The Meaning of *takut* 'fear' by Indonesian-speaking School-age Children

Wuri Prihantini[1] Bernadette Kushartanti[1,*]

[1] *Linguistics Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia*
[*]*Corresponding author. Email:* kushartanti.hum@ui.ac.id

ABSTRACT

This study examines the use of the Indonesian emotion word of fear, *takut*, by Indonesian-speaking children. The question to be addressed in this study is: how do Indonesian-speaking school-age children give meaning and define *takut* 'fear'? This study aims is to explain children's meaning and language construction of *takut* 'fear'. This study, compares two age groups, 6-7- year-old children and 10-11-year-old children. This study used qualitative and quantitative approaches. Participants in this study were school-age children (N=167). This study's main data is children's writing, which is based on two questions: "*Menurut kamu, takut itu apa?*" 'according to you, what is fear?' and "*Mengapa kamu takut?*" 'why do you have the feeling of fear?'. We copied and transformed the data into text format. The meaning and definition of *takut* are analyzed qualitatively. The occurrences of words that associate with *takut* are analyzed quantitatively using antconc software. It is found that the children in both groups tended to use truncated sentences in attributive to define the meaning of *takut* and to explain the reason of being feared. They also tended to associate *takut* with *setan* 'satan' and *seram* 'spooky', indicating that the word associates with something visual and imaginative.

Keywords: Takut, Emotion, Indonesian-Speaking Children, Child Language

1. INTRODUCTION

Language and emotion are parts of human life. Both have functions in interactions. Emotion understanding refers to conceptual knowledge on subjective feelings, physical reaction, cognition, action impulses, and various sufficient regulation strategies (see Denham [1]; Pons and Harris [2]; Cole et al [3]; see also Streubel [4]. The ability to express, understand, and manage emotion is essential for individuals and human interactions. Children learn how to express, understand, and manage their emotions through language as part of their development. Children's ontogenetic development is an acquired competency to regulate their emotions in coordinated and socially acceptable ways [5]. These competencies are gained from regulation strategy, development of executive functions, and language development.

There are essential components in emotion understanding which develop during childhood: emotion understanding based on expressive cues; understanding of the importance of external causes such as desires, beliefs, and reminders; understanding of the control of emotion which is expressed and experienced; understanding of the mix of social and moral emotion. According to Streubel, et. al.[4], emotion understanding is an integral part of emotional competence in child development. This ability refers to conceptual knowledge on emotion, including reasoning, subjective feelings, physiological reactions, cognition, impulses, and adequate regulation strategies. Through these abilities,

children can identify their friend's expressions or understand other people's feelings in certain circumstances. Streubel also added that emotion understanding starts at six years old and continues until school-age. Children reach their understanding of reflective emotion at this stage, including emotion regulation strategy and its effect, and understanding of hidden matters, and understanding of moral emotions.

Children already show that competence in language positively correlates with emotion understanding at a very young age, especially through the emotional situation and facial expressions (see Cutting and Dunn [6]. Accordingly, Beck et al. [7] found that receptive vocabulary and strongly correlate with facial emotion identification, knowledge of the emotional situation, and awareness of mixed emotions as a child's ability to relate one (kind of) emotion a certain situation. Young children learn abstract concepts after they already acquired adequate language competence to relate grammar into meaning in language to map interpretation of an ongoing event and situation [8] [9].

One of the basic emotions is fear [10]. Zakharov [11] stated that a child's fear reflects his/her personal development. Further, Zakharov also indicated that there is a standard fear in each stage of development, due to intellectual and cognitive development. Fear is an abstract concept but can be expressed and described verbally. This is one of the emotional concepts that children learn.

Lindquist et al. [12] defined fear as an emotion that emerges in a context when uncertainty occurs, when someone steals something from others, and when there is a vasocontraction and increased heartbeat. Also, Labar [13] asserted that fear is a negative emotion emerging as a response to a threat, motivating someone to survive and defend his/her group. In humans, fear is usually accompanied by the most prominent feeling, such as anxiety or a persistent situation. Children's fears usually are normative, and only a few children are so disturbed that they must be clinically treated [14]. Moreover, children's fears are various, depending on daily activities or experiences. Cultures also influence the meaning of fear [15] [16] [17] [18] [19].

Fear, as an abstract concept, cannot be separated from the association of meaning. Ponari et al. [20] mentioned that abstract words have emotional associations; therefore, children use the association for the meaning of emotion, including fear. Further, the larger vocabulary they have, the more associations they have to give meaning to abstract words [21]. For example, when Indonesian children were asked about the meaning of *takut* 'fear', they tended to give "irrational" answers, such as setan 'devil', kuntilanak 'a female devil', or hantu 'ghost'. Adults consider such answers as imaginative beings. According to Kayyal et al. [22], children's understanding of fear can be influenced by real and imaginative things. Further, Kayyal et al. also added that experience and maturity lead to the acquisition of emotion concepts. The concept of fear can be acquired when they witness or experience life-threatening events or experience ambiguous situations, such as being in a dark place, hearing strange voices in the bathroom, and so on. These experiences are interpreted as something scary. Additionally, they might hear urban legends or traditional beliefs that are related to ghosts from adults. Besides, children like to associate fear with something real, imaginary, or both. It is in line with Clark [23], in that children represent their experiences through words and use their conceptual knowledge and organize it when they know the meaning and the construction of a new word. Besides, Clark also stated that children could define something by using different words and from different perspectives. They learn how to do it from their surroundings.

Understanding an emotional concept and representing it through language to others are children's special skills. These skills are learned at a very young age. Salmon et al. [24] stated that emotional competence is needed to succeed in the social and educational world. It is an ability to manage emotional expression and experience. Knowledge of emotion relates to linguistic competence and develops within interactions between parents and child.

How children perceive and give meaning to fear and what arises from these meanings, and whether the word association relates to the form of meaning in children's language is quite interesting. During school-age, children's ability to produce words' meanings and use

these words in various spoken and written discourses increases. For children, including Indonesian children, expressing feelings, including fear, is a part of being social, and it is learned socially. It is important to investigate how they describe and give meaning to fear.

This study examines the use of the Indonesian emotion word of fear, *takut*, by Indonesian-speaking children. The question to be addressed in this study is: how do Indonesian-speaking school-age children give meaning to and define *takut* 'fear'? This study aims to explain children's meaning of *takut* 'fear' and the reasons for being afraid expressed in language. This study uses qualitative and quantitative approaches. This study's data source is children's writings, which are based on two questions: *Menurut kamu, takut itu apa?* 'according to you, what is fear?' and *Mengapa kamu takut*? 'why are you scared?'. In this study, we compare two age groups: 6-7-year-old children and 10-11-year-old children, describing *takut* and examining the association of *takut* with other terms.

This article deals with language and emotion, which are used by children. In the following section we present a brief literature review of studies on the children's language related to emotion, and some studies focus on children's fear. A description will follow the section on the method we used in this study, and a section of results and discussion, followed by a conclusion.

2. CHILDREN'S LANGUAGE AND EMOTION: A BRIEF REVIEW

Research on children's language and emotion have been conducted to investigate several aspects. The following research used data from Indo-European-speaking children. For examples, understanding emotion associated with children's mental state [25], understanding emotion by preschool children [26] [27] and school-age children [28], the component of evaluation in children's narratives which are associated with emotion and mental state [29].

It is already alluded to previously that emotion understanding is closely related to association, which is expressed in language and understood through language [26] [4]. It is also closely related to linguistic skills, both receptively and productively. A study by Declercq et al. [30] on emotion understanding in children aged 4 to 7 years old using pictured cards showed that children are easier to understand a concrete concept than an abstract one. Thus, emotion words could to be understood when they can be matched to children's sensory experiences. Harris [31] has studied the relationship between children's imagination and reality. The study finds that children build concepts through observation and experience. These finding also shows that emotion understanding is a part of the semantic acquisition.

In the study of the semantic acquisition, Storkel and Adlof [32] examined the influence of semantic set in preschoolers' vocabulary learning. It was found that

children can learn new vocabularies easier with semantic representations they are familiar with than with unfamiliar ones. Moreover, the semantic-association relation between lexical items develops at a very young age [33] [34], as well as the organization of the lexicon-based on semantic principles. Arias-Trejo and Plunkett [33] also found that both word association and taxonomy adequately to activate the occurring lexical-semantic network.

Research on children's language and fear has been conducted in several foci, such as the stages of the acquisition of fear, the influence of children's social environment (including the parent's socio-economic status), the forms, and in association with other things. Muris and Field [35] classified three stages of the acquisition of fear. For infant to six-year-old children, fear associates with sounds, wound, fall, and strange events; for children aged 4 to 7 it also includes imaginary creatures, physical pain, nightmares, and bad dreams; and for children aged 8 to adolescents aged 18, fear is related to social matters and physical pains. Several studies show that children's environment influences the acquisition of fear [36] [35] [37]. Meanwhile, Őnder et al [38] found no significant differences between upper and lower classes regarding children's fear. All children of both social classes have a fear of animals, thefts, disasters, and nightmares. Talu [37] studied children's fears in association with pictures, and found a tendency to represent fear dark colors.

Research on the concept of fear and representations in the association has been done by Cremer et al. [39], Hills et al. [40], and Kayyal & Widen [22]. Hills et al. [40] found that contextual diversity as told by adults influences the structure of word association in children's language. The finding confirms the role of children's environment in language learning. In the study by Kayyal and Widen [22], it was found that children tend to associate real and imaginary things with the kinds of emotions they know. Meanwhile, in the study of mono- and bilinguals, Cremer et al. [39] found that the monolinguals tend to have more various word associations for emotion than the bilinguals do.

It can be said that studies on children's language, which associates with fear, especially in Indonesian data, are still needed to be explored. Therefore, the present study is meant to contribute to this body of research.

3. METHOD

This study was conducted at a public school in East Jakarta. It is located nearby a central market, where some of the parents' work. The main data are children's writings, obtained as their answers to our questions on *takut*. We applied qualitative and quantitative approaches. The qualitative approach was applied to identify the meaning of *takut*, whereas the quantitative approach was used to examine the tendencies found in the meanings.

We were granted data collection upon headmaster's and teachers' permission, who informed participants' parents. Demographic information was obtained from the parents. Before we collected the data, parents sent their consent. This section describes the method of this study.

3.1. Instrument and Procedures of Data Collection

The main data are children's writings, which were answers to two questions: (1) *Menurut kamu, takut itu apa?* 'according to you, what is the meaning of afraid?'; and (2) *Kenapa kamu merasa takut?* 'why were you afraid?'. Children wrote their answers in a sheet provided by us. They had 20 to 30 minutes to write, which was supervised by their teachers. During the writing session, they were not allowed to discuss their answers with their friends.

We used a supporting instrument, namely parental questionnaires. The questionnaire consisted of information about the child's personal background and information, such as their first language and language at home. Information about parents' socio-economic background was also included. Children's personal background and information were analyzed and presented in numbers.

3.2. Data Processing

The data's main corpus is the children's writings, which were answers to the two questions. We divided the data into two parts according to the questions. The first part was for the first question *Menurut kamu, takut itu apa* 'according to you, what is fear?' whereas for the second question *Mengapa kamu takut?* 'why are you scared?' We put all the children's answers into data matrices. There are two stages of analyses. First, we identified and categorized the answers. Then, we calculate the frequencies of words having an association with *takut* to examine the tendencies.

All the data were also split by group, based on the level of education. We compared the results between the first graders and the fourth graders and examined tendencies in the results.

3.3. Participants in This Study

In total, 167 students participated in this study, consisting of 81 students of first grade (mean of age: 6.5) and 86 students of fourth grade (mean of age: 11). Table 1 presents the number of participants based on gender and grade.

Table 1. Number of Participants Based on Gender and Grade

	Grade I	Grade IV	Total
Boys	38	48	**86**
Girls	44	38	**81**
Total	**82**	**86**	**167**

From the parental questionnaires, it was found that 73% of the children are Indonesian first language acquirers, while 27% of them acquired more than one language (including Indonesian). We found that these children come from various ethnic groups, with most of them being Javanese. Many of the mothers are Javanese (34%), Betawi (26%), Sundanese (18%), Batak (8%), Minangkabau (2%). Some others are from inter-ethnic families (5%), while the rest are from other ethnic groups (Manado, Dayak, Balinese, Flores). Likewise, many of the fathers are Javanese (37%), Betawi (15%), Sundanese (12%), and Batak (6%). Some come from inter-ethnic families (6%) and other ethnic groups (Manado, Minangkabau, Flores). We can also say that many children in this study come from inter-ethnic marriages. The use of Indonesian as the first language is common in many inter-ethnic families (see also Ananta et al. 2015), which corresponds to the finding in this study.

Many of the mothers in this study are housewives (79%). Others work as entrepreneurs (9%), employees (8%), civil servants (2%), and labours (1%). The fathers work in various sectors: as employees (34%), entrepreneurs (23%), labors (13%), drivers (9%), police/army (5%), security guards (3%), civil servants (2%). Of the 167 questionnaires, there 2% of the fathers and 6% left the section of father's occupation blank. These figures indicate that the children in this study come from middle-to-lower class families.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Children answered the questions in complete and incomplete sentences. Incomplete sentences were found in various forms: truncated sentences (e.g. *karena seram* 'because it is scary', phrases (e.g. *seram dan gelap* 'scary and dark'), or single words (e.g. *hantu* 'ghost'). Complete sentences, (e.g. *Takut itu sesuatu yang seram* 'fear is something scary'), are found more in the older group. In the following section, we present the results of our analysis on children's answers to the question on the meaning of *takut* and on the reason of being afraid.

4.1. The meaning of takut

Children's answers on the meaning of *takut* can be classified into several groups. We found that the first and the fourth graders shared several meanings of this word which can be related to *perasaan* 'feelings', *seram* 'scary' *makhluk halus* 'spirits', *binatang* 'animals', and beliefs (as well as religious names such as Allah 'God'). We found that the younger children related it to *suara seram* 'scary sound' and *penampakan* 'apparition'. Some of the younger ones did not answer the question. The older group showed more various definitions in their understanding on this emotion word. Some of them related it to *fobia* 'phobia' and *benda* 'things'. In terms of structure, they can define *takut* as *perasaan yang...* 'a feeling that…', showing that they were more advanced in defining the word. Some of them had no answer, but unlike the younger ones, the simply wrote "*tidak tahu*"

'(I) do not know'. Figure 1 shows the meaning of *takut* by the first graders whereas Figure 2 shows its definitions by the fourth graders. All numbers present the percentages.
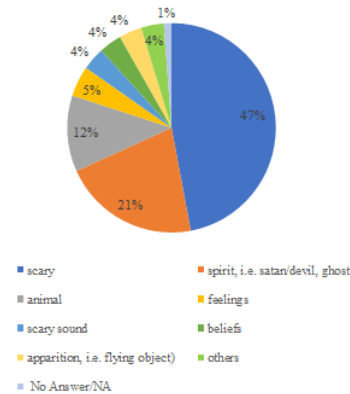

Figure 1 The meaning of *takut* by first graders (N=82)
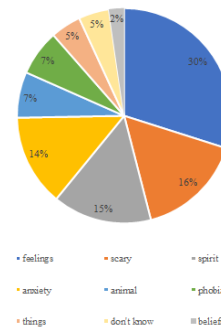

Figure 2 The meaning of *takut* by fourth graders (N=86)

Figure 1 shows that the first graders, children aged 6-7 years old, tended to define *takut* directly to imaginary things such as *setan* 'devil, satan, ghost' or *suara seram* 'creepy voice'. Some of them also defined *takut* with words that are related to animals. The top three answers show that children's answers are akin to something scary, ghost, and animals. Of 82 children, 47% gave answers which are linked to word *seram* 'scary', for example, *seram dan gelap* 'scary and dark', *takut itu sesuatu yang seram* 'fear is something scary', *karena seram* 'because it is scary'. The second most frequent answers are related to *setan* 'ghost', given by 21% of children in this group. For example, *takut setan* 'afraid of ghost', *malam-malam ada setan* 'there was a ghost at -night'. The third most common answer are related to animal (12%). For example, *takut karena ada kecoa di rumah* '(I was) afraid because there was a cockroach at home', *takut cacing* 'afraid of worm', *hewan buas* 'beast', *karena di kamar mandiku ada ular* 'because there was a snake in my bathroom'.

The finding is in line with the stage of cognitive development in the preoperational stage, as proposed by Piaget [41]. As also found in Kayyal [22], children at this stage are still using imaginary and real things in learning concepts. Children at the operational stage are also afraid of darkness. Fantasies are dominant at this stage [41], and most children are afraid of scary things.

Meanwhile, as shown in Figure 2, the fourth graders, children aged 11 years old, were able to give meaning to the word *takut* with feelings or things related to themselves (e.g. *karena merasa tidak bisa* 'because I am afraid I can't'). Of 86 fourth graders, 30% gave answers associated with feelings, for example *merinding* 'goosebumps', and *perasaan yang tidak kita ketahui* 'feeling that we don't know'. The second most common answers (16%) are linked to *seram* 'scary', for example *sesuatu yang menyeramkan* 'something that scary'. In the third place, around 15% of the answers are related to *hantu* 'ghost'. For example, *aku takut terhadap hantu* 'I'm afraid of ghost', *menurut saya takut itu adalah hantu* 'according to me, fear is ghost'. Papalia and Martorell [41] also discussed that fear is more real for older children, such as kidnapping and failing in school. However, as it has alluded previously, they also showed that they were still afraid of scary things and animals. The finding also corresponds with the stage of cognitive development they were in, namely the concrete operational stage, as proposed by Piaget [41]. This is also in line with Cherry [42] in that at the concrete operational stage, children started to think logically on concrete and specific things, yet they are still learning abstract ideas.

These findings on differences between younger and older groups agree with Muris and Field [35]. As it was alluded to previously, young children tend to relate fears with imaginary creatures, pains, bad dreams, and nightmares, while older ones with social and physical matters. However, it is also shown that both groups share some similarities. Many of them wrote that fear was "scary", "animal", or things that are related to these words. As proposed by Clark [23], children express their experiences in words, and use conceptual knowledge and its organization when they learn the meaning and construction of new words. Children's ability to produce meaning associations might be derived from their capability of language comprehension and production. According to Clark, word association has different effects in characteristics depending on the rules, when a single word is used as a stimulus. In this study, children's responses might come from their experiences or that they heard from others. They might represent all what they had heard, experienced, or read through words or sentences. In other words, as suggested by Clark, children's early meaning of words comes from social and conceptual knowledge. Further, Clark also said that children build the meaning of a word piece by piece from universal components of meaning or semantic features.

Even though children give various answers for the meaning of *takut*, it is shown that these answers are semantically interrelated and can be illustrated as a net. See the Figure 3 below.
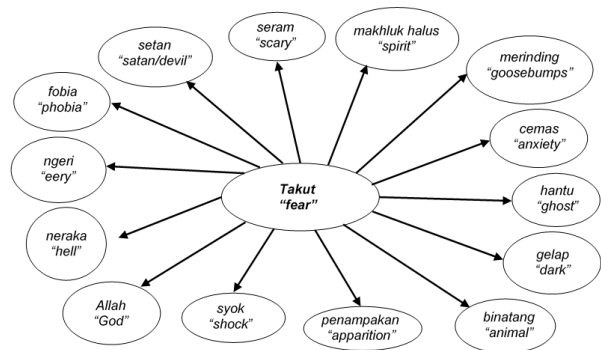

Figure 3 Semantic network of the meaning of *takut* based on children's answers

4.2. Reasons of being afraid

Children's answers to the second question on the reason for being afraid were also various. We also grouped the answers of both groups into several kinds. The first graders related the reasons for being afraid to words such as *seram* 'scary', *binatang* 'animal', *makhluk halus* 'spirits', *perasaan* 'feelings', *suara* 'sound', beliefs (as well as religious names such as Allah 'God'), *bencana alam* 'natural disaster'. Some of them did not answer the question, even wrote that they had never been afraid. Meanwhile, the older ones related the reasons of being afraid to words such as *khawatir* 'anxiety', *makhluk halus* 'spirits' *kepercayaan diri* 'self-confidence', *gelap* 'dark', *binatang* 'animals', *seram* 'scary', beliefs (as well as religious names such as Allah 'God'), *penyakit* 'illness', *film* 'movie'. Some of them did not answer. Figure 4 shows the reasons for being afraid according to the first graders whereas Figure 5 illustrates the reasons written by the fourth graders. All answers are presented in percentages.
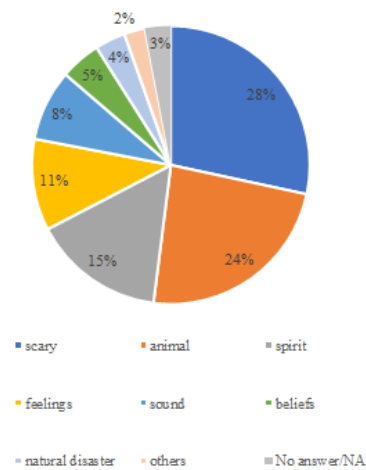

Figure 4 The reasons of being afraid according to the first graders (N=82)
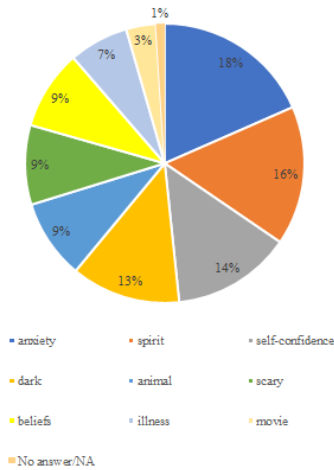
Figure 5 The reasons of being afraid according to the fourth graders (N=86)

Similar to the findings on the first question, some children related *takut* to something scary when they were asked about the reason of being afraid. However, there were differences between the two groups in terms of percentages. In the younger group, it was found that imaginary things have the first and third places. Of 82 children, 28% linked the reason of being afraid to *seram* 'scary', and 15% of them to ghosts. Being afraid of animals is the second place (24%). Meanwhile, children of the older group put personal concerns in the first place (18%), and self-confidence in the third (14%). The finding indicates that children have already been aware of themselves their surroundings. Interestingly, while the younger group considered imaginary beings the third most common reason for being afraid, it came as the second in the older group.

Based on the answers, it is rightly assumed that those answers were related to the children's experiences, directly or indirectly. This is in line with Zaporozhets and Lukov [43], who found that children's reasoning and association depend on the nature of the relation between children and the object. Moreover, children's reasoning is closely related to their experiences, which impact in conceptual development, as suggested by Clark [23].

We found that both groups share almost similar concerns regarding imaginary things such as ghosts, animals, and scary things. Nevertheless, it is shown that older ones tended to give more "relevant" responses in the structures of the answers. Table 2 shows the difference between the two groups. We present some examples like the following.

Table 2. Differences in Structures by First and Fourth Graders

	First graders	**Fourth Graders**
Reasons which concern with imaginary things	*aku takut sama kuntilanak* 'I am afraid of *kuntilanak*'	*karena saya takut makhluk halus* 'because I am afraid of ghost'
Reasons which concern with animals	*cacing geli* 'worm is disgusting'	*karena merasa takut terhadap bebek* 'because

		(I am) afraid of duck'
Reasons which concern with scary things	*seram dan gelap* 'scary and dark'	*karna saat malam hari gelap dan menyeramkan* 'because night is dark and scary'

As presented in Table 2, the differences show that the older the children, the more capable they are in language use. Even though they share the same concerns, it is shown that the older children can give more proper answers. Moreover, given that older children give more various answers, it is confirmed that maturity also impacts in semantic development. This is also in line with Kayyal et al. [22] in that experience and maturity lead the the acquisition of concepts of emotion, especially fear.

5. CONCLUSION

This study examines Indonesian-speaking school-age children's meaning of *takut* 'fear' by investigating definitions of the word according to them and the reasons of being afraid. It was found that these children tended to relate *takut* to something scary or imaginary things. As it was found in this study, the reasons for being afraid were based on their experiences. However, it is shown that the older the children are, the more mature they are in defining the word, and the more varied their reasons for being afraid are.

We also found that even though they provided various answers, all of them could relate to this kind of emotion, showing that they have already understood the meaning of the word. Their answers, as we discovered, illustrate the semantic network: they have an interrelation. The semantic network also shows the association of *takut* with children's knowledge and experiences.

This study deals with language and emotion, which are used by children. Research on children's language and emotion have been conducted to investigate several aspects. It can be said that the study on children's language, which is associated with fear, especially in Indonesian data, is still limited. Provisional finding in this study indicates that Indonesian-speaking children tend to correlate fear with visual and imaginative beings, and culture.

Nonetheless, this study has several limitations:

1. It was conducted in a limited area and within a certain social class.

2. It is limited in terms of the number of participants.

3. Other factors, such as age, gender, socio-cultural background, have yet to be explored. Studies in broader areas with several classes, the larger number of participants, while exploring other social factors, would be precious to provide a comprehensive illustration of Indonesian children's concept of fear.

AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS

All authors contributed to the study conception and design. Material preparation, data collection and analysis were performed by Wuri Prihantini and Bernadette Kushartanti. The first draft of the manuscript was written by Bernadette Kushartanti and all authors commented on previous versions of the manuscript. All authors read and approved the final manuscript.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

REFERENCES

[1] Denham, S. A. (1998). Emotional development in young children. New York: Guilford Press.

[2] Pons, F., & Harris, P. (2005). Longitudinal change and longitudinal stability of individual differences in children's emotion understanding. Cognition & Emotion, 19(8), 1158-1174.

[3] Cole, P. M., Armstrong, L. M., & Pemberton, C. K. (2010). The role of language in the development of emotion regulation. In S. D. Calkins & M. A. Bell (Eds.), Human brain development. Child development at the intersection of emotion and cognition (p. 59–77). American Psychological Association. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1037/12059-004

[4] Streubel, B., Gunzenhauser, C., Grosse, G., & Saalbach, H. (2020). Emotion-specific vocabulary and its contribution to emotion understanding in 4-to 9-year-old children. Journal of Experimental Child Psychology, 193, 104790.

[5] Holodynski, M., Hermann, S., & Kromm, H. (2013). Entwicklungspsychologische grundlagen der emotionsregulation. [Developmental basis of emotion regulation.]. Psychologische Rundschau, 64(4), 196-207. doi:10.1026/0033-3042/a000174

[6] Cutting, A. L., & Dunn, J. (1999). Theory of mind, emotion understanding, language, and family background: Individual differences and interrelations. Child development, 70(4), 853-865.

[7] Beck, L., Kumschick, I. R., Eid, M., & Klann-Delius, G. (2012). Relationship between language competence and emotional competence in middle childhood. Emotion, 12(3), 503

[8] Gleitman, L. R., Cassidy, K., Nappa, R., Papafragou, A., & Trueswell, J. C. (2005). Hard words. Language learning and development, 1(1), 23-64.

[9] Papafragou, A. (2007). Space and the language-cognition interface. The innate mind: Foundations and the future, 272-292

[10] Tracy, J. L., & Randles, D. (2011). Four Models of Basic Emotions: A Review of Ekman and Cordaro, Izard, Levenson, and Panksepp and Watt. Emotion Review, 3(4), 397-405. DOI:10.1177/1754073911410747

[11] Zakharov, A. (2005). Day-time and night-time childhood fears. St Petersburg: Rech. 320p.

[12] Lindquist, K., Gendron, M., & Satpute, A. (2016). Language and emotion: putting feelings into words and words into feelings. In L. F. Barrett, M. Lewis, & J. M. Haviland-Jones (Eds.), Handbook of emotions (4th ed.). New York: Guildford Press.

[13] LaBar, K. S. (2016). Fear and anxiety. In L. F. Barrett, M. Lewis, & J. M. Haviland-Jones (Eds.), Handbook of emotions (4th ed.). (pp. 751-773). New York: Guildford Press.

[14] Laporte, P. P., Pan, P. M., Hoffmann, M. S., Wakschlag, L. S., Rohde, L. A., Miguel, E. C., . . . Salum, G. A. (2017). Specific and social fears in children and adolescents: separating normative fears from problem indicators and phobias. Brazilian Journal of Psychiatry, 39(2), 118-125.

[15] Burnham, J. J. (2009). Contemporary fears of children and adolescents: Coping and resiliency in the 21st century. Journal of Counseling & Development, 87(1), 28-35.

[16] Medin, D. L., & Atran, S. (2004). The native mind: biological categorization and reasoning in development and across cultures. Psychological review, 111(4), 960.

[17] Nisbett, R. E., Peng, K., Choi, I., & Norenzayan, A. (2001). Culture and systems of thought: holistic versus analytic cognition. Psychological review, 108(2), 291

[18] Rogoff, B. (2003). The cultural nature of human development. USA: Oxford university press.

[19] Gelman, S. A. (2009). Learning from others: children's construction of concepts. Annu Rev Psychol, 60, 115-140. DOI:10.1146/annurev.psych.59.103006.093659

[20] Ponari, M., Norbury, C. F., & Vigliocco, G. (2018). Acquisition of abstract concepts is influenced by emotional valence. *Developmental science*, *21*(2), e12549

[21] Barrow, S. (2011). First and second language word association. a study of how native English speakers and ESL learners make mental links between English words they have learnt. Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Birmingham, Birmingham.

[22] Kayyal, M. H., & Widen, S. C. (2013). Monsters and Growling Dogs: A Dual-Source Theory of the Child's Concept of Fear. Psihologijske teme, 22(2), 367-382.

[23] Clark, E. V. (2009). First language acquisition (2 ed.). New York: Cambridge University Press.

[24] Salmon, K., Evans, I. M., Moskowitz, S., Grouden, M., Parkes, F., & Miller, E. (2013). The Components of Young Children's Emotion Knowledge: Which Are Enhanced by Adult Emotion Talk? Social Development, 22(1), 94-110. doi:10.1111/sode.12004

[25] Yuill, N., & Little, S. (2018). Thinking or feeling? An exploratory study of maternal scaffolding, child mental state talk, and emotion understanding in language-impaired and typically developing school-aged children.

Br J Educ Psychol, 88(2), 261-283. doi:10.1111/bjep.12194

[26] Gavazzi, I. G., & Ornaghi, V. (2011). Emotional state talk and emotion understanding: a training study with preschool children. J Child Lang, 38(5), 1124-1139. DOI:10.1017/S0305000910000772

[27] Graham, S. A., San Juan, V., & Khu, M. (2017). Words are not enough: how preschoolers' integration of perspective and emotion informs their referential understanding. J Child Lang, 44(3), 500-526. DOI:10.1017/S0305000916000519

[28] De Rosnay, M., Fink, E., Begeer, S., Slaughter, V., & Peterson, C. (2014). Talking theory of mind talk: young school-aged children's everyday conversation and understanding of mind and emotion. J Child Lang, 41(5), 1179-1193. DOI:10.1017/S0305000913000433

[29] Drijbooms, E., Groen, M. A., & Verhoeven, L. (2017). Children's use of evaluative devices in spoken and written narratives. J Child Lang, 44(4), 767-794. DOI:10.1017/S0305000916000234

[30] Declercq, C., Marlé, P., & Pochon, R. (2019). Emotion word comprehension in children aged 4–7 years. The Educational and Developmental Psychologist, 36(2), 82-87. DOI:10.1017/edp.2019.17

[31] Harris, P. L., Abarbanell, L., Pasquini, E. S., & Duke, S. (2007). Imagination and Testimony in the Child's Construction of Reality. Intellectica. Revue de l'Association pour la Recherche Cognitive, 46(2), 69-84. DOI:10.3406/intel.2007.1278

[32] Storkel, H. L., & Adlof, S. M. (2009). The effect of semantic set size on word learning by preschool children. Journal of Speech, Language, and Hearing Research.

[33] Arias-Trejo, N., & Plunkett, K. (2009). Lexical-semantic priming effects during infancy. Philosophical Transactions: Biological Sciences, 364(1536), 3633-3647. DOI:10.1098/rstb.2009.0146

[34] Borovsky, A., Ellis, E. M., Evans, J. L., & Elman, J. L. (2016). Semantic Structure in Vocabulary Knowledge Interacts with Lexical and Sentence Processing in Infancy. Child Dev, 87(6), 1893-1908. doi:10.1111/cdev.12554

[35] Muris, P., & Field, A. P. (2011). The "normal" development of fear. Anxiety disorders in children and adolescents, 2, 76-89.

[36] Kalatzkaya, N. N. (2015). The Content of Childhood Fears of Primary School Children Living in Urban and Rural Areas. Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences, 191, 2291-2295. DOI:10.1016/j.sbspro.2015.04.158

[37] Talu, E. (2019). Reflections of Fears of Children to Drawings. European Journal of Educational Research, 8(3). DOI:10.12973/eu-jer.8.3.763

[38] Onder, A., Kusmus, G. I., & Cengiz, O. (2018). Investigating Childhood Fears during Preschool Period in terms of Child, Mother and Teacher Opinions. European Journal of Educational Research, 7(4). DOI:10.12973/eu-jer.7.4.973

[39] Cremer, M., Dingshoff, D., de Beer, M., & Schoonen, R. (2010). Do word associations assess word knowledge? A comparison of L1 and L2, child and adult word associations. International Journal of Bilingualism, 15(2), 187-204. DOI:10.1177/1367006910381189

[40] Hills, T. T., Maouene, J., Riordan, B., & Smith, L. B. (2010). The Associative Structure of Language: Contextual Diversity in Early Word Learning. J Mem Lang, 63(3), 259-273. DOI: 10.1016/j.jml.2010.06.002

[41] Papalia, D. E., dan Martorell, G. (2015). Experience Human Development 13th edition. USA. McGraw-Hill

[42] Cherry, K. (2020). The 4 Stages of Cognitive Development: Background and Key Concepts of Piaget's Theory. Retrieved from https://www.verywellmind.com/piagets-stages-of-cognitive-development-2795457.

[43] Zaporozhets, A., & Lukov, U. (2002). The development of reasoning in young children. Journal of Russian & East European Psychology, 40(4), 30-46