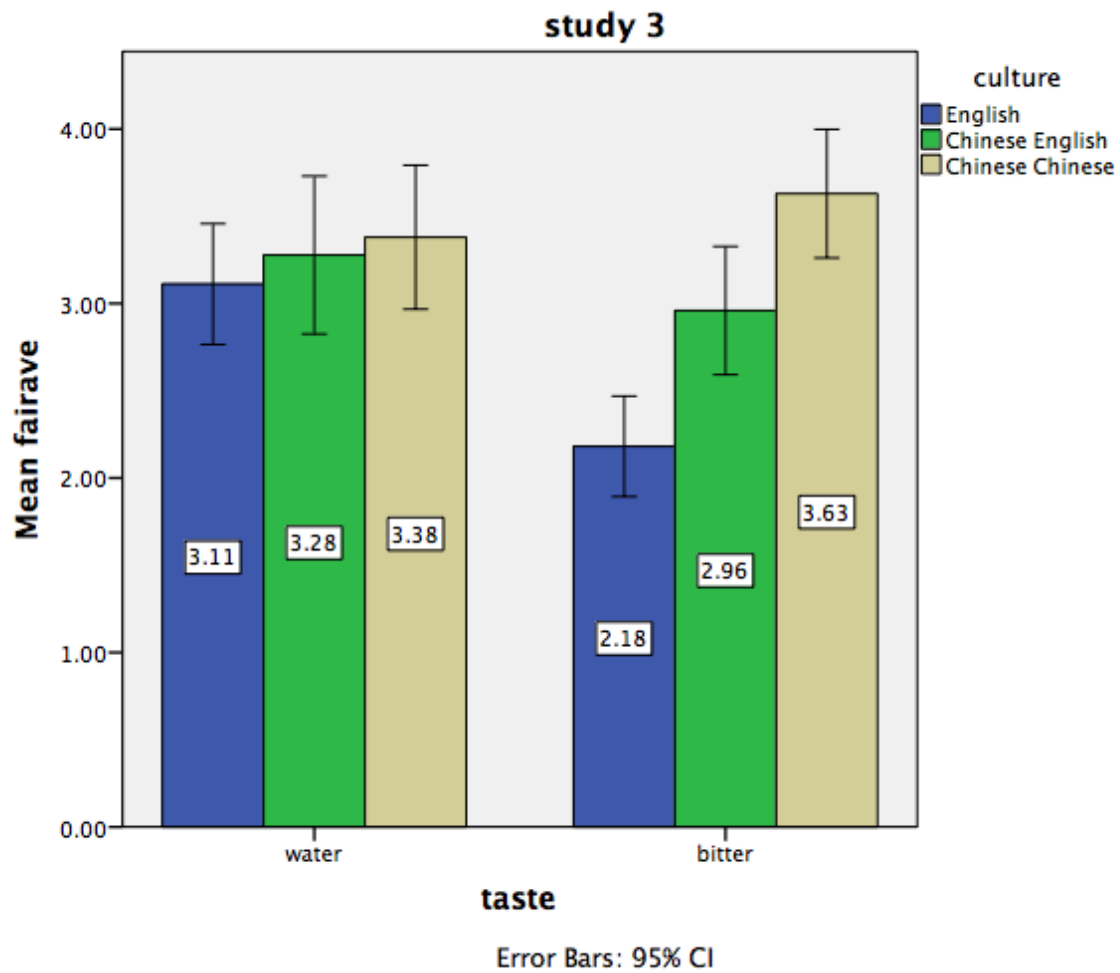


Table 1

	Bitter	Neutral	95% CI
Canadians	M=2.18	M=3.11	[-1.389, -.470]
Chinese in English	M=2.96	M=3.28	[-.220, .857]
Chinese in Chinese	M=3.63	M=3.38	[.803, -.307]

Appendix A:

Adversity context:

It is the last year of my undergraduate studies and I must prepare myself to enter the competitive job market by first resolving several remaining issues. First, I must complete ten courses over the duration of the remaining two terms. Second, I must receive a minimum grade of A in all of such courses and complete my honours thesis in this time in order to both be placed on the dean's honour list and to obtain an honours degree. Without an honours degree in the subject, I will not be able to work a decent job or apply for a graduate program in the future. Lastly, I have to retake two courses in which I had received a final grade of C in order to be able to maintain my GPA at the A level. Completing all of such tasks will allow me to find a decent job while in intense competition with my peers.

Appendix B

Job rejection context:

You are almost finished with your undergraduate degree and have achieved overall academic excellence in your studies. You were confident enough with your performance that you had decided to apply for a job in a relatively competitive job market. Despite feeling qualified, you are rejected by the recruiter. The recruiter states that his company will never recruit an employee as you are, and tells you to never waste his company's time again.