DISCUSSION PAPER SERIES

On the Post-Enlightenment Evolution of Moral Universalism

Michael Jetter

On the Post-Enlightenment Evolution of Moral Universalism

Michael Jetter
University of Western Australia, IZA and CESifo

APRIL 2024

ABSTRACT

On the Post-Enlightenment Evolution of Moral Universalism*

Is humanity's circle of moral concern expanding, as often claimed? I explore frequencies of morally universal language in 15m book publications in American English, British English, French, Spanish, German, and Italian from 1800-2000. In each language, morally universal terminology diminished substantially. I then test two prominent hypotheses predicting moral universalism: reason and religion. Reason-based terminology correlates positively with morally universal and morally communal terminology, explaining seemingly contradictory observations of the 20th century. In contrast, communal terminology subsides when religious terminology becomes more frequent. These empirical patterns cast doubt on prominent claims of moral universalism expanding.

Corresponding author:
Michael Jetter
University of Western Australia
35 Stirling Highway
Crawley 6009, WA
Australia

E-mail: mjetter7@gmail.com

"Given that we are equipped with the capacity to sympathize with others, nothing can prevent the circle of sympathy from expanding from the family and tribe to embrace all of humankind, particularly as reason goads us into realizing that there can be nothing uniquely deserving about ourselves or any of the groups to which we belong."

Steven Pinker in *Enlightenment Now: The case for reason, science, humanism, and progress* (2018)

"Books are the treasured wealth of the world and the fit inheritance of generations and nations."

Henry David Thoreau (poet and philosopher, 1817-1862)

1   Introduction

Across scientific disciplines and a number of prominent popular commentators, a consensus has emerged suggesting humans have been expanding their moral concern towards including all humanity over the past centuries. For example, the philosopher Peter Singer (1981, 2011) prominently sketches an *Expanding Circle*, positing "[t]he circle of altruism has broadened from the family and tribe to the nation and race" (also see Lecky, 1891). Slight variations of this concept include the *web of sympathy*, the *expanding circle of moral regard* (Reed II and Aquino, 2003; Laham, 2009), *moral expansiveness* (Crimston et al., 2016, 2018), the *expanding circle of sympathy* (Pinker, 2018), the *moral arc* (Shermer, 2015), and *the vast expansion of human concern* (McCullough, 2020; also see Bloom, 2010, McFarland, 2011, Pinker, 2011, and Rosling, 2019). As Crimston et al. (2018) summarize, "[t]here seems little doubt that people's moral boundaries have been expanding over time."

However, this *Expanding Circle* hypothesis remains difficult to test empirically, with the associated arguments primarily being based on anecdotal evidence. As proof, proponents of-

ten cite historical developments with the abolition of slavery in numerous countries, diminishing rates of individual- and intergroup-level violence, decolonization, universal suffrage, civil rights movements, and international interventions in conflict and disaster emergencies (e.g., see Pinker, 2011). Nonetheless, these accounts are contrasted against 20th century atrocities associated with two World Wars, the Holocaust, the systematic repressive cruelties of various post-WWII dictatorships, and recent waves of nationalism accompanied by sharp delineations of in- versus outgroups in various countries. Thus, it remains an empirical question to ask whether societies' levels of moral universalism are indeed expanding.

An answer to this question proves highly relevant. For one, most policy challenges of the 21st century are of a global – rather than a local, national, or regional – nature: Prominent examples include climate change, contagious diseases, and transnational terrorism. These challenges all require international communication, cooperation, and coordination, as individual societies will not be able to overcome these and other obstacles that lay in the path of human progress.[1] Consequently, if societies' focus lies primarily on inwards, so-called *communal* moral values (e.g., nationalism, embodied by campaign slogans like *Make America Great Again*), rather than *universal* moral values, the likelihood of formulating successful solutions to these problems is likely to diminish.

Two branches of empirical studies directly relate to the topic of moral universalism. First, a body of experimental work focuses on *contemporaneous* drivers of altruism, compassion, and empathy (e.g., see Nowak et al., 2000, Fehr and Fischbacher, 2003, Andreoni et al., 2017, or Waytz et al., 2019). Such research endeavors often focus on the behavior of individuals and small groups, at times exploring ingroup-outgroup relationships and situations under which intergroup disparities emerge and vanish. Second, insightful work in anthropology, evolutionary biology, neuroscience, and related disciplines seeks to explain our species' long-run develop-

---

[1] As McFarland (2011, p.16) writes, "[a]ll of the great problems that confront us – global warming, environmental degradation, the spread of disease, terrorism, our needs for energy, hunger and thirst – are *humanity*'s problems, not national problems."

ment of caring for others (e.g., see Gintis et al., 2003, Delgado et al., 2005, Moll et al., 2005, Bowles, 2006, Nowak, 2006, and Bašić et al., 2021; also see studies in primatology from Prestona and de Waal, 2002 or Brosnan and De Waal, 2003). However, in between contemporaneous studies (that focus on the immediate present) and evolutionary approaches (that considers spans of hundreds of thousands of years), we lack empirical inquiries tracing moral universalism in recent history.

The following pages offer such a test. To do so, I draw on *Moral Foundations Theory* and its *Moral Foundations Dictionary* (Haidt and Joseph, 2004; Haidt, 2007; Graham et al., 2013) as a comprehensive, carefully-researched set of terminologies associated with both purely morally universal (*MU*) language and purely morally communal (*MC*) language.[2] *MU* represents the idea that ethical values apply to "all people regardless of race, color, nationality, religion, or culture" (Richardson and Williams, 2009), thereby capturing the human boundaries of Singer's (1981; 2011) *Expanding Circle* hypothesis. *MC*, on the other hand, captures words and stems that are specific to a group of humans, e.g., citizens of a particular nation, adherents to a particular religion, or supporters of a specific sports club. As is common, subtracting the frequency of *MC* from the frequency of *MU* language then produces the net level of morally universal language in a body of text.

To understand how the usage of morally universal language has developed over time, I access the universe of books recorded by *Google Ngram* between the years 1800 and 2000 (Michel et al., 2011). I select this time period because the *Google Ngram* corpus has been suggested to be sufficiently sizeable and credible in terms of approaching completeness from 1800 onwards (Michel et al., 2011; Younes and Reips, 2019), while its methodology changed from the year 2000 onwards (Greenfield, 2013). It is estimated that *Google Ngram* holds approximately 20% of all the books published in human history (Juola, 2022). Specifically, I focus on

---

[2]This definition of capturing moral universalism in language has been well established in the corresponding literature (e.g., see Hofmann et al., 2014, and Enke, 2020, for recent applications).

those six languages for which *Google Ngram* features a non-trivial number of books, even in the early 1800s: American English (with 6,791,194 books from 1800 to 2000), British English (1,680,908 books), French (2,218,374 books), Spanish (1,159,229 books), German (2,350,936 books), and Italian (799,588 books).[3] Originally published in the English language, I contracted native language experts and professional translators to provide translations of the English dictionaries into French, Spanish, German, and Italian.

An important assumption about this approach is that language employed in contemporary book publications is to a non-trivial extent reflective of contemporary actions, attitudes, beliefs, and culture. Recent research has produced a host of studies that indeed suggest that to be the case. For example, language has been shown to be predictive of societies' and individuals' (i) time preferences and savings behavior (Chen, 2013), (ii) creativity and societal order (Jackson et al., 2019), (iii) revolutions (Leetaru, 2011), (iv) ingroup-outgroup dynamics (Waldron, 2012), (v) cheating (Turmunkh et al., 2019), as well as (vi) voting, political attitudes, and policymaking (Graham et al., 2009; Waytz et al., 2019; Enke, 2020; Kivikangas et al., 2021). Thus, I posit that studying *Google Ngram*'s collective body of writings allows for the derivation of a consistent and comparable barometer of moral universalism at different points in time for these six languages. If the circle of moral concern was indeed expanding, I hypothesize that we should be able to track that development in language, i.e., we should observe increased usage of morally universal terminology in the *Google Ngram* corpus for a given language over time.

However, the empirical patterns I observe are not consistent with that hypothesis. In fact, I find a significant *decline* in the frequency of morally universal language in all six languages since the early 1800s. Comparing the first decade of the 19th century to the last decade of the 20th century, I observe large drops by 2-3 standard deviations.

---

[3]For the remaining three languages available on *Google Ngram* (simplified Chinese, Hebrew, and Russian), the numbers of books are much lower. For example, the number of books captured for the years 1800-1819 ranges from 12,707 (Spanish) to 120,425 (French) for the included six languages but would only contain 248, 84, and 722 books for Chinese, Hebrew, and Russian, respectively.

To better understand the underlying developments, I disaggregate morally universal language to study purely morally universal and purely morally communal language separately. The data show purely morally universalist language has indeed become less frequent in all six languages, while purely moral communalist language has become more frequent in American English, British English, French, and Spanish. While one needs to be careful not to over-interpret these patterns, they are informative as potentially powerful measures of morality over time.

Finally, I turn to the question of *why* these developments may have taken place. To do so, I turn to two prominent hypothesized drivers of moral universalism that are often advocated by various scholars, such as Pinker (2018): *reason* and *religiosity*. To derive a proxy for contemporary degrees of reason, defined as "the power of the mind to think, understand, and form *judgements logically* [emphasis in original]" (Oxford Languages, 2023), I access the *causation* dictionary of the *Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count* (*LIWC*) program that contains 135 words and stems in the English language, such as *because* or *effect*.[4] To derive an annual measure of religiosity, I access the *LIWC* category on *religion* that contains 174 words and stems. As with all dictionaries, I rely on the same translators to derive versions in French, Spanish, German, and Italian.

While sharply identifying causal relationships remains difficult, correlations can be informative to get a glimpse of what might have happened. To filter out unobservable confounders as well as possible, I consider first differences of each variable, while accounting for language- and year-fixed effects. The corresponding results, again predicting aggregate *MU* frequencies, as well as their sub-components of pure *MU* and *MC*, suggest insightful patterns. An increase in the frequency of causal language correlates positively with both purely morally universal and purely morally communal language. In aggregate, however, morally universal language

---

[4]Studying over 57 million words, the *LIWC* program captures over 86% of the words people have used in writing and speech (Tausczik and Pennebaker, 2010; Pennebaker et al., 2015, p.10).

decreases significantly as causal language increases ($p = 0.005$).

These results do not necessarily contradict Pinker's (2018), Singer's (2011), and others' propositions of an *Expanding Circle*; however, they do suggest reason may not only be accompanied by more concern for all humanity – but also by increased communalism. These observations are consistent with the seemingly contradicting events over the past 200 years, in which we have seen substantial progress in morally universal thinking and action (e.g., ending slavery in many countries, decolonization, universal suffrage, etc.) but also some of the most haunting human experiences and actions (e.g., the Holocaust, two World Wars, numerous genocides, etc.). In short, both concepts of morally universal and morally communal behavior appear to have expanded as humanity's level of reason has been rising.

In contrast, the share of religious language shows a clearer relationship with morally universal language. When religious terminology becomes more frequent, the share of purely moral communalist language subsides, while we observe no statistically or quantitatively relevant relationship with purely moral universal language. In aggregate, this means when religious language rises, so does morally universal language.

The paper proceeds with laying out the data employed, as well as the empirical strategy. Section 3 presents the main results, while Section 4 is dedicated to the connection between moral universalism and two of its most prominent suggested drivers. Section 5 concludes.

2 Data and Empirical Specification

2.1 Data

2.2 Moral Foundations Theory and the Moral Foundations Dictionary

Rooted in cultural and social psychology, Moral Foundations Theory provides an overarching framework to understand morality and its key linguistic components (Graham et al., 2013). The

two main categories constitute (i) morally universal language, capturing values that "apply irrespective of the context or identity of the people involved", and (ii) morally communal language, identifying values that "are tied to certain relationships or groups" (Enke, 2020). Designed in English, the universalism category of the Moral Foundations Dictionary and the underlying *LIWC* is based on a large and representative sample of language used between the years 1660 and 2008 (Pennebaker et al., 2015, p.9). With over 57 million words studied, the *LIWC* program is able to capture over 86% of all words people have used in writing and speech (Tausczik and Pennebaker, 2010; Pennebaker et al., 2015, p.10).

Consistent with the underlying literature, I study the relative frequencies of morally universal versus morally communal language in language l and year t, measured as

$$MU_{l,t} = \big(\% \, universal \, terminology\big)_{l,t} - \big(\% \, communal \, terminology\big)_{l,t}. \tag{1}$$

The moral universalism dictionary (the first component of the right-hand-side) consists of the subcategories *Care/Harm* (51 words and stems) and *Fairness/Reciprocity* (45 words and stems) that are each subdivided into *Virtue-* and *Vice*-related terminology (see Appendix 5 for the full list of words and stems). The moral communalism dictionary (the second component on the right-hand-side) includes the subcategories *In-group/Loyalty* (52 words and stems) and *Authority/Respect* (82 words and stems) that are also characterized by *Virtue-* and *Vice*-related terminology (see Appendix 5). To better understand underlying dynamics, I then also study the individual components of the right-hand-side in equation (1).

2.2.1 Google Ngram

Google Ngram features an online interface on which anybody can explore the frequency with which a particular word or stem has been used in book publications in a specific language and year. The underlying project has been well explained in Michel et al. (2011), and a number of

scientific inquiries have now made use of *Google Ngram* to study contemporary phenomena, as reflected in the terminology used in book publications. Prominent example topics studied with *Google Ngram* include economic theories (Shiller, 2017), the evolution of sociolinguistic conventions (Naidu et al., 2017), the prominence and influence of Karl Marx (Magness and Makovi, 2023), and the rise of working mothers (Bastian, 2020).

I draw on native-language experts who work as professional translators in the particular language (e.g., English-to-Italian) or hold a translation degree in the respective language pair to derive dictionary versions for those languages in which *Google Ngram* features substantial coverage since 1800. Overall, this means I am able to study six languages: American English, British English, French, Spanish, German, and Italian. Table A3 documents book coverage for the 1800-1819 and 1900-1919 time periods as example snapshots, as well as the number of books in each language for the entire 1800-2000 period, ranging from 235,453 (Italian) to 2,319,634 (American English). I do not consider Chinese, Hebrew, and Russian books because of data availability in earlier time periods (see Google Ngram Viewer Exports).

The resulting number of words and stems varies by language, as some English words carry several synonyms in another language (e.g., *compassion* $\longrightarrow$ *Barmherzigkeit*, *Erbarmen*, *Mitgefühl*, and *Mitleid* in German), while some English words translate to the same word (e.g., *to protect/to shield* $\longrightarrow$ *(be)schützen*, among others). Appendix Sections B-F list all words and stems for each language.

Using the *R* package *ngram*, I download the annual frequencies of all words and stems of the moral universalism dictionaries from *Google Ngram* (3rd edition, 2019). *Google Ngram* does not allow case-insensitive searches of stems, so I download spellings with lower- and upper-case first letters separately. I then calculate the sum of these percentages for each language at the yearly level, generating the corresponding share of purely morally universal terminology and purely morally communal terminology. While earlier time periods have been suggested to suffer from selection issues (Pechenick et al., 2015; Younes and Reips, 2019), *Google Ngram* is

8

commonly perceived to be substantially more accurate and comprehensive from 1800 onwards (Greenfield, 2013; Jackson et al., 2019). For comparability and consistency reasons, the analysis stops in 2000 when *Google Ngram*'s methodology changed (Greenfield, 2013).

The average annual share of purely morally universal terminology (i.e., ignoring the *MC* component of equation 1) between 1800 and 2000 varies by language, ranging from 0.31% (British English) to 1.53% (Spanish). For reference points in the English language, the Old Testament, the New Testament, the US American *Bill of Rights*, and the *UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* feature morally universal language in 0.25%, 0.26%, 0.68%, and 0.89% of their words, respectively. Tables A1 and A2 detail summary statistics and list the ten most frequent words and stems of each language. Some of the most common terms include references to *rights* (*droit/s*; *derecho*; *recht*) and *justice* (*justice*; *justicia*; *gerecht*).

To explore whether the *Expanding Circle* hypothesis is reflected in language, I simply plot each language's *MU* over the 201-year period of 1800-2000. If the circle was indeed expanding, and if language gave us a useful proxy for morality, then we should see an upwards trend over time.

3   Moral Universalism Over Time

3.1   Main Results

Figure 1 plots smoothed timelines of morally universal words and stems from 1800 to 2000, after standardizing the variable for each language for ease of comparison.[5] The main big-picture insight, which emerges for all six languages, finds morally universal language to be less frequent recently, relative to the early 19th century when the Age of Enlightenment came to an end. This stands at odds with the *Expanding Circle* hypothesis, at least when it comes to

---

[5]I apply a kernel-weighted local polynomial smoothing method (command *lpoly* in *Stata*).

9

language usage over these two centuries. Finally, a recent upward trend starting in the second half of the 20th century (at least in American English, British English, French, and Italian) may explain why contemporary commentators generally feel positive about the Circle expanding: In their lifetime, morally universal language has indeed grown in frequency.

3.2   Robustness Checks: Moral Universalism Dictionary

First, I consider the moral universalism dictionary itself. Of course, some words or stems may not always be representative of morally universal concepts, particularly when it comes to different writing styles and eras. To explore the influence of the most prominent dictionary entries, I re-derive Figure 1 but exclude the three most frequent words or stems. The corresponding results, referred to Figure A1, again produce firmly negative long-term trends for all six languages. These conclusions firmly hold when excluding more of the top words and stems (results available upon request).

3.3   Robustness Checks: *Google Ngram*

Second, studying books captured by *Google Ngram* may produce bias for a couple of reasons. For one, the corpus does not capture *all* books. Omissions may become larger the further back in time we go; and if particular types of books were missing early on, that could induce a bias. For example, older books that survived may feature more morally universal language than their contemporary counterparts that were lost. If that were the case, Figure 1 may overstate the degree of morally universal language in the early years.

While it remains impossible to fully alleviate this concern, I take several avenues to that effect. In the first alternative, I access the *Google Ngram One Million* dictionary that randomly captures no more than 6,000 books per year to accommodate for the more sparse list of books included in earlier years. The resulting graph again produces a firm negative long-term trend in
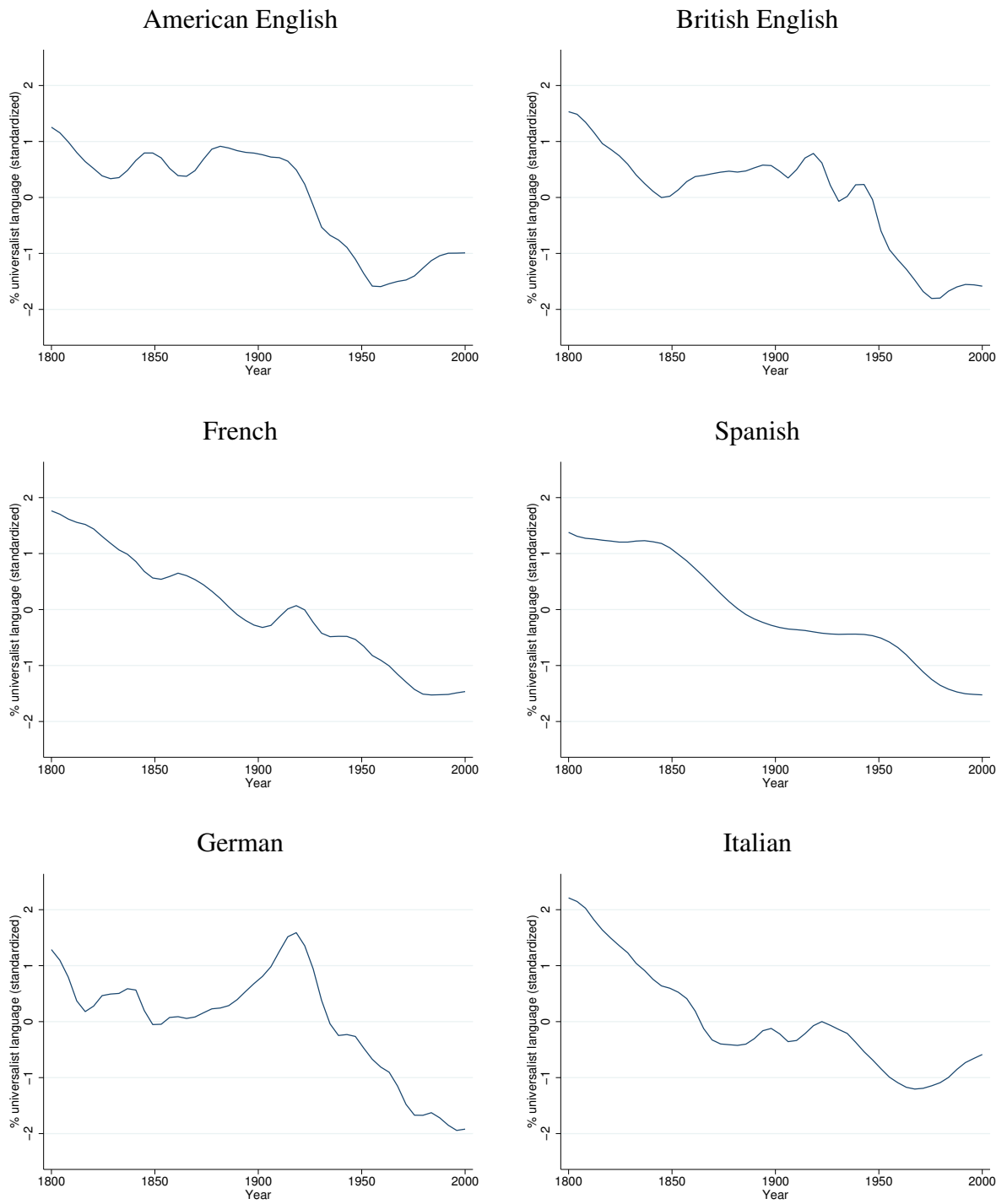
Figure 1: Morally universal language over time, subtracting the frequency of purely morally communal terminology from the frequency of purely morally universal terminology (see equation 1).

morally universal language (see Figure 2).

3.4 Google Ngram: One Million & Fiction

Google Ngram One Million   *Google Ngram Fiction*
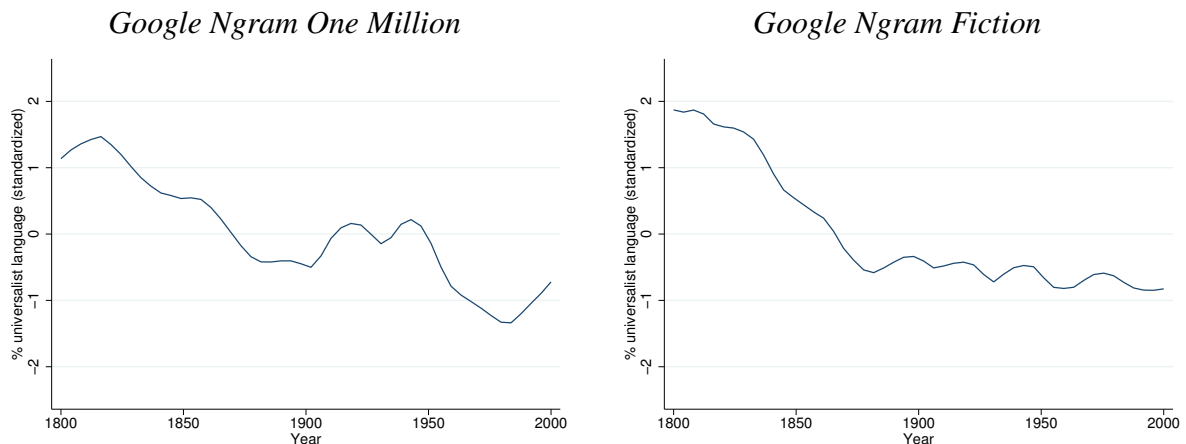
Figure 2: Universalism over time when studying the *One Million* and *Fiction* categories of *Google Ngram*, plotting kernel-weighted local polynomial smoothing graphs.

For the second alternative, I consider *Google Ngram Fiction*, i.e., books that were identified as fiction by a library or publisher (Google, 2021). This separate set of books holds constant the *type* of writing, which makes it less likely that selection issues early on can fundamentally influence results.[6] *Google Ngram Fiction* also excludes scientific articles that have become particularly more frequent in the 20th century and may feature different language altogether (Pechenick et al., 2015; Younes and Reips, 2019). The corresponding graph again yields a firm negative long-term trend in morally universal language (see Figure 2).

3.5 Pure Moral Universalism and Pure Moral Communalism

Figure 3 breaks down the net *MU* dictionary into its components of purely morally universal and purely morally communal terminology. The respective timelines include 95% confidence bands that come from tracking the frequencies of every single word and stem over time. The

---

[6]Nevertheless, one could argue that a change in the type of writing is also reflective of a change in *MU*-related developments itself.

y-axis indicates the total share of words of all book publications that fall into the respective *MU* and *MC* dictionaries.

Figure 3 shows us that morally communal language (the dashed line) has visibly been on the rise for all languages except German and Italian, where *MC* trends are largely flat. In American English, for example, 0.65% of all words in books written between 1800 and 1809 were marked as morally communal. In 1991 to 2000, however, that share has increased to 0.72%, i.e., an increase by almost 11%. Put differently, every 154th word was morally communal at the beginning of the 19th century; and every 139th word at the end of the 20th century. These jumps are even larger in British English (a 16% increase), French (20%), and Spanish (23%).

Turning to purely morally universal language in Figure 3 (the bold lines), we observe decisive drops in all six languages. Again comparing the first to the final decade of the sample, American English, for instance, has seen a drop from 0.39% to 0.33%. This amounts to a decline of 15%. As an outside reference point, the difference in the share of purely morally universal language between the inauguration speeches of Donald Trump (2017) and Barack Obama (2013) amounts to 19% (1.03% versus 1.27%).

4 Prominent Suggested Drivers: Reason and Religiosity

Two prominent concepts often proposed – and at times pitted against each other – to spearhead human development along moral dimensions constitute (i) humans' ability to *reason* and (ii) *religion*.

4.1 Reason

Concerning reason, Pinker's (2018) quote at the beginning of this paper illustrates the idea: "...as reason goads us into realizing that there can be nothing uniquely deserving about ourselves or any of the groups to which we belong." In a similar vein, Singer (1981, 2011, 2016) argues
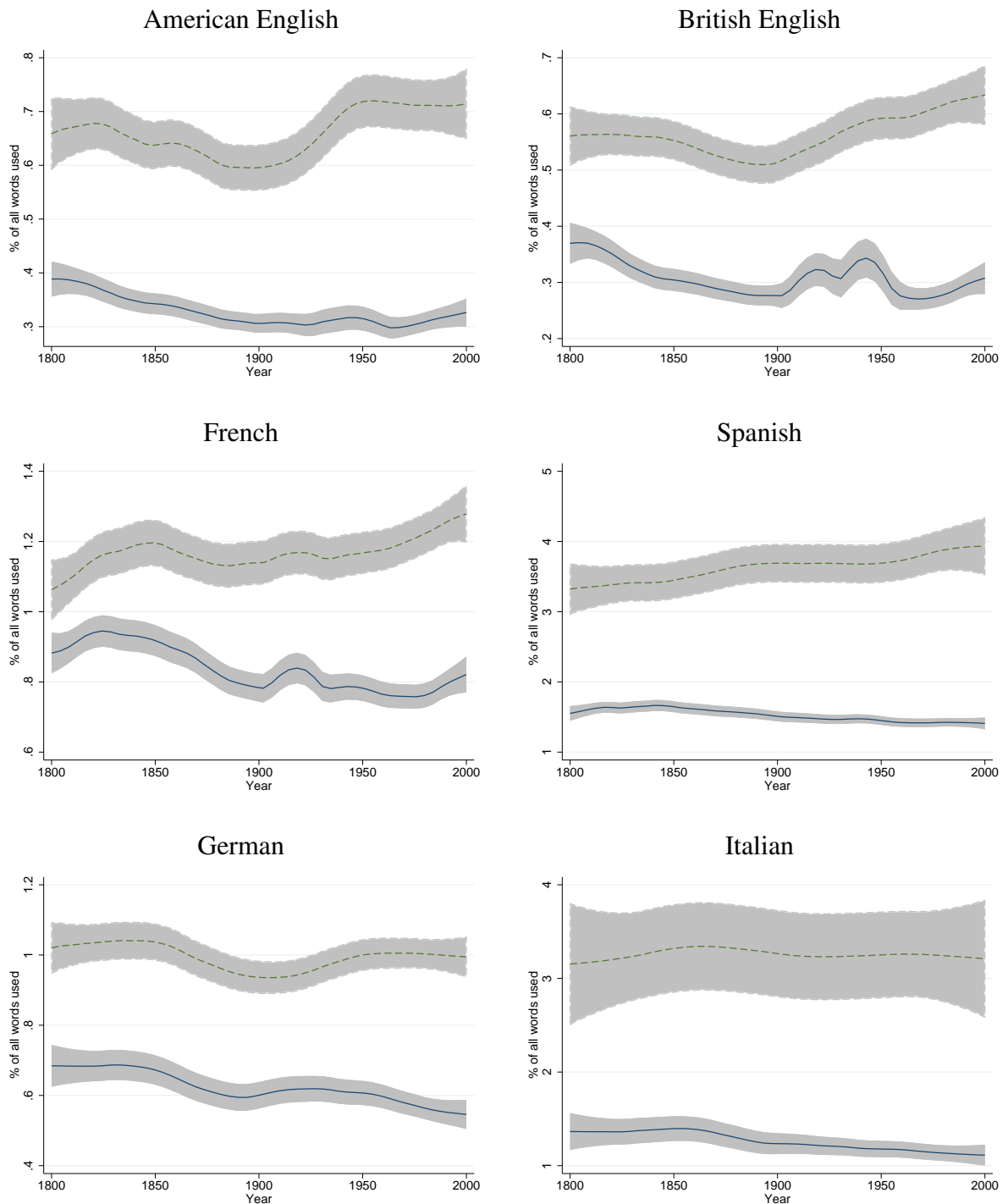
Figure 3: Universalist language (bold line) and communalist language (dashed line) over time, along with 95% confidence bands. *Note*: Scales on the *y*-axis differ across graphs to best illustrate language-specific trends.

that humans' capacity to reason generates the *Expanding Circle* (also see Shermer, 2015 and McCullough, 2020). Singer (2016) argues:

> *"So the shift from a point of view that is disinterested between individuals within a group, but not between groups, to a point of view that is fully universal, is a tremendous change – so tremendous, in fact, that it is only just beginning to be accepted on the level of ethical reasoning and is still a long way from acceptance on the level of practice. Nevertheless, it is the direction in which moral thought has been going since ancient times. Is it an accident of history that this should be so, or is it the direction in which our capacity to reason leads us?"*

Thus, is 'our capacity to reason' predictive of moral universalism? The Encyclopedia Britannica defines reason as "the faculty or process of drawing logical inferences". To derive a language-year-level measure of reason, I access the *LIWC*'s *causation* category (135 words and stems) that includes words such as *because* or *effect*, as well as stems such as *deduce** or *imply**. Relying on the same language experts, I obtain translations and then access *Google Ngram* to obtain the corresponding frequencies in each language over time. Sections 5, A0.0.1, A0.0.1, A0.0.1, and A1 list the full dictionaries.

4.2   Religion

The other predominant force in seeking to explain *MU* concerns religion (e.g., see Bloom, 2012 or Hofmann et al., 2014). As Enke (2023) summarizes, "[s]everal literatures have argued that moralizing religions give rise to higher prosociality, trust and universalist values", referring to Norenzayan (2013) and Norenzayan et al. (2016). Nevertheless, Enke et al. (2023) report a negative correlation between survey-elicited religiosity levels and moral universalism across five Western countries with Australia, France, Germany, Sweden, and the US (also see Cappelen et al., 2022).

To derive an annual measure of religiosity, I access the *LIWC* category on *religion* (174 words and stems). Example words include *afterlife*, *holy*, and *allah*, as well as the stems *gospel**, *preach**, and *worship**. As with the other dictionaries, I rely on the same translators to derive French, Spanish, German, and Italian versions. Sections 5, A0.0.1, A0.0.1, A0.0.1, and A1 document the full lists of words and stems.

4.3 Causal and Religious Terminology Usage Over Time

Figure 4 visualizes time trends of both causal and religious terminology usage for all six languages. In all languages but German, we observe a firm rise in the frequency of causal language being employed in book publications. At the same time, religious language is generally employed less so towards the end of the 20th century than 200 years ago. In American English, for example, writings in the early 1800s included causal and religious language with almost the same frequency of roughly every 100th word falling in each of the corresponding dictionaries. In the final decade of the 1900s, however, one in 75 written words appears in the causality dictionary, while only one in 435 words appears in the religion dictionary.

4.4 Correlates of Moral Universalism

Finally, I turn to the question of whether and how the frequencies of causal and religious language correlate with how often morally universal language is employed within a language over time. To filter out global time trends and the potential influence of unobservable confounders as much as possible, I employ first-differences to the relevant variables.[7] Specifically, I estimate the following regression for language l and year t:

$$\Delta MU_{l,t} = \beta \Delta Cause_{l,t} + \gamma \Delta Religion_{l,t} + \lambda_l + \theta_t + \epsilon_{l,t}, \tag{2}$$

---

[7]None of the corresponding first differences in any of the languages is suggested to follow a unit root process (results available upon request).
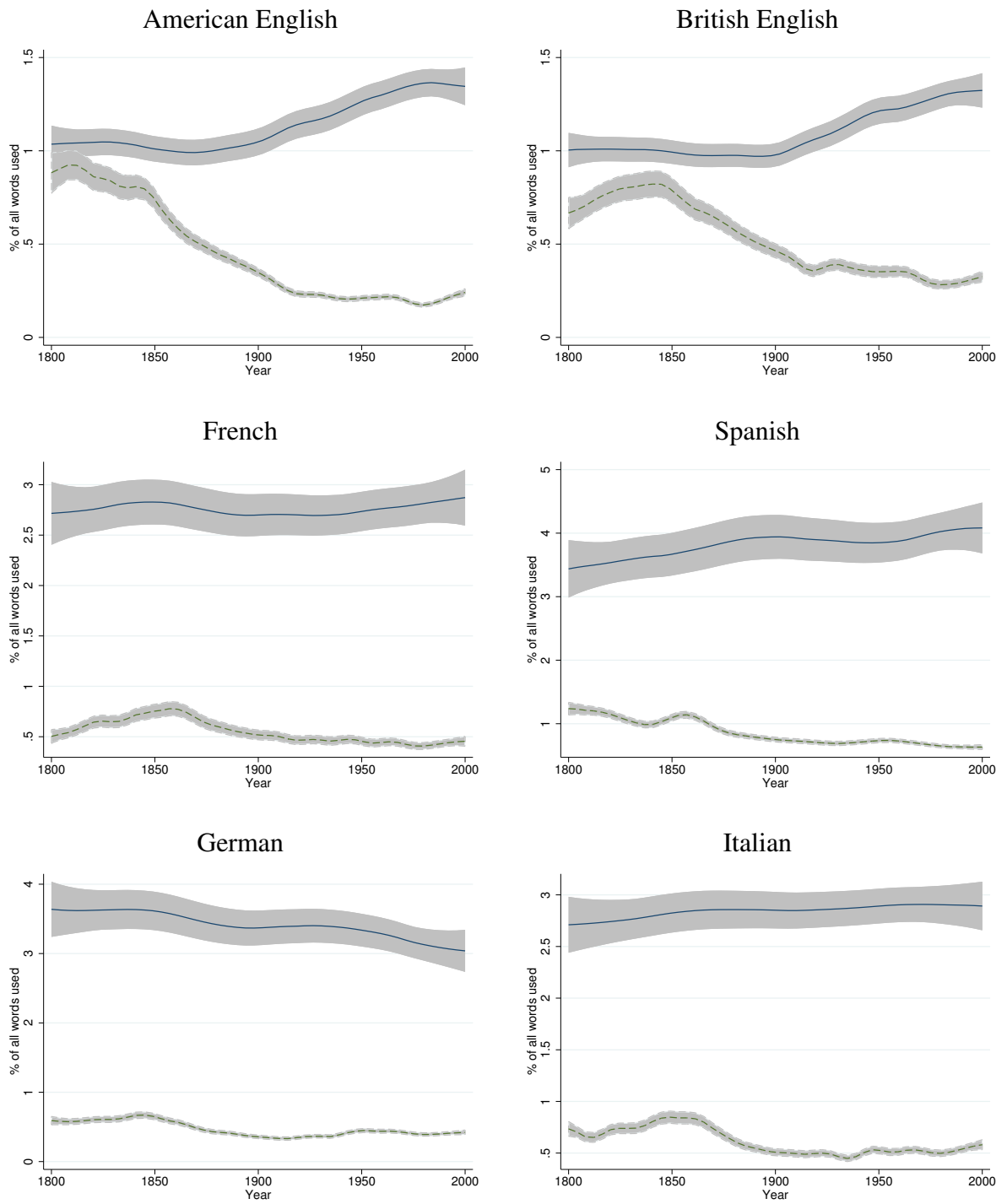
Figure 4: Causal language (bold line) and religious language (dashed line) over time, along with 95% confidence bands. *Note*: Scales on the *y*-axis differ across graphs to best illustrate language-specific trends.

where λ_l and θ_t constitute language- and year-fixed effects, thereby removing any language- and year-specific variation that could otherwise affect the derivation of β and γ. For example, language-fixed effects address concerns about particular words of these dictionaries holding various meanings, some of which may not necessarily fall under the definition of the respective dictionary. Year-fixed effects account for overall global developments, such as those related to technological progress, economic and other societal characteristics, or the World Wars. In all specifications, standard errors are clustered at the language level. If the prominent hypothesis of reason being a fundamental catalyst of *MU* was of substance, we would expect a positive, statistically significant, and quantitatively meaningful coefficient β.

Columns (1)-(3) of Table 1 document the corresponding results. I first include each regressor separately before estimating the full model outlined in equation (2) in column (3). Surprisingly, causal language emerges as a firm negative predictor of net morally universal language (i.e., the difference between pure *MU* language and pure *MC* language). In terms of magnitude, a 10% rise in causal language is associated with a 5.6-5.8% decline in morally universal terminology ($p = 0.005$ and $p = 0.004$ in columns 1 and 3, respectively). These correlations are not consistent with the prominent hypothesis of reason driving the expansion of moral universalism, at least to the extent that contemporary language can proxy these developments.

Religious language, on the other hand, correlates positively with morally universal language.[8] While the implied magnitude remains more modest, with a 10% increase in religious terminology being accompanied by a 0.3-0.4% rise in morally universal language, the relationship still remains precisely estimated in statistical terms ($p = 0.003$ in both columns). In other words, as religious language vanished from book publications, as seen in Figure 4, so did

---

[8]Importantly, there are no word or stem overlaps between the universalism and religiosity dictionaries except for one word in Spanish (*apiadarse*), which I remove from the religiosity dictionary. The same is true for the other dictionaries, i.e., there are no words or stem listed in more than one dictionary – the only exception are four words in French and two words in Spanish that are removed from the analysis reported in Table 1. For French, these are *explicable*, *justifiable*, *raisonnable*, and *raisonnablement*. For Spanish, these are *afectante* and *razonablemente*. Including these in either of the respective dictionaries leaves the results from Table 1 virtually unchanged (results available upon request).

Table 1: Regression results from predicting moral universalism and its components (in language l and year t) with causal and religious language. All regressions control for language- and year-fixed effects.

Dependent variable	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Δ Net Moral Universalism			Δ Pure Moral Universalism			Δ Pure Moral Communalism		
Mean of dep. var.	-0.002	-0.002	-0.002	-0.001	-0.001	-0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
Std. dev. of dep. var.	0.058	0.058	0.058	0.067	0.067	0.067	0.046	0.046	0.046
Δ Causal Language$_{i,t}$	-0.582***		-0.559***	0.614***		0.618***	0.611***		0.597***
	(0.120)		(0.113)	(0.090)		(0.089)	(0.107)		(0.102)
Δ Religious Language$_{i,t}$		0.044***	0.033***		-0.006	0.006		-0.031**	-0.020***
		(0.008)	(0.006)		(0.009)	(0.003)		(0.008)	(0.005)
N	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,200
R^2	0.352	0.201	0.375	0.369	0.207	0.369	0.484	0.179	0.497
Adjusted R^2	0.218	0.035	0.244	0.238	0.043	0.238	0.377	0.008	0.392

Notes: Standard errors clustered at the language level are displayed in parentheses. $^{*} \ p < 0.10$, $^{**} \ p < 0.05$, $^{***} \ p < 0.01$.

19

morally universal language.

4.5 Correlates of Pure Moral Universalism and Pure Moral Communalism

Finally, columns (4)-(6) and (7)-(9) break up the overall *MU* index and predict frequencies of purely morally universal, as well as purely morally communal terminology. Since the overall *MU* index consists of both components, it is important to understand where the overall correlations are coming from. For example, is the link between causal and morally universal language driven by the moral or the communal sub-category?

Columns (4) and (7) provide an answer to this question: Indeed, a rise in the frequency of causal language correlates *both* with more morally universal *and* more morally communal language. However, in aggregate, the latter relationship is more powerful, as illustrated by the results reported in column (1). Thus, the popular association between reason and *MU* is not wrong – it just only covers half of the underlying relationship. Reason also seems to be associated with a strong emergence of *MC*. These results remain consistent once we also account for religious terminology in columns (6) and (9).

When it comes to religious terminology, we also find insightful patterns. By itself, morally universal language does not become more frequent with an increased usage of religious terminology, as illustrated by the results of columns (5) and (6). However, a rise in religious language is predictive of a decrease in morally communal language.

5 Conclusion

This paper aims to make three contributions. First, I provide a consistent, comparable barometer of moral universalism, as well as its sub-components of pure moral universalism and pure

moral communalism, from the years 1800 to 2000. To do so, I apply the *Moral Foundations Dictionary* to *Google Ngram* in the six Western languages for which *Google Ngram* holds substantial numbers of book publications, even in the early 1800s. The empirical patterns suggest, unanimously, that morally universal terminology has decreased decisively in frequency since the Age of Enlightenment came to an end in the early 19th century. Interpreting language as a mirror of contemporary attitudes, beliefs, culture, and values, these results seemingly stand at odds with various versions of Peter Singer's (1981, 2011) *Expanding Circle* hypothesis of moral concern.

Second, to better understand underlying developments, I disaggregate moral universalism into (i) purely morally universal terminology (i.e., values applying to any human, independent of their ethnicity, race, or other characteristics) and (ii) purely morally communal terminology (i.e., values connected to individual- or group-level characteristics, such as nation, race, or gender). Indeed, purely universal terminology became less frequent in all six languages, while morally communal language rose up across four languages. Again, these results are not consistent with the hypothesis of an *Expanding Circle*, at least between 1800 and 2000.

Third and final, I explore two prominent hypotheses often connected to the *Expanding Circle*: (i) humans' ability to reason and (ii) religion. Applying comprehensive dictionaries on each concept to *Google Ngram*, I then correlate the respective frequencies with that of morally universal language. What I find is one possible explanation that is able to reconcile observations of a seemingly *Expanding Circle* with the patterns observed in language: Reason-based terminology indeed goes hand-in-hand with purely morally universal language – however, it is *also* positively associated with a strong uptick in morally communal terminology. Thus, reason may come with a divergence of morality, pushing *both* morally universal and morally communal ideas.

Finally, a recent upward trend starting in the second half of the 20th century (at least in American English, British English, French, and Italian) may explain why contemporary com-

mentators generally feel positive about the Circle expanding: In their lifetime, morally universal language has indeed grown in frequency.

Of course, these empirical patterns should not be interpreted from a strictly causal perspective; these are correlations that *may* be indicative of broad societal patterns, but I cannot exclude the possibility of endogeneity influencing the derived estimates. Nevertheless, I hope this provides an empirical starting point for researchers to test broad claims of moral developments at the societal level over relatively long time periods.

References

Andreoni, J., Rao, J. M., and Trachtman, H. (2017). Avoiding the ask: A field experiment on altruism, empathy, and charitable giving. *Journal of Political Economy*, 125(3):625–653.

Bašić, Z., Bindra, P. C., Glätzle-Rützle, D., Romano, A., Sutter, M., and Zoller, C. (2021). The roots of cooperation. *IZA Discussion Paper No. 14467*, (2021/14).

Bastian, J. (2020). The rise of working mothers and the 1975 earned income tax credit. *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, 12(3):44–75.

Bloom, P. (2010). How do morals change? *Nature*, 464(7288):490–490.

Bloom, P. (2012). Religion, morality, evolution. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 63:179–199.

Bowles, S. (2006). Group competition, reproductive leveling, and the evolution of human altruism. *Science*, 314(5805):1569–1572.

Brosnan, S. F. and De Waal, F. B. (2003). Monkeys reject unequal pay. *Nature*, 425(6955):297–299.

Cappelen, A. W., Enke, B., and Tungodden, B. (2022). Moral universalism: Global evidence. Technical report, National Bureau of Economic Research.

Chen, M. K. (2013). The effect of language on economic behavior: Evidence from savings rates, health behaviors, and retirement assets. *American Economic Review*, 103(2):690–731.

Crimston, C. R., Bain, P. G., Hornsey, M. J., and Bastian, B. (2016). Moral expansiveness: Examining variability in the extension of the moral world. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 111(4):636.

Crimston, C. R., Hornsey, M. J., Bain, P. G., and Bastian, B. (2018). Toward a psychology of moral expansiveness. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 27(1):14–19.

Delgado, M. R., Frank, R. H., and Phelps, E. A. (2005). Perceptions of moral character modulate the neural systems of reward during the trust game. *Nature Neuroscience*, 8(11):1611–1618.

Enke, B. (2020). Moral values and voting. *Journal of Political Economy*, 128(10):3679–3729.

Enke, B. (2023). Market exposure and human morality. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 7(1):134–141.

Enke, B., Rodríguez-Padilla, R., and Zimmermann, F. (2023). Moral universalism and the structure of ideology. *The Review of Economic Studies*, 90(4):1934–1962.

Fehr, E. and Fischbacher, U. (2003). The nature of human altruism. *Nature*, 425(6960):785–791.

Gintis, H., Bowles, S., Boyd, R., and Fehr, E. (2003). Explaining altruistic behavior in humans. *Evolution and Human Behavior*, 24(3):153–172.

Google (2021). Google Books Ngram Viewer Exports.

Graham, J., Haidt, J., Koleva, S., Motyl, M., Iyer, R., Wojcik, S. P., and Ditto, P. H. (2013). Moral foundations theory: The pragmatic validity of moral pluralism. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 47:55–130.

Graham, J., Haidt, J., and Nosek, B. A. (2009). Liberals and conservatives rely on different sets of moral foundations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 96(5):1029.

Greenfield, P. M. (2013). The changing psychology of culture from 1800 through 2000. *Psychological Science*, 24(9):1722–1731.

Haidt, J. (2007). The new synthesis in moral psychology. *Science*, 316(5827):998–1002.

Haidt, J. and Joseph, C. (2004). Intuitive ethics: How innately prepared intuitions generate culturally variable virtues. *Daedalus*, 133(4):55–66.

Hofmann, W., Wisneski, D. C., Brandt, M. J., and Skitka, L. J. (2014). Morality in everyday life. *Science*, 345(6202):1340–1343.

Jackson, J. C., Gelfand, M., De, S., and Fox, A. (2019). The loosening of American culture over 200 years is associated with a creativity–order trade-off. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 3(3):244–250.

Juola, P. (2022). Google Books Ngrams. In *Encyclopedia of Big Data*, pages 517–521. Springer.

Kivikangas, J. M., Fernández-Castilla, B., Järvelä, S., Ravaja, N., and Lönnqvist, J.-E. (2021). Moral foundations and political orientation: Systematic review and meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 147(1):55.

Laham, S. M. (2009). Expanding the moral circle: Inclusion and exclusion mindsets and the circle of moral regard. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 45(1):250–253.

Lecky, W. E. H. (1891). *History of European morals: from Augustus to Charlemagne*, volume 1. Appleton.

Leetaru, K. (2011). Culturomics 2.0: Forecasting large-scale human behavior using global news media tone in time and space. *First Monday*.

Magness, P. W. and Makovi, M. (2023). The Mainstreaming of Marx: Measuring the effect of the Russian Revolution on Karl Marx's influence. *Journal of Political Economy*, 131(6):1507–1545.

McCullough, M. E. (2020). *The Kindness of Strangers: How a Selfish Ape Invented a New Moral Code*. Simon and Schuster.

McFarland, S. (2011). The slow creation of humanity. *Political Psychology*, 32(1):1–20.

Michel, J.-B., Shen, Y. K., Aiden, A. P., Veres, A., Gray, M. K., Pickett, J. P., Hoiberg, D., Clancy, D., Norvig, P., and Orwant, J. (2011). Quantitative analysis of culture using millions of digitized books. *Science*, 331(6014):176–182.

Moll, J., Zahn, R., de Oliveira-Souza, R., Krueger, F., and Grafman, J. (2005). The neural basis of human moral cognition. *Nature Reviews Neuroscience*, 6(10):799–809.

Naidu, S., Hwang, S.-H., and Bowles, S. (2017). The evolution of egalitarian sociolinguistic conventions. *American Economic Review*, 107(5):572–577.

Norenzayan, A. (2013). *Big gods: How religion transformed cooperation and conflict*. Princeton University Press.

Norenzayan, A., Shariff, A. F., Gervais, W. M., Willard, A. K., McNamara, R. A., Slingerland, E., and Henrich, J. (2016). The cultural evolution of prosocial religions. *Behavioral and brain sciences*, 39:e1.

Nowak, M. A. (2006). Five rules for the evolution of cooperation. *Science*, 314(5805):1560–1563.

Nowak, M. A., Page, K. M., and Sigmund, K. (2000). Fairness versus reason in the ultimatum game. *Science*, 289(5485):1773–1775.

Oxford Languages (2023). Oxford languages.

Pechenick, E. A., Danforth, C. M., and Dodds, P. S. (2015). Characterizing the Google Books corpus: Strong limits to inferences of socio-cultural and linguistic evolution. *PloS One*, 10(10):e0137041.

Pennebaker, J. W., Boyd, R. L., Jordan, K., and Blackburn, K. (2015). The development and psychometric properties of LIWC2015. Technical report.

Pinker, S. (2011). *The better angels of our nature: The decline of violence in history and its causes*. Penguin UK.

Pinker, S. (2018). *Enlightenment now: The case for reason, science, humanism, and progress*. Penguin.

Prestona, S. D. and de Waal, F. B. (2002). Empathy: Its ultimate and proximate bases. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 25:1–72.

Reed II, A. and Aquino, K. F. (2003). Moral identity and the expanding circle of moral regard toward out-groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84(6):1270.

Richardson, H. S. and Williams, M. S. (2009). *Moral Universalism and Pluralism*, volume 49. NYU Press.

Rosling, H. (2019). *Factfulness*. Flammarion.

Shermer, M. (2015). *The moral arc: How science makes us better people*. Henry Holt and Company.

Shiller, R. J. (2017). Narrative economics. *American Economic Review*, 107(4):967–1004.

Singer, P. (1981). *The expanding circle. Ethics and sociobiology*.

Singer, P. (2011). *The expanding circle: Ethics, evolution, and moral progress*. Princeton University Press.

Singer, P. (2016). *One world now: The ethics of globalization*. Yale University Press.

Tausczik, Y. R. and Pennebaker, J. W. (2010). The psychological meaning of words: LIWC and computerized text analysis methods. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 29(1):24–54.

Turmunkh, U., Van den Assem, M. J., and Van Dolder, D. (2019). Malleable lies: Communication and cooperation in a high stakes TV game show. *Management Science*, 65(10):4795–4812.

Waldron, J. (2012). *The harm in hate speech*. Harvard University Press.

Waytz, A., Iyer, R., Young, L., Haidt, J., and Graham, J. (2019). Ideological differences in the expanse of the moral circle. *Nature Communications*, 10(1):1–12.

Younes, N. and Reips, U.-D. (2019). Guideline for improving the reliability of Google Ngram studies: Evidence from religious terms. *PloS One*, 14(3):e0213554.

Appendix A: Summary Statistics and Descriptive Statistics

Table A1: Summary statistics for all variables and languages (1800 to 2000). The respective first row displays the mean, the second row shows standard deviations, and the third row documents the number of observations.

	American English	British English	French	Spanish	German	Italian	Source	Definition
Morally universal language	-0.33 (0.06) 201	-0.26 (0.05) 201	-0.33 (0.09) 201	-2.10 (0.27) 201	-0.37 (0.04) 201	-1.99 (0.11) 201	Google (2021) & Haidt (2007)	Share of morally universal language minus share of morally communal language
Purely morally universal language	0.33 (0.03) 201	0.31 (0.04) 201	0.84 (0.07) 201	1.53 (0.10) 201	0.62 (0.05) 201	1.26 (0.11) 201	Google (2021) & Haidt (2007)	Share of morally universal language
Purely morally communal language	0.66 (0.05) 201	0.56 (0.04) 201	1.17 (0.05) 201	3.62 (0.22) 201	0.99 (0.04) 201	3.25 (0.09) 201	Google (2021) & Haidt (2007)	Share of communal language
Causal language	1.13 (0.14) 201	1.09 (0.13) 201	2.76 (0.07) 201	3.81 (0.20) 201	3.41 (0.20) 201	2.84 (0.07) 201	Tausczik and Pennebaker (2010), Pennebaker et al. (2015), & Google (2021)	Share of causal language (*LIWC* category *causation*)
Religious language	0.45 (0.27) 201	0.52 (0.19) 201	0.55 (0.12) 201	0.86 (0.23) 201	0.47 (0.11) 201	0.61 (0.13) 201	Tausczik and Pennebaker (2010), Pennebaker et al. (2015), & Google (2021)	Share of religious language (*LIWC* category *religion*)

Table A2: Ten most frequent words/stems (1800 to 2000). Stems are indicated with an asterisk.

	American English	British English	French	Spanish	German	Italian
Word # 1	war 0.033%	war 0.034%	droit 0.051%	bien 0.087%	gerecht* 0.071%	fare* 0.339%
Word # 2	care 0.017%	wound* 0.017%	guerre 0.033%	derecho* 0.077%	erhalten* 0.059%	guerra 0.034%
Word # 3	wound* 0.016%	peace 0.015%	mort 0.032%	dejar* 0.051%	liebe* 0.034%	fine 0.032%
Word # 4	benefit* 0.015%	equal* 0.013%	garder* 0.025%	guerra* 0.038%	recht* 0.034%	interessare* 0.025%
Word # 5	equal* 0.015%	care 0.013%	également 0.022%	muerto* 0.033%	unterschied* 0.030%	curare* 0.024%
Word # 6	peace 0.014%	suffer* 0.013%	conserver* 0.019%	pérdida* 0.033%	unterscheiden* 0.030%	libero* 0.023%
Word # 7	justice 0.014%	attack* 0.012%	droits 0.019%	muerte 0.027%	krieg* 0.020%	mandare* 0.021%
Word # 8	rights 0.014%	justice 0.012%	paix 0.015%	rázon* 0.026%	richtig* 0.020%	difeso* 0.019%
Word # 9	suffer* 0.011%	benefit* 0.011%	justice 0.015%	justicia 0.024%	sicher* 0.016%	cura 0.018%
Word # 10	damage 0.010%	fair 0.010%	nuire* 0.014%	pena* 0.023%	kämpfen* 0.016%	difendere* 0.018%

Table A3: Number of books over time.

Time period	1800-1819	1900-1919	2000	Total
American English	6,031	229,521	70,405	2,319,634
British English	25,318	73,973	19,034	869,707
French	27,737	57,534	10,539	667,225
Spanish	4,192	25,479	19,784	675,214
German	4,766	64,277	8,585	500,595
Italian	3,565	15,999	6,678	235,453

Appendix B: English Dictionary

Universalism (English)

Care/Harm – Virtue (English)

safe*, peace, compassion, empathy, sympathy, care, caring, protect*, shield, shelter, amity, secure, benefit*, defend*, guard*

Care/Harm – Vice (English)

harm*, suffer*, war, wars, warlord, warring, fight*, violent*, violence*, hurt*, kill, kills, killer*, killed, killing, endanger*, cruel*, brutal, abuse*, damage*, ruin*, ravage, detriment*, crush*, attack*, annihilate*, destroy, stomp, abandon*, spurn, impair, exploit, exploits, exploited, exploiting, wound*

Fairness/Reciprocity – Virtue (English)

fair, fairly, fairness, fairminded, fairplay, equal*, justice, justness, justification, reciprocity, impartial*, egalitarian, rights, equity, evenness, equivalent, unbias*, tolerant, equable, balance*, homologous, unprejudice*, reasonable, constant, honest*

Fairness/Reciprocity – Vice (English)

unfair*, unequal*, bias*, injust, unjust, bigot*, discriminate, discrimination, disproportionate, inequitable, prejudice, dishonest, unscrupulous, dissociate, preference, favoritism, insider, segregate*, exclusion, exclude*

Communalism (English)

Ingroup/Loyalty – Virtue (English)

together, nation*, homeland, family, families, familial, group, loyal, patriot*, communal, commune, community, communist, communism, comrade*, cadre, collective, joint, unison, unite*, fellow*, guild, solidarity, devote*, devotion, member, clique, cohort, ally, segregate*, segregation

Ingroup/Loyalty – Vice (English)

foreign, foreigner, enemy, betray*, treason*, traitor, treacher*, disloyal, individual*, apostasy, apostate, deserted, deserter, deserting, deceive*, jilt*, imposter, miscreant, spy, sequester, renegade, terrorist, terrorism, immigrant, immigration, abandon*

Authority/Respect – Virtue (English)

obey, obedient, duty, law, lawful, legal, dutiful, honor*, respect, respectful, respectfully, respected, respects, order*, father*, mother, motherly, mothering, mothers, tradition*, hierarchy, hierarchical, authority*, permit, permission, status, rank*, leader*, class, bourgeoisie, caste, position, compliant, command, supremacy, control, submit*, submission, allegiance, allegiant*, serve, abide, deference, deferent*, defer, revere*, venerate*, comply, preserve, loyal

Authority/Respect – Vice (English)

defiant, defiance, rebel*, dissent, subvert*, subversive, subversion, disrespect*, disobey, disobedience, sedition, seditious, agitate*, agitation, insubordinate, illegal*, lawless*, lawlessness, insurgent, mutinous, defy*, dissident, unfaithful, alienate, defector, heretic*, nonconformist, oppose, protest, refuse, denounce, remonstrate, riot*, obstruct

Reason (English)

activate*, affect, affected, affecting, affects, aggravate*, allow*, attribute*, basis, bc, because, bosses, cause*, causation, change, changed, changes, changing, compel*, compliance, compliant, complied, complies, comply*, consequent, consequence, control*, cos, coz, create, created, creates, creating, creation, creations, creative, creativity, cuz, deceive*, deduce*, deduction, depend, depended, depending, depends, effect*, elicit*, elicitation, enable*, enact*, experiment, factor, force*, founded, generate*, generating, generator*, hence, how'd , how're, how's, howd, howre, hows, ignite*, ignition, implication, implicate*, imply*, independent*, induce*, induction, infer, infers, influence, influential, initiate*, initiation, intend*, intent*, intention, justify*, justification, launch*, lead, leading, leads, led, made, make, maker*, makes, making, manipulate*, manipulation, mislead*, motivate*, motive, obedience, obedient, obediently, obey, obeyed, obeying, obeys, origin, originate*, origins, outcome*, permit*, pick, picked, picking , picks, produce*, production, provoke*, purpose*, rational, rationality, rationale,

rationally, react*, reaction, reason*, response*, result*, root*, since, solution*, solve, solved, solves, solving, source*, stimulate*, stimulation, therefore, thus, trigger*, use, used, uses, using, whereby, wherefore, why, whyever

Religiosity (English)

afterlife, agnostic*, alla, allah, altar, amen, amish, angel, angelic, angels, baptism, baptisms, baptise*, baptize*, belief, beliefs, bible, biblical, biblically, bishop, bless*, buddha, buddhist, buddhistic, buddhism, catholic, catholicism, chapel*, chaplain*, christ, christen*, christian, christmas*, church*, clergy*, confess*, convent*, crucify*, crucifix, crucifixion, crusade*, crusader*, demon, demonic, devil*, divine, divinity, doom*, doomsday, episcopal, episcopalian, evangelical, evangelicals, evangelist, evangelists, evangelism, faith, faiths, faithful, fundamentalist, fundamentalists, fundamentalism, gentile, gentiles, god, gods, goddess, goddesses, gospel*, hashanah, heaven, heavens, hell, hellish, hells, hindu, hinduism, holier, holiest, holy, hymn, hymns, imam, imams, immoral, immorality, immortal, immortality, islam, jesuit, jesuits, jesus, jew, jewish, jews, jihad, jihadi, judah, judas, judaism, karma, kippur, koran, kosher, krishna, krisna, lord, lutheran, lutherans, mecca, meditate*, meditation, mennonite, mennonites, merciful, mercifully, mercy, methodist, methodists, minister, ministers, ministry, ministries, missionary, mitzvah, mohammad, monastic, monastery, monasticism, monk, monks, moral, morality, morals, mormon, mormons, mormonism, mosque, mosques, muhammad, mujahid, mujahideen, muslim, muslims, nun, nuns, orthodox, pagan, papal, paradise, passover, pastor, pastoral, pastoralism, pastoralist, penance, pentecost, pentecostal, pentecostalism, pew, pews, piety, pilgrim, pilgrims, pilgrimage, pious, pope, pray*, prayer, prayers, preach*, preacher, preachers, presbyterian, presbyterianism, priest, priests, prophet, prophets, prophetic, protestant, protestants, protestantism, psalm, psalms, purgatorial, purgatory, puritan, puritans, puritanical, puritanism, quran, rabbi, rabbis, rabbinical, ramadan, religion, religious, religiosity, rite, rites, ritual, rituals, ritualistic, rosary, rosaries, sabbath, sacred, sacrifice*, sacrificial, saint, saints, salvation, satan, satanic, scripture, scriptures, sect, sects, sectarian, seminary, shiite, shia, shrine, sikh, sin*, sinful, sinner, sinners, soul, souls, spirit, spirits, spiritual, spirituals, spiritualistic, sunni, sunnis, temple, temples, testament, theology, theologian, theologist, theological, torah, vatican, veil*, worship*, yiddish, zen, zion, zionist, zionism, zionic

Appendix C: French Dictionary

Universalism (French)

Care/Harm – Virtue (French)

sauver*, sécuriser*, pacifier*, apaiser*, sauvetage, sauvegarde, sécurité, sûr, sauf, sécurisant, sûrement, paix, apaisement, sérénité, tranquilité, pacifique, paisible, serein, tranquiliser*, compatir*, compassionner*, pacifiquement, paisiblement, sereinement, tranquillement, compassion, commisération, compassionnel, empathie*, sympathiser*, veiller*, protéger*, altruisme, sollicitude, empathique, altruiste, empathiquement, sympa, sympathique, sympathiquement, soins, soigné, attentioné, bienveillant, soucieux, gentil, bienfaisant, protection, protecteur, bouclier, rempart, égide, abri, abriter*, cacher*, bénéficier*, cache, cachette, refuge, amitié, ami, amical, amicalement, sécurisable, bénéfice, avantage, bénéfique, bénéficiaire, avantageux, bénéfiquement, défendre*, soutenir*, défense, défenseur, soutien, partisan, gardien, surveillant, préservation, préserver*, prémunir*, prévenir*, surveiller*, conserver*, conservation, garder*

Care/Harm – Vice (French)

nuire*, endommager*, souffrir*, subir*, nuisance, nuisible, désobligeant, nuisiblement, souffrance, douleur, souffrant, endurer*, combattre*, lutter*, douloureux, guerre, affrontement, conflit, bataille, combat, guerres, affrontements, conflits, batailles, combattant, lutteur, combatif, combativement, s'affronter*, violenter*, frapper*, blesser*, violence, véhémence, animosité, violent, véhément, violemment, blessure, offenser*, heurter*, outrager*, molester*, tuer*, assassiner*, outrage, mort, morts, assassin, menace, sadisme, sadique, tueur*, executeur*, meurtrier*, menacer*, cruauté*, cruel*, brutaliser*, agresser*, cruellement, brutalité, brutalement, agressivement, abus, maltraitance, brimade, brutal*, agressif*, virulent*, abuser*, maltraiter*, abusif*, abusivement, dommage, détérioration, endommagement, ruine, ravage, carnage, abîmer*, détériorer*, ruiner*, ravager*, saccager*, détriment*, ravageur, saccageur, ecrasement, attaquant, assaillant, aggression, agresseur, écraser*, broyer*, attaquer*, assaillir*, annihiler*, neutraliser*, annihilation, neutralisation, anéantissement, destruction, anéantir*, abattre*, détruire*, démolir*, destructeur*, destructif*, piétiner*, démolition, pétinement, abandon, abandonnement, renonciation, renoncement, délaissement, abandonner*, renoncer*, capituler*, repousser*, rejeter*, éconduire*, reddition, capitulation, résignation, affaiblissement, dévalorisation, dégradation, affaiblir*, dévaloriser*, dégrader*, exploiter*, profiter*, exploitation, exploiteur, profit, profitage, profiteur, exploitations, exploiteurs, profits, profiteurs, blessant, délaisser*, céder*

Fairness/Reciprocity – Virtue (French)

partager*, répartir*, juste, équitable, droit, équitablement, justement, équité, impartialité, loyalement, égalité, fairplay, fair-play, franc-jeu, égalisation, égal, égaliser*, équivaloir*, justifier*, expliquer*, équivalent, également, justice, juridiquement, équitabilité, justesse, honnêteté, justification, justificatif, explication, explicatif, justifiable, explicable, réciproque, impartial*, tolérer*, équilibrer*, homologuer*, réciprocité, mutuel, mutualité, réciprocitaire, mutualiste, mutualisme, réciproquement, mutuellement, neutralité, neutralisme, neutre, neutraliste, impartialement, neutralement, égalitarisme, égalitaire, égalitairement, droits, régularité, équilibre, équilibrage, uniformité, uniforme, uniformément,

similaire, comparable, correspondant, similairement, non-biaisé, tolérance, indulgence, mansuétude, tolérable, tolérant, indulgent, balance, homologue, raisonner*, honnête*, raisonnable, réfléchi, sage, rationnel, sensé, raisonnablement, constant, incessant, fixe, immuable, permanant, stable, constamment, intègre, honnêtement, égaler*

Fairness/Reciprocity – Vice (French)

déloyal, injustement, déloyalement, inégalitaire, inégalement, partialité, partialement, injuste*, inégal*, préjuger*, biaisé*, partial*, bigot*, discriminer*, bigoterie, bigotisme, bien-pensant, bigotement, discrimination, disproportionner*, démesurer*, disproportion*, dissocier*, discriminant, disproportionnement, disproportionellement, démesurément, inéquitable, inéquitablement, préjudice, préjudiciable, malhonnêteté, malhonnête, véreux, dissociation, séparation, séparer*, distinguer*, préférer*, détachement, préférence, favoritisme, ségrégation, exclusion, radiation, expulsion, opter*, favoriser*, exclure*, exclusivement

Communalism (French)

A0.0.1 Ingroup/Loyalty – Virtue (French)

ensemble, uni, nationalité, nationalisme, nationaliste, nationalement, patrie, réunir*, nation*, grouper*, regrouper*, famille, familial, familièrement, familialement, familles, familiale, groupe, loyal*, patriote*, camarade*, groupuscule, groupement, regroupement, loyauté, loyalisme, fidèle, fidèlité, sincère, sincérité, loyalement, fidèlement, sincèrement, patriotisme, chauvin, chauvinisme, patriotique, chauviniste, patriotiquement, communale, commune, communauté, communautairement, communautaire, camaraderie, environnement, cadre, collectif*, unir*, compagnon*, dévouer*, lieu, collectivité, collectivement, unisson, unité, compatriote, ami, guilde, confrérie, solidarité, entraide, solidaire, solidairement, dévotion, consacrer*, coéxister*, s'allier*, dévouement, consécration, membre, adhérent, partisan, clique, cohorte, cohésion, coexistence, allié, alliance, initié, adepte, ségrégationnisme, s'initier*, s'adapter*, ségrégation*, ségrégationniste

Ingroup/Loyalty – Vice (French)

étranger, rival, antagoniste, traîtreusement, traîtrise, félon, scélérat, ennemi*, trahir*, tromper*, trahison*, traître*, déloyal*, individualiste*, perfide, perfidie, déloyalement, perfidement, individualisme, individuellement, déserter*, abandonner*, déserteur*, décevoir*, apostasie, apostate, fuyard, désertion, décéption, décevant, imposteur, plaquer*, quitter*, espionner*, usurpateur, fumiste, charlatan, mécréant, infidèle, espion, espionnage, séquestrer*, terroriser*, immigrer*, abdiquer*, renégat, rebelle, rebellion, terroriste, terreur, immigration, abandon, abjurer*, abandonnement, abdication, anjuration, abandonnément

Authority/Respect – Virtue (French)

obéissant, obéissance, docile, obédient, obédience, docilement, devoir, obéir*, respectueux*, consciencieux*, dévoué*, obligation, loi, règlement, droit, légitime, légitimité, légal, licite, légalement, honneur, respect, respectueusement, révérencieusement, soucieux*, honorer*, respecter*, considérer*, estimer*, révérencieux*, ordonner*, commander*, paterner*, respects, ordre, commande, commandement, père, papa, paternel, maternel*, materner*, traditionnel*, coutumier*, paternellement, mère, maman, maternellement, maternage, maternité, mères, mamans, tradition, coutume, habitude, traditionnellement, coutumièrement, habituellement, habitué*, hiérarchiser*, classer*, hiérarchie, hiérarchisation, classement, organisation, hiérarchique, hiérarchiquement, autoritarisme, organiser*, autoriser*, autorité*, permettre*, autoritaire, autoritariste, autoritairement, permis, permission, autorisation, agrément, statuer*, ranger*, mener*, statut, état, situation, rang, classable, meneur, diriger*, dirigeant, chef, leader, catégorie, bourgeoisie, caste, position, complémentaire, suprématie, domination, prédominance, contrôle, contrôler*, dominer*, maîtriser*, soumettre*, maîtrise, contrôlable, maîtrisable, soumission, soumissionnement, subordination, allégeance*, servir*, conformer*, servitude, service, serviable, serviablement, conformisme, révérence, différer*, reporter*, ajourner*, surseoir*, proroger*, révérer*, vénérer*, déifier*, préserver*, révérable, révéremment, vénération, vénérable, vénérablement, conformité, conformiste, conformément, préservation, préservable, loyauté, loyal, fidèle, défendre*, couvrir*, loyaliste*, fidèliste, loyalement, fidèlement

Authority/Respect – Vice (French)

défiance, bravade, défiant, rebelle, rebellion, rebellement, révolte, défier*, rebeller*, révolter*, s'insurger*, dissocier*, subvertir*, perturber*, insurrection, insurgé, dissident, dissidence, dissension, dissonance, dissociation, subversion, perturbation, subversif, perturbateur, subversivement, irrespectueux*, irrévérencieux*, désobéir*, objecter*, irrespect, irrévérent, irrévérence, irrespectueusement, irrévérencieusement, désobéissance, désobéissant, sédition*, séditieux*, agiter*, provoquer*, agitateur, agitation, provocateur, provocation, agitable, insubordination, insubordonné, illégal*, resister*, affronter*, illégalité, illicite, illégalement, illicitement, anarchique, anarchie, anarchiquement, mutinerie, mutiné, résistance, aliéner*, s'opposer*, protester*, manifester*, défiable, resistant, affrontement, infidèle, infidèlement, aliénation, transfuge, hérétique, hérétiquement, anticonformiste, non-conformiste, opposant, opposition, opposable, protestation, manifestation, refusable, dénonciation, dénonÃ§able, refuser*, décliner*, dénoncer*, émeute*, obstruer*, bloquer*, entraver*, remontrance, soulèvement, obstruction, encombrement, bloquage, barrage, trahir*, traître*, déserteur*, trahison, félonie, félon, déserter*

Reason (French)

affecter*, activer*, atteindre*, affliger*, activateur, activable, activement, effet, incidence, aggravation, aggravement, concerner*, toucher*, impacter*, aggraver*, empirer*, exacerber*, autoriser*, permettre*, attribuer*, imputer*, exacerbation, autorisation, autorisant, permission, attribution, imputation, attribuable, baser*, imputable, base, fondement, car, patron, chef, employeur, dirigeant, causalité, raison, motif, causale, causable, causalement, changement, modification, changements, modifications, contrainte, obligation, modifier*, contraindre*, astreindre*, obliger*, forcer*, conformer*, soumettre*, conséquence*, contrôler*, imposition, exigence, contraignant, conformité, conformation, conforme, conformément, conséquent, conséquemment, contrôle, contrôlable, création, concevant, créant, créer*, provoquer*, décevoir*, tromper*, berner*, conception, créations, conceptions, créatif, inventif, créativité, inventivité, créativement, déduction, conclusion, compréhension, déductible, compréhensible, déduire*, conclure*, comprendre*, dépendre*, effectuer*, susciter*, dépendance, corrélation, selon, impact, effectif, effectivement, suscitation, suscitement, déclenchement, attisement, déclenchable, déclencher*, attiser*, promulguer*, adopter*, activation, actif, permis, promulgation, promulguant, adoption, adoptant, décrétant, adoptable, décréter*, experimenter*, tester*, expérience, test, expérimentalement, facteur, force, obligeance, contraint, forcément, obligeamment, génération, fonder*, établir*, générer*, produire*, générateur*, producteur*, enflammer*, production, générant, donc, ainsi, comment, implication, impliquer*, insinuer*, implicite*, suggérer*, indépendant*, induire*, tacite, allusion, insinuation, implicitement, indépendance, autonome, indépendamment, indubitable, indubitablement, influence, inciter*, découvrir*, inférer*, influcencer*, initier*, pouvoir, influenÃ§able, puissant, initiable, initialement, intention, intentionellement, intenter*, justifier*, prétexter*, objectif, projet, vocation, justificatif, justification, prétexte, explication, expliquer*, alléguer*, allégation, justifiable, justifiabilité, prétextable, explicable, lancement, publication, publier*, sortir*, sortie, lanÃ§able, publiable, sortable, meneur, leader, mener*, fabriquer*, guide, fabricant, réalisateu, créateur, constructeur, fabricable, faire*, construire*, manipuler*, duper*, flouer*, réalisable, créable, constructible, productible, manipulation, manipulateur, manipulable, trompeur, dupeur, motivation, stimulation, stimulant, motivant, obédience, motiver*, stimuler*, obéir*, sujétion, obédient, obéissance, obéissant, docile, origine, provenance, s'inféoder*, obtempérer*, écouter*, originaire*, originairement, originalement, origines, aboutissement, répercution, résultat*, laisser*, choisir*, séléctionner*, permissif, autorisable, choix, sélection, choisissant, décidant, amener*, procurer*, sélectionnant, produit, productivité, déclencheur, productif, agacer*, irriter*, procurable, productivement, provocation, provocateur, provoquant, rationaliser*, rationnel*, réagir*, répondre*, agacement, irritation, irritabilité, provocatif, provocable, agaÃ§ant, irritable, irritant, but, intentionel, objectivement, logique, rationnellement, logiquement, réaction, rebondissement, réactif, rebondir*, raisonner*, réactivement, argumentation, raisonnable, raisonnablement, argumenter*, résulter*, racine*, solutionner*, réponse, riposte, résultant, solution, résolution, résolvant, élucidant, démêlant, germe, résoudre*, élucider*, démêler*, source*, encourager*, éveiller*, provenance, encouragement, stimulable, encourageable, alors, désormais, dorénavant, entraîner*, amorce, utilisant, employant, où, pour, pourquoi, quoi, employer*, quelle, quoique, sous-entendre, amorcer*, utiliser*, réaliser*, conduire*, guider*, lancer*, concevoir*, imposer*, exiger*, causer*, changer*

Religiosity (French)

l'après-vie, l'au-delà, outre-tombe, agnostique, agnosticime, agnostiquement, angélique*, baptiser*, croire*, croyance*, allah, autel, amen, amish, ange, séraphin, séraphique, angéliquement, séraphiquement, anges, séraphins, baptême, foi, conviction, bible*, biblique*, bénir*, croyant, évangile, évangélique, êvêque, bénédiction, bénédicité, bouddha, confesser*, crucifier*, diable*, condamner*, bouddhisme, bouddhiste, catholique, catholisme, catholiquement, chapelle, aumonier, chapelain, christ, chrétien, chrétienté, christianisme, noël, église, clergé, confession, confessional, confessable, couvent, couvents, crucifix, crucifixion, crucifiement, crucifié, croisade, croisé, démon, démoniaque, démoniaquement, démons, diabolique, diaboliquement, divin, divinité, divinement, destin, destinée, fatalité, épiscopal, évangélisation, évangéliser*, hymne*, immoral*, évangéliste, épiscopalien, principes, fondamentaux, fondamentaliste, fondamentalisation, gentil, dieu, déesse, gospel, hachana, hashānāh, paradis, paradisiaque, enfer, infernal, enfers, hindu, hindouiste, hindou, hindouisme, sainteté, sacré, saint, hymnique, imam, imamique, immoralité, immoralisme, immoraliste, immoralement, immortel*, juif*, djihad*, méditer*, immortellement, islam, islamiste, islamique, islamiquement, jésuite, jésus, judaïque, judaïsme, judaïquement, juifs, djihadisme, djihadiste, juda, karma, kippur, kippour, coran, kasher, casher, krishna, seigneur, luthérien, luthéranisme, mecque, méditation, mennonite, missionner*, mormon*, orthodoxe*, mennonisme, impitoyable, impitoyablement, pitié, miséricorde, clémence, méthodisme, méthodiste, pasteur, pastoral, pastoralement, missionnaire, mitzvah, mahomet, muhammad, mohammed, mahométisme, mahométan, monastère, moine, moral, moralement, moralité, moraux, mormonisme, mosquée, mujahid, moudjahid, moudjahidine, musulman, musulmanisme, nonne, religieuse, nonnes, soeur, soeurs, religieuses, orthodoxie, paganisme, impie, païennement, païen*, pèleriner*, prier*, papal, pessa'h, pénitence, contrition, mortification, pentecôte, banc, bancs, piété, pieux, pèlerin, pèlerinage, religieux, dévot, pape, papauté, pontife, prière, prieur, prêcheur, prêche, pontifical, prêcher*, prêtre*, purger*, expier*, presbytère, presbytérianisme, presbytérien, curé, abbé, desservant, officiant, prophétie, prophète, prophétique, prophétiquement, protestant, protestantisme, psaume, purgatoire, expiation, purification, purgatif, puritanisme, puritain, sacrifier*, pécher*, testamenter*, voiler*, coranique, rabbin, rabbinique, rabbins, ramadan, religion, religieusement, rite, coutume, rites, coutumes, rituel, ritualité, rituellement, chapelets, rosaires, chapelet, rosaire, sabbat, shabbat, chabbat, sabbatique, consacré, sacrifice, abnégation, sacrifiable, sainement, salut, satan, satanisme, satanique, sataniquement, scriptural, secte, sectaire, sectarisme, sectes, séminaire, shi'ism, shi'a, chiisme, shiite, chiite, sanctuaire, mausolée, sikh, sikhe, sikhisme, pécheur, péchés, âme, esprit, âmes, esprits, spirituel, spirituellement, sunnite, sunnites, temple, testament, testamentaire, théologie, théologien, théologique, théologiquement, torah, torahique, vatican, voile, culte, adoration, yiddish, adorer*, vénérer*, célébrer*, zen, zion, sion, sionisme, sioniste

Appendix D: Spanish Dictionary

Universalism (Spanish)

Care/Harm – Virtue (Spanish)

seguro*, proteger*, protección, protector*, salvaguardar*, defender*, amparar*, defensor*, amparador*, seguridad, cuidadosamente, salvaguardia, defensa, amparo, amparamiento, paz, pacificador*, pacificar*, pacifista*, compaciente*, pacificación, pacifismo, compasión, misericordia, miseración, conmiseración, misericorde, compadecer*, compasible*, compasivo*, miserando*, misericordioso*, empatizar*, apiadarse*, misericordiosamente, empatía, empático, piedad, piadosamente, apoyo, preocupación, piadoso*, apiadar*, apiadador*, apoyar*, preocuparse*, interés, escudo, cobijo, refugio, asilo, albergue, cobijamiento, cuidar*, cuidador*, interesarse*, cariñoso*, solícito*, escudar*, cobijar*, refugiar*, guarecer*, albergar*, asilar*, cobijador*, concordia, armonía, amistad, concorde, concordemente, armoniosamente, armonizable, concordar*, concordativo*, armonicista*, armonioso*, armonizar*, armonizador*, amistoso*, amable*, armonización, amistosamente, amigablemente, amigabilidad, amistanza, confianza, seguranza, amigable*, amigo*, amistar*, asegurar*, afianzar*, fiable*, confiable*, confiar*, beneficio*, beneficiar*, beneficioso*, seguramiento, bien, beneficencia, beneficiación, custodia, preservación, conservación, benéfico*, benefactor*, benefactría*, beneficiado*, beneficial*, beneficiador*, beneficiario*, guardar*, custodiar*, guardián*, preservar*, conservador*, conservado*, importar*, afectar*, resguardar*, guarecido*, conservar*, preservador*

Care/Harm – Vice (Spanish)

lastimar*, dañar*, perjudicar*, lastimador*, dañador*, daño, daños, dañino, dañinos, dañación, nocividad, nocible, dañoso*, nocivo*, perjudicial*, perjudicador*, nocibles, perjuicio, perjuicios, belicosidad, lucha, luchas, pelea, perjudicado*, lesión*, lesivo*, lesionado*, maltratar*, maltratador*, sufrir*, penar*, afligir*, sufrimiento*, sufridor*, pena*, penalidad*, penador*, penoso*, padecimiento*, adoleciente*, afligimiento*, afligible*, guerrear*, enfrentarse*, guerreador*, guerrero*, guerra*, conflicto*, batalla*, enfrentamiento*, disputa*, combate*, belicoso*, beligerante*, belicismo, belicista*, bélico*, luchar*, pugnar*, batallar*, peleas*, riña*, riñas, pugna, pugnas, violentamente, matanzas, violentar*, violencia*, matar*, asesinar*, mortal*, letal*, fatal*, asesino*, matador*, muerto*, asesinatos, muertes, asesinato, matanza, muerte, peligrosidad, peligro, asesinado*, arriesgar*, peligros, peligrosamente, crueldad, cruelmente, atrocidad, atrozmente, inhumanamente, peligroso*, peligrar*, arriesgón*, riesgo*, riesgoso*, expuesto*, cruel*, atroz*, brutal*, despiadado*, inhumano*, crudelísimo*, salvaje*, bárbaro*, brutalmente, salvajemente, barbarización, bestialmente, maltratamiento, agresivamente, agresividad, bestial*, brutalidad*, brutalismo*, salvajismo*, salvajada*, salvajería*, salvajez*, barbaridad*, barbarismo*, barbarizar*, barbarote*, bestialidad*, abusar*, abuso*, abusador*, abusión*, abusivo*, abusón*, maltrato*, agredir*, agresión*, agresor*, arruinar*, estropear*, arruinamiento, desgraciadamente, desbaratadamente, estragamiento, machacadura, destructivamente, destructividad, desgraciar*, destrozar*, socavar*, desbaratar*, descalabrar*, ruina*, ruinoso*, ruinar*, arruinador*, estropeo*, desgracia*, destrozador*, destrozón*, malogrado*, malogro*, malogramiento*, socavado*, socava*, socavación*, desbaratador*, desbaratamiento*, desbarate*, desbarato*, descalabrado*, descalabradura*, asolar*, devastar*, arrasar*, estragar*, asolación*, asolamiento*, asolador*, devastación*, devastador*, arrasador*, arrasadura*, arrasamiento*, estrago*, estragado*, estragador*, detrimento*, menoscabo*, pérdida*, aniquilar*, arrollar*, machacador*, machacante*, machacón*, aplastamiento*, aplastante*, arrollamiento*, arrollador*, hundimiento*, atacar*, ataque*, atacante*, atacador*, agresivo*, asaltante*, asaltador*, asalto*, aniquilación*, aniquilador*, aniquilante*, aniquilable*, aniquilamiento*, destruir*, destrucción*, destructor*, pisotear*, atropellar*, pisoteado*, pisoteo*, pisotón*, atropello*, atropellador*, atropellamiento*, patada*, pateadura*, pateador*, pateamiento*, abandonar*, desproteger*, abandonamiento*, dejador*, dejamiento*, dejadez*, dejación*, desprotección, desamparamiento, desamparadamente, desdén, rechazamiento, desamparador*, desamparo*, desdeñar*, rechazar*, desdeñoso*, desdeñable*, desdeñador*, desdeño*, desprecio*, despreciable*, despreciativo*, despreciado*, despreciador*, rechazo*, rechazable*, rechazador*, alterar*, alterabilidad, alterante, herimiento, lesividad, afectar*, alteración*, alterador*, afectación*, afectable*, afectador*, afectante*, explotar*, exprimir*, explotación*, explotador*, proeza*, hazaña*, vulnerabilidad*, explotable*, exprimible*, herir*, lacerar*, llagar*, heridor*, hiriente*, laceración*, lacerador*, lacerante*, llaga*, llagado*, llagamiento*, llagador*, lesionador*, despreciar*, padecer*, adolecer*, pelear*, combatir*, disputar*, exponer*, malograr*, machacar*, aplastar*, hundir*, asaltar*, patear*, dejar*, desamparar*, abandono*, lesionar*

Fairness/Reciprocity – Virtue (Spanish)

justo*, imparcial*, equitativo*, legítimo*, razonable*, igual*, lícito, justamente, equitativamente, limpiamente, legitimidad, justicia, imparcialidad, ecuanimidad, equidad, igualdad, igualmente, igualitariamente, igualanza, igualitarismo, igualitario*, igualar*, igualable*, igualación*, igualador*, igualatorio*, justiciar*, justificar*, justificable*, justificación*, justificadamente, justedad, reciprocidad, reciprocación, recíprocamente, correspondencia, correspondientemente, justificador*, justificante*, justificativo*, reciprocar*, corresponder*, correspondiente*, derecho*, uniforme*, uniformar*, imparcialmente, uniformidad, uniformemente, equivalencia, equivalentemente, neutralidad, neutralism, uniformizar*, uniformador*, equivalente*, equivaler*, neutral*, objetivo*, ecuánime*, neutralista*, neutralizar*, neutralizante*, objetividad, objetivamente, objetivismo, objetivación, objetivable, tolerancia, tolerabilidad, neutralizor*, neutralización*, neutralizable*, objetivar*, objetivista*, objetivador*, tolerante*, tolerar*, tolerable*, tolerablemente, tolerantismo, indulgente, equilibradamente, razonabilidad, razonablemente, decentemente, equilibrio*, equilibrar*, equilibrador*, equilibre*, balancear*, balanceador*, homólogo*, homologar*, homologable*, homologación*, decente*, razón*, constante*, honesto*, decencia, constancia, constantemente, honestidad, honestamente, honestad, honradamente, honestar*, honrado*, honorable*, sincero*, honradez, sinceridad, sinceramente, francamente, franqueza, sincerar*, franco*

Fairness/Reciprocity – Vice (Spanish)

injusto*, injusticia*, desigual*, desigualdad*, injustamente, desigualmente, sesgo, tendencia, parcialidad, parcialmente, partidismo, desequilibrar*, desequilibrio*, parcial*, sesgar*, sesgadura*, sesgadamente, tendenciosamente, tendenciosidad, subjetividad, subjetivamente, subjetivismo, preferentemente, tendencioso*, subjetivo*, preferencia*, preferencial*, preferente*, injustificado*, indebido*, injustificadamente, injustificable, indebidamente, improcedentemente, intolerancia, intolerabilidad, desproporcionadamente, improcedente*, sinrazón*, intolerante*, intolerable*, discriminar*, discriminación*, discriminador*, discriminatorio*, discriminativo*, desproporción*, desproporcionar*, prejuicio*, deshonestamente, deshonestidad, inmoralidad, diferenciación, diferentemente, primacía, segregación, prejuzgar*, prejuiciar*, prejuicioso*, deshonesto*, inescrupuloso*, inmoral*, disociar*, disociador*, disociable*, disociación*, diferenciar*, diferenciador*, diferencia*, diferente*, primar*, primacial*, favoritismo*, segregar*, segregador*, segregacionismo, segregacionista, marginalidad, marginalismo, marginalización, marginalmente, segregativo*, marginar*, marginación*, marginador*, marginal*, exclusión*, excluir*, excluidor*, excluible*, marginalizar*

Communalism (Spanish)

Ingroup/Loyalty – Virtue (Spanish)

juntos*, agruparse*, unión*, juntamente, conjuntamente, agrupación, unidad, solidaridad, compañerismo, unidamente, solidariamente, nacionalmente, patriotismo, patriotería, patrioterismo, familiarmente, solidario*, solidarizar*, compañero*, nación*, nacionalidad*, nacionalista*, nacional*, estado*, estatal*, estatalismo*, estatalista*, estatismo*, estatista*, patria*, patriota*, patriotero*, natal*, país*, nativo*, terruño*, familia*, familiar*, estirpe*, linaje*, familiaridad*, familiarizar*, familión*, grupo*, grupal*, agrupadamente, lealtad, lealmente, fidelidad, fielmente, comunalmente, agrupar*, agrupamiento*, agrupable*, agrupador*, asociación*, colectivo*, colectividad*, conjunto*, leal*, fiel*, fidelísimo*, comunal*, comunitario*, comunero*, comuna*, comunidad*, comunitariamente, comunismo, camaradería, directiva, colectivismo, comunión*, sociedad*, vecindario*, barrio*, comunista*, camarada*, colectivista*, colectivizar*, colectivización*, unir*, juntar*, juntura*, juntador*, junto*, coyuntura*, juntamiento*, unisonancia, armonía, armoniosamente, armonizable, asociacionismo, coyuntural*, articular*, articulación*, articulable*, articulador*, ensamblar*, ensamblaje*, ensamblador*, ensambladura*, ensamble*, unísono*, armonizar*, armonioso*, armonización*, unirse*, unificar*, unidor*, unificación*, unificador*, colega*, socio*, asociar*, asociarse*, asociable*, asociacionista*, prójimo*, semejante*, fraternalmente, gremialismo, consagración, dedicación, militancia, exclusividad, exclusivamente, miembro*, membresía*, hermandad*, hermanación*, hermanarse*, fraternidad*, fraterno*, fraternal*, fraternizar*, gremio*, gremial*, gremialista*, cofradía*, cofrade*, devoto*, devoción*, devocional*, adepto*, adhesión*, consagrar*, consagrable*, dedicar*, integrante*, integrar*, integración*, afiliar*, afiliación*, militante*, militar*, camarilla*, peña*, peñista*, piña*, mafia*, exclusive*, exclusivista*, exclusivismo, segregación, segregacionismo, segregacionista, marginalidad, marginalismo, marginalización, séquito*, cohorte*, cómplice*, aliar*, iniciar*, iniciador*, iniciativa*, infiltrado*, segregar*, segregador*, segregativo*, marginar*, marginación*, marginador*, marginal*, marginalmente, alianza*

Ingroup/Loyalty – Vice (Spanish)

extranjero*, foráneo*, forano*, forastero*, extraño*, afuereño*, extranjerizar*, enemigo*, enemistar*, enemigar*, enemigadero*, enemistad, enemigable, enemigamente, deslealtad, pérfidamente, individualismo, personalismo, rival*, rivalidad*, rivalizar*, adversario*, adverso*, traición*, traicionar*, traidor*, traicionero*, zaino*, delatar*, delación*, delator*, delatable*, desleal*, felón*, felonía*, pérfido*, perfidia*, individualista*, independiente*, particularista*, apostasía*, independencia, particularismo, abjuración, engañabobos, engañanecios, engañosamente, engatusamiento, apostatar*, apóstata*, abjurar*, desertar*, desertor*, prófugo*, engañar*, engaño*, engañador*, engañifa*, engañoso*, engatusar*, engatusador*, embaucar*, abandonismo, usurpación, delincuencia, aislamiento, aislacionismo, aislacionista, aisladamente, embaucador*, embaucamiento*, abandonar*, abandono*, abandonista*, plantar*, plantado*, impostor*, impostura*, usurpar*, usurpador*, malhechor*, bribón*, facineroso*, maleante*, delinquente*, delinquir*, delito*, delinquimiento*, delicuente*, espía*, espiar*, espionaje*, espiador*, espiadora*, aislar*, aislador*, recluir*, reclusorio*, desamparadamente, dejación, dejamiento, dejadez, reclusión*, renegar*, renegador*, terrorismo*, terrorista*, inmigrante*, inmigración*, inmigrado*, inmigrar*, inmigratorio*, desamparar*, desamparador*, desamparamiento*, engañadizo*, abandonamiento*, dejar*

Authority/Respect – Virtue (Spanish)

obedecer*, obedecible*, obedecedor*, acatar*, acatamiento*, acatable*, cumplir*, orden*, obedecimiento*, obediencia, obedientemente, normatividad, normativismo, reglamentariamente, reglamentista, legalmente, obediente*, obedencial*, deber*, obligacion*, obligar*, obligatoriedad*, obligatorio*, obligamiento*, ley*, legal*, norma*, regla*, derecho*, normativo*, normativización*, normativizar*, reglamento*, reglamentario*, reglamentar*, reglar*, legalidad*, legalizar*, legalista*, legalismo, legitimidad, legítimamente, lícitamente, honradez, integridad, honestidad, legalizable*, legitimar*, legitimación*, legitimador*, legitimista*, legitimario*, cumplidor*, honor*, honra*, honesto*, honestar*, honorable*, honestamente, honestad, honradamente, honrosamente, honorabilidad, honorablemente, honoríficamente, honroso*, honrable*, honrar*, honoración*, honorificación*, honorífico*, honorificar*, honorificencia, íntegramente, respetuosamente, respetuosidad, respetabilidad, paternalmente, paternofilial, íntegro*, acato*, respetuoso*, respetador*, respetable*, ordenación*, ordenable*, ordenador*, ordenamiento*, ordenanza*, ordenante*, mandar*, mandato*, mandamiento*, mandado*, mandación*, mandador*, mandamás*, mandante*, mandatorio*, padre*, papá*, paternal*, paterno*, padrazo*, padrear*, paternalismo, paternalista, paternidad, maternalmente, tradicionalmente, tradicionalidad, tradicionalismo, padrino*, padrinaje*, padrinazgo*, apadrinar*, madre*, mamá*, maternidad*, maternizar*, maternofilial*, madrero*, madraza*, madrina*, amadrinar*, maternal*, materno*, tratar*, parir*, preocuparse*, tradición*, costumbre*, acervo*, tradicional*, tradicionalista*, jerarquiza, jerárquicamente, autoritariamente, autoritarismo, autorizadamente, permisivamente, permisivismo, tradicionista*,

34

jerarquía*, jerárquico*, jerarquización*, jerarca*, autoridad*, autoritario*, autoritativo*, autorizable*, autorización*, autorizar*, autorizador*, autorizamiento*, permitir*, permitidor*, consentir*, consentidor*, permiso*, consentimiento*, aprobación*, permisibilidad*, permisión*, permisivo*, estatus, burguesismo, casticismo, casticista, castizamente, casticidad, permisividad*, permisor*, permisionario*, rango*, grado*, graduación*, título*, dignidad*, nivel*, clasificación*, categoría*, clasificar*, líder*, liderar*, liderazgo*, liderato*, liderizar*, cabecilla*, adalid*, dirigente*, jefe*, clase*, clasista*, burguesía*, burgués*, aburguesar*, aburguesamiento*, pequeñoburgués*, casta*, linaje*, ralea*, castizo*, posición*, cumplimiento*, conformidad*, controlabilidad, dominación, sumisamente, servicialmente, servilismo, servilmente, servitude, observancia*, conforme*, comandancia*, comandamiento*, comandante*, supremacía*, hegemonía*, hegemónico*, preeminencia*, preeminente*, control*, controlar*, controlable*, controlador*, dominio*, dominar*, dominante*, dominable*, dominador*, sumisión*, sometimiento*, sumiso*, someterse*, rendirse*, servidor*, servidora*, servicio*, servicial*, servidumbre*, servil*, siervo*, complacientemente, venerablemente, veneración, mantención, mantenencia, conservación, atenerse*, atenencia*, atenedor*, deferencia*, condescendencia*, condescendiente*, deferente*, condescender*, deferir*, reverenciar*, reverenciable*, reverenciador*, reverencial*, reverencioso*, venerar*, venerable*, venerador*, preservar*, proteger*, conservar*, preservación*, preservador*, preservante*, preservativo*, protegible*, mantenedor*, mantenimiento*, conservable*, conservativo*, coto*, fiel*, fidelidad, fielmente, fidelísimo*, mantener*, lealtad*, servir*, comandar*, cuidar*, madrear*, ordenar*, respeto*, respetar*, legítimo*, lícito*

Authority/Respect – Vice (Spanish)

desafiar*, desafiante*, desafiador*, desafío*, desafiamiento*, retar*, retador*, reto*, insolente*, insolencia*, rebelde*, rebelar*, insolentemente, desacordadamente, irrespetuosamente, irrespetuosidad, irreverentemente, irrespeto, rebelión*, rebeldía*, disidente*, disentir*, disidencia*, disentimiento*, disidir*, discrepar*, discrepancia*, discrepante*, disconformidad*, disconforme*, desacordar*, desacordamiento*, subversivo*, subversión*, subversor*, subvertir*, irrespetuoso*, irrespetar*, irreverencia*, irreverente*, irreverenciar*, desobediencia, desacatamiento, sediciosamente, alborotapueblos, ilegalmente, ilícitamente, anárquicamente, insolentar*, desobedecer*, desacatar*, desacatador*, contravenir*, contravención*, contraventor*, contravenidor*, contravenimiento*, sedición*, alzamiento*, sublevación*, sublevar*, sublevamiento*, motín*, amotinarse*, amotinamiento*, amotinador*, agitar*, agitador*, agitación*, agitable*, agitante*, alborotar*, alborotador*, alborotadizo*, alborote*, alborotero*, alborotista*, alborotoso*, provocar*, provocador*, provocación*, provocante*, provocativo*, insubordinación*, insubordinar*, insumisión*, ilegal*, ilegalidad*, ilegalizar*, ilegalización*, ilícito*, ilegitimar*, anárquico*, anarquista*, anarquía, anarquismo, infielmente, alienabilidad, transfuguismo, profanamente, sacrílegamente, insurgente*, insurgencia*, insurgir*, insurrecto*, insurrección*, insurreccionar*, insurreccional*, infiel*, infidelidad*, infidencia*, infidente*, alienar*, alienante*, alienable*, alienación*, enajenar*, enajenable*, enajenación*, enajenador*, enajenamiento*, enajenante*, enemistar*, enemistad*, desertor*, desertar*, tránsfuga*, hereje*, herético*, herejía*, profanar*, profanación*, profanador*, profanamiento*, profanía*, opuestamente, declinante, negación, obstruccionismo, profanidad*, sacrílego*, sacrilegio*, inconformista*, inconforme*, inconformarse*, incorformidad*, inconformismo*, oponerse*, oposición*, oponente*, oposicionista*, opuesto*, resistirse*, resistencia*, resistidor*, resistente*, protestar*, protesta*, protestación*, protestatario*, protestativo*, protesto*, protestón*, manifestarse*, manifestación*, manifestante*, manifestador*, rehusar*, rechazamiento*, rechazador*, rechazable*, declinar*, declinación*, negarse*, negamiento*, negativa*, negador*, denunciar*, denunciable*, denuncia*, denunciación*, denunciador*, denunciante*, denunciatorio*, censurar*, censurable*, censura*, censurador*, censurista*, condenar*, condenables*, condenación*, condenador*, condenatorio*, acusar*, acusador*, acusación*, acusable*, acusativo*, acusatorio*, disturbio*, disturbar*, desorden*, revuelta*, revoltoso*, alzarse*, vandalismo*, vándalo*, vandalizar*, vandalaje*, obstruir*, obstrucción*, obstruccionista*, obstructivo*, obstructor*, obstruyente*, obstaculizar*, obstáculo*, obstaculización*, obstaculizador*, impedir*, impedimento*, impedidor*, impedimenta*, impeditivo*, impediente*, ocluir*, oclusión*, oclusivo*, bloquear*, bloqueador*, felón*, felonía*, rechazar*, quejarse*, profane*

Reason (Spanish)

activar*, accionar*, movilizar*, activador*, actividad, activación, activismo, activamente, accionamiento, permisivamente, porque, activista*, accionable*, movilizador*, movilización*, afectar*, afectante*, afectador*, agravar*, agravación*, agravante*, agravador*, agravatorio*, agravamiento*, empeorar*, empeoramiento*, permitir*, permiso*, permisibilidad*, permisible*, permisión*, permisionario*, permisividad*, permisivo*, permisor*, permitividad*, permitidor*, dejar*, conceder*, concedente*, concesible*, concesivo*, acceder*, consentir*, consentidor*, atribuir*, atribuible*, atribución*, atributo*, achacar*, achacable*, basar*, basado*, fundamentar*, fundamental*, base*, fundamento*, criterio*, jefe*, gerente*, mandar*, pues, por, obligamiento, obligatoriedad, presión, forzadamente, forzosamente, dirigir*, causa*, origen*, razón*, causal*, causación*, causalidad*, causador*, causante*, causativo*, motivar*, motivo*, motivación*, motivador*, motivante*, producir*, producto*, producción*, producible*, producidor*, productor*, provocar*, provocador*, provocación*, provocante*, cambiar*, modificar*, variar*, mutar*, distinto*, cambio*, modificación*, transformación*, transformamiento*, variación*, variabilidad*, mutación*, mutabilidad*, cambiante*, cambiable*, modificable*, modificador*, modificante*, modificativo*, modificatorio*, transformable*, transformador*, transformativo*, variable*, mutable*, compeler*, compelir*, forzar*, presionante*, forzoso*, forzosidad, forzamiento, conformidad, docilidad, obediencia, consecuentemente, entonces, forzador*, acatamiento*, cumplimiento*, obedecimiento*, conforme*, obediente*, cumplidor*, acatar*, consiguiente*, control*, controlar*, consiguientemente, creación, criatura, creaciones, criaturas, creatividad, engañabobos, controlador*, controlable*, controlabilidad*, dominar*, dominio*, dominante*, dominable*, dominación*, dominador*, dominativo*, mandato*, mandamiento*, mandación*, mandador*, mandamás*, mandante*, mandatorio*, crear*, creador*, creable*, creativo*, engañar*, engaño*, engañanecios, engañosamente, engatusamiento, posiblemente, experimentalmente, inclusive, incluso, engañador*, engañifa*, engañoso*, engatusar*, engatusador*, embaucar*, embaucador*, embaucamiento*, deducir*, deducible*, deductor*, deducción*, deducibilidad*, deductible*, deductivo*, deductibilidad*, inferir*, inferencia*, depender*, dependiente*, dependencia*, efecto*, efectuación*, sacar*, desencadenar*, desencadenante*, desencadenamiento*, obtener*, obtención*, obtenible*, posibilitar*, posible*, posibilidad*, posibilitador*, posibilitación*, autorizar*, promulgar*, promulgación*, promulgador*, experiencia*, experimentación*, experimental*, probar*, prueba*, probador*, probadura*, incluir*, inclusión*, considerar*, incluyente, considerablemente, fuerza, cómo, implícitamente, independientemente,

inicialmente, consideración*, considerable*, considerador*, considerativo*, imponer*, coerción*, coercitivo*, coercer*, coercible*, generar*, generación*, generable*, generador*, generativo*, encender*, prender*, arrancar*, arranque*, encendedor*, mecha*, detonador*, detonante*, implicar*, implícito*, implicación*, implicancia*, implicatorio*, involucrar*, involucración*, involucramiento*, tácito*, sobreentendimiento*, significar*, significación*, significador*, suponer*, suposición*, suponedor*, supositivo*, sobreentender*, independiente*, independencia*, independizar*, independización*, inducir*, inducidor*, inducimiento*, inducción*, inductivo*, inductor*, influir*, influencia*, influenciable*, influyente*, iniciar*, iniciador*, iniciativa*, inicial*, inicio*, iniciación*, iniciático*, iniciativo*, justificadamente, confusamente, erróneamente, obedientemente, originalmente, originariamente, producibilidad*, intención*, propósito*, empeño*, tentativa*, justificar*, justificable*, justificación*, justificador*, justificante*, justificativo*, pretextar*, pretexto*, lanzar*, lanzamiento*, guiar*, conducir*, liderazgo*, líder*, dirigente*, importante*, fabricar*, hacedor*, ejecutor*, fabricante*, fabricación*, manipular*, manipulador*, manipulación*, manipulativo*, manejar*, manejable*, confundir*, confusión*, confundidor*, confundimiento*, confundible*, falsear*, falseador*, falseamiento*, desorientar*, desorientación*, desorientador*, erróneo*, móvil*, incitar*, incentivo*, incitador*, incitación*, incitamento*, incitante*, incitativo*, obedecible*, ascendencia*, originar*, original*, originalidad*, originario*, desarrollar*, desarrollo*, desarrollable*, producimiento*, producible*, productividad*, autorizadamente, escogidamente, recolección, adrede, deliberadamente, aposta, intencionadament, productivo*, procedencia*, desenlace*, autoridad*, autoritario*, autorizable*, autorización*, autorizador*, autorizamiento*, escoger*, elegir*, recolectar*, elector*, electivo*, electividad*, elección*, escogencia*, escogimiento*, recolecta*, provocativo*, finalidad*, objetivo*, meta*, fin*, proponerse*, intencionalidad*, lógica, razonablemente, razonadamente, racionalidad, racionalismo, racionalmente, resolución*, resoluto*, significante*, significativo*, racional*, lógico*, razonable*, congruente*, cuerdo*, juicioso*, sensato*, razonar*, racionalizar*, razonabilidad*, razonador*, razonamiento*, razonante*, racionalista*, racionalización*, reaccionar*, reacción*, reactivo*, reaccional*, reaccionario*, reactividad*, motive*, cordura*, responder*, respuesta*, resultar*, raíz*, enraizar*, desde, así, luego, enraizamiento*, arraigar*, arraigamiento*, proceder*, procedente*, solución*, solucionar*, resolver*, solucionador*, resolvente*, resolviente*, fuente*, estimular*, estímulo*, estimulante*, estimulación*, estimulador*, estimuloso*, animar*, animador*, animación*, incentivar*, incentivador*, incentivación*, detonar*, disparar*, disparador*, usar*, utilizer*, sentido*, utilización*, utilizable*, empleo*, cual*, uso*, usanza*, recoger*, escogedor*, hacer*, liderar*, ignición*, experimentar*, experimento*, efectuar*, engañadizo*, obedecer*, consecuencia*, acatable*, cumplir*, obligación*, obligar*, presionar*, transformar*, causar*, fundamentación*, consentimiento*, concesión*

Religiosity (Spanish)

agnóstico*, altar*, monaguillo*, angelito*, ultratumba, agnosticismo, alá, retablo, presbiterio, palia, sabanilla, angelizar*, angélico*, angelical*, luminaria, cirio, amén, amish, ángel, arcángel, angelote, serafines, querubines, serafín, querubín, angelología, angelicalmente, ángeles, arcángeles, angelotes, bautizar*, baptizar*, creer*, biblíco*, bautismo, bautismos, bautizo, bautizos, bautismal, bautismales, bautista, bautistas, bautisterio, bautisterios, baptismal, baptismales, baptismo, baptismos, baptista, baptistas, baptisterio, baptisterios, baptizador, baptizadores, creencia, creencias, creyente, creyentes, biblia, biblista, biblistas, obispo, obispar*, bendecir*, bendecidor*, obispos, obispado, obispados, obispal, obispales, obispalía, obispalías, arzobispo, arzobispos, arzobispado, arzobispados, arzobispal, arzobispales, episcopal, episcopales, episcopado, episcopados, episcopalismo, bendición, bendiciónes, consagración, consagraciónes, consagramiento, consagramientos, buda, budismo, budista, budistas, consagrar*, consagratorio*, católico*, catolicismo, catolicidad, católicamente, capilla, capillas, oratorio, oratorios, capillero*, ermitaño*, cristianar*, cristiano*, ermita, ermitas, capilleta, eremita, eremitas, eremitorio, eremitorios, capellán, capelláNes, capellanía, capellanías, cristo, jesucristo, cristianería, cristianizar*, cristianego*, navideño*, eclesiástico*, feligrés*, cristiandad, cristianismo, cristianerías, cristianización, navidad, navidades, nochebuena, villancico, villancicos, iglesia, iglesias, templo, templos, parroquia, parroquias, congregación, congregaciónes, ecclesial, eclesiales, eclesiásticamente, practicante, practicantes, clero, clerecía, clerical, clerófobo*, confesar*, clericales, clérigo*, clérigos*, clericalismo, clericato, clericatos, clericatura, clericaturas, clerizón, clerizónes, clerizonte, clerizontes, clerigalla, cleriguicia, anticlerical, anticlericales, anticlericalismo, clerofobia, confesión, confesiónes, confessional, confesionales, confesionario, confesionarios, confesante, confesantes, confesionalidad, confesionalidades, confesionalismo, confesionista, confesionistas, confesuría, convento, conventos, conventual, confesor*, crucificar*, demonio*, demonizar*, conventuales, abadía, abadías, conventualidad, crucifijo, crucifijos, cruz, cruces, crucifixión, crucifixiónes, cruciferario, cruciferarios, crucifixor, crucifixores, cruzadas, cruzada, cruzado, cruzados, demontre, demontres, demonche, demonches, demonismo, demonización, demonizaciónes, demonolatría, demonólatra, demonólatras, endemoniar*, demonológico*, demonólogo*, demonología, demonomancia, demonomanía, demonial, demoniales, diabla, demoníaco*, diablo*, diabólico*, satanás, lucifer, belcebú, mefistófeles, belial, diablos, diablada, diabladas, diabólicamente, diablura, diabluras, diantre, diantres, endiablar*, diablear*, diablillo*, diablesco*, divino*, divinizar*, divinizador*, divinidad, divinidades, divinal, divinales, divinamente, divinización, condenación, condenar*, evangelizar*, evangelizador*, pagano*, condenable, condenables, episcolapismo, episcolapismos, episcopio, episcopios, episcopologio, episcopologios, arquiepiscopal, arquiepiscopales, evangelio, evangelios, evangelista, evangelistas, evangelización, evangeliario, evangeliarios, evangelistero, evangelisteros, fe, fiel, fieles, fidelidad, fundamentalismo, fundamentalismos, fundamentalista, fundamentalistas, gentil, gentiles, deidad, deidades, judío*, dios*, gospel, cielo, paraíso, celestial, celestials, celeste, celestes, celestialmente, infierno, infiernos, infernal, hinduismo, infernar*, inferno*, averno*, infernales, hinduista, hinduistas, santísimo, santísima, sacral, sacrales, santurrón*, sagrado*, santo*, sacralizar*, islámico*, islamizar*, sacralidad, sacralidades, sacralización, sacralizaciónes, sacramente, sagradamente, sagrario, himno, himnos, himnario, himnarios, himnodia, himnodias, salve, salves, salterio, salterios, cantico, canticos, cantoral, cantorales, imán, imánes, inmoral, inmorales, inmoralidad, inmoralidades, amoral, amorales, amoralidad, amoralidades, amoralismo, inmortal, inmortales, inmortalidad, inmortalmente, islamista, islamistas, islamismo, islam, islamita, islamólogo*, jesuítico*, jesuitina*, islamitas, islamización, islamología, jesuita, jesuitas, jesuitismo, jesús, hebreo*, judaizar*, hebraizar*, judaico*, judaísmo, judaización, judaizante, judaizantes, hebraísmo, hebraizante, hebraizantes, hebraísta, hebraístas, yihad, yihadista, yihadistas, hebraico*, kármico*, coránico*, yihadismo, judá, karma, kippur, corán, kosher, luterano*, meditar*, meditativo*, meditador*, krishna, krishnaísmo, krisná, krisnaísmo, krisnaísta, krisnaístas, luteranismo, meca, meditación, meditaciónes, menonita, menonitas, mennón, misericorde, misericordioso*, apiadar*, apiadarse*, misericordes, misericordiosamente, píamente, piadosamente, misericordia, piedad, caridad, pío*, piadoso*, caritativo*, ministrar*, merced, metodista, metodistas, metodismo, ministro, ministros, ministril, ministriles, ministerial, ministeriales, pastor, pastores, apostolado, misional,

misionales, mitzva, mahoma, misionero*, misionar*, mahometano*, mahomético*, mohammed, mahometismo, mahometista, mahometistas, monasterio, monasterios, monacato, mahometizar*, monástico*, ético*, ascetismo, monasterial, monasteriales, monje, monjes, fraile, frailes, monacal, monacales, monjía, moral, morales, virtud, virtudes, ética, moralista, moralistas, moralismo, moralmente, moralizar*, moralizador*, mormón*, mormónico*, moralizante, moralizantes, moralidad, valores, principios, moralina, mormonismo, mezquita, mezquitas, aljama, aljamas, muyahid, musulmán*, ortodoxo*, muyahidín, monja, monjas, abadesa, abadesas, novicia, novicias, monjerío, monjeríos, monjil, monjiles, monjío, noviciado, novitiate, ortodoxia, paganismo, paganía, paganización, paganizar*, hereje*, paradisíaco*, edénico*, paganizaciónes, herejía, herejías, papal, papales, pontifical, pontificales, edén, pascua, sacerdote, sacerdotes, penitenciar*, penitenciario*, peregrino*, cura, curas, párroco, párrocos, pastoral, pastorales, pastoralista, pastoralistas, pastoralmente, penitencia, penitencias, mortificación, mortificaciónes, arrepentimiento, arrepentimientos, penitencial, penitenciales, penitente, penitentes, pentecostés, pentecostal, pentecostales, religiosidad, devoción, pietista, pietistas, pietismo, devocional, devocionales, devocionario, devocionarios, devotería, peregrinación, peregrinaciónes, peregrinar*, devoto*, pío*, peregrinaje, peregrinajes, peregrinidad, papas, papisa, papisas, pontificio*, papado, papados, pontífice, pontífices, pontificador*, orar*, pontificado, pontificados, pontificación, pontificaciónes, pontifical, pontificiales, oración, oraciónes, rezo, rezos, plegaria, plegarias, alabar*, rezador*, oracionero*, jaculatoria, jaculatorias, ruego, ruegos, alabado, alabados, rezado, rezados, rezadera, rezaderas, orante, orantes, oracional, oracionales, predicar*, sermonear*, predicador*, predicación, predicaciónes, predicante, predicantes, predicatorio, predicatorios, prédica, presbiteriano*, profeta*, profético*, prédicas, presbiterianismo, preste, prestes, sacerdotal, sacerdotales, sacerdocio, sacerdocios, parroquial, parroquiales, profecía, profecías, profetismo, protestante, protestantes, protestantismo, salmo, salmos, salmista, profetizar*, profetizador*, salmear*, salmodiar*, salmistas, salmodia, salmodias, purgatorio, puritanismo, rabí, puritano*, rabínico*, rabíes, rabino, rabinos, rabinismo, rabinista, rabinistas, ramadán, religioso*, religionario*, ritualizar*, rosariero*, religión, religiónes, religiosamente, religiosidad, rito, ritos, ritual, rituales, ritualidad, ritualismo, ritualista, ritualistas, rosario, rosarios, hashaná, sabbat, shabat, sacrificio, sacrificar*, inmolar*, sacrificios, sacrificial, inmolación, inmolaciónes, ofrenda, ofrendas, santidad, santero*, santificar*, santificador*, santería, santamente, santificable, santificables, santificación, santificante, santificantes, salvador*, satánico*, salvación, salvacionista, salvacionistas, satán, satanismo, satanización, escritura, escrituras, secta, sectas, sectarismo, satanizar*, sectario*, sectador*, pecar*, seminario, seminarios, seminarista, seminaristas, chií, chiíes, chiita, chiitas, chiismo, santuario, santuarios, sagrarios, sanctasanctórum, relicario, relicarios, humilladero, humilladeros, sij, sijismo, pecado, pecados, pecable, pecables, pecaminosidad, pecante, pecantes, pecatriz, pecaminoso*, pecador*, pecadorizo*, espiritualizar*, templario*, teólogo*, teológico*, pecatrices, alma, almas, ánima, ánimas, espíritu, espíritus, espiritual, espirituales, espiritualidad, espiritualismo, espiritualista, espiritualistas, espiritualización, espiritualmente, suni, suníes, sunita, sunitas, testamento, testamentos, teología, teologismo, teologal, teologales, teológicamente, torá, vaticanismo, vaticanista, vaticanistas, teologizar*, vaticano*, velar*, velo, velos, velación, velaciónes, alabanza, adorar*, venerar*, alabanzas, adoración, adoraciónes, devociónes, culto, cultos, adorable, adorables, adorante, adorantes, adoratorio, venerador*, alabador*, venerable, venerables, venerablemente, veneración, veneraciónes, alabamiento, alabamientos, alabancia, alabancias, yiddish, yidish, yidis, zen, sión, sionismo, sionista, sionistas, rezar*, rogar*, adorador*

Appendix E: German Dictionary

Universalism (German)

Care/Harm – Virtue (German)

sicher*, fried*, barmherzig*, mitleid*, erbarmen*, empathie*, empathisch*, sympathisch*, sympathie*, sorgen*, seelsorger*, liebe*, warmherzig*, schutz*, beschützen*, schützen*, absichern*, zuflucht*, freundschaft*, einvernehmlich*, einvernehmen, nützen*, nutzen*, verteidigen*, verteidigung, erhalten*, bewahren*, retten*, rettung

Care/Harm – Vice (German)

schaden*, , leid*, schädigen*, schädigung*, verletzen*, verletzung*, krieg*, bekriegen*, kampf*, kämpfen*, streiten*, streit*, gewalt*, brutal*, schmerz*, tot*, töten*, tötung*, mord*, mörder*, killer*, getötet*, umbringen*, tödlich*, gefährden*, gefährdung*, bedrohen*, grausam*, missbrauchen*, missbrauch*, misshandeln*, misshandlung*, ruin*, ruinieren*, verwüsten*, zerstören*, zerstörung*, nachteil*, vernichten*, vernichtung*, zerquetschen*, zerdrücken*, zerschlagen*, angreifen*, angriff*., Attackieren*, attacke*, anschlag*, überfall*, verlassen*, aufgeben, verschmähen*, schmäh*, beeinträchtigen*, beeinträchtigung*, ausnutzen*, ausnützen*, verwunden*

Fairness/Reciprocity – Virtue (German)

fair*, gerecht*, angemessen*, gleichheit, gleichberechtigen*, gleichberechtigung, gleichstellung, gleichwertig*, justiz, recht, richtig*, rechtfertigen*, gerechtfertigt, berechtigt*, gegenseitig*, unvoreingenommen*, unparteiisch*, unparteilich*, rechte, gleichmäßig*, unbefangen*, tolerant*, toleranz, ausgeglichen*, ausgleich*, ausgewogen*, vernünftig*, vernunft*, konstant*, beständig*, ehrlich*, aufrichtig*, redlich*, anständig*, anstand*

Fairness/Reciprocity – Vice (German)

unfair*, ungerecht*, unehrlich*, ungleich*, unterschied*, befangen*, verzerren*, vorurteil*, unrecht*, fanatisch*, engstirnig*, diskriminieren*, diskriminierung*, unterscheiden*, benachteiligen*, unverhältnismäßig*, unangemessen*, übermäßig*, voreingenommen*, unredlich*, skru-

pellos*, gewissenlos*, dissoziieren*, vorliebe*, vorziehen*, vorzug*, bevorzugung*, präferenz*, trennung*, segregation*, auschluss*, ausstoßen*, ausschliessen*, ausgeschlossen*

Communalism (German)

Ingroup/Loyalty – Virtue (German)

zusammen, gemeinsam, miteinander, nation*, volk*, völk*, staatsangehörigkeit, staatlich*, heimat*, vaterland*, familie*, verwandtschaft*, gruppe*, gemeinschaft*, gruppieren*, gruppierung*, treu*, loyal*, getreu*, patriot*, gemeinde*, kommunal*, kommune, genosse*, genossin*, kamderad*, kader*, kollektiv*, verenigen*, vereinigung*, kollege*, kollegial*, kumpel*, gilde*, solidarisch*, solidarität*, verbunden*, hingabe*, ergeben*, mitglied*clique*, klüngel*, kohorte*, verbündet*, verschworen*, verschwören*, eingeweiht*, trennen*

Ingroup/Loyalty – Vice (German)

fremd*, ausland*, ausländer*, unbekannt*, feind*, gegner*, verrat*, landesverrat*, illoyal*, untreu*, treulos*, ungetreu, abtrünnig*, individuell*, einzel*, individuum*, eigen*, individual*, apostasie, verlassen*, menschenleer*, deserteur*, desertieren*, überläufer*, betrügen*, betrug*, bösewicht*, schurke*, spion*, spitzel*, aufpassen*, abkapseln*, terrorist*, terrorismus*, einwandern*, einwanderung*, immigrant*, immigrieren*, aufgeben*, aufgabe

Authority/Respect – Virtue (German)

gehorchen*, befolgen*, folgen*, gehorsam*, gefügig*, fügsam*, pflicht*, dienst*, verpflichten*, recht*, gesetz*, regel, legal*, ehre, ehrwürdig*, würde*, würdig*, ehrung*, ehren*, respekt*, achtung*, anerkennen*, anerkennung*, geachtet*, angesehen*, ansehen*, empfehlung*, auftrag*, ordnen*, ordnung*, vater*, väterlich*, mütterlich*, mutter*, bemuttern*, tradition*, brauch*, überliefern*, hierarchisch*, hierarchie*, autoritär*, autorität*, obrigkeit*, erlauben*, erlaubnis*, zulassen*, zulassung*, dulden*, gestatten*, genehmigen*, genehmigung*, lizenzieren*, lizenz*, status*, stellenwert*, rang*, führer*, anführen*, anführer*, vorsitzen*, vorsitzend*, leiten*, leiter*, oberhaupt*, kategorisch*, kategorie*, klasse*, bourgeois*, kaste, position*, stellung*, befehlen*, befehl*, kommandieren*, kommando*, anweisen*, anweisung*, vorherrschen*, vorherrschung*, vormachtstellung, kontrollieren*, kontrolle*, steuern*, steuerung*, beherrschen*, beherrschung*, unterwerfen*, unterwerfung*, treu*, gefolgschaft*, dienen*, servieren*, ehrerbietung, verehren*, verehrung, einhalten*, einhaltung*, einwilligung*, einwilligen*, erhalten*, bewahren*, loyal*

Authority/Respect – Vice (German)

trotz*, rebell*, aufrührer, widersprechen*, widerspruch*, weigern*, weigerung*, dissens*, untergraben*, subversion*, untergrabung*, respektlos*, respektlosigkeit*, missachten*, missachtung*, ungehorsam*, aufruhr*, aufwiegelung*, aufrühren*, hetzen*, unhöflich*, aufsässig*, gehorsamsverweigerung*, aufsässigkeit*, illegal*, rechtswidrig*, rechtswidrigkeit*, verboten*, verbot*, ungültig*, unzulässig*, ungesetzlich*, unrechtmäßig*, gesetzlos*, rechtlos*, gesetzwidrig*, gesetzeswidrig*, aufständischer*, meuterisch*, rebellisch*, aufrührerisch*, herausfordern*, widerstehen*, dissident, dissidentin, kritiker, kritikerin, , untreu*, entfremden*, entfremdung*, überläufer*, ketzer*, häretiker*, nonkonformistisch*, einzelgänger*, ablehnen*, entgegensetzen*, entgegenstellen*, entgegentreten*, opponieren*, protest, protestieren*, einspruch, anprangern*, denunzieren*, brandmarken*, remonstrieren*, randalieren*, randale*, wüten*, aufstand, behindern*, verhindern*, versperren*, blockieren*, hemmen*, verbauen*, verrat*, enttäuschen*, enttäuschung*, verräter

Reason (German)

aktivieren*, aktivierung*, betätigen*, betätigung*, beeinflussen*, betreffen*, berühren*, affekt, befallen*, verschlimmern*, verschärfen*, erschweren*, erlauben*, ermöglichen*, zulassen*, gestatten*, dürfen*, zulässig*, zuschreiben*, zurechnen*, attribut, zuschreibung, basierend, basis, grundlage, grundstock, weil, denn, ursache, grund, anlass, verursachen*, bewirken*, hervorrufen*, veranlassen*, veranlassung*, kausal*, kausalität, veränderung, änderung, wechsel, wandel, abwechslung, wechseln*, ändern*, verändern*, zwingen*, erzwingen*, nötigen*, nachgiebigkeit, fügsamkeit, konform*, nachgiebig*, eingehalten, entspricht, einhalten*, einhaltung*, einwilligung*, einwilligen*, folge, konsequenz, ergebnis*, auswirkung, auswirken*, folglich*, konsequent*, kontrollieren*, kontrolle*, steuern*, steuerung*, erstellen*, schaffen*, schaffung*, erzeugung*, kreation*, kreativ*, schöpferisch*, täuschen*, betrügen*, hintergehen*, trügen*, ableiten*, ableitung*, folgern*, erschließen*, abhängen*, abhängig*, erzielen*, wirkung, effekt, einwirkung, entlocken*, befähigen*, erlassen*, experimentieren*, experiment, experimente, faktor, faktoren, macht, kraft, gewalt, gegründet*, generieren*, erzeugen*, generator*, daher, also, deshalb, wie, woher, wodurch, entzünden*, zünden*, anzünden*, entflammen*, zündung*, implizieren*, implikation*, verwickeln*, bedeuten*, bedeutung*, andeuten*, unabhängig*, selbständig*, selbstständig*, induzieren*, induktion*, bewegen*, herbeiführen*, bringen*, einleiten*, schlussfolgern*, schlussfolgerung*, inferenz, inferentiell*, einfluss, geltung, initiieren*, beginnen*, eröffnen*, wollen*, beabsichtigen*, absicht, vorhaben*, bestimmen*, vorsatz, intention, rechtfertigen*, begründen*, rechtfertigung*, starten*, lancieren*, start, einführung, gründung, eröffnung, gründen*, führen*, leiten*, führung*, leitung*, machen*, tun*, herstellen*, hersteller*, schöpfer*, schöpfen*, zubereiten*, zubereitung*, manipulieren*, handhaben*, bedienen*, bedienung*, manipulation*, , irreführen*, verleiten*, motivieren*, motivation*, motiv, gehorsam*, folgsam*, fügsam*, gefügig*, gehorchen*, befolgen*, folgen*, herkunft*, ursprung*, entstehung*, entstehen*, abstammung*, resultat, erfolg*, erlaubnis*, zulassung*, dulden*, genehmigen*, genehmigung*, wählen*, auswählen*, aussuchen*, auswahl*, produzieren*, ergeben*, hervorbringen*, herstellung*, produktion*, fertigen*, fertigung*, provozieren*, provokation*, reizen*, erregen*, herausfordern*, zweck, ziel, aufgabe, zielgerichtet*,

gezielt*, entschliessen*, absichtlich*, zielbewusst*, rational*, vernünftig*, vernunft*, sinnvoll*, rationalität, vernünftigkeit*, reagieren*, reaktion*, begründung*, verstand*, argument*, argumentieren*, antworten*, antwort, resonanz, erwiderung, resultieren*, wurzel, da, lösung*, auflösung*, lösen*, auflösen*, aufklären*, quelle, stimulieren*, stimulation, anregen*, anregung*, fördern*, beleben*, reiz, anreiz, stimulus, darum, demnach, deswegen, so, somit, derart, folgendermaßen, auslösen*, auslöser, drücker, benutzen*, verwenden*, nutzen*, einsetzen*, anwenden*, anwendung*, benutzung*, gebrauchen*, verarbeitung, verwertung, mit, warum, weswegen, wieso, wozu, wofür

Religiosity (German)

nachleben*, agnostisch*, altar*, engel*, agnostizismus, agnostiker, agnostikerin, allah, amen, amish, engelhaft, taufen*, glauben*, bibel*, taufe, baptist, glaube, überzeugung, biblisch, bischof, segnen*, bekennen*, beichten*, kreuzigen*, bischöfe, bistum, segen, buddhist, buddhismus, buddha, katholisch, katholizismus, katholik, katholiken, katholizität, kapelle, kapellen, kaplan, kapläne, seelsorge, geistlicher, geistliche, pfarrer, christus, jesus, christenheit, christ, christin, christlich, weihnachten, heiligabend, weihnachtsbaum, kirche, kirchen, kirchlich, gottesdienst, geistlichkeit, klerus, kloster, konvent, nonnenkloster, frauenkloster, konvention, konventionell, konventionen, klöster, göttlich*, bischöflich*, episkopal*, kruzifix, kreuzigung, kreuz, kreuzzug, kreuzritter, kreuzzüge, missionsfeldzug, dämon, dämonen, teufel, ungeist, dämonisch, dämonische, dämonischer, teuflisch, teuflische, teuflischer, teuflisches, gottheit, untergang, schicksal, verhängnis, verderben, evangelist, evangelion, fundamentalist, fundamentalismus, evangelisch*, nichtjüdisch*, nichtmormonisch*, nichtjude, heide, nichtmormone, gott, götze, gottes, göttin, höllisch*, hinduistisch*, heilig*, hashanah, himmel, hölle, hindu, hymne, imam, islam, geweiht*, gottgefällig*, unsterblich*, unvergänglich*, ewig*, unmoralisch*, unsittlich*, amoralisch*, sittenlos*, islamisch*, mohammedaner, jesuit, jesuiten, jude, jüdin, juden, jüdinnen, jesuitisch*, jüdisch*, lutherisch*, meditieren*, dschihad, judentum, judas, judenpriester, karma, kippur, koran, koscher, krishna, lord, lutheraner, luthertum, mekka, meditation, mennoniten, barmherzigkeit, gnade, erbarmen, methodist, methodistin, barmherzig*, gnädig*, methodistisch*, moralisch*, sittlich*, mormonisch*, rechtgläubig*, pastor, missionar, missionare, mizwa, mönch, mönche, ordensbruder, ordensbrüder, moral, sittlichkeit, moralität, ethik, moralismus, sitten, moralvorstellungen, moralvorstellung, mormone, mormonen, moschee, moscheen, mujahed, muslim, muslime, nonne, nonnen, ordensschwester, ordensschwestern, heidin, orthodox*, heidnisch*, päpstlich*, paradies, passah, pastorin, pastorinnen, pastoren, seelsorger, seelsorgerin, papistisch*, fromm*, pilgern*, andächtig*, seelenhirte, seelenhirt, seelenhirten, buße, pfingsten, erntefest, pfingstkirche, kirchenbank, kirchenbänke, frömmigkeit, pietät, pietismus, pilger, wallfahrer, andacht, pietätvoll, papst, päpste, gebet, prediger, beten*, predigen*, presbyterianisch*, prophezeien*, protestantisch*, predigt, presbyterianer, priester, priesterin, priestertum, prophet, prophezeiung, puritanisch*, rabbinisch*, religiös*, protestant, psalm, psalmen, fegefeuer, puritaner, puritanerin, rabbi, rabbiner, ramadan, religion, religionen, kult, ritus, rituell*, opfern*, aufopfern*, zeremonie, riten, ritual, rituale, rosenkranz, rosenkränze, sabbat, sabbattag, heiligkeit, opfer, opfergabe, sankt, erlösung, seeligkeit, satanisch*, sektiererisch*, konfessionell*, satan, satanismus, sekte, sekten, seminar, schrein, grab, schiitisch*, sündigen*, testamentarisch*, grabstätte, grabaltar, grabkapelle, heiligtum, sikh, sünde, schuld, versündigung, frevel, sünder, sünden, seele, seelen, geist, spiritus, sunni, sunnit, tempel, gotteshaus, bethaus, testament, theologe, theologin, tora, vatikan, vatikanstadt, schleier, theologisch*, verschleiern*, jiddisch*, anbetung, zen, zion

A1 Appendix F: Italian Dictionary

Universalism (Italian)

Care/Harm – Virtue (Italian)

sicuro*, salvare*, sicurezza, sicuramente, salvezza, salvamento, salvabile, paciere, pacifismo, salvato*, pacificare*, pacificarsi*, fare*, pacificatore*, pacificatrice*, pacificazione*, pacificato*, pacifico*, appacificare*, pacifista, pacificabile, pacificamente, compassione, compassionevole, compassionevolmente, empatia, appacificarsi*, appacificato*, empatizzare*, empatico*, empaticamente, simpatia, simpaticità, simpatizzante, simpaticamente, simpateticamente, cura, simpatizzare*, simpatico*, simpatetico*, curare*, accudire*, curante, badante, premura, interessamento, interesse, premurosamente, amorevole, badare*, premuroso*, interessarsi*, interessare*, attento*, affettuoso*, proteggere*, proteggersi*, protettore*, protetto*, protezione, protettivamente, difesa, barriera, riparo, rifugio, amicizia, protettivo*, schermare*, difendere*, ripararsi*, rifugiarsi*, assicurarsi*, beneficio, benefit, beneficamente, vantaggio, saldo*, assicurare*, beneficiario*, beneficiato*, benefico*, avvantaggiare*, avvantaggiarsi*, avvantaggiato*, difendersi*, difensore*, difeso*, difensivo*, difendibilità, difensivista, difendibile, difensivistico, difensivamente, indifendibile, indifeso*, sorvegliare*, vigilare*, indefinibilmente, guardia, sorvegliante, vigilante, vigilanza, vigile, guardiano*, sorvegliato*, custodire*, custodito*, custodia, custode, guardingamente, preservazione, conservabilità, incustodito*, tutore*, guardingo*, preservare*, preservarsi*, preservatore*, conservare*, conservante, conservatore, conservabile, accudito*, salvo*, riparato*, fissare*, beneficiare*

Care/Harm – Vice (Italian)

male, nocività, nocumento, danno, conservare*, nuocere*, nuocersi*, nocivo*, nocitore, nocivamente, sofferenza, sofferente, soffrimento, sofferentemente, soffertamente, soffrire*, sofferto*, insofferenza, insofferente, insofferentemente, guerra, guerre, guerrescamente, bellicosità, guerreggiarsi*, guerreggia*, guerresco*, guerriero*, bellicoso*, pacifico*, pacificato*, bellicosamente, guerreggiante, combattimento, combattente, combattentistico, combattivamente, scontro, combattere*, combattersi*, combattuto*, lottare*, lottatore*, battagliero*, lotta, battaglia, litigata, litigio, litigiosamente, zuffa, rissa, litigare*, litigarsi*, litigioso*, azzuffarsi*, battersi*, reprimere*, violento*, cacciabombardiere, violenza, violentemente, ferimento, offensivo, offensivamente, violentare*, intenso*, ferire*, ferirsi*, ferito*, doloroso*, danneggiare*, dolore, dolorante, dannosità, danneggiamento, uccisione, uccide, uccisioni, danneggiato*, uccidere*, ammazzare*, sopprime, ammazza, mortale,

crudeltà, crudele, assassino*, ucciso*, brutalizzare*, brutalizzato*, crudelmente, brutalità, brutale, brutalmente, maltrattamento, maltrattamenti, maltrattato*, molestatore*, maltrattatore*, danneggiarsi*, dannificare*, danneggiatore*, danni, dannità, dannoso, danneggiante, danneggiabile, rovinare*, rovinarsi*, dannevole, dannosamente, rovina, rovine, rudere, devastazione, detriment, mandare*, rovinato*, devastare*, schiacciare*, schiacciarsi*, schiaccia, schiacciamento, schiacciante, schiacciabile, pressa, schiacciato*, sconvolgere*, sconvolgente, sconvolgibile, calca, cotta, aggressione, attacco, attaccabile, sconvolto*, accalcarsi*, accalcato*, aggredire*, aggredito*, attaccato*, affrontare*, aggressivo*, aggressore*, annichilire*, annichilente, annichilimento, annichilazione, distruttore, annientabile, distruggere, annichilare*, annichilito*, calpestare*, abbandonare*, abbandonarsi*, abbandono, rinunciatario, impresa, sfruttante, sfruttando, ferita, ferendo, rigettare*, compromettere*, sfruttare*, sfruttato*, feritore*, illeso*, feribile, guerreggiare*, combattivo*, sopprimere*, diroccato*, sconvolgersi*, abbandonato*, respingere*, pregiudicare*

Fairness/Reciprocity – Virtue (Italian)

equo*, giusto*, uguagliare*, eguagliare*, equamente, giustamente, correttamente, equità, onesto*, sincero, bersaglio, equanime, equanimamente, equanimità, correttezza, pari, uguale, parimenti, egalitario*, reciproco*, ricambiare*, ugualmente, parità, uguaglianza, egalitarismo, giustizia, giudice, imparzialità, giustezza, giustificabile, giustificabilità, giustificabilmente, giustificazione, giustificativo, giustificatorio, reciprocità, reciprocamente, reciprocativo, reciprocazione, contraccambio, reciprocanza, reciprocare*, egualitario*, libero*, equilibrato*, imparziale, imparzialmente, egalitarianismo, uniformità, equivalenza, equivalente, tollerante, costante, obiettivamente, obiettività, ragionevole, omologo*, obiettivo*, onestà, onestamente

Fairness/Reciprocity – Vice (Italian)

parziale, iniquamente, parzialità, iniquità, diverso, ineguale, disuguale, iniquo*, influenzare*, prevenuto*, tendenzioso*, inegualmente, preconcetto, tendenziosità, tendenziosamente, obliquamente, tortuosità, ingiustificabile, ingiusto*, ingiustificato*, bigotto*, ingiustificabilmente, ingiustamente, ingiustizia, intollerante, faziosamente, faziosità, intolleranza, fazioso*, ottuso*, discriminare*, acuto*, distintivo, discriminazione, discriminatore, fine, discriminativo, discriminatorio, sproporzionale, sproporzionato*, presumere*, sproporzionalità, sproporzionalmente, esagerato, presunzione, pregiudizio, pregiudicante, preferenza, pregiudicare*, disonesto*, spregiudicato*, dissociare*, dissociarsi*, favoritismo, segregatamente, segregamento, segregazione, segregazionismo, segregazionista, segregante, segregare*, segregato*, escludere*, escluso*, esclusione, escludibilità, escludibile, escludente

Communalism (Italian)

Ingroup/Loyalty – Virtue (Italian)

nazionalizzatore*, nazionalistico*, nazionalizzare*, raggruppare*, nazione, insieme, nazionale, nazionalizzazione, nazionalismo, nazionalista, nazionalisticamente, nazionalità, nazionalmente, senzapatria, famiglia, famiglie, famigliare, familiare, gruppo, leale, lealismo, lealista, lealmente, lealtà, patriota, patriottardo*, patriottico*, pubblico*, patriotticamente, patriottismo, comune, comunale, comunitarista, comunista, comunitario*, essere*, statalizzare*, comunistizzare*, comunitarismo, comunità, statalizzazione, comunismo, compagno*, collettivo*, collettivizzare*, comunistico, comunisticamente, camerata, cameratesco, cameratismo, quadro, quadri, collettivamente, collettività, collettivizzazione, collettivismo, collettivista, collettivistico, collettivizzato*, unire*, unito*, socio*, articolazione, giuntura, congiunto, unisono, unitamente, unione, unitore, persona, tale, collega, membro, simile, prossimo, concittadino*, dedicare*, consacrarsi*, connazionale, affinità, associazione, amicizia, corporazione, solidarietà, deditamente, devolvere*, devoto*, raggrupparsi*, aggregato*, dedizione, devozione, devozionale, devotamente, cerchia, circolo, cricca, esclusività, escludente, schiera, entourage, insider, beninformato, affiliate, aperto*, elitario*, separare*, segregare*, separato*, segregatamente, segregamento, segregazione, segregazionismo, segregazionista, segregante, segregato*, esclusivo*, ristretto*

Ingroup/Loyalty – Vice (Italian)

straniero*, estero*, estraneo*, nemico*, estraneamente, estraneità, tradire*, infingardo*, infido*, singolo*, infidamente, insidiosità, sleale, falso, slealmente, slealtà, individuo, individuale, individualizzazione, individualizza, individualismo, individualista, individualisticamente, unico*, individualizzare*, individualizzato*, individualistico*, abbandonato*, deserto*, disertato*, individualità, individualmente, apostasia, apostata, abbandonando, disertando, ingannamento, disertore*, ingannare*, ingannato*, ingannabile, ingannevole, ingannevolmente, respingente, impostore, furfante, spia, ingannatore*, lasciare*, piantare*, lasciato*, piantato*, respingitore*, sequestrare*, rinnegato, bandito, terrorizzamento, terrorizzante, terrorizando, terrorizzatore, terrorizzare*, terrorizzato*, terroristico*, immigrare*, terrorismo, terrorista, terroristicamente, immigrazione, immigrante, abbandono, abbandonatamente, immigrato*, immigratorio*, abbandonare*, abbandonamento, abbandonatore*, tradimento, tradibile, traditamente, traditrice, tradito*, traditore*

Authority/Respect – Virtue (Italian)

ubbidire*, ubbidito*, obbediendo*, ubbidiente*, ubbiditore, obbeditore, ubbidientemente, ubbidienza, obbedienza.legale, legalmente, obbediente, ubbidienzia, dovere, dazio, legge, legalità, legalizzare*, legalizzato*, legalizzando*, legalizzazione, legalizzatore, legalismo, legalista, legalisticamente, tassabilità, tassabile, legalizzante*, legalistico*, onorare*, onorato*, tassato, daziato, doveri, compiti, solerte, solertemente,

solerzia, onore, onorabilità, onorevole, onorabile, onorevolezza, onorevolmente, onorabilmente, onoratore, rispetto, rispettosamente, rispettosità, rispetti, ordine, onorando*, rispettoso*, rispettato*, ordinazione, ordinamento, ordinabile, ordinante, padre, paternità, patria, ordinato*, ordinatore*, inordinato*, disordinato*, procreare*, generare*, orfano*, paterno*, paternamente, madre, madrepatria, maternamente, madri, tradizione, tradizionale, crescere*, materno*, gerarchico*, tradizionalismo, tradizionalista, tradizionalistico, tradizionalisticamente, tradizionalità, tradizionalmente, tradizionista, gerarca, gerarchicamente, gerarchizzamento, gerarchia, autoritarismo, autorevole, autorevolmente, gerarchizzare*, gerarchizzato*, autoritario*, permettere*, autoritariamente, autorevolezza, autorità, autorizzazione, permesso, status, grado, classificare*, classificarsi*, posizionare*, rango, fila, posizione, classificazione, classifica, capo, guida, considerare*, comandare*, leader, editoriale, direzione, leadership, classe, lezione, borghesia, casta, castale, ottemperanza, arrendevolezza, ottemperante, ottemperantemente, comando, padronanza, supremazia, controllo, consegnabile, sottoponibile, sottomissione, controllare*, sottomesso*, remissivo*, sottomettere*, consegna, remissivamente, remissività, sottomettersi*, sottoporre*, presentare*, sottoposto*, fedeltà, fedele, deferenza, deferente, deferentemente, riverenza, riverente, candidato*, esaminando*, sopportare*, posticipare*, deferire*, riverito*, venerare*, venerato*, ottemperare*, preservare*, reverenziale, reverenzialmente, venerazione, venerativo, leale, lealismo, lealista, lealmente, lealtà, servire*, consegnato*, presentato*, consegnare*, indurre*, onorante*, rispettare*, ordinare*

Authority/Respect – Vice (Italian)

ribellione, sprezzo, ribelle, sprezzante, provocatoriamente, ribellismo, ribellarsi*, ribellato*, dissentire*, sovversivo*, ribellante, dissenso, dissenziente, dissentimento, sovvertimento, sovversione, sovversivismo, sovversivamente, insolenza, irrispetto, disprezzabile, irrispettosamente, disprezzabilità, sovvertire*, sovvertito*, sovvertitore*, irrispettoso*, disubbidire*, sedizioso*, disubbidienza, disubbidiente, sedizione, eversione, sediziosamente, eversivo*, agitare*, agitarsi*, eversivamente, agitatamente, agitazione, insubordinatamente, insubordinazione, illegal, agitato*, agitatorio*, agitatore*, insubordinato*, illecito*, insorto*, ammutinato*, illegalità, illegalmente, illecitamente, dissidente, infedele, ereticamente, anticonformista, resistere*, disattendere*, sfidare*, alienare*, eretico*, ereticare*, opporre*, anticonformistico, rifiuto, tumulto, rivoltoso, tumulti, rivolta, tumultuosità, protestare*, rimostrare*, tumultuare*, tumultuato*, ostruire*, tradimento, tradibile, traditamente, infidamente, insidiosità, sleale, falso, tradire*, tradito*, traditore*, infingardo*, infido*, slealtà, apostasia, apostate, rifiutare*, denunciare*

Reason (Italian)

attivare*, interessare*, condizionare*, influire*, attivazione, attivatore, emozionante, impressionante, aggravante, aggravamento, aggravio, colpire*, aggravarsi*, scocciare*, liceità, lecito, deducibile, lecitudine, lecitamente, assegno, rendita, concedere*, consentire*, indennità, concessione, detrazione, concedente, permessivamente, attributo, base, basato*, causato*, perché, capi, causa, causale, causalità, causalmente, cambiamento, cambiarsi*, scambiare*, cambio, coercibile, coercibilmente, costringente, forzatore, persuasore, persuasivamente, convincente, indurre*, coercire*, ottemperare*, conformare*, probante, trascinante, affasciante, persuasivamente, ottemperanza, conformità, arrendevolezza, ottemperante, arrendevole, conseguenza, conseguenze, conseguente, consequenziale, conformarsi*, controllare*, creare*, creativo*, controllabilità, controllabile, controllore, creation, creazioni, creatività, ingannare*, dedurre*, detrarre*, ingannamento, ingannabile, ingannatore, ingannatrice, ingannevole, ingannevolmente, deduzione, deducibilità, detraibilità, detraibile, dipendere*, effettuare*, deduttivo, deduttiva, deduttivamente, dipendente, effetto, effettuabile, effettivo, effettiva, effettivamente, effettività, svelabile, svelamento, oppurtunità, agevolatore, ottenere*, svelare*, agevolare*, abilitare*, attuabile, promulgabile, rappresentabile, attuamento, promulgamento, rappresentazione, attuativo, attuare*, promulgare*, esperimentare*, forzare*, promulgativo, attuazione, promulgazione, attuatore, attuatrice, promulgatore, promulgatrice, interprete, esperimento, fattore, forza, forzatamente, estorcere*, generare*, incendiare*, forzatura, forte, gagliardo, gagliarda, solido, solida, fortemente, gagliardamente, potenza, debole, fiacco, fiacca, generatore, generatrice, quindi, come, incendiabilità, incendiabile, accenditore, incendiarsi*, accendere*, implicare*, sottintendere*, ignizione, ignitore, accensione, implicazione, implicatore, implicito, implicitamente, insinuare*, implicitezza, indipendenza, indipendente, indipendentemente, incentivo, induttore, inducimento, introduzione, avviamento, induzione, inferenza, inferendo, desumendo, investire*, inferire*, inferente, inferenziale, inferenzialmente, desumibile, desumibilmente, influenza, influenzabile, influente, influenzando, inizio, principio, iniziazione, iniziativa, principiare*, intendere*, iniziatore, iniziatrice, iniziatico, iniziatica, inteso, intesa, designato, designata, destinato, destinata, destinatario, destinataria, prospettato, prospettata, intento, intenta, intenzione, intenzionale, intenzionalità, intenzionalmente, intenzionato, intenzionata, intentamente, intenza, intensità, giustificabile, giustificabilità, lanciare*, lanciarsi*, giustificabilmente, giustificazione, giustificativo, giustificatorio, lancio, lanciatore, lanciando, guida, vantaggio, indizio, principale, primo, prima, fatto, dirigere*, produttore, produttrice, creatore, creatrice, manipolabile, manipolato, manipolata, fabbricare*, manipolare*, fuorviare*, motivare*, manipolazione, manipolativo, manipolativa, manipolativamente, manipolatore, manipolatrice, manipolatorio, manipolatoria, corruttore, corruttrice, traviatore, traviatrice, fuorviante, fuorviamento, fuorviato, motivato, motivata, motivazione, motivazionale, motivante, motivatore, ubbidire*, obbedire*, originare*, motivatrice, motivo, immotivato, immotivatamente, immotivazione, ubbidienza, obbedienza, ubbidiente, obbediente, ubbidientemente, origine, originazione, originario, originaria, originarsi*, permettere*, originariamente, originatore, esito, permesso, permissione, permissionario, permissionaria, producimento, producibile, prodotto, producibilità, produzione, produttivamente, raccogliere*, rimuovere*, produttività, provocato, provocata, provocatore, provocatoriamente, scopo, proposito, risoluto, risoluta, significativo, significativa, risolutamente, significativamente, risolutezza, significatività, immotivata, razionale, razionalizzabile, razionalizzazione, razionalizzatore, razionalismo, razionalista, razionalistico, razionalisticamente, reagire*, ragionare*, razionalità, razionalmente, reagente, reazione, reazionario, reazionaria, reazionariamente, ragione, ragionevolezza, ragionevole, ragionevolmente, ragionato, ragionata, ragionatamente, ragionatore, ragionatrice, ragionamento, risposta, responso, disatteso, disattesa, ignorato, ignorata, inanimato, inanimata, risultato, risultante, fruttifero, fruttifera, improduttivo, improduttiva, improduttività, radice, radici, radicare*, risolvere*, radicato, radicata, radiciforme, radicamento, radicazione, radicoso, radicosa, da, soluzione, solvente, risolutivo, risolutiva, solutore, solutrice, fonte, sorgente, infondato, infondata, stimolabile, indicare*, stimolare*, stimolante, stimolando, stimolazione, stimolativo, stimolativa, stimolatore, stimolatrice, stimoli, stimolo, perciò, così, pertanto, finora, quiddità, siffatto, siffatta, grilletto, innesco, uso, laddove, innescare*, usare*, percome, scatenare*, procurare*,

procurarsi*, risultare*, provocare*, razionalizzare*, scegliere*, fare*, produrre*, guidare*, condurre*, designare*, giustificare*, desumere*, iniziare*, suscitare*, scambiarsi*, costringere*, cambiare*, considerare*, attribuire*, fingere*, aggravare*

Religiosity (Italian)

battezzare*, benedire*, agnostico, agnostica, agnosticamente, agnosticismo, allah, altare, chierichetto, amen, amish, angelo, angelico, angelica, angelicale, angelicato, angelicata, angelicamente, angeli, battesimo, battesimale, battista, battisterio, battistero, battezzabile, battezzamento, battezzatore, credenza, convinzione, convinzioni, credo, bibbia, biblico, biblica, biblicamente, biblicismo, biblicista, vescovo, vescovado, beatamente, beatitudine, beatore, beatrice, benedizione, budda, buddha, bodhi, buddismo, buddhismo, buddista, buddhista, buddistico, buddhistico, teologia, cattolico, cattolica, universale, cattolicamente, patriarcato, cattolicizzazione, cattolicesimo, cattolicismo, cattolicità, patriarca, katholicos, cattolicizzarsi*, confessare*, cappella, cappellano, cappellanato, cristo, cristianità, battezzante, natale, natalizio, chiesa, ecclesiastico, chiericato, praticante, ecclesiasticità, ecclesiasticamente, sacrestano, sagrestano, sagrestana, chiesastico, clero, confessabile, penitente, confessato, confessata, confesso, confessa, crocifiggere*, crucifiggere*, divinare*, divinizzare*, confessatamente, confessione, confessionale, confessionalismo, confessionalista, confessionalistico, confessionalmente, confessore, confessorato, convento, conventi, crocifero, crocifera, crocifisso, crocifissa, crucifisso, crucifissa, crocifissione, crociata, demone, demonio, demoniaco, demoniaca, demoni, diavolo, demonocrazia, diabolico, diabolica, diavolesco, diavolesca, diabolicamente, diavolescamente, demonicamente, diabolicità, demonialità, demonolatria, diavoleria, divinazione, divinatore, divinatorio, divinatoria, divino, divina, divinizzazione, divinità, rovina, rovinato, rovinata, destinato, destinata, catastrofista, destinare*, condannare*, evangelizzare*, apocalittico, apocalittica, catastrofico, catastrofica, catastroficamente, catastrofismo, apocalisse, episcopale, episcopaliano, episcopalismo, episcopalmente, vangelo, evangelista, evangeliario, evangelico, evangelica, zelante, evangelicalismo, evangelismo, evangelicamente, evangelizzato, evangelizzata, evangelizzatore, evangelizzatrice, fede, immortalare*, islamizzare*, gesuitare*, fedele, fedelmente, fedeltà, infedele, sfiduciato, sfiduciata, miscredente, infedelmente, sfiduciatamente, infedeltà, sfiducia, incredulità, fondamentalismo, fondamentalista, fondamentalistico, fondamentalistica, gentile, pagano, dio, dea, gospel, ha-shanah, paradiso, cielo, paradisiaco, paradisiaca, inferno, inferni, indù, induismo, santissimo, santissima, santo, santa, salmo, inno, innico, innica, salmi, salmodiante, salmodiatore, salmodiatrice, salmista, imam, imano, imamato, imanato, imamita, immorale, immoralismo, immoralista, immoralità, immoralmente, immortale, immortalità, immortalmente, islam, islamico, islamica, islamitico, islamitica, islamista, islamizzazione, islamismo, islamita, gesuita, gesuitico, gesuitesco, gesuiticamente, gesuitescamente, gesuitismo, gesuiteria, giudaizzare*, ebraizzare*, signore, gesù, ebreo, ebraico, ebraica, giudaico, giudaica, ebrei, jihad, jihadisti, jihadi, jihadismo, jihadista, giuda, giudea, giudeo, giudaicamente, giudaizzazione, ebraismo, giudaismo, karma, karman, kippur, corano, kasher, kosher, krishna, luterano, luterana, luteranesimo, luteranismo, mecca, meditato, meditata, meditatamente, meditazione, meditare*, paganizzare*, paganizzarsi*, pellegrinare*, meditativo, meditabondo, meditativamente, meditatore, meditante, anabattista, anabattismo, misericordioso, misericordiosa, misericordiosamente, misericordia, pietà, metodismo, metodista, metodistico, metodistica, metodisticamente, ministro, ministero, ministeriale, ministrante, officiante, ministrazione, ministrativo, ministrativa, amministrativo, amministrativa, assistenziale, ministra, missionario, missionaria, mitzvah, mitzva, maometto, muhammad, maomettano, maomettana, maomettanesimo, maomettismo, monasteriale, monastero, monastico, monastica, monasticamente, monasticismo, monaco, monachesimo, monaci, morale, moralità, mormone, mormonico, mormonismo, moschea, mujahiddin, mujaheddin, mujahedin, musulmano, musulmana, musulmanesimo, suora, suore, ortodosso, ortodossa, ortodossamente, pagana, paganità, paganizzazione, paganizzato, paganizzata, paganico, paganesimo, papale, pasqua, pesach, pastore, pastorale, pastorate, penitenza, pentecoste, pentecostale, pentecostalismo, pieta, pietas, pellegrino, pellegrina, pellegrinaggio, pellegrinante, pio, pia, papa (only upper case), pregare*, preghiera*, predicare*, papato, pontificato, episcopato, papasso, pregato, pregata, predicabile, predicatore, predicatrice, predicatorio, predicatorie, presbiteriano, presbiteriana, presbiterianesimo, pronosticare*, protestantizzare*, salmodiare*, presbiterianismo, prete, sacerdote, presbiterale, sacerdotessa, sacerdozio, presbiterato, profezia, ciarlatano, ciarlatana, profetizzabile, profetizzato, profetizzata, pronosticatore, profetizzare*, profeta, profetessa, profetico, profetica, protestante, protestantesimo, salmistico, salmodico, salmodia, salmodo, purgatoriale, purgatorio, purgatoria, purgatorialmente, puritano, puritana, puritanesco, puritanamente, puritanesimo, puritanizzare*, puritanismo, coranico, rabbino, rabbinico, rabbini, ramadan, religione, religionario, religionaria, religionismo, religionista, religioso, religiosamente, religiosità, bigotto, bigotta, rito, riti, ritual, ritualizzazione, ritualizzato, ritualizzata, ritualismo, ritualista, ritualistico, ritualistica, ritualizzare*, sacrificare*, sataneggiare*, peccare*, ritualisticamente, ritualità, ritualmente, rosari, rosario, sabato, shabbat, sacro, sacra, sacrificio, sacrificale, salvazione, satana, satanico, satanica, satanicamente, satanismo, satanista, scritturale, scritturalismo, scritturalista, setta, settario, settaria, sette, seminario, sciismo, sciita, sciiti, sacrario, sepolcro, santuario, reliquiario, sikh, sikhismo, peccato, peccatore, peccatrice, peccati, spiritualizzare*, teologizzare*, onorare*, anima, anime, spirito, spirituale, spiritual, spiritualizzazione, spiritualismo, spiritualista, spiritualistico, spiritualistica, spiritualisticamente, spiritualità, sunnita, sunniti, tempio, testamento, testamentale, testamentariamente, testamentario, teologo, teologa, teologale, teologico, teologica, torah, pentateuco, vaticano, vaticanismo, vaticanista, velo, velato, velata, adorazione, devozione, adorare*, devoto, devota, yiddish, zen, sion, sionismo, sionista, sionistico, beare*, cattolicizzare*

A2 Robustness Checks and Alternative Specifications

A2.1 Removing Top 3 Universalism Words/Stems
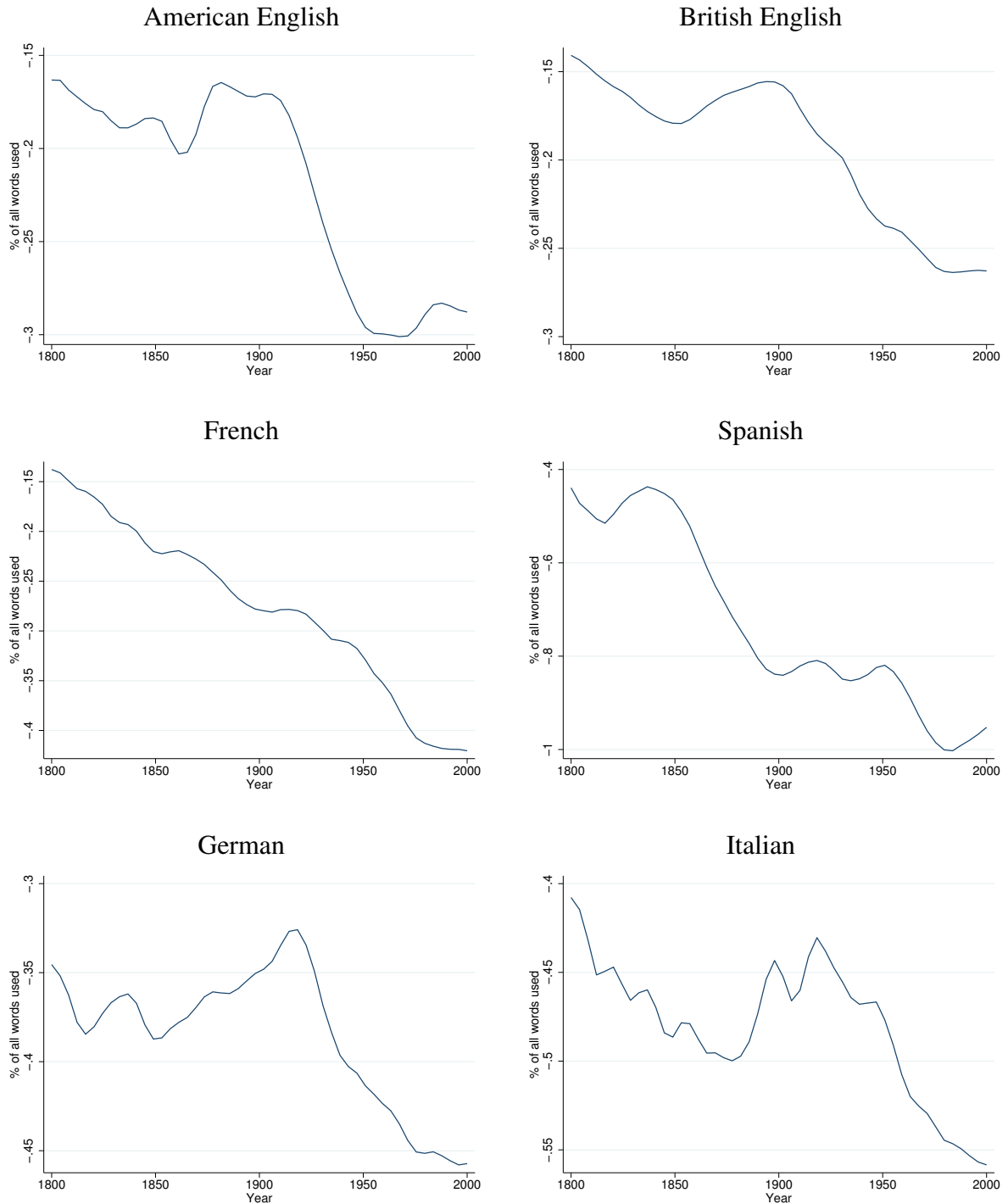
Figure A1: Universalism over time (excluding the top 3 words/stems for each language), plotting a kernel-weighted local polynomial smoothing graph.