

**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF
FACIAL EXPRESSIONS AND EMBLEMS
BETWEEN JAPANESE AND AMERICANS**

Koji Akiyama

Yamanashi University

INTRODUCTION: Nonverbal Communication among the Japanese

The relation between one's emotions and his/her expression of them by nonverbal features such as facial expressions and gestures has traditionally been a very complicated one in Japan. The emotions one has from outside stimuli, such as being happy, sad, angry, or fearful, must be almost universal. However, the way of expressing these emotions outwardly must be at least to some extent cultural-bound. Emotions are expressed rather openly in some cultures and in very subtle and complicated ways in others. The Japanese belong to the latter case. Traditionally expressing one's emotions openly to others, especially in the case of men and women in higher social ranks, has often been considered ill-mannered, indiscreet, or even childish. The more formal the situation becomes, the more restricted their emotional expression is. There is a famous Japanese poem written in the tenth century in the Heian Period and compiles into The One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets. The original poem and its loose English translation are as follows:

Shinobu redo
Iro ni deni keri
Waga koi wa
Mono ya omou to
Hito no tou made.

Even though I try to conceal my feeling of love,
 It appears spontaneously on my face,
 So that others may ask me
 If I am lost in thoughts of love.

The poem was actually written by a man. However, it is true that in aristocratic society like the Heian Period, noble women often covered their faces with veils when they went outside. They stayed in their back rooms so that they would not have so many chances of meeting home visitors or people on the street. The poem tells us that the poet has been pretending to reproach himself although enjoying the natural appearance of love on his countenance even though he is a man.

To this practice was added the acceptance of Confucian ideas of modesty and humility. Thus the Japanese have molded and developed a unique way of thinking and behaving in the expression of their feelings. Expressing one's emotions with their faces is evaluated as cute when he/she is a child, however, it is a sign of immaturity or immodesty or even unpolished when he/she is an adult.

Display Rules

The situations in which expressions of emotions are allowed or expected vary from culture to culture and group to group. The rules governing the appropriate display or nondisplay of such expressions are called display rules. Laughter or smiles usually contain many meanings besides the expression of happiness for the Japanese. Of course the Japanese laugh and smile when they feel happy or funny; however, in that case, they try to be careful not to lose their modesty if it is in public. For example, as is often the case with the Japanese they do not laugh hard or loudly in a movie theater. Usually they stifle their laughter even if it is an extremely funny movie. Beside the expression of happiness or fun, the Japanese laugh or smile in other situations which makes people from other countries confused. Westerners at times critically consider Japanese smiles as "Mysterious Smiles". The Japanese try to keep their appearance of smiling faces when they do not understand, cannot answer questions, do not know how to behave properly, or even when confused or embarrassed. Moreover, when they are regretful or sad, they often try to hide their grief with a smile.

For example, in 1988 in the Sumo Wrestling world of Chiyonofuji, a yokozuna or championship rank sumo wrestler, was at last defeated. His consecutive winning record was stopped by Ohnokuni, another yokozuna, in the bout on the closing day of Kyusyu tournament. It is quite natural that a defeated person in that situation would be sad or regretful and almost feel like crying. However, Chiyonofuji, in answering the TV interview questions soon after the bout, behaved as if he was emotionally stable and even smiled and tried to keep cool. He answered all of the questions composedly keeping a smile on his face almost as if he

were a winner. But his eyes told his true feelings. They were turning red, at last being filled with tears. The TV camera showed his facial expressions and his eyes throughout the interview. It is traditionally accepted and expected among the Japanese that those who are in higher ranks will not cry or wear a face with tears in public even when they are defeated and sad. Rather they are expected to wear a smile in such situations.

Expressing emotions of sadness may be the primary purpose of crying, yet the Japanese also cry in other situations, such as emotional uplift, discomfort, discontent, anger, embarrassment, and even happiness. It is safe to say that crying is a basic form of displaying certain types of one's emotions and desires. For example, infants have no learned restrictions on crying behavior. However, the way and situation in which crying occurs seems to be culturally oriented and there are many interesting features of it in the Japanese society. Generally speaking, in Japan, women are allowed to cry more than men in ordinary situations. However, today those men who cry especially in public are considered disgraceful and effeminate. Even sentimental drinkers are often criticized and treated as burdens to the group. Those who cannot repress their tears rush to the restroom or some other place so as to avoid being noticed as would be the case if they wiped their tears with handkerchiefs.

There are, however, some occasions when silent weeping is welcome – wedding receptions as well as funerals. Guests at wedding receptions, the newlyweds, and their parents are often moved to tears. These days the ceremony procedures are elaborately planned to draw tears from the attendants. The more tears that are drawn, the more praise the reception gains.

The custom of repressing one's tears in public is not confined to modern times. According to the stories and poems written during the Heian Period, nobles often wiped their tears away with a cloth. Until very recently, however, it is often said that men *could* cry out loud in public except during the time of the last war. In one Kabuki play there is a scene in which a man who lost his child cries bitterly. Even just after World War II, when a strike organizer was forced to announce the strike's halt against his will, he began crying out loud in the midst of his announcement. He wept in spite of himself, in a Japanese expression, "Otoko-naki ni nai ta".

The expression of anger varies. The more sophisticated the person is, the more round-about or indirect his/her verbal and/or nonverbal expression of anger becomes and this attitude has been highly valued in Japanese society. In public formal situations they make every effort to keep a straight face by trying to control their temper. Verbally their expressions may sound cynical if everyone present relies on the conversational implicature of the utterance mentioned by Grice (1975) in his paper. However, if they cannot hold back their anger, gradually their faces become stiff, their eyes slant upward, and their tightly shut mouths begin shouting

at their opponent. The process of this change in countenance apparently has some similarities all over the world. The characteristic of the Japanese expression concerning anger is that the display rules, the inhibition or restriction of expressing the emotion, is socially much stronger than most other nationalities.

If the facial expressions and display rules of the Japanese are rather complex, to what extent do other people, especially Americans, understand their meaning? And how do the Japanese perform these expressions if they are asked to reveal their true emotions? In reverse, to what extent do the Japanese make an adequate interpretation of the facial expressions of Americans? How about other nonverbal features like emblems? These and other questions were the basis of joint research on comparing nonverbal features of the Japanese and Americans and their understanding of them.

RESEARCH PROJECT

"Analysis and Explanation of Facial Expressions and Emblems
in Two Cultures: Japanese and American"

Purpose

Manifestation of our emotions by facial behavior can be intentional or not. The behavior may be rather complicated and subtle. Comparing these basic facial expressions between the Japanese and Americans and investigating the comprehension of them for both parties must be of great value in the study of cross-cultural communication. In this project the comparative study of typical Japanese emblems and those of Americans has also been done. Emblems are independently meaningful gestures, for which there is usually a word or phrase which can be substituted. An English example would be the gesture for "OK" or "Come here."

Hypotheses

First of all, for the comparative study of facial expressions and emblems, we built up three hypotheses to test and they are as follows:

1. Some of the basic facial expressions of our emotions are mutually comprehensible for both parties while others are not.
2. Emblems which are highly culturally-bound are incomprehensible to non-natives. A subheading of this is: culture-bound emblems will not be comprehended unless the meaning is taught, even when they have often been shown through mass media and seen as part of interpersonal communication.
3. If these facial expressions and emblems are to be learned by non-natives, the latter will be better memorized and maintained than the former by non-natives. That is, emblems will be learned in less time than will the facial expressions.

In order to verify these hypotheses, some tests named DOFA (Development of Facial Awareness) and DOGA (Development of Gestural Awareness) were developed. These and post-tests were carried out in both countries. This paper primarily deals with the Japanese side of the project.

Method

The co-researchers on this project, Hoffer and Akiyama, made arrangements to exchange the DOFA/DOGA videotapes for demonstration and the results so that they could be compared and analyzed. In order to make demonstration tapes four students (two male students from Yamanashi University and two female students from Yamanashi Eiwa College) in Japan and Susan Gilliam in the U.S. demonstrated ten facial expressions according to the items proposed by Ekman and Friesen (1982) and somewhat expanded by Leathers (1977). For the emblems, the male students demonstrated fifteen gestures typical of Japanese and Gilliam did the same number of features typical of Americans. Since emblems differ culture by culture, some emblems use different movements to transmit the same meaning. The resulting videotapes were exchanged so that tests could be conducted in each country. The students of Trinity University in Texas and those of Yamanashi University and Yamanashi Eiwa College in Japan participated in the tests. About eighty junior high school students and about ninety senior high school students in Yamanashi Prefecture also participated in the test. For a base-line for comparing the data and analyzing the results, the tapes were run on the native side as well as on the non-native one. The ten facial expressions demonstrated on the tape are listed below.

Facial Expressions

- | | |
|------------------|--------------|
| 1. Anger | 6. Fear |
| 2. Bewilderment | 7. Happiness |
| 3. Contempt | 8. Interest |
| 4. Determination | 9. Sadness |
| 5. Disgust | 10. Surprise |

Each of the four students performed the expressions in the same, non-alphabetic order. Both sides used an order which began with an expression that Ekman and others had found almost universally recognized in their wide-ranging studies. All of the Japanese students performing these facial expressions said that they had most difficulty in expressing the emotions of "Disgust," "Contempt" "Bewilderment". On the videotape, they held each of the expressions for about fifteen seconds. Gilliam gave each of the ten expressions twice. The students taking the test had a paper on which the ten basic facial expressions were printed in alphabetical order so that they could match the number with the right

expression. In order to have a base-line, the videotape of model #4 (a male student) was used to test the students. The test was administered at Yamanashi Eiwa College with seventy-four students. Hoffer gave the same test with thirty-one students at Trinity University using the Japanese tape model #2 and #4. After a week he gave the same students at Trinity the DOFA Post-Test. On the other hand, the test of the American tape was given to ninety-nine students at Yamanashi Eiwa College and to fifteen students at Yamanashi University. After a week the DOFA Post-Test of American facial expressions was given to those fifteen students at Yamanashi University.

In testing the emblems there were fifteen different emblems for each country. The students were asked to write down the meaning or meaning area of each on their answer sheets. If they thought they could figure out the general idea, they were to write down their guess. After a week the Post-test was also given.

Emblems

Japanese emblems	American emblems
1. Money	1. Money
2. <u>Sake</u>	2. Proud, snobbish
3. Woman, girlfriend	3. Crazy, foolish
4. Effeminate	4. No No ("Don't do that")
5. Entreaty	5. 37
6. Embarrassed	6. Good luck!
7. Anger	7. Over my head/It's too hard!
8. Boasting	8. Maybe so, maybe not
9. A fake	9. Stop! (a strong gesture)
10. Crazy, foolish	10. Sit down/Slow down
11. Calling attention	11. Hurry up!/Speed it up!
12. Denial	12. Come here (to adults)
13. Fighting	13. Come here (to children)
14. Dismissal	14. You got it!/Correct!
15. Thief, shoplifting	15. "I" or "Me"

The description of the behaviors for each emblem is as follows:

Japanese emblems

1. forming a circle with one's thumb and forefinger at stomach level.
2. curving one's thumb and forefinger as if holding a small cup and moving the hand across one's mouth.
3. extending one's little finger from the fist.
4. placing the back of one's right hand close to one's left cheek.
(or left hand to one's right cheek)

5. moving one's hand back and forth repeatedly as if praying.
6. scratch one's head.
7. holding one's forefingers to the side of one's forehead showing horns
8. putting one's fist(s) on one's nose.
9. wetting one's fingertip with spit and placing it on eyebrow
10. raising one's fist to the side of one's head, twirling it and opening it quickly.
11. coughing into one's fist with a side glance.
12. waving one's hand repeatedly like a window wiper.
13. crossing the forefingers repeatedly like two swords in a sword-fight.
14. making a cutting motion on the side of one's neck with the edge of one's palm.
15. crooking one's forefinger.

Result and Explanation

The result of the comparative tests of Japanese facial expressions and emblems on American students and on Japanese students are as follows. All the figures listed show the percentage of correct answers.

(#2)	Americans	
	<u>Right</u>	<u>Wrong</u>
1. Happiness	100	0
2. Anger	42	58
3. Surprise	97	3
4. Fear	7	94
5. Disgust	10	91
6. Sadness	26	74
7. Interest	65	36
8. Contempt	16	84
9. Bewilderment	7	93
10. Determination	19	81

(#4)	Americans		Japanese	
	<u>Right</u>	<u>Wrong</u>	<u>Right</u>	<u>Wrong</u>
1. Happiness	100	0	57	43
2. Anger	38	63	51	49
3. Surprise	39	61		8
92				
4. Fear	26	74		7
93				
5. Disgust	17	83	15	85
6. Sadness	25	75	35	65
7. Interest	63	37	68	32
8. Contempt	9	91	15	85
9. Bewilderment	58	42	65	35
10. Determination	21	79	23	77

Wrong answers include "no answers." The breakdown of the mistaken answers of the model #4 on the part of Japanese students is instructive.

1. Happiness as	Interest	19%
	Determination	14%
2. Anger as	Disgust	16%
	Contempt	14%
	Determination	14%
3. Surprise as	Happiness	36%
	Interest	30%
	Determination	12%
4. Fear as	Contempt	34%
	Disgust	24%
	Anger	19%
5. Disgust as	Contempt	20%
	Bewilderment	16%

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6. Sadness as	Sadness	15%
	Contempt	19%
	Disgust	14%
	Fear	9%
7. Interest as	Happiness	11%
	Surprise	11%
	Determination	7%
8. Contempt as	Anger	22%
	Sadness	22%
	Disgust	19%
9. Bewilderment as	Surprise	27%
10. Determination as	Happiness	34%
	Surprise	15%
	Interest	08%

The results of the tests on the emblems are as follows:

	Americans		Japanese	
	<u>Right</u>	<u>Wrong</u>	<u>Right</u>	<u>Wrong</u>
1. Money	0	100	97	3
2. <i>Sake</i> ("drink" 100)	0	0	51	49
3. Woman, wife	0	100	92	8
4. Effeminate	0	100	92	8
5. Entreaty)	0	100	99	1
6. Embarrassed ("puzzled" 87)	0	100	99	1
7. Anger	0	100	97	3
8. Boasting	0	100	99	1
9. A fake	0	100	22	78
10. Crazy, foolish			100	0
11. Calling attention			0	100

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8	12.	Denial	0	100	92
12	13.	Fighting	0	100	88
3	14.	Dismissal	0	100	97
23	15.	Thief, shoplift	0	100	77

Wrong answers includes "no answers." The breakdown of the wrong answers to the Japanese emblems for both countries gives the following list:

1. Americans interpreted "money" as "good, OK" 45%
2. Japanese interpreted "sake" as "drink" 47%
3. Japanese interpreted "woman" as "promise" 8%
9. Japanese interpreted "fake" as "charm" 22% No Answers 34%
11. Japanese interpreted as only "coughing" 35% "having a cold" 12%
15. On Japanese part, No Answers 7%

It is interesting to note that as for the DOFA Test, most Americans could recognize the meaning of the facial expression "Happiness" and "Surprise" performed by the Japanese while only about half of the Japanese could recognize "Happiness". Those of "Fear", "Disgust", "Bewilderment" were hard to recognize for both countries. It is also remarkable that only less than ten percent of the Japanese could perceive the meaning of "Surprise". The features "Anger" and "Sadness", for which the percentage of the Japanese recognition is somewhat higher than Americans, gained only about thirty to fifty percent of right answers. Since the expressions "Happiness", "Sadness" and "Anger" seemed to be rather basic emotions of our heart, the result brings up the question why the latter two should be misinterpreted by both countries. One reason is that the students asked to perform the expressions were amateurs and not cultivated performers. However, as they commented at the time of recording, they had difficulty in wearing the facial expressions because they have been trained to suppress their emotions openly especially in the presence of other people. Both American and Japanese students got a high score for "Interest"; more than sixty percent of them could give the right answer. This is partly because of the many similarities in the components

in the behavior. Both the Japanese models and American model opened their eyes wide wearing an inquisitive face and shaking their heads slightly forward.

The Japanese students misinterpreted "Fear" as "Contempt" or "Disgust" while "Disgust" was interpreted as "Contempt" or "Bewilderment" and "Contempt" was interpreted as "Anger" or "Sadness". And "Sadness" was also interpreted as "Contempt" or "Disgust". These facts tell us that the Japanese had a hard time in recognizing the expressions "Fear", "Disgust" and "Contempt" which are often accompanied by other verbal and/or nonverbal features to express the meaning. It is difficult for them to convey or perceive the meaning, however, with only the facial expression.

In regard to the DOGA Test of the Japanese emblems, all emblems except three were not problematic to the Americans while those three were answered almost 100% correctly by Japanese. The emblems answered correctly or nearly correctly by Americans are "sake", "embarrassed" and "crazy/foolish." For the

emblem expressing "sake," all the Americans thought it had to do with a beverage. The gesture suggests part of the meaning and is therefore an iconic one. More than half of the Japanese recognized the emblem distinctively for "sake" by using the phrase "Let's have a drink (tonight)!" Forty-seven percent out of forty-nine of the wrong answers by the Japanese gave "drink" for the emblem. Many Japanese informants suggested the meaning of drinking alcoholic beverages, especially "sake" in their answers "nomu" which is often equivalent to "drink sake." If it is so, the percentage of the right answers for the emblem would be almost a hundred.

Concerning the emblem #6 (scratching one's head) which means "embarrassment", about ninety percent of the Americans answered "puzzled" which is part of the meaning. In contrast to this fact, more than half of the Japanese put the meaning "embarrassment" while the other half answered "puzzled." The model in the tape is scratching his head with a smile on his face. This facial expression was a cue for the Japanese informants to answer correctly.

All Americans as well as Japanese could answer #10 meaning "crazy or foolish" correctly. This fact suggests that the emblem may be borrowed, or incidentally the same, or autonomic for humans. Further research of this type of emblems should be done in the future. As for the emblems #9 and #11, mayutsuba meaning "fake" and sekibarai meaning "calling attention", about eighty percent of the Japanese students could not recognize their meanings. The former, #9 must be outdated for the students even though they seem to know the expression "mayutsuba" or "mayutsuba-mono" meaning "fake." Or the students might pay attention only to the funny movement of the fingertip and misunderstand it to be "charm" which obtained also twenty-two percent among the wrong answers. The model performed the emblem #11 sekibarai with a side glance to emphasize the meaning. However, most of the informants overlooked the movement of the eyes. Or the emblem may be also outdated. It received the right answer only eighteen percent of the time, even for the natives. This is the lowest score among these fifteen emblems.

In regard to the emblem #1 "money", about a half of the Americans recognized it as "good, OK." The essential point concerning this emblem by the Japanese model is that a circle made with his thumb and forefinger was placed at stomach level without showing his palm and keeping his hand horizontal. It means only "money" for the Japanese. Expressing the meaning of "good, OK" requires the Japanese to take the same emblem as Americans do: showing a circle with the palm forward on the shoulder level. However, the American emblem is also often used for the meaning "money" by the Japanese in Japan.

As for the emblem #3 meaning "women, girlfriend, wife," this emblem of extending one's little finger from the fist has been traditionally popular among the Japanese. This is also used as a Japanese sign language meaning the same thing. A

few years ago the emblem had been used comically in a Japanese TV commercial to popularize the device of giving up smoking and became a vogue. It goes like this; Three men appear in the scene. One of them shows the device shaped like a cigarette and says, "I stopped smoking by using this. Another man repeats the same phrase. The last man shows this emblem, extending his little finger and says seriously, "I left (or stop) my company by this" (implying that he had an affair with a girl in his office and was forced to quit his job.) Just at the same time, "furin" which means an illicit love especially in one's office became common talk in Japanese society, and the TV ad became very popular. Even a Japanese child these days might know the emblem and its meaning quite well.

On the DOGA Test of the American emblems on the Japanese students, the following list of the items and results were obtained. Group A represents the College students, Group B the University students, Group C the Junior High School students and Group D the Senior High school students.

DOGA-Test for Group A

Group A (99)	Percentage		
	<u>Right</u>	<u>Wrong*</u>	
1. Money		14	86
2. Proud, snobbish		58	42
3. Crazy, foolish	84	16	
4. No, no		99	1
5. 37	6	94	
6. Good luck!		21	79
7. Over my head. (It's too difficult)	0	100	
8. Maybe so, maybe not		25	75
9. Stop!	78	22	
10. Sit down, slow down		85	15
11. Hurry up! Speed it up!		46	54
12. Come here (to adult)		96	4
13. Come here (to pets, etc.)	12	88	
14. You got it! You are correct!	94	6	
15. "I" or "Me"	92	8	

* (including "No Answers")

DOGA-Test for Group B

Group B (15) Percentage

		<u>Right</u>		<u>Wrong</u>
1.		27		73
2.		40		60
3.		80		20
4.		100	0	
5.		7		93
6.		67		33
7.		7		93
8.		27		73
9.		87		13
	10.		100	0
	11.		47	53
	12.		100	0
	13.		7	93
	14.		80	20
	15.		93	7

DOGA Post-Test for Group B

Group B (15) Percentage

		<u>Right</u>		<u>Wrong</u>
1.	93	7		
2.		93	7	
3.		93	7	
4.		100		0
5.		93	7	
6.	100	0		
7.		64	36	
8.	53	47		
9.	100	0		
10.	100	0		
11.	73	27		
12.		100		0
13.		87	13	
14.	93	7		

15. 93 7

Group C (74) **DOGA-Test for Group C**
Percentage

	<u>Right</u>	<u>Wrong</u>
1.	0	100
2.	23	77
3.	73	27
4.	84	16
5.	8	92
6.	0	100
7.	0	100
8.	3	97
9.	69	31
10.	88	12
11.	26	74
12.	89	12
13.	57	43
14.	85	15
15.	77	23

Group D (88) **DOGA Test for Group D**
Percentage

	<u>Right</u>	<u>Wrong</u>
1.	20	80
2.	33	67
3.	82	18
4.	99	1
5.	21	79
6.	0	100
7.	4	96
8.	14	86
9.	85	15
10.	90	10
11.	28	72
12.	98	2
13.	42	58

14.	93	7
15.	85	15

As for the DOGA Test of the American emblems on the Japanese students, some of them like "Crazy or foolish," "No, no. You should not do that," "Stop!," "Sit down, slow down," "you've got it! You are correct," and "I or Me" have got a very high score of the right answers; more than eighty percent of the students have known the meanings. Even the students of the junior and the senior high school could get the right answers. They may have seen these emblems on TV or some of them may be iconic and easy to guess from the movement of the model. But some of the other emblems like "Money," "37 with hand blinks," "Good luck!," "Maybe so, maybe not" are in a very low score even though the correct answers of them has a tendency of increase according to the students' age and the level of education. That means the students will have a chance of encountering such emblems and recognize the meanings in their English classrooms or through mass media, especially through the American TV dramas or movies broadcast on TV in Japan these days. This tendency of the right answers is suggestive of the results of the DOGA Post-Test.

As for the American emblems as well as the Japanese emblems, the score of the Post-Test becomes as a whole very high. That means students can easily learn and remember the true meaning of the emblems after a brief instruction by the teachers. Because emblems are originally fixed ones and there are no masked ones as is often seen on facial expressions, once they are taught and learned, they remain in people's memory and they are maintained through time.

Recently many English textbooks for junior high school students in Japan have included some typical American gestures. And generally speaking, the Japanese students have much more knowledge on American emblems than Americans have on Japanese emblems. So the Japanese teachers of English should have more understanding of the usefulness of using gestures and teaching some typical American emblems. Two types of emblems are especially useful: those emblems which can be used positively and those emblems which can be used for recognition in encountering English in natural situations. It is certain that the teaching and learning of emblems in the language classrooms will increase students' interest in the social and cultural aspects of the language which will lead into the actual mastery of the language.

CONCLUSION

At this introductory stage of the project, the facts obtained from the comparative research on the facial expressions and emblems of the Japanese and Americans are limited. However, with reference to the hypotheses mentioned above, the following argument and insight would be arrived at. In regard to the hypothesis 1, even if admitting that the models' expressions of their emotions were

not fully developed, there are many features of facial expressions including the very basic ones like "Sadness" and "Anger" which are difficult for not only Americans but also the Japanese to recognize the meanings. Especially the ones of "Fear" "Disgust" and "Contempt" were most difficult to recognize by both parties while "Bewilderment" gained a rather high score by the Japanese in contrast to the lowest score by Americans. The Japanese models had a hard time in distinguishing the expressions of "Fear" "Disgust" and "Contempt" just because they were not used to expressing "Disgust" and "Contempt." So at the time of recording there were some similarities among these three expressions. As for the expression "Bewilderment," The Japanese models wore a little smile on their faces as is often the case for the Japanese and that might make the American students misinterpret the facial expression.

As for the expression of "Surprise" and its very low score of understanding by the Japanese and their misinterpreting it as "Happiness" and "Interest," there might be some relation to the wide opened eyes and the smile of the Japanese models. From these it may be deduced that some of the basic facial expressions of the Japanese may be comprehensible for Americans, however, there also remains a rather high percentage of misinterpretation of them because of the fact that the Japanese facial expressions are complex and subtle. Hypothesis #2 has been verified by the fact that most emblems of the Japanese presented this time were incomprehensible for Americans while most of them easily perceived by the Japanese. Nowadays there are many chances for Americans to watch Japanese emblems on TV or through their interpersonal communication, however, it may be hard for them to recognize the real meaning of them without teaching them their meanings.

The same thing can also be true for the American emblems tested on the Japanese students. There are some American emblems which are familiar to the Japanese these days such as "coming here," "You've got it," and "I or Me" and some other iconic ones. However, there are still many which are not familiar with the Japanese and are difficult for them to recognize such as "Money," "Hand blink expressing a figure ten," and "Over my head. It's too difficult," and "Maybe so, maybe not", and so on. If the Japanese happen to see these emblems typical for Americans, they will probably overlook or misinterpret them unless they have been taught in some ways, as in the classroom. Once they are taught, they apparently remain in the memory as this research of the DOGA and DOGA Post-Test has shown. That is the proof of the Hypothesis #3: foreign emblems can be better memorized and maintained than those of facial expressions.

If these emblems are taught in our classrooms on any level, alongside teaching verbal and conversational features of the language, our mutual understanding would surely be increased from the start and it surely enhance our

cross-cultural communication and make it much more smooth and fruitful. It would not take much time to teach or learn foreign emblems; in fact, the project has led to a reasonable conclusion at this stage. The teaching of facial awareness and emblems can result in positive effects on our cross-cultural communication.

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