USE OF THESES

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AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF EXPRESSION OF
EMOTIONS IN JAPANESE:
TOWARDS A SEMANTIC INTERPRETATION

Rie Hasada

A thesis submitted
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
of Australian National University

March 2000
Declaration

Except where otherwise indicated this thesis is my own work

Rie Hasada
March 2000

[Signature]
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All errors, of course, remain my own.

ABSTRACT

The present study explores the emotional world of Japanese people. Using the framework of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage theory, this thesis attempts to explicate the conceptual organisation of aspects of Modern Standard Japanese, with a special focus on the lexicon. This thesis also aims to explicate the cultural norms which are related to the emotion words/expressions with the use of culture-independent, universal Natural Semantic Metalanguage.

A great amount of data is taken from various sources; TV or radio broadcasting, actual conversation, published literature both in Japanese and English, film scripts, dialogues in magazines, newspaper/magazine articles, comic books, advertisements, letters, dictionaries, and popular songs.

The present work is organized in the following way. Chapter 1 is the introduction. Chapter 2 consists of a review of the literature on emotions and includes philosophical, anthropological, and psychological approaches. Chapter 3 demonstrates the importance of linguistic study for the research on emotions, and suggests the Natural Semantic Metalanguage as the most appropriate method for achieving the main goals of this thesis. Chapter 4 discusses the grammatical features of emotion expression sentences. Chapter 5 deals with those body parts terms which are related to emotions in Japanese. Chapters 6 to 11 explicate the meanings of various Japanese emotion words and expressions. Chapter 12 focuses on communication of nonverbal emotion in Japanese culture. Chapter 13 examines characteristic Japanese speakers' attitudes towards emotions. Chapter 14 is the conclusion.

Wherever possible, the thesis seeks to probe into culturally-based aspects of the conceptual structure of emotion words/expressions, by drawing on a variety of anthropological, psychological, and sociological studies of Japanese society.
ROMANISATION AND SYMBOLS

Romanisation

The Romanisation used in this thesis follows the Hepburn system. However, I used /aa, ii, uu, ee, oo/ for long vowels instead of /a, i, u, e, o/.

Translation and symbols

(1) All translations are my own except where indicated otherwise.

(2) When translations of original texts were available I have used those translations. In these cases I have shown which part of the English sentence corresponds to a Japanese emotion word/expression by inserting the Japanese emotion word/expression in square brackets [ ]. I have marked the gloss for each referenced examples as follows:

@ MT : My Translation

@ J -> E: This indicates a translation from Japanese into English
(The translator's details are cited in the list of sources.)

@ J <- E: This indicates a translation from English to Japanese.

@ B: English translation of a Japanese sentence is given in the same book/text. (The translator is unknown or possibly the author or editor of the book.)

(3) The source of each example is given below the example, by the author's name and the year published and full details are given in the 'Index of Sources'. All the details of source from magazines, TV and radio broadcasting, and popular songs are given in the brackets below the example. Unreferenced examples are mine.

(4) This thesis aims to explore the exact meaning of emotion words/expressions, however, the approximate meaning or gloss will be given on occasion for convenience of discussion.

ABBREVIATIONS

The following are grammatical abbreviations used in this thesis. Others will be explained where they appear in the main text.

CAUS causative suffix(-sase-)
COP copula (e.g. da, desu)
DAT dative case particle (ni)
GER gerund suffix (-te)
I-adj. i-type adjective (e.g. setsunai, ureshii)
Na-adj. na-type adjective (e.g. suki (na), shiawase (na))
N noun
OBJ objective case particle (o)
PASS passive suffix (-rare-)
PAST past tense suffix (-ta)
PROG progressive case particle (-iru)
Q question marker (ka)
QUO quotation case particle (to)
SUB subjective case particle (ga)
TOP topic case particle (wa)
V verb

* X X is not grammatical.
? X X is unlikely
??X X is highly unlikely
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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Opening Remarks

(1) Toolu de omou to namida ga denu. Chikaku de miru to bara ga tatsu. Okasan!! Aishite iru yo. [Sri Nagi (female 43 years old) in Fukuika-Marukashou 1995: 89]

(2) [J->E]: Tora cowa when I think of you in the distance. Anger rises when I look at you close by. I love you. Mom.

The above phrase expresses well the speaker's complicated feelings towards her mother. Yamawaki (1971: 16), a psychiatrist, states that our emotions are the most difficult subject for us to explain on paper. He remarks that there are few words to directly express emotions in any language. Tatsukawa (1995: 1) points out that there are many people, especially among the young, who cannot express their emotions as they experience them. Examine the following example:

(2) "Nani o shite ita no. Chaima ga natta no ga, kikonanakrat no." Kyosaihitu ni haineri, Yokota sensei no donarigoe ga hibita. Mayo wa kuchibbi o furussanenagu, nantoku shite (dareka ni susumare, kusutare, komihaku ni suzareare tsu jibun no) sumika no koto o hanasedo to shite. [Nonami 1996: 149]

(MT): "What were you doing? Couldn't you hear the bell ringing?"

When she entered the classroom, the teacher Yokota's shout reverberated around the room. Mayo, her lips trembling, tried to talk about her shoes (which had been stolen, hidden, and thrown away in the dustbin by somebody). (Although she experienced) embarrassment, anger, and sadness. Mayo, a second year elementary student, cannot analyze her feelings and explain them fully.2

1 T which appears at the last part of a word indicates the final mora obstruent (which is a small 'tu' in the written form).

2 The following fragment of a popular English song shows that difficulty in expressing emotion can also be experienced by adult non-Japanese people.

"Woman, I can hardly express
One's emotions often work differently from one's reason, and sometimes emotions have a stronger power than intellectual functions of the mind, as seen in the examples below:

(3) “Watasari ima made ATAMA de koi shite kono shirenai to omou n desu. Koto hito to iru to, jibun no shigoto ga shiyasai shi, odayaka de ierare toka. (.) Honoo ni horechataura, subete o nagedashiti no na jibun ga wakaru n desu. Sore ga kowai kara, dokoko de bureoku o kakeru no kana shirenai. (.) Seken kara, "Naomi-chan, nande anna otoko ni horechatta no to iwaremou, jibun de koto hito to omou KIMOCHI wa shinjiru deshoo. Sono KIMOCHI ni shoobiki ni noretara, honoo ni shinshite da to omou n desu yo.”
[Natsumi Kawanishi “Koi o moitone, Ai ni naku” pp. 76-83 in Fujin Kooron 1999 May 7th: 77]

(MT: “I think that up until now, maybe I have loved someone with my ATAMA (mind), thinking that I could work better, or be calm if I am with this person. (.) If I really fall in love with somebody, I assume I could throw everything away. Since I am afraid to do that, it may be that I put on the brakes somewhere. (.) Even though I am told by other people, "Naomi, why are you in love with such a guy?", the KIMOCHI (feeling/emotion) of believing 'this is the man for me!' is true, isn't it? If I could be honest about such a KIMOCHI, I think I would have real consentment.”)

(4) Katari oya ni nosterareta sei da, furin nante rogi na to omoto ita sono... Sore ga shiranai uchi ni furin shite, alita no kateri o kowishite ita santei. (.) Dakedo, kara ga kikoushita to shittemo, "Yappari, yamerareare na to omoto no. Ikura ATAMA de kangeyoo to, KOKORO wa tenomorashii na da to jikken shita wa.
[Ayako Iida (30 years old) “Kanojo no sentaku na No. 100” in Shoukan Azai 1998 October 30th: 130-131]

(MT: Because I was brought up by strict parents, I thought that adulterous contact was out of the question... But before I knew it, I was doing it, and destroying his family! (.) But, even so, after I knew he was already married, I still thought,”I cannot give up this relationship’”, Whatever I thought in my ATAMA (mind), I felt strongly that I couldn’t stop my KOKORO (heart/emotion).”)

(5) “Ningen ni wa RIKUTSU to KANJO ga aru desho. RIKUTSU de wa, (watasari ga jiyuu dake) futatsu no okusan to nakara to koto wa, (watasari no mosukou ni totte) susuki na koto datte na ja ni nai desu ka. Hakorashitii koto da kedo, (shogakkou no toki toki ni kure nasen to ii) KANJO-tachi ni wa sabishikatta s ja nai desu ka.”
[Kumiko Akikyoshi (actress) “Makura nante iranai!” pp. 52-56 Shoukan Azai 1999 January 22nd: 56]

My mixed emotions at my thoughtlessness
After all, I'm forever in your debt.
And woman, I will try to express
My inner feelings and thankfulness.
For showing me the meaning of success
(John Lennon "Woman" 1980 by Lesno Music)

In this thesis, I will explore the world of emotions of Japanese people as reflected in the Japanese lexicon/expressions. As Leggett (1973: 170) suggests, Japanese people are often misunderstood by non-Japanese people as being emotionless because of their frequent suppression of emotions in certain situations. Japanese people, however, are “intensely emotional people, and inner, subjective experiences – feelings – are extremely important to them” (Matsumoto 1996: 127). Nakamura (1964: 531) also postulates that the thinking of most Japanese tends to be intuitive and emotional, when he says that “the expressive forms of Japanese sentences put more emphasis upon emotive factors than on cognitive factors. The forms of expression of the Japanese language are more oriented to sensitive and emotive nuances than directed toward logical exactness”.

1.2. The Goals of the Study

In this thesis, we aim to examine the meaning and use of everyday Japanese emotion words or expressions. By exploring the world of emotions through language, we will try to throw light on some characteristics of Japanese people and their culture. We will also try to describe the norms relating to both verbal and nonverbal Japanese emotional expressions, using cultural scripts; e.g. what kinds of emotions Japanese people are expected to express or suppress in certain situations. These cultural scripts concerning emotions vary in different cultures. Grasping these norms is necessary for smooth cross-cultural communication between Japanese and non-Japanese people.

This thesis has two separate and complementary goals. The first is to examine the meanings of various Japanese terms for emotions, and to show how their meanings and usages are related to the prevailing modes of thinking and culture of the Japanese people.
We will include most frequently used words or expressions and also give special attention to those which reflect the Japanese people’s distinctive characteristics of thinking and feeling. The methodology adopted for analysis and comparison of the meaning of emotion terms and emotional expressions is the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) framework developed by Anna Wierzbicka and her colleagues. The present study is an attempt to apply the NSM framework to explicating the meaning of a subset of the Japanese emotional lexicon and expressions and cultural norms related to both the verbal emotional lexicon and nonverbal emotional expressions.

Although several scholars such as Lutz (1986a, 1986b, 1987), Myers (1986), and Rosaldo (1980) have studied various non-Western languages and have shown that they are often quite different from English emotion terms, none of them has really succeeded in explicating the meaning of those terms because of the lack of a rigorous framework for semantic analysis. Emotion terms differ in meaning from language to language, and without a rigorous framework these differences cannot be adequately described and explained.

Matsumoto (1996: 20) says that “many English words find equivalents in the Japanese language and culture, such as anger, joy, sadness, liking, loving, and so on. Most emotion words probably do have equivalents in the Japanese language...”. In fact, however, the meaning and use of Japanese words for ‘anger’-like, ‘joy’-like, ‘sadness’-like, ‘liking’-like, or ‘loving’-like feelings are different from their closest English counterparts. In this thesis, I seek to demonstrate how the NSM method enables us to construct improved definitions of the terms used to describe Japanese emotions.

The second objective of the thesis is to describe the each cultural norms for the expression of the world of Japanese emotion. These tacit rules which are manifested in people’s behaviour provide information on how Japanese people may feel (or appear to be feeling) in particular circumstances, as well as on how they are expected to respond, both verbally and non-verbally, in circumstances where a rule of conduct operates. As Heelas (1986: 252) says, “Emotion talk differs from culture to culture with regard to what people should do if their emotions are to remain in accord with the moral order”. Thus, “cultural scripts” attempt “to capture a society’s tacit cultural norms from a native’s point of view and at the same time to express these norms in terms of universal human concepts” (Wierzbicka 1993a: 221). In this study I will try to apply the theory and methodology of cultural scripts to Japanese emotion talk.

Studying aspects of nonverbal-communication complements the study of emotional expressions. For example, by looking at the description of a character’s nonverbal behavior given in a novel, the reader gains an impression of the kind of situation which this character is confronting and reacting to emotionally, and moreover a description of the non-verbal behavior often conveys a character’s emotional feelings more accurately than their reported speech does.

1.3. The Significance of the Study

Communication across cultural, national, and ethnic boundaries as well as between people of different cultural backgrounds is a complex process. Understanding the cultural differences in the ways people express emotions is important for effective communication and for preventing misunderstandings. This study aims to explore the cultural norms for the expression of Japanese emotion and to provide insights into how to communicate effectively with Japanese people.

Although many psychologists and anthropologists have studied the expressions of emotion, understanding the cultural norms for the expression of emotions in different cultures is particularly important. In order to explore the ways in which people express emotions, this study will apply the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) framework to Japanese emotional expressions and cultural norms related to both the verbal emotional lexicon and nonverbal emotional expressions.
constructs of the world of emotions of the Japanese people, studying their language is crucially important. This is because "most of what we know about people's inner feelings comes to us via language" (Harkins & Wierzbiicka 1997: 319). Using language, humans can verbally convey their own internal feelings to other individuals. In their native language, people express subtle shifts in their thoughts and the intricacies of their perceptions. By means of language, "we express our personality, our thoughts, intentions, desires, and feelings; and by means of language we relate to other people" (Wierzbiicka 1991a: 453). Kövecses also asserts that the examination of everyday linguistic expressions for emotion that are commonly used by, and are familiar to, native speakers of a language is a fruitful approach to the study of the conceptual models of these emotions (Kövecses 1988: 12; 1990: 43).

In a classic statement, Sapir (1949: 27) says that "vocabulary is a very sensitive index of the culture of a people". Whorf (1956: 252) claims that "the forms of a person's thoughts are controlled by inexorable laws of pattern of which he is unconscious. These patterns are the unperceived intricate systematisations of his own language". More recently, Grace (1987: 121) has argued along similar lines that thought affects language, and that language can also affect thought. While some of the formulations of classic figures like Sapir and Whorf, or the contemporary interpreters of their theory may be too extreme like Grace, the validity of the core idea seems undesirable, and is particularly clear in the case of emotions. Thus, to understand the emotional world of the Japanese people and their culture, explicating the emotional vocabulary is crucial. By examining the construction of Japanese emotional life through language, we can begin to see how the Japanese view emotions, the meaning of emotions, and the role of emotion in Japanese culture and society. We can also come to be a better understanding of Japanese nonverbal communication.

Friedman (1979: 5) says that "...the area of nonverbal communication has its roots in the study of feelings or emotions. Thus the concept of skill in nonverbal communication provides us with a promising approach to the investigation of the affective dimensions of interpersonal relationships".

Japanese children are trained to read the emotions of characters in texts from their nonverbal signals in Japanese language classes. For example, one Japanese textbook for fourth grade elementary school students (High Jump preparatory texts 1989 by Kawaiyuku: 46) tells us that we should grasp the emotions of characters in novels not only from their words or conversation, but also from their physical-movements. For instance, the description of one character's movement, "Ojiisan ni tobitsukimashita (He dashed to his grandfather)", refers to this person's feeling of great pleasure. Similarly, in another Japanese text for fifth year elementary school students (High Jump preparatory text 1990 by Kawaiyuku: 14) it is said that in novels, the character's emotions are rarely expressed directly by such words as "ureshii (happy)" or "kanashii (sad)". The use of these words sounds wearisome, and the readers are instructed that they should approach the character's emotion from his/her actions, behaviour, or facial expressions; e.g. "kubi o unadarete (i.e. hanging one's head down)" refers to a feeling of dejection, "chawana te kara su beriuchiru (lit. the rice bowl slipped down from his/her hand)" refers to the subject's feeling of shock or surprise, and so on. Thus, Japanese people undergo lessons at school and learn to discern each other's feelings through observation of nonverbal acts or behaviour.

The study of emotions expressions in both verbal and non-verbal contexts necessarily requires the study of cem 'in 'in thinking patterns' or socio-cultural norms relating to characteristic Japanese emotional feelings and related behaviours. I have studied the emotional concepts encoded in Japanese verbal and non-verbal expressions using the Natural Semantic Metalanguage method mentioned above. Relying on this method, we are able to translate various aspects of the cultural ethos encoded in Japanese emotional expressions into semantic formulae, which can be accurately understood by people in other cultures. Formulae of this kind must constitute a valuable basis for improved intercultural communication. In addition to promoting intercultural understanding, the identification of some cultural features of the system of Japanese emotional expressions will assist the learning and teaching of Japanese as a foreign language.
1.4. Limitations of the Study

A comprehensive and exhaustive survey of all Japanese emotion words and expressions is beyond the scope of thesis, and it is unnecessary for our purposes. Our main emphasis is on the detailed analysis of some key concepts of Japanese emotions which constitute the core of the Japanese emotion lexicon or verbal/nonverbal expressions.

1.5. Japanese People and Emotion Words

In this thesis, I will mainly examine the meaning of Yamato words (original Japanese words) which express emotions. Here I will briefly discuss the characteristics of Japanese emotion words in the Japanese lexicon.

Kindaichi (1988 Vol.2) says that among emotion words in Japanese there are many words which refer to negative emotions. As Fukui (1990) says, however, it is not a phenomenon which is seen only in the Japanese language, it is also seen in English. Fukui reports that, after collecting emotion words from an English dictionary, three quarters of them were found to refer to unpleasant or negative connotations. Iso (1996: 53) says this represents a general phenomenon seen in most languages.3

Sakakura (1978: 74) points out that there are not many Yamato words which refer to emotions in Japanese. Yamato words are either words that existed before other word-types like those borrowed from Chinese or English had entered Japan, or else words subsequently based on them (Kindaichi 1978: 40). Sakakura (1978: 75) mentions that Chinese (Sino-Japanese) words supply a variety of connotations for each Yamato word.

Sakakura lists 12 examples of Chinese characters which refer to sorrowful feelings.4 Each Chinese character has its own different connotation. On the other hand, Sakakura says there are only a few Yamato words which refer to sorrowful feelings. Mizokami (1984: 266) also lists 8 Chinese characters which could be applied for the one Yamato word "ikaru (roughly 'get angry')." Sakakura (1972: 95) says emotion words derived from Chinese characters are three times more numerous than Yamato emotion terms. Kamei Katsuchihito (qt. in Kindaichi 1978: 42), says, quoting from Hagiwara Sakutaroo's writings:

Although the Yamato words are exceedingly elegant, they are too weak to express strong emotions like anger, distress, and jealousy. The Yamato words lack elements that express such accents, but a strong emphasis can be attained by using Chinese character words. Through the simplicity and strength of the words, we can express human emotion effectively.

Indeed, one would use a Chinese angry-word "fungai-suru", rather than the Yamato words "okoru" or "atama ni kuru" or "bara ga tatsu" in a situation like the following:

1) Kuroyanagi: (Chikyuu-kagakubu de aru) Sensei ga, aso, Hiroshima ya Nagasaki ni genbaku ga e coatere toki ni, mochirou mono fungai-shie, ma, fungai dokoro ja ai ni desu ga, kagakubu to shite, hontou ni kore wa yurusaremen te soo in fusu ni hontou ni oomoi ni oatta-soo desu kedo...
[TV programme "Tetsuko no Heya" August 6th, 1996]

(MT: Kuroyanagi: I heard that you, as an earth scientist, really felt fangai, maybe more than fangai, when the atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. I heard that as a scientist you really felt that that was intolerable.)

In a situation like the above, for referring to an intense anger-like feeling towards the dropping of an atomic bomb, Yamato words or expressions such as "okoru", "atama ni kuru", "bara ga tatsu" are not really appropriate. A Chinese word such as "fungai (-suru)" should be used for that strong emotion.

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3 However, Gordon (1989: 333) remarks that "Most U.S. children observe and feel positive emotions -- happiness, joy, pleasure, and glee -- more than negative emotions such as anger or sadness."

4 Kindaichi (1978: 40) says that Chinese character words represent sixty or seventy percent of the total vocabulary according to the Dainippon Kokugo Jiten (A Complete Dictionary of the Japanese Language).
However, in this thesis I will primarily deal with Yamato emotion terms, because they form the basic lexicon Japanese people rely on when they express emotions naturally. We cannot claim that these original Japanese words are too simple or rough as emotional words, just because of being fewer in numbers or weaker in connotation compared to Chinese-derived words. Sakakura (1978: 76) takes up the classical Japanese emotion Yamato word “aware (nuit)” and says that this word expresses admiration, surprise, sorrow, pleasure, affection, or regret depending on the context. Sakakura explains that Japanese have valued this word since they realised that what they often feel is an emotion which is vague and defies analysis. When the Japanese people found that they could not discover any word or expression to refer exactly to what they felt, they stopped seeking a specific word, and instead used a word where the finer nuances were left to the imagination and merely hinted at. This could be related to the Japanese preference for what they call "tamaushii-iro", which refers to "an attitude or statement which could be interpreted in two or more ways" (The Mitsubishi Corporation 1987: 193). Miller’s (1977: 36) statement supports this view: "[Japanese authors] dislike clarification and full explanation of their view; they like giving dark hints and attempt to leave behind them nuances". Miller (p. 12) remarks that Yamato words are important as expressions of emotions: "Yamato words, which are intertwined with koto-dama of ancient times, emerge in the mind of men when something pulls at their heartstrings, while borrowings from Chinese are employed at times when the mind is intellectually at work for external development, ...the Yamato language is often the vehicle by which to describe the mind moving introversely and yeaming for something to embrace...". Also, Nakamura (1959a: 464) comments that "the Japanese language may be inadequate for the purpose of expressing logical and exact thought, but it is very suitable for the purpose of expressing intuitive and emotional thought".

From Chapter 6 to Chapter 11, I will examine the meaning of numerous Yamato words which express emotions. 5

5 The meaning of a few words or expressions which are derived from Chinese language, such as 'uchieon' or 'jihli will also be examined in order to compare them with the meaning of synonymous Yamato words.

1.6. The Type of Data Analysed

As I am concerned with the context of emotion terms or expressions, I have utilised a considerable amount of data for each term or expression in order to identify the typical context in which it could be used. I have collected examples from a variety of sources. As a result, I have had access to an extensive collection of emotion terms as indicated in the list of Index Sources.

The data for my analysis consists of everyday linguistic expressions which are commonly used by, and are familiar to, most native speakers of the language. These data were drawn from sources such as TV or radio broadcasting, or from a variety of written texts including Japanese literature and their translations thereof into books in English, as well as British, American, and Australian literature and translations thereof into Japanese. Also included are film scripts, magazine interviews, newspaper articles, journals, comic books, advertisements, letters, dictionaries, popular songs, and personal conversations.

These materials were collected for the primary and essential reason of providing evidence for my analysis and for discussion of various aspects of emotional expressions; the meaning and use of emotional expressions, the relationship between the characteristics of different expressions, and the cultural or social factors which can be identified from the use of these expressions. In order to explain why many examples were cited not only from records of direct verbal and non-verbal interaction such as interviews but also from literature, it is worth pointing to the comment of S. I. Hayakawa about the function of literature:

...since the expression of individual sentiments is central to literature, affective elements are of the utmost importance in all literary writing. (...)

Frequently the feelings to be expressed are so subtle or complex that a few lines of prose or verse are not enough to convey them. It is sometimes necessary, therefore, for authors to write entire books, carrying their readers through numbers of scenes, situations, and adventures, pushing their sympathies this way and now that, arousing in turn their fighting spirit, their tenderness, their sense of tragedy, their laughter, their superiority, their stupidity, their
sensuousness, their piety. Sometimes it is only in such ways that the exact feelings an author wants to express can be recreated in his readers. This, then, is the reason that novels, poems, dramas, stories, allegories, and parables exist: to convey such propositions as "Life is tragic" or "Susanna is beautiful," not by telling us so, but by putting us through a whole series of experiences that make us feel towards life or toward Susanna as the author did. Literature is the most exact expression of feelings, while science is the most exact kind of reporting.

(Hayakawa 1974: 113-114)

Marks (1995: 7) also states that "there is no richer source of 'data' for reflection on emotion than literature."

1.7. Organisation of the Thesis

The thesis is organised in the following way. Chapters 2-4 deal with the relevant background information and existing studies on emotions, and on the cultural background of Japanese emotions. The literature review on emotions and the methodology adopted in this thesis are discussed in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 focuses on the grammatical structures of Japanese emotion expressions. Specific discussion about body parts linked with particular emotions forms the basis for Chapter 4. These chapters are followed by detailed analyses of Japanese emotion words or expressions in Chapters 5-10. I have grouped these emotion terms or expressions in such a way as to highlight the differences between closely related concepts, such as 'koi (like/love)' and 'ai (love)' (I feel something good towards somebody) or 'hazukashi' and 'terekusa' (thinking about ourselves).

For the purposes of this thesis, I have divided the emotion concepts discussed here into six groups based on the following general themes: 1. "I feel something good towards somebody" (e.g. ai(suru), koi(suru)) (Chapter 5); 2. "Good things and good feelings" (e.g. ureshii, tanoshii) (Chapter 6); 3. "Bad things will happen" (e.g. kowai, osoroshii) (Chapter 7); 4. "I don't want things like this to happen" (e.g. hara ga tatsu, kuyashii) (Chapter 8); 5. "Thinking about 'ourselves" (e.g. hazukashi, terekusa; nasakenai, kanashi) (Chapter 9); 6. "Thinking about 'someone else" (e.g. nasake, kawaii so).
2. LITERATURE REVIEW ON EMOTIONS: 
Philosophical, Anthropological, & Psychological Approaches

There are various approaches to the study of emotions. In this chapter, we will review the study of emotions conducted by scholars of philosophy, anthropology, and psychology. I survey these studies, mainly because I would like to show that a linguistic approach to emotion study, which will be examined in detail in the next chapter, is crucial in alleviating the problems which occur from, and which cannot be solved by, the aforementioned studies on emotion. In the following chapter 3, I will discuss how a linguistic study can solve those problems and functions significantly for the entire study of emotions.

In this chapter, we will introduce major philosophical, anthropological, and psychological approaches to the study of emotions.

2.1. Emotion Study by Philosophers

The Ancient Greeks

Since ancient times, many people have been interested in the area of emotions. Takano (1995: 7) says the root of this study goes back to the ancient Greek scholar Aristotle (384-322 B.C.). Aristotle laid some of the foundations for European and American psychology of emotions. Aristotle's main discussion of emotions is in his book on Rhetoric. His most fundamental insight was that emotions are connected with action, and that they derive from what we believe (cf. Oatley & Jenkins 1996: 11). Aristotle proposed a cognitive account of emotion in which factual beliefs and moral judgments have a central role in the causation and individuation of emotions (Harré 1986: 2).

Even before Aristotle, Plato (427-347 B.C.) divided the human psyche into cognition, emotion, and conation, and said the division has "profoundly affected virtually all scientific approaches to the study of human nature and human behavior. (...) The issue of supremacy of cognition over emotion, or vice versa, has powerful implications for the scientific view of human nature, and has been the subject of perennial debates in philosophy, psychology, and the social sciences" (Scherer 1984: 293).

Whereas Aristotle took emotions to be essential to the good life, the Stoics (founded around 308 B.C.), like Plato, had a negative view towards emotion. They analysed emotions as conceptual errors, conducive to misery. Solomon (1993: 5) describes the Stoics' view on emotion as follows:

...the Stoics saw the world they lived in as out of control and beyond any reasonable expectations, they saw the emotions, which impose such expectations on the world, as misguided judgments about life and our place in the world. The emotions, consequently, make us miserable and frustrated. Accordingly, the Stoics made a careful study of the component judgments that compose the emotions..."

Modern Era (17th-19th Century)

In the 17th century, the two main philosophers in Holland, René Descartes (1596-1650) and Brauch Spinoza (1632-1677) did not advocate the assertion of emotion. Their emphasis was rather on rationality.

René Descartes is typically recognised as the "father" of modern philosophy, and in a more scholarly vein, as the bridge between the scholastic world of the Middle Ages and our own (Solomon 1993: 6). According to Oatley & Jenkins (1996: 16), although Descartes does not acknowledge Aristotle, "it is clear ... that Descartes accepts Aristotle's idea that emotions, though they happen to us, depend on how we evaluate events. Their intensity and effects on us are affected by how we think about these events and their implications". In his treatise On the Passions of the Soul (1694), he presents his negative view toward emotion as seen in the following phrase:
An emotion is one type of "passion"... the passions in general are distinguished from "clear cognition", and render judgment "confused and obscure". Emotions are particularly disturbing passions. And yet emotions can be influenced by reason.
(Descartes in Solomon 1993: 6)

In the same century, and in the same country, there was another scholar who took another philosophical approach to the study of emotions. That is Brauch Spinoza, who is considered one of the great rationalist philosophers. He believed that how human beings' think can reflect the way the universe works, so that true understanding can arise purely from rational thought. Spinoza also interpreted emotion unfavourably as a form of "thought" that for the most part misunderstands the world, and consequently makes us miserable and frustrated (Solomon 1993: 6). A large part of his most important work Ethics (1675) is about emotions. For him, the universe is an expression of the mind of God. Spinoza is in a direct line of descent from Aristotle: his theory of emotions is thoroughly cognitive. Emotions are based on evaluations, modes of thinking (Oatley & Jenkins 1996: 16). Spinoza, like the Stoics, developed an early version of the cognitive theory of emotion.¹

Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) also took a negative attitude towards emotion. He reinforced the crucial distinction between reason and what he called "the inclinations" (emotions, moods, and desires), and dismissed the latter (including the moral sentiments) as inessential to morals at best and intrusive and disruptive or worse (Solomon 1993: 8).

On the other hand, there were, of course, important philosophers who claimed the significant role and function of emotion.

The ancient Greeks, for all their emphasis on reason, never excluded the emotions and in fact, they discussed their importance at considerable length. But more recently, in the 18th century, philosophers David Hume (1711-1776) and Adam Smith (1723-1790), in Scotland and France respectively, developed an elaborate theory of the emotions' important place in ethics and social philosophy. Both of them argued that "the basis of all morality had to be emotion, not reason, and that we were all endowed by nature (if not creator) with the all-important natural sentiment of sympathy" (Solomon 1994: 298). For both of them, "Emotion...is not an embarrassment or part of the refuse of human psyche, but rather the very essence of human social existence and morality. It is not to be unfavourably contrasted and opposed to reason, but on the contrary, is to be celebrated and defended along with it" (Solomon 1993: 8).

Hume uttered the shocking pronouncement that "reason" is, and ought only to be the slave of the passions" (Solomon 1995: 254). Solomon (1993: 17) states that Hume's theory is especially important:

...not only because he challenged the inferior place of passion in philosophy and questioned the role of reason. He also advanced a theory of the passions that, although limited and encumbered by his general theory of mind, displayed dazzling insight and a precocious attempt to grapple with problems that would not only be formulated generations later.

The other notable philosopher who had a positive stand point toward emotions is G. W. F. Hegel (1770-1831). He took over the reins of German philosophy in the early 19th century. The overrated distinction between reason and passion was again called into question. Hegel's book The Phenomenology of Mind (1807) has been called a "logic of passion". Hegel famously insisted that "nothing great is ever accomplished without passion" (cf. Solomon 1993:8; 1995: 254).

Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1990) was a philosopher for whom passion was the watchword and reason a source of suspicion. He attacks the distinction between reason and passion: "as if every passion did not contain its own quantum of reason" (Solomon 1993: 254). In Nietzsche's book On the Genealogy of Morals (1887), he praised the passion and in an ironic twist, described the passions as themselves having more reason than Reason. His celebration of passion frightened a great many philosophers in Europe (Solomon 1993: 8).

¹ But Spinoza also defended a grand and complex metaphysics, in which all substance is one and mind and body are but dual "aspects" of one and the same being. Accordingly, he did not face Descartes' formidable "mind-body" problem (Solomon 1993: 7).
2.2. Emotion Study by Anthropologists

In this section we will examine concisely how anthropological studies have been devoted to the study of emotion. We will mainly review emotion studies by some major anthropologists.

2.2.1. The Significance of Anthropological Emotion Studies

Emotions have also been widely studied by anthropologists. Emotions are of interest to cultural anthropologists mainly because they affect behavior, thought, and meaning systems. Myers (1976: 130) says that emotions are the medium of interpersonal activity, and Leff (in Lutz 1985a: 91) states that "Emotions are important in determining the choice of action towards another person".

Gerber (1985: 159) states that the study of emotions provides a means by which important social values are linked with behavior, and that emotions help to define the image of the socially approved self. According to White (1994: 232), the social and moral aspects of emotion are primary and not simply programmed responses that are given social and moral meaning as a kind of cultural overlay. From an anthropological perspective, White describes how cultural norms and rules (the moral categories) can be transformed into emotional experiences: He argues that "at the core of most emotion words are social and moral entailments capable of shaping social realities and of directing social behavior" (in Kitayama & Marks 1994: 13). Emotions and emotion concepts play a strategic role in cultural reasoning about the social realities that link self and others; interpersonal relations associated with emotions and the social-moral framework that emotions do in everyday life (White 1994: 236; cf. also p. 221).

Anthropology in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s began to produce more and more in-depth ethnographic accounts of the meaning and functions of emotions in non-Western cultures. Anthropologists emphasise the cultural differences of emotions which psychologists and biologists tend to overlook. Anthropologists have long recognised that emotions are culturally constituted concepts.


Rom Harré and James R. Averill are anthropologists albeit theoreticians rather than field-workers.

Rom Harré is famous for his studies on emotion from a sociological or socio-cultural viewpoint. In his book The Social Construction of Emotions (1986a), he claims that the

2 T. D. Kemper: Sociological Approach

The "sociological approach" to the study of emotion has been elaborated convincingly by Kemper, a sociologist who views emotions as the result of outcomes of ongoing interpersonal relationships. For Kemper, the important relationship variables for understanding emotions are power and status (cf. Kemper 1987, 1993). Consider the following comments by Kemper (1993: 42) on social relations and emotions:

I have proposed that social relations can be usefully expressed in two dimensions, "power", and "status", and that a very large member of human emotions can be understood as responses to the
emotions are not "natural", that emotions are "constructed" within and by a society. For further studies by Harré, see (Harré 1986b, 1990, 1991).

James R. Averill also views the emotions as social constructions. Consider the following comments by Averill (1980):

...the emotions are ...defined as social constituted syndromes or transitory social roles. A role-conception does not deny the contribution of biological systems to emotional syndromes; it does, however, imply that the functional significance of emotional responses is to be found largely within the sociocultural system. (p. 305)

To summarise, then, emotional syndromes are among the roles societies create, and individuals enact, albeit with varying degrees of proficiency and fidelity. Often, an emotional role is built upon, or incorporates elements from, one or more biological systems of behavior. But the meaning of the emotion — its functional significance — is to be found primarily within the sociocultural system. (p. 337)

Thus, for Averill, emotions are defined as socially constituted syndromes (cf. also Averill 1986). In addition, Frijda & Mesquita (1994: 82) claim that emotions have a variety of social functions, too.

2.2.2. Anthropological Studies of Culture Specific Emotions

In this section, we will examine the culturally specific emotion concepts which cannot be found in Western cultures but can be formed in other cultures. We will mention

power and/or status meanings and implications of situations. Power is understood as a relational condition which one actor actually or potentially compels another actor to do something he or she does not wish to do. (...) Status, on the other hand, is understood as the relational condition of voluntary compliance with the wishes, interests, and desires of another person. (...) I have proposed the following implication for emotions: A very class of human emotions results from real anticipated, imagined, or actualized outcomes of social relations.

Kemper makes the interesting point that, to the sociologist, the number of emotions is irrelevant, but the number of different social conditions from which emotions can flow, whether serving as cues, socialization parameters, or interactional and relational outcomes, is a key concern (Lazarus, Kanner & Folkman 1982: 200).

An another sociologist Arlie Hochschild took "the dramaturgical perspective" and developed a theory of "emotion rules". These rules can be private and unconscious, or socially engineered in occupations that require us to send signals to others to influence their emotional judgements (Oatley and Jenkins 1996: 31-32).

studies of culture-specific emotions observed by Lutz (in the Ifaluk culture), Rosaldo (in the Illegong culture), Levy (in Samoan culture), Briggs (in the Uku Eskimo culture), Geertz (in the Javanese culture), and the conspicuous phenomenon of a small emotion vocabulary by Howell (in the Chewong culture).

Ifaluk "song", "metagu" and "fago": Catherine Lutz

Ifaluk is located midway between Yap and Truk in the West Caroline Islands of Micronesia. The one-half square mile coral atoll is densely populated, supporting 430 people (Lutz 1983: 248). According to Lutz (1985b: 87), the word "song" is closest to English 'anger', and she translates this as 'justified anger' because it represents a view that one has observed a violation of cultural norms and values.

As briefly mentioned in the previous section, the Ifaluk concept "metagu" is the reciprocal emotion of "song". Lutz (1985b: 65) gives a gloss 'fear/anxiety' for this word "metagu" and states that "metagu" plays an important role in 'calmness', as it is seen as the most important response to the potential 'justifiable anger' of others at one's misbehavior. It is only towards the end of the first year of life that feelings of "metagu" are first ascribed to the child. Lutz (1983: 250) says that "that we term emotion is seen by the Ifaluk as relational, and as a product of social interaction, rather than as a purely mental or physiological process occurring within the individual".

Another culture-specific emotion word in Ifaluk is "fago". According to Lutz (1995: 235), the English perspective of "fago" includes 'compassion', 'love', and 'sadness'. This, however, understanding of the concept "fago" involves some basic contradictions (also Lutz 1985b: 39). Consider the following explanation on this word "fago" (Lutz 1995: 250):

Fago is central to the way people understand their relationship to others — to their sense that the suffering of others is of vital concern, that attachment to others entails active nurturance more than self-contained feelings, that love is explicitly an emotion of power, and that love is heavily tinged with pathos because love's object is weak and because love often equals loss.
The ability to experience "fago" is one of the central characteristics of the mature person, perhaps even the ultimate quality defining the good person and competent adult in Ifaluk. Children first feel the emotion only after the age of about seven, and this "fago" is treated as a form of intelligence, and is valued by the Ifaluk more than virtually any other kind of emotion (Lutz 1995: 246-247).

Lutz (1995: 241) reports that the worst fate that most Ifaluk can imagine is to be without kin -- due to demographic chance, death, or travel from the island. The concept of "fago" is used to communicate the importance of those missing relatives. In daily conversation, people speak of their "fago" for those relatively rare individuals whose kinship networks are small or are missing crucial members. This concept makes Ifaluk people renew their kin ties to an increasing number of people.

The Ilngogot "liget" : Michelle Rosaldo

The Ilngogot is a small group of some 3,500 horticulturalist-hunters living barely 150 miles from Manila. It is considered that the closest Ilngogot corresponding word for English 'anger' is "liget" (cf. Rosaldo 1980). However, Goddard (personal communication) claims that "liget" is not really 'anger'-like feeling, but it is one of the Ilngogot culture-specific emotions.

In the Ilngogot culture "liget" is not a totally negative emotion. Rosaldo (1980: 47) states that "The energy that is liget can generate both chaos and concentration, distress, and industry, a loss of sense and reason, and an experience of clarification and release".

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Rosaldo's (1980) observation below clearly explains that "liget" is necessary for their energetic, passionate life: 4

Ilngogot consider themselves dependent on a liger that energizes as it divides them; and though stimulated by liger, the individual requires knowledge to give affective impulses intelligible, social form. "If it were not for liger, Ilngogos say, 'we'd have no life, we'd never work.' But at the same time, they say, 'We don't do everything because of liger; sometimes our hearts are quiet and we speak with knowledge in our breath.' (p. 44)

Liger points in human life to a readiness to be 'different' or to take offense...to stubborn and conviction, but also to the fact that one is quick-moving, youthful, active...and 'laid up tight' or 'strong'. (...) liger as an adjective - Uligter 'mata to'u, 'That is an angry person' -- describes a quality often admirable and desirable. (p.45-46)

Thus, for the Ilngogot, "liget" works both negatively and positively.

Samoan "alofa": Robert Levy

"Alofa" is a Samoan culture-specific emotion word. "Alofa" is a significant aspect of moral controls. Levy (1973: 32) explains that this "alofa" in its broadest sense implies 'empathy', although it usually is used for 'empathic suffering because of the suffering of others'; It implies caring about someone else. D'Andrade (1995: 225) asserts that Samoan "alofa" contrasts in many ways with American 'love', with its passionate intensity, possessiveness, physical expression, and idealization. Gerber (1985: 145) has also translated "alofa" as 'love'. Although Gerber admits that 'love' is not a perfect English rendering of the Samoan "alofa", he says that these connotative differences are inherent in all translation and a perfect equivalent should not be expected. Thus, Gerber concludes that the term 'love' is an appropriate rendering of "alofa".

However, Wierzbicka (1992c: 156-158) points out the translation problem which arises when the gloss 'love' is given for "alofa", and comments that both the similarities and the differences between Samoan "alofa" and English 'love' cannot be accurately

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3 This fact is linked to the linguistic phenomenon where in the case of the emotion word "fago", the use of the first person plural is more common than that of any other pronoun. First person pronoun are, by definition, egocentric. When the 'we' rather the 'I' form is used, this is strong evidence that the relevant viewpoint is taken to be that of the group rather than the individual. (Lutz 1985b: 44)

4 It should be noted that Rosaldo (1980: 34) mentions that after conversion to fundamentalist Christianity a process initiated by the New Tribes Mission in 1955, all passion the Ilngogot had known was tinged with sinful violence, and the question that most concerned them was the development of a less passionate life.
portrayed unless one uses a systematic framework provided in the natural semantic metalanguage, based on universal semantic primitives. This translation problem is further discussed in detail in section 4 of this chapter.  

The Utku Eskimo "naklik": Jean Briggs

"Naklik" is the important emotion for the Utku Eskimo people. Briggs (1978: 60) states that "naklik" is concern for another person's welfare; it is every kind of warm and generous behavior, and it is a desire to protect another person from hunger, cold, physical danger, or distress. Although "naklik" has some features similar to English 'love', Briggs (p. 60) clearly states that "naklik" is not exactly like the Biblical 'love', but has overtones of a more affective relationship. In her previous work (1970), she gives the following approximate explanation for the meaning of "naklik":

naklik: to feel or to arouse concern for another's physical or emotional welfare; to wish or to arouse the wish to be with another. Of the terms commonly used to express positive emotion, this one is used in the widest range of situations. (p. 376)

Briggs (1995: 205) remarks that "every rational and good person feels naklik toward everybody else -- indeed, naklik- feelings are the measure of a good person -- but babies have not learned it yet. (...) naklik- was a mature, nurturant, highly valued emotion, which people grew".  

5 Wierzbicka (1992c: 158) submits the following explication for the meaning of the Samoan concept of "alo" using NSM methodology (cf. chapter 3):

- [s[elf]
  - X thinks of person Y
  - X thinks something about this:
    - bad things can happen to this person
    - if something bad happens to a person, I should do something for this person
  - X feels something good toward Y
  - X wants to do something good for Y

6 In Utku culture, affection and aggression produce the ambivalence. For details of this point, see Briggs (1978).

The Javanese "wedi", "isin", "sungkan"; "lek": Clifford Geertz

Javanese culture involves basic concepts of 'status' and 'respect'. For a Javanese person nearly every social relationship involves an element of status difference (Geertz 1974: 250).

Clifford Geertz introduces three important concepts which Javanese people should learn in childhood in order to become mature Javaneses: "wedi", "isin", and "sungkan". These three words denote three kinds of feeling states felt to be appropriate to situations demanding respectful behavior. "Wedi" is most intense and diffuse, and "sungkan" is least intense and most specific.

Geertz (1974: 257-8) says "wedi" means roughly 'afraid', "isin" may be translated as 'shame, shyness, embarrassment, guilt'. "Wedi" is learned at the earliest stage, and to know "isin" is the first step toward maturity. There is an appreciable overlap between "wedi" and "isin". "Wedi" is a fear reaction particularly to strange things, "isin" is a complex anxiety reaction, involving not only fear but also lowered self-esteem; It is concerned with only social anxieties, usually those having to do with social distance, including distance self-imposed through social transgression.

"Sungkan" is the third feeling state associated with respect, and is something peculiarly Javanese. Geertz (1974: 258) states "sungkan" roughly refers to a feeling of respectful politeness before a superior or an unfamiliar equal, and an attitude of constraint, a repression of one's own impulses and desires, so as not to disturb the emotional equanimity of one who may be spiritually higher. While to know "isin", is simply to know the basic social proprieties of self-control and avoidance of disapproval, to know "sungkan" is to be able to perform the social minuet with grace (p. 259).

Javanese children learn these three important concepts from their parents. It is the mother who instructs the child in social form, who makes countless decisions for the child, and who enacts most punishments. The father is usually only a court of last appeal and a model for imitation. Javanese children have an intimate relationship with their fathers only for a certain time, while the relationship with the mother remains as strong
and secure as before throughout the person’s life. Javanese fathers shift their role from
one of affection and warmth to one of distance and reserve when the children are around
five years old. Through this shift, the Javanese children learn the specific Javanese

Before learning “sungkan”, Javanese children have already learned an acute awareness
of other people’s moods and opinions, an attitude of turning in on the desires of the other
person, through his education in “isin”. The child finds him/herself now feeling “isin” in
front of his father, and being told, moreover, to be “sungkan” in the father’s presence
after father shifted his role from one of affection to one of distance. The Javanese child
becomes more and more able to cope with a variety of non-family social situation,
culminating in his mastery of “sungkan” and its associated behavior patterns of etiquette
(p. 260).

Geertz (1983, 1984) also introduces the Javanese specific emotion concept “lek”.
Geertz (1983: 64) states that “lek” has been variously translated or mistranslated (‘shame’
is the most common attempt); but what it really means is close to what we call stage
fright. Stage fright consists, in the fear that, for want of skill or self-control, or perhaps
by mere accident, an aesthetic illusion will not be maintained, the actor will show through
his part (cf. also C. Geertz 1984: 130).7

The Chewong “very limited emotion vocabulary”: Signe Howell

The Chewong emotion vocabulary is worth attention in anthropological studies on
emotion. The Chewong are a small aboriginal group of hunters, gatherers, and shifting
cultivators in the tropical rain forest of Peninular Malaysia. It is reported by Howell
(1982, 1981, 1982, 1989a, 1989b) that the Chewong has a very small number of

emotion vocabulary. The Chewong would not acknowledge nor manifest their inner
states openly either verbally or in bodily terms, except for the emotions of ‘fear’ and
‘shyness’.

Howell (1981: 138) explains that, while the Chewong do experience a lot of
emotions, they try to suppress these emotions, since in Chewong modes of thought
human vulnerability is often directly linked to emotionality. The Chewong encourage
‘fear’ and ‘shyness’ but regard all other emotions as dangerous (p. 141).

According to Howell (1989b: 49), the Chewong learn to ‘fear’ as very young
children. Adults take great delight in frightening them by invoking unexperienced
horrors, such as being confronted by a Malay or a tiger. The Chewong people feel ‘fear’
towards Malays and Chinese, since they are portrayed as thieves and cheaters who will
not stop at physical violence. The Chewong believe they live in constant fear of attack
from the outside world which is considered ‘bad’ (Howell 1989a: 35, 53). Another
emotion, ‘shyness’, is also constantly invoked as a legitimate reason for failure to do
something (Howell 1989b: 49).

2.3. Research on Emotion by Psychologists

Anthropologists and psychologists have investigated emotion across cultures for
different purposes, with different methods, and from different perspectives. We will now
start to examine how the psychologists have dealt with studies on emotion.

Lazarus (1991: 40) says that the topic of emotion was neglected in psychology until
the 1960s. However, there were some important studies of emotions from various points
of view before the 1960s, which consequently facilitated the psychological studies of
emotion since that time. We will start to examine those earlier studies on emotion.

7 Myers (1976) also reports a culture specific ‘shame-like emotion concept “kuanu” in the Pitupit,
Myers, while giving the rough translation ‘shame’ for the meaning of “kuanu”, explains that the Pitupit
concept of “kuanu” includes within its range the English concept of ‘shame’, ‘embarrassment’, ‘shyness’,
and ‘respect’ (p. 141).
2.3.1. Earlier Psychological Studies of Emotion

Plutchik summarises the history of emotion studies in his book *The Psychology and Biology of Emotion* (1994). Plutchik (p. 19) categorizes the earlier studies on emotions into four: (1) "The evolutionary tradition" in the nineteenth century, when Charles Darwin, a British biologist proposed the theory of evolution, and argued that emotional expressions have an evolutionary history as well as a survival function in the life of animals; (2) "The psychophysiological tradition" during the latter half of the nineteenth century, when an American psychologist William James described how subjective feelings were temporally related to changes in autonomic physiology; (3) "The neurological tradition" during the early part of the twentieth century, when an American physician Walter Cannon identified the part of the brain that might be called the "seat of the emotions"; (4) "The Psychodynamic tradition" early in the twentieth century, when a Viennese psychiatrist Sigmund Freud formulated a new way of thinking about the mind.

Charles Darwin assumed that the process of evolution applied not only to animals but to also 'mind' and 'emotions' of human beings as well. In his famous book *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (1872) Darwin proposed that emotions increase the chances of survival by being appropriate reactions to emergency events in the environment (cf. Plutchik 1984: 197; 1994: 21).

Twelve years after Darwin had published his book on emotions, William James first published an article in 1884 in which he presented a new way of looking at emotion. He was concerned with a kind of chicken-and-egg problem; he proposed that body changes directly follow a perception of an exciting event and the feeling of these body changes is the emotions, saying "we feel sorry because we cry, angry because we strike, afraid because we tremble..." (cf. Plutchik 1994: 27, 29; 1984: 197). This idea was called the "James-Lange theory".

Walter B. Cannon tested and modified the James-Lange theory, and in his book *Body Changes in Pain, Hunger, Fear and Rage* (1929), he rejected the basic elements of the James-Lange theory. He included evidence for his own theory, which attempted to relate emotional states to brain structures (cf. Plutchik 1994: 29-31).

In 1895, Sigmund Freud published a book *Studies on Hysteria* that described the development of his new theory of the origin of this illness. At the same time, he laid the foundation for a theory of emotion. According to him, an emotion is a complex state of the individual which one infers on the basis of various classes of behavior. Although subjective feelings may provide a clue to a person's emotions, they are only one type of evidence among many others. An emotion is not synonymous with a verbal report of a supposed introspective state (cf. Plutchik 1994: 34, 39, 198).

In the following section in this chapter, we will examine in detail the recent movement of psychological studies on emotion.

2.3.2. Psychological Studies of Emotion: 1960-Present

Here we will briefly see the main stream of psychological studies on emotion since the 1960s.

I will introduce main two approaches: (1) Cognitive approaches to emotion (Schachter & Singer, Mandler, Lazarus, Ortony & Clore & Collins, Frijda); and (2) 'Universal Basic Emotion theory' approach and the study of universal facial expressions of emotions associated with this theory (Tomkins, Izard, Ekman, Plutchik). 8

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8 Another notable psychologist is Klaus Scherer who studies "vocal expression in emotion" as one area of his emotion research. Scherer (1984: 290) postulates that one of the major functions of emotion consists of the constant evaluation of external and internal stimuli in terms of their relevance for the organism and the preparation of behavioral reactions which may be required as a response to these stimuli. Scherer's claim about the important role of vocal expression in the communication of emotions has also been discussed in Plisnain & Scherer (1993: 155) (cf. also Takaoka 1995:74). Blount (1984: 135) also points out the power of the tone of voice in expression of emotions, saying:

> Even when individuals have acquired culture, and strong norms prohibit the vocal expression of emotion, they have difficulty in inhibiting the expression. Speakers are aware from experience that their speech can reveal, or betray, their emotional state, even when they try to mask the
2.3.2.(1). Cognitive Approaches to Emotion

Lazarus, Kanner & Folkman (1980: 190) state that for a long time the predominant approach to emotions in psychology has been drive-oriented rather than cognitive, despite the fact that cognitive approaches dominated psychological thought for most of its history. However, there has been a marked resurgence of interest in "cognitive" approaches to emotions in recent years (Schachter & Singer 1962; Mandler 1980; Lazarus 1984, 1991, 1995; Ortony, Clore & Collins 1988; Ortony & Clore 1989; Frijda 1986, 1993, 1995).

Stanley S. Schachter & J. E. Singer: Emotions as Verbal Labels Arousal

In 1962, Stanley Schachter and his colleague Jerome Singer published a paper describing a cognitive approach to emotions that has had a major impact on the thinking of many psychologists (Schachter & Singer 1962). Influenced by the old idea of William James, they added the assumption that a state of physiological arousal must be present; one could interpret the same state of physiological arousal as joy or anger or any other emotional state, depending on his or her interpretation of the situation. Plutchik (1994: 84) says that the study by Schachter and Singer is important in bringing attention to the role of cognitive factors -- that is, a person's interpretations -- in determining emotional states. In the real life of humans and animals, cognitive assessments of situations occur before the nervous system acts to release hormones into the blood.

George Mandler: Emotion as Cognition-Arousal Interaction

Another view of a cognition-arousal theory, similar in many respects to Schachter's views, was proposed by Mandler in his book Mind and Emotion (1975). In it he states that he is concerned with presenting a psychological concept of arousal as a basic explanatory term (Plutchik 1994: 84). Under the influence of Schachter's work, Mandler wrote his first attempt at a statement on emotion (Mandler 1962 in Mandler 1980: 222). With the radical shift to cognitive and information-processing theories, Mandler pursued organizational analyses of memory and soon became concerned with the time capacity system and with the role of consciousness in cognitive theory in general (Mandler 1980: 222). Mandler's emphasis on cognitive factors arose from an interest in the measurement and prediction of anxiety (p. 221).

Richard S. Lazarus: A Cognitive-Motivational-Relational Theory of Emotion

Lazarus has been concerned during much of his career with the relations between stress and coping in adults, and he came to this conclusion that stress and coping are part of a larger area of study -- the emotions. In 1991, he published a book, Emotion and Adaptation (1991) that describes his beliefs about the relations among all these domains (cf. Plutchik 1994: 87). Lazarus points out that the study of emotion must include the study of cognition, motivation, adaptation, and physiological activity. Emotions involve appraisals of the environment and of the individual's relationships with others.

The central idea of Lazarus's theory is the concept of "appraisal", which refers to a decision-making process that evaluates the personal harm and benefit existing in each person-environmental interaction. In Lazarus and his colleagues' theoretical analysis cognitive appraisal comes in three forms: "primary appraisal", "secondary appraisal", and reappraisal (Lazarus, Kanner & Folkman 1980: 193).9 Lazarus (1984: 247) also argues

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9 Lazarus, Kanner & Folkman (1980: 198) define emotion as: Emotions are complex, organized states consisting of cognitive appraisal, action impulse, and patterned somatic reaction. Thus, they submit that emotions and cognitions are thus inseparable, since appraisal comprises a part of the emotional reaction. Emotion is a product of cognitive activity (p. 212).
that "emotions are products of cognitive processes" and "cognitive activity is a necessary as well as sufficient condition of emotion".

Andrew Ortony, Gerald Clore, & Allan Collins

In the book by Ortony, Clore & Collins called *The Cognitive Structure of Emotions* (1988), the authors attempt to evaluate the contribution that cognition makes to emotion. The authors base their approach on the assumption that emotions arise as a result of certain cognitions or interpretations. The emotion itself is a subjective feeling or experience that human adults can report in words. Their theory assumes that emotions are reportable feelings, expressed by language and self-reports. They find Mandler's approach more attractive than other arousal/appraisal theories because of its specificity with respect to the appraisal aspect of emotion (Ortony, Clore & Collins 1988: 6).

Nico H. Frijda

In a book called *The Emotions* (1986), Nico Frijda, a Dutch psychologist, has presented a theory of emotion. In the book Frijda gives the following principle: emotions in human beings are influenced to various degrees by cognitive factors that may not operate in animals; such factors are norms, values, and self-awareness. Frijda tends to think of his theory as 'a cognitive theory' because of the emphasis placed on his analysis of the cognitive process. Frijda points out that:

This sequence is a list of 'hypothetical cognitive processes'. For further and more detailed Frijda's studies, see Frijda (1993, 1994), Frijda and Mesquita (1994), and Frijda and Tcherkassoff (1997).

2.3.2.(2). The Theory of Universal Basic Emotions

In the last two decades, there has been a great amount of psychological literature devoted to the question whether there are universal basic emotion. The authors of many of those studies believe that there are "basic emotions" which are universally associated with distinctive facial expressions. In pursuing "Basic Emotions", the research of universal facial expression has been conducted widely. Among those who believe there are "fundamental" or "basic" emotions are Silver Tomkins, Robert Plutchik, Paul Ekman, Ekman & Friesen & Ellsworth, and Carroll Izard (cf. Averill 1980: 327; Ortony, Clore & Collins 1988: 27; Smith & Scott 1997: 229).

2.3.2.(2).1. The Search for Universal Facial Expressions Associated with the Theory of Universal Basic Emotions.

Many psychologists started with the question of whether there is a set of universal basic emotions available. In order to come to an answer to this question, many psychologists tried to find out what kind of, and how may, universal facial expressions associated with basic emotions are available in the world.

For more than 100 years scientists argued about whether facial expressions are universal or specific to each culture. On one side Darwin (1872), Lorenz (1965), and Eibl-Eibesfeldt (1972) argued that facial expressions are 'in natal, evolved behavior'; On the other side, Birdwhistell (1970) Klinberg (1940), LaBarre (1947), and Mead (1975), argued that facial expression are instead like a language, 'socially leaned, culturally
controlled, and variable in learning from one setting to another' (qtd. in Ekman 1984: 319).

Most recent articles on facial expression began not with Aristotle, but with Charles Darwin. Darwin was the first to conduct what is now called a judgment study of the face, in which observers are shown photographs (or films) of facial expression, are not told what emotion the investigator thinks the face shows, and are asked to supply their own interpretation (Ekman 1973: 174). 10

The major studies concerned with question of whether basic emotions associated with universal facial expressions are available were started by Silvan Tomkins in the twentieth century. Russell & Fernandez-Dols (1997b: 9-10) state that the modern era of psychological study of facial expression began in 1962 with the publication of books on emotion by Tomkins and by Plutchik. 11 Stimulated by these books, the pace of research on facial expression accelerated through the 1970s, and by the 1980s research on the face was dominated by the Facial Expression Program, centered on a list of specific "basic emotions", mainly studied by scholars like Paul Ekman or Carroll E. Izard. Paul Ekman (1993: 384) states that Tomkins told both Ekman and Carroll Izard to study the facial expressions of emotion cross-culturally. Tomkins did not tell either Ekman or Izard about the other, which helped science because it provided independent replications. Ekman (1993b: 384) reports that he and Izard each found high agreement across members of diverse Western and Eastern literate cultures in selecting emotions terms that fit facial expression.

Sylvan S. Tomkins: Affects as Amplifiers

Tomkins assumes that there are eight basic emotions, and says that these basic emotions are "innately patterned responses" to certain types of stimuli and that we express them through a wide variety of bodily reactions particularly through facial responses.

Much of Tomkins' (1962, 1963, 1980) emphasis is on the distinction between the affect system and the motivational system. Tomkins (1980: 146) views affect as the primary innate biological motivating mechanism, more urgent than drive deprivation and pleasure and more urgent even than physical pain. In 1980, Tomkins modifies his first idea about "the theory of affect as amplification" (Tomkins 1962). Here Tomkins (p. 145-146) specifies it as analogic amplification, and he maintains it is the skin of the face, rather than its musculature, that is the major mechanism of analogic amplification. He also says that affect amplifies not only its own activator, but also the response both to that activator and to itself.

Paul Ekman: Universal Basic Emotions Theory

We should note that Ekman's dominant position in psychology is concerned with 'universal basic emotion theory'. His study of facial expressions is supposed to be evidence for this position. Ekman and Izard believe in the existence of a set of universal basic emotions and they seek to investigate the universal facial expressions associated with the basic emotions.

Ekman has undertaken various cross-cultural studies of facial expressions, either by himself or with Friesen (e.g. experiments in Papua New Guinea in 1971; judgments of emotions in five literate cultures; Japan, the United States, Brazil, Chile, Argentina in 1971) (Ekman 1973: 219).
Ekman (1973: 219-220; 1989: 151; 1992: 175) performed experiments where people in each culture were shown photographs of facial expressions and asked to select a single emotion word or category from a list of words or categories. High agreement was found in the specific emotions assigned to facial expressions across five literate cultures, both Western or non-Western. Ekman posits that there is a finite set of discrete and universal basic facial expressions of emotions that can be identified by the English words happiness, sadness, anger, fear, surprise, disgust, or by their corresponding adjectives (1973, 1980). In Ekman (1992: 175) and Ekman (1993: 384) he no longer includes surprise but adds enjoyment to the basic emotions. From these experiments, Ekman (1973: 219; 1993:384) concludes that these basic facial expressions of emotions, labelled with English words, are 'universal human emotions'.

**Paul Ekman & W. V. Friesen: Judgements of Facial Expressions**

In pursuing the topic of the existence of universal 'basic emotions', Ekman and Friesen have published various cross-cultural studies concerned with recognition of facial expressions associated with basic emotions: e.g. in the United States, Brazil, and Japan (Ekman, Sorenson, & Friesen 1969); as well as the Fore linguistic cultural group of Southeastern new Guinea (Ekman & Friesen 1971): They concluded that 'particular facial expression are universally associated with particular emotions' (in Plutchik 1994: 153-154). Ekman and Friesen agreed "with Tomkins and with Darwin that there are distinctive movements of the facial muscles for each of a number of primary affect states, and these are universal to mankind" (Ekman 1994c: 270). Ekman and Friesen called their theory 'neuro-cultural' because it emphasises two very different sets of determinants of facial expressions, one which is responsible for universals and the other for cultural differences (in Ekman 1994c: 270).

**Carroll Z. Izard: Differential Emotions Theory**

One of Tomkins's close collaborators has been Carroll Izard. In recent years, particularly in relation to the role of facial expressions in emotions, he has extended the theory that Tomkins first proposed (Plutchik 1994: 80). Izard (1971), working independently with his own set of faces, obtained comparable results across seven other culture-language groups (qut. in Ekman 1974: 11), and in 1979 he published his own technique for selectively measuring those facial movements that he thought were relevant to emotion (qut. in Ekman 1993: 385).

Izard proposes that affects are primarily facial responses. Following Tomkins, Izard states that there are several fundamental emotions from which all others can be combined. Sometimes he lists eight fundamental emotions, and sometimes ten. Izard (1977) proposed the "differential emotions theory" which represents a framework for investigating the interrelationship between the emotion processes and other subsystems of human personality. Izard & Buechler (1980) comment on this theory as follows:

Basic to the theory is its conception of a fundamental emotion as a complex motivational phenomenon with characteristic neurophysiological, expressive, and experiential components. Ten discrete emotions are described, each with its innately programmed neurophysiological substrate, universally recognized facial expression, and motivational subjective experience. (p. 165)

The theory is that the life experience of the individual determines the affective-cognitive interactions and affective-cognitive structures that are formed. The events that are associated with the expressions of a fundamental emotion are important factors in the development of these structures or orientations, which, in turn, mediate much of the individual's later experience. (p. 175).


**2.3.2.(2).2. Display Rules**

Although there is, according to Ekman and Izard, a basic set of basic emotion associated with universal facial expressions, facial expressions of emotion will often be
culture-specific. Ekman tried to explain this phenomena by saying that this happens because of the "display rules". "Display rules" are social techniques learned early in life for the management and control of facial appearance, and the display rule specifies which of the management techniques should be applied to which facial behavior and under what circumstances (Ekman 1974: 9). Izard agrees with this idea that each culture has its own "display rules" (Izard & Buechler 1980: 167).

Cultures can differ in display rules and norms regarding the expected management of facial appearance. Examples of display rules in many Western cultures are: males should not cry; females should not show anger; losers should not cry in public and winners should not look too happy about winning. These display rules are learned early in childhood as well as later, so that they vary with social class and ethnic background within cultures, as well as across cultures (Ekman 1984: 320).

Here, we will illustrate some examples of "display rules" with reference to 'anger'-like emotions in different cultures in order to examine the differences of display rules in different cultures.

Wilan (1990: 10) reports that when Balinese people feel 'angry (benjat)', they use a technique for dealing with anger, where one makes oneself "forget" it and "drive it away". Otherwise, anger would further undermine one's vital life force. Similarly Rosaldo (1984: 152) remarks that the Illongot people seem quite capable of "forgetting anger" in those contexts where a show of violence has no place. According to the Illongot, anger can be dissolved and forgotten easily. Rosaldo holds that because of the way the Illongot conceptualise anger they are able to forget it in a way we cannot and there are not bothered by repressed anger (D'Andrade 1995: 227). The Illongot believe that anger is so dangerous it can destroy society (Rosaldo in Shweder 1985: 186).

In India, 'anger' and 'rage' in women is highly destructive of everything of value and must be brought under control for the sake of social order (Shweder 1993: 426). In Javanese culture, people dislike any strong expression of emotions such as 'anger' (Geertz 1974: 25). Myers (1976: 153) reports that when Pintupi people feel "rarru", their term for the concept of 'anger', people's ears become "closed", they cannot hear persuasion or the attempts of outside parties to calm them down. One who is really feeling "rarru" will not feel sorry for the objects of his anger; he will kill them.

In Samoan culture, there is literally no socially acceptable way of directly expressing anger against one's parent. People will channel their anger into mild, less disruptive feelings. In Samoan culture, suppressed "immoral" feelings are primarily concerned with anger toward social superiors and demands that they are in a position to enforce (cf. Gerber 1985: 154-155). Gerber (p. 137-138) states that Samoan people offer very few descriptions of internal sensation, and summarises that Samoans are primarily concerned with social interactions and important relationships in which emotion play a role.

As we have seen in the previous section on the anthropological study of emotion, the Chewong people are reported to suppress all emotions except 'fear' and 'shyness'. The suppression of emotionality is manifest in all Chewong personal bearing and social intercourse (Howell 1981: 140). Therefore, while it is recognized that anyone might experience 'anger' at some time, and, engage in a quarrel, most would not admit to having done so (Howell 1989b: 54). When adults get upset about someone's behavior, they tend not to confront the protagonist, but withdraw into themselves (p. 54). 12

It has also been claimed that there are cultures which consider the expression of 'anger'-like feeling rather positively. Solomon (1984: 243) says that Americans give far more importance to the emotions of anger and moral indignation than do the Russians or Japanese. As long as the feeling is expressed in a controllable way, expressing 'anger' is not bad at all in American culture.

12 However, as Howell (1981: 135) says, the suppression of emotions does not mean that inner states are absent among the Chewong. The Chewong are great story-tellers, and many of their legends include examples of rules being broken, so we can see the word 'anger' appearing in stories (p. 141). For example, the following are extracts from the Chewong story (Howell 1982: 59):

The elder brother was angry for he wished to marry the girl himself, but the aunt did not want to give her daughter to him. (p. 59)

When the man who had eaten the stomach contents returned home, his wife was angry with him for being late. (p. 74)
Schieffelin (1985) states that people in the Kaluli culture find 'anger' a fascinating and problematic emotion. In the Kaluli culture, the display of 'anger' is frequently meant to be a forceful plea for support. The anger gains a particular rhetorical force, a certain measure of legitimacy, and a set of social implications from the way it is situated in the scenario of reciprocity (Schieffelin 1985: 176). For Kaluli people 'anger' is an affect that is both feared and admired (p. 173).

We will continue to examine the major studies of the display rules linked to their 'anger'-like emotions in non-Western cultures as observed by anthropologists like Levy (Tahiti), Rosaldo (the Illogan), Lutz (the Ifaluk), and Briggs (the Utku Fakimo).

"Riri" in Tahiti : Robert Levy

The Tahitians, according to Levy (1989a), place an unusual amount of emphasis on anger. They talk about it and theorise about it extensively, and this 'anger' feeling is 'hypercognized' in their culture. 13 Levy (1973: 284) says that the ordinary word for 'anger' in Tahiti is 'riri'. In Tahiti, 'anger' is generally portrayed as a bad thing, although it may be useful in small amounts. Levy (1973) describes Tahitians' attitudes towards an emotion of "riri (roughly 'anger')" as follows:

"...once one is angry the proper thing to do is to express it, preferably by angry words, so that one's anger may calm down. (...) Unexpressed anger has bad effects on one's body: it may give one trouble in one's head or heat. There are people who have died from anger. (...) [Tahitian people say] 'If there is a time you are angry, don't hold it inside of you', "...If you are angry at that man, don't procrastinate, go and talk to him, finish it. And afterward, things will be all right again between you, things will be finished'." (p.285)

Expressing anger implies...an attempt to tell somebody you are angry in order to correct the cause of the anger. (p. 286)

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13 The Tahitian peoples' disposition is gentle to an extreme. There are, in fact, extremely few reports of angry behavior. Yes, occasional wife-beating, and even husband-beating by wives, is noted (Levy 1973: 274-275).

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If someone else is mad at you, try not to let it build up. If you do get angry, however, express it by talking out your anger, so that things can be corrected and you will not be holding it in. Express your anger, if possible, by verbal rather than physical means. (p. 287)

Thus, avoiding giving and taking provocation to anger and being quick to seek ways to make peace with one another is important in Tahitian culture.

"Song" in the Ifaluk: Catherine Lutz

According to Lutz (1985b:87), the word "song" is closest to English 'anger', and she translates this as "justified anger" because it represents a view that one has observed a violation of cultural norms and values. "Song" is an emotion of moral outrage, and is considered more appropriately felt by an elder or one of higher rank, who presumably has greater knowledge of norms as well as moral legitimacy (Lutz 1983: 249). Ifaluk people stress nonaggression, cooperation, sharing, and obedience within the system of ranking. The nearly complete absence of physical aggression on Ifaluk means it is one of the world's least violent societies (p. 248).

Lutz (1985b: 51) remarks that in Ifaluk people "may not look 'angry' or 'irritated', but may still have 'angry thoughts/emotions'. Men, in particular, should and do suppress their 'anger'." Lutz continues:

One may also 'hide' laughter or tears in an inappropriate situation, but such masking is observable to others. The object of keeping a state an internal one is not to conceal the fact that one is experiencing a particular emotion, but rather to avoid conflict or other unpleasant social consequences. In general, however, there is little emphasis on the masking of emotion. (...) There are several ideas in common use which point out the importance of hiding oneself of unpleasant or disruptive 'thoughts/emotions'... (p. 51)

According to Lutz (1983: 253), the trait of 'calmness' arises not from an inner tranquility, but rather from a hyper-awareness of cultural norms and of the consequences of one's behavior. Yet, Lutz (1986b: 279) reports that "song" is said to be 'good' for people (and especially parents) to feel and express when a wrongdoing has occurred. It
is only through the observation of their parents' "song" in particular situation that children are said to learn the difference between right and wrong. 14

Never 'anger' amongst the Utku Eskimos?: Jean Briggs

Briggs (1970) states that the Utku Eskimo do not express anger, nor talk about it, nor have a word for it. The extreme rarity of 'anger' among the Utku (Briggs 1970) is often cited as the test case of cultural values resulting in the nearly complete suppression of an emotion. According to Briggs (1970), 'angry' thoughts and acts are considered to be dangerous by the Utku Eskimos. It is felt that 'angry' people are always likely to lose control; they may ultimately commit murder and are, thus, frightening. Briggs says that 'anger' situations in Utku culture are rare or absent. They are so rare that they do not get the opportunity to express this emotion.

Briggs (1978: 60) reports that the concept "inhuma" plays an important role "in the control of violence" (p.60). A person who has "inhuma" does not sulk, scold, get annoyed, or attack others physically, while a person who lacks "inhuma" will be easily upset and frightened; and easily angered or annoyed (Briggs 1970: 268). Briggs (1970: 375) gives the following gloss as a reference point, not as an accurate and complete definition for this important Utku concept "inhuma": "inhuma" refers to all functions that we think of as cerebral: mind, thought, memory, reason, sense, ideas, will. "Inhuma" is the criterion of humanness and maturity (Briggs 1978: 60). A mature and good person is one who is governed by "inhuma".

However, scholars such as Lazarus (1993: 11) claim that 'anger' is not absent in the Utku, even if the title of Briggs's well known book Never in Anger (1970) seems to suggest that the Utku lack anger completely in their culture. Lazarus points out that

14 Another important Ifaluk emotion concept, "metag", is the reciprocal emotion of "song". It is "metag" that is the emotion considered most responsible for obedient and good behaviour. Good people in Ifaluk are those who anticipate the "song" of others, are consequently the "metag" of their own potential for wrongdoing, and hence behave in a calm, nonaggressive manner. "Metag" is seen as something that the child should experience (cf. Lutz 1983: 252, 255; 1968b: 270).

2.4. Objections against the Theory of Universal Basic Emotions

'anger' is applied selectively, for example, as aggression against dogs and birds. He also points out that the Utku children display emotions which seem 'hostile'. Oatley (1993: 342) also insists that Briggs's study (1970) 'does not prove that the Utku are a people without 'anger'. They regularly sulk when challenged...and ...routinely beat and otherwise abuse dogs" (p. 814).

In fact, in a recent article, Briggs (1995: 203) accepts the opinion of Anna Wierzbicka who remarked how dangerous it is to claim the absence of something unless one has been looking for it directly and very hard. Therefore, she now acknowledges that the absence of the word for 'anger' does not mean the absence of that emotion in the Utku culture. She assumes that the meaning of an emotion is constituted by the ways in which it enters into social and psychological life: the values placed on the emotion, the perceived causes and consequences of feeling the emotion, the other emotions to which it is conceptually and experientially related and so on. 15

2.4.2.3. (4) in this chapter.

15 This point that the absence of a word does not mean an absence of the concept is further discussed in 2.4.2.3. (4) in this chapter.
2.4.1. Problems with Using the "Forced-choice" Method

Van Brakel (1994: 88) claims that, while experiments of the "forced choice" type are used in most cases for justifying the universal facial expression of emotions, such experiments cannot tell us whether a labelled facial expression corresponds to the "concept expressed".

It was a psychologist Russell (1993) who clearly pointed out the problem of this "forced-choice" method. Russell presents the potential problem with forced choice as follows (cf. also Russell 1994):

...consider the situation in which the list of response options fails to include a label for the observer's spontaneous categorization of the expression. It might be thought that such a situation would be immediately obvious because (s)he would react in one way to a flaw, (s)he would respond to a flaw. However, this situation might instead yield a consensus on one of the available labels—or at least, which is the prediction from several possible accounts of categorization, for example, by one account, or labeled a facial expression to select the available label closest to that expression within a structural model. (p. 42)

With forced choice, subjects select not what emotion is signalled but must select the best option available. Given different options, they choose different labels. Thus, forced choice can yield a consensus even on what researchers have generally concluded is the wrong answer. (p. 46)

In Ekman (1994b: 282), Ekman argues against Russell's arguments about the possible limitations in the use of a forced-choice response format (Russell argued that other emotions might have been recognized if only they had been included among the options), as follows: "I described new findings that show that subjects who could choose their own emotion terms to describe the emotions shown in a face evidence as much agreement as has been reported in the many cross-cultural studies in which subjects were restricted to a forced choice". Ekman (p. 280) insists that "It is not just emotion labels that should be our proper concern". Izard (1994) also argues against Russell's critique of the forced-choice format, saying that "the forced-choice format", perhaps with some modification, is an acceptable method for estimating adult subjects' capacity to classify facial expressions into emotion categories (p. 293).

However, the linguist Wierzbicka (1992a: 307; 1995c: 236) also refutes the "forced-choice method", for example, by saying:

The 'high agreement' between informants may be due to a limited choice of the options presented to them rather than to any real uniformity of interpretation. (Wierzbicka 1995c: 237)

...if people are provided with a set of photographs and wit a list of words and are instructed to match one with the other, it can hardly be concluded that they 'recognise' or 'identify' certain emotions in those photographs. At the most, it can be claimed that people prefer to link a smiling face with one of the words provided (in English, happiness), and a non-smiling face with the eyes wide open with another word (in English, fear) than vice versa. (Wierzbicka 1992a: 307)

2.4.2. Problems with Uncertainty as to the Number of Universal Basic Emotions

Ortony & Turner (1990: 315) raise the problem that there is little agreement among psychologists about how many emotions are basic, which emotions are basic, and why they are basic (also Turner and Ortony 1992: 574). Pihlak (1994b: 57) presents Kemper's list of a fixed set of basic emotions proposed by those who have embraced the concept of basic emotions. Among those who propose the existence of basic emotions, there is no agreement on the number of basic emotions (cf. also Van Brakel 1994: 185).

The smallest number is three and the large number is eleven, while most proposals list five to nine emotions. For example, 'contempt' is believed to be a basic emotion only by

16 While Ortony and Turner (1990) also reject the hypothesis of "basic emotions" proposed by Ekman or Izard, they "do not dispute the fact that there are universal facial expressions associated with certain emotions" (Turner and Ortony 1992: 565). On this issue, Ortony and Turner say that they differ from Ekman and Izard "in terms of how we interpret this evidence and in terms of which aspects of facial displays we consider to be of greatest scientific interest". They consider the hypothesis of basic emotions in terms of dissociable components that are innate: "we wanted to sketch an alternative way of thinking about emotions in which the basic elements would not be basic emotions, but components of emotions" (Turner & Ortony 1990: 566).
Izard (1977) and Tomkins (1984), and the states of 'interest' and 'surprise' are both thought to be basic emotions only by Frijda (1986), Izard (1977), and Tomkins (1984) (in Ortony & Turner 1990: 315). Even Ekman lists a different number of basic emotions in different articles. Ekman (1974: 12; 1994b 281) also reports that among the Dani, people did not discriminate 'fear' from 'surprise' consistently, although both words are often included in a set of basic emotion by many scholars.

Frijda & Mesquita (1994: 73) claim that the intercultural differences which elaborate rules or rituals are the big factor which decide which emotions are important in a certain culture. For example, it is often said (Levy 1973, 1984b) that in Tahiti, emotions like 'anger', 'shame', or 'fear' are 'hypercognized', which means there are a large number of culturally provided schemata for interpreting and dealing with these emotions, while 'sadness' and 'guilt' are 'hypocognized', receiving much less conceptual attention in that culture. Heelas (1986: 240) cites the following examples of 'hypercognized' focal emotions in different cultures: e.g. 'love' and 'guilt' in English; 'fear' and 'shyness' for the Chewong; 'passion' or 'liget (roughly 'anger')' for the Illocot; 'lek' for the Balinese; "sungkan" for the Javanese, etc.

From the perspective of the Japanese people, the inclusion of an emotion "disgust" as a basic emotion is not convincing. Although Ekman (1973: 204-206) reports that 90 percent of Japanese people chose the word 'disgust' for the picture he had shown to them, that was possible because the task of the subjects in the study was just to choose one word for the facial expression from already chosen emotion words. If the word 'disgust' was not given to the Japanese subjects, they would have become puzzled as to what kind of emotion the picture expressed. Just looking at the picture shown in Ekman (1973: 206), Japanese people might think that this is the facial expression for when they feel puzzled, sleepy, or tired. This is because Japanese people don't have a clear image of the facial expression of 'disgust'. Nakamura (1998: 32-33) explains that the expressing of feeling such as 'disgust' should be suppressed in Japanese culture, since Japanese culture puts a high value on keeping harmonious interpersonal relationships where an individual person depends on other people. In such a culture, showing a strong negative emotion such as 'disgust' is a taboo. Therefore, Japanese people tend to exercise control not to show the facial expression of 'disgust' outwardly. Consequently, they don't have a concrete image of the facial expression for 'disgust'. Nakamura notes that in a country such as the United States, 'disgust' is a justified emotion one would have towards injustice in society, and expressing such an emotion would not disturb interpersonal relationships (p. 32). People in the United States usually feel 'disgust' towards social problems such as racism or murder, so they don't hesitate to show 'disgust' outwardly.17

Izard (1994: 297) says that more research is required to determine the number of emotions that have universal expression, considering the cultural differences in attitudes about the expression of different emotions and the impact of these attitudes on the development of personality and social relations. However, I do not think we could specify the number of basic emotion words associated with facial expressions, for several reasons. First of all, as is also pointed out by Shweder (1985: 191), how could we depend on the forced choice methods used by Ekman or Izard where one justifies the existence of universal basic emotions using pictures of facial expressions, when one thinks of the existence of emotions which would not be directly expressed by facial expressions in some cultures? Furthermore, Russell (1995: 379) points out that some emotions can occur without facial expression, and some facial expressions can occur without emotions.

2.4.3. The Problem in Using English-specific Language for Labelling Basic Emotions

17 Nakamura (1998: 33) says that, in comparison with the American people, Japanese people express "sadness" more outwardly. He explains that this is because in Japan, by expressing sad feelings outwardly, Goe could expect other people to help them. This is possible in Japan where emotional inter-depends. "cry is allowed. On the other hand, in the United States, where individual independence is highly valued, people who show sad feelings are labelled as being unable to manage their lives by themselves.
The biggest problem for psychologists who claim 'universal and innate recognition of basic emotions from facial signals', as Russell (1997: 307) emphasises, is their presupposition that all human beings recognise the same categories of emotion as English speaking people do. If we keep using the English-specific labels such as 'anger', 'disgust', 'fear', happiness' or 'sadness' for universal emotions it seems that all people must divide the emotions as English speakers do — many of psychology's major theories of emotions assume so. Anthropologists and linguists have offered examples that appear to refute this assumption (e.g. Briggs 1970; Howell 1981; Levy 1973; Lutz and Abu-Lughod 1990; Rosaldo 1980; Russell 1991, 1994, 1995, 1997; Wierzbicka 1986a, 1988a, 1992a, 1992b, 1993b, 1995a, 1995b, 1995c, 1996b, 1998a, 1999b).

Through many anthropological works on emotions, we now know that problems occur if we study emotions only from an English-specific viewpoint, because: (1) Some languages do not distinguish between emotions labelled separately in English; (2) Some languages provide distinctions unavailable in English; (3) Some languages include emotion concepts that have no exact equivalent in English; (4) There are important English words without any counterparts in other languages.

(1) Some languages do not distinguish between emotions labelled separately in English

According to Leff (1973), some African languages use the same word for 'anger' and 'sorrow'. Samoans do not distinguish 'hate' from 'disgust' (Gerber 1985); The Javanese do not distinguish 'shame' from 'guilt' (Geertz 1959 in Russell 1989: 295). The Tahitians do not distinguish 'shame' from 'embarrassment' (Levy 1984b: 40). The English distinction between 'shame' and 'fear' is not made by Gidjingali aborigines of Australia (Hiatt 1978 in Russell 1991: 430).

(2) Some languages provide distinctions unavailable in English

The Tahitians lexically distinguish "i'ari'a" fear as a present experience ('I am afraid now because the dog is biting me'), from "matu'u" anticipatory fear ('I fear that the dog might bite me' "I am afraid of dogs") (Levy 1984b: 401). Other examples of the distinctions unavailable in English are: the distinction between 'metanga' ('fear' of future events) and 'rus' ('fear of confrontation with present event) in Ifaluk; distinction between 'ker' ('pleasant surprise') and 'rus' ('unpleasant') in Ifaluk; distinction among three words; 'iqihi' ('fear of physical injury) and 'iliira' ('fear of being treated unkindly); 'sipeq' ('fear of exploding' when on the verge of tears because of bottled-up hostility) in Inuit (Van Brakel 1994: 195).

(3) Some languages include emotion concepts that have no exact equivalent in English

Some culture specific emotions were observed in 2.2.2. of this chapter. Examples of these are: Javanese "sungkan", a feeling state associated with respect, (Geertz 1973, 1974, 1983, 1984); "fago" which involves aspects of compassion, pity, sadness, and love in the Ifaluk (Lutz 1986b, 1987, 1988, 1995); "liget", which is translated as "passion, energy, anger" by Rosaldo (1980, 1984); "lek" in Balinese has previously been translated as 'shame' and 'guilt', but Geertz concluded that the translation is inappropriete (Geertz 1973, 1974, 1984); "kunta", which covers English 'shame, embarrassment, shyness, respect' in Pintupi (Myers 1976); "arofo" which implies empathetic pitiful suffering because of the suffering of others in Tahiti (Levy 1973, 1984b). Other examples are: Japanese "amae", a pleasant feeling of 'sweet dependence' among adults that is valued positively (Doi 1974a, 1981); "alofa" which covers English 'love, empathy, pity, liking' in Samoan (Gerber 1985); "nguch", which expresses a feeling comparable to what is described in English as 'sick and tired' or 'fed up' in the Ifaluk (Lutz: 1985b) and "watjiipa" which covers English 'melancholy, lonely, pining', being wider than 'homesickness', and akin to, but different from 'sadness, depression, worry' in Pintupi (Myers 1976). Although these culture-specific emotions are described
in relation to the English lexicon for emotion, the English words do not provide an adequate means by which to convey the meaning.

(4) **There are important English words missing altogether in other languages**

Russell (1991: 441) gives a table where so-called 'basic English emotion words' are missing in some languages. The following are the examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emotion</th>
<th>Missing in Language 1</th>
<th>Language 2</th>
<th>Language 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Disgust</td>
<td>Missing in</td>
<td>Polish (Wierzbicka 1986),</td>
<td>Howell (1981)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ibadan (Lutz 1980)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chewang (Howell 1981)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Levy (1973) observes that the Tahitians use a more general word for 'sadness', treating 'sadness, fatigue, longing, loneliness, depression' together and he notes it not as an emotion but as something closer to physical illness. Levy (1973: 342) also observes that Tahitians have "no words which signify anything like a sense of 'guilt'." Sim 'wa:' a word for 'guilt' is missing from the Ilango (Rosado 1983: 139-140), Pintupi (Morice 1978: 93), and Samoan (Gerber 1975).

Briggs' famous book *Never in Anger* (1970) seems to suggest that Utku-Inuit people lack the concept 'anger' in their culture. However, as van Brakel (1994: 183) points out, while among Utgu anger is never justified, this does not mean that they never express it, although this occurs only very rarely. Similarly, Levy (1984) observes that while Tahitians do not have the concept 'anger', 'sadness' nevertheless was apparent in the behavior of Tahitians. Tahitians show sad expressions and behavior when experiencing a rejection by a loved one, but they interpret that as sickness, not sadness, and do not relate it to the rejection. Levy concludes that even though the Tahitian language may not have an equivalent for the English word 'sadness', the Tahitians still apparently feel and express this emotion in their everyday lives.

Wierzbicka (1995: 243) comments on this Tahitian attitude towards 'sadness' as follows: 'This does not mean the Tahitians never feel sad but it does suggest that the feeling has different status in that culture to compare with 'sadness' in English speaking culture. Lazarus (1991: 193) also remarks that "the problem is to decide whether Tahitians are (a) reacting with 'sadness' ... but labelling the reaction with a distinctive, culturally based word; (b) experiencing sadness but denying it; (c) reacting to an emotion other than sadness, which for arguments' sake could be called bodily distress; or (e) responding emotionally to different circumstances than people of other cultures where the experience of sadness is common. Ekman & Davidson (1994: 415) note that "To determine whether an emotion is truly absent in a culture would require that anthropologists and psychologists collaborate in careful examination of such a culture".

Matsumoto (1996: 116) further says that "we should be able to obtain glimpses of how a culture constructs reality by the way it identifies and labels concepts via language".

Thus, the absence of a word in one language to designate the particular emotion that might be referred to by a word in another does not mean that people in cultures using the first language cannot and do not experience that emotion (Wierzbicka 1986b). Previously it was mentioned that Chewong is famous for its small emotion vocabulary. Yet, as van Brakel (1994: 96) says, "even a small emotion vocabulary doesn't necessarily mean that people would 'have' few emotions". There are reasons why emotions are not talked about or are only referred to indirectly. In the case of Chewong, Howell could identify only 28 words referring to inner states, since in that culture, except for 'fear' and 'shyness which are socially approved, all other emotions are regarded as inappropriate and as something that should be suppressed.

Bellielli (1995: 500) states that "labeling an emotion is not a process of mere categorization, having no other effect. Indeed, it is an important means by which individuals process their own emotional experiences and reconstruct their interior world and their own image, giving them coherence". Harré (1986 in Logan 1998: 12) notes that words themselves divide and categorize the inner world of "feelings" according to
social and cultural beliefs and values. Different words can refer to the same actual feeling but using different (culturally influenced) criteria of categorisation.

Thus, there are several important controversies over the question whether attribution (recognition) of emotions from facial expressions is universal. Three contributors to a book edited by Ekman & Davidson (1994: 145) -- Averill, Scherer, Shweder -- deny that there are basic emotions. Shweder (1994: 43) even says, "my answer to the question 'are there basic emotions?' is 'Do no trust anyone who says they really know'."

3. A LINGUISTIC APPROACH TO STUDY OF EMOTION AND THE "NSM" METHOD FOR EXPLICATING EMOTION WORDS/EXPRESSIONS

In this chapter we will discuss the importance of a linguistic approach to the study of emotion. A rigorous linguistic framework, which will be used as a methodology in this thesis, will be introduced, to explicate the exact meaning of emotion words/expressions and the cultural scripts associated with them. Using this methodology, namely the "Natural Semantic Metalanguage" approach, we will clarify how this approach can solve the problems concerning study of emotions study which could not be solved by other approaches; especially the problems of 'translation', 'definition', and 'ethnocentricity' which have occurred mainly in non-linguistic, psychological, anthropological, or philosophical approaches.

3.1. Why and How is Linguistic Approach Important for the Study of Emotion?

While the study of prototypical emotions has been widely pursued by psychologists, (e.g. the 'differential emotion theory' of Ekman or Izard; Plutchik's 'psychoevolutionary theory' of emotions (cf. Blount 1984: 128)), the study of emotions in linguistics has until recently been relatively neglected.

However, a linguistic study on emotion is indispensable for improving the quality of integral emotion study in many respects. For example, Clore & Ortony (1987: 371) explain the importance of studying the language of emotions as follows:

Natural language items allow us to make many more distinctions between different emotions and between different intensities of the same emotion than can be captured in facial expressions, physiological indication, or any combination of these.
The anthropologist Lutz (1986b: 267) also supports the important function of language in emotion research by stating that words are important for labelling an internal state as well as for communicating the nature of one's internal state to others. In the first section of this chapter, we will clarify why and how the linguistic study of emotion is important, first of all, by pointing out the weaknesses of the major psychological studies which result from their lack of interest in language issues (3.1.1.), and then by showing how a linguistic study can contribute significantly to solving these problems (3.1.2.). The observations in this section will be followed by further discussion in the next section 3.2., where we will examine ways in which the proposed linguistic approach can efficiently solve the problems which arose in psychological studies of emotion.

3.1.1. Negative Views of Psychologists on the Importance of Language in Emotion Study

One of the major psychologists of emotion, Carroll E. Izard, is aware of the difficulty concerning the language issue in the study of emotion. Izard (1994: 295) states that "emotion recognition is a difficult task and that emotion labelling is much more difficult than emotion recognition". However, most major psychologists studying emotion, including Izard himself, do not pay much attention to the language problem/issue in their studies. For example, Paul Ekman (1994c: 270), one of the most representative psychologists of emotions, underestimates the important issue of words in the study of emotion by claiming that "emotion terms can be thought of as a kind of shorthand, an abbreviated way to refer to a package of events and processes that comprise the phenomenon". In his studies in the last few decades, Ekman defends the position that it is not necessary to pay a great deal of attention to the linguistic problems in the study of emotion. Consider the following comments by Ekman (1994c):

Words are superb for describing actions, direction, locations, thoughts, and so on, but emotions are hard to capture with words, particularly with single emotion terms. (p. 279)

We never claimed that facial expression evolved to represent specific verbal labels. Nor did we say that the meaning of an expression is limited to or best captured by a specific, single word. We used emotion labels for a very specific purpose: to demonstrate that despite all of the problems associated with labelling the emotion shown in a facial expression, subjects would do better than chance in this task. (p. 270)

From my theoretical perspective, emotions are not reducible to labels. An emotion label is a shorthand that stands for a number of processes and responses that occur during an emotion... (p. 282)

Ekman (1994c: 282) tries to justify his lack of interest in language as follows: "I have not been primarily interested in emotion words but in facial expression and more generally in emotion. Emotions words were but one tool we used to understand expression, in particular to counter the position that reigned before our work that facial expression is socially learned and completely culture specific". In addition, Ekman & Davidson (1994: 46), criticizing Scherer who agrees in emphasizing the important function of language in emotion study, state that "the evidence for universality [of emotions] is not limited to words, but includes studies of expression that did not involve words as well as studies of physiology, antecedents, and so on". Similarly, another psychologist Lazarus (1991: 193) affirms: "I am emphasizing that emotions are primarily psychological and not so much linguistic phenomena".

Plutchik (1994: 15-16) also says that verbal reports are not wholly adequate ways to describe emotions, because, for example: verbal reports of emotions may be deliberate attempts to deceive another person; verbal reports of emotions may be distortion or partial truths for conscious or unconscious reasons; reports of emotions depend on an individual's particular conditioning history, as well as his or her facility with words; young children or mentally defective people are unable to provide expression to their emotions as non-disabled adult people can do; observers may erroneously assume that no emotion exists because the subject has reported none, etc. Plutchik (p. 16) concludes that
"A verbal report of an inner emotional state is only a rough approximation of whatever that states is".

3.1.2. The Importance of the Linguistic Study of Emotions

Thus, psychologists have often dismissed problems/issues on language as matters of connotation, cultural emphasis, etc. They argue that what is truly important is not a question of word meanings, but of real psychological processes. However, in reality we cannot ignore the important function of language in the study of emotion. If we take the psychologists' tack which underestimates the significance of language study, we cannot avoid the many problems.

One major reason why the meaning of emotion words is of fundamental importance to psychology is that, as Fehr and Russell put it: Part of the psychologists' job is to understand emotion concepts as people use them in everyday life. In this light, semantic differences between words in the emotion lexicon should be viewed as part of the phenomena to be investigated. Studying words and phrases which people use on a daily basis to describe their emotional experiences is an invaluable key to understanding the folk psychology of the culture which makes use of that language (Fehr and Russell 1984: 483).


Among these scholars, Wierzbicka (cf. e.g. 1994a, 1999b) in particular criticises most psychologists' failure to recognize the importance of language. Wierzbicka (1994a) claims that psychologists do not see language as a reflection of thought; in their studies of human emotions, they tend to rely on measures such as reaction time, rate of learning, developmental sequences, "semantic memory" experiments, ranking of various terms, sorting tasks and so on. Wierzbicka is opposed to such approaches, saying: "When human beings try to study human beings there is no escape from language, and even supposedly nonlinguistic methods themselves are also based on unconscious (and often unjustified) linguistic assumption" (1994a: 432).

In her book Emotions across Languages and Cultures (1999b: 28), Wierzbicka strongly argues for the importance of words in discussing emotions. She remarks that "the most important role for linguistics in 'emotion research' is to emphasize the 'non-transparency' of the language of description and the trap waiting for those who declare that they want to study 'emotions as such' and 'are not interested in language'" (p. 28). Wierzbicka says this is because "language stands between researchers and the 'emotion' that they wish to investigate and it cannot be ignored" (p. 28). Wierzbicka quotes the psychologist Lazarus (1995), who has criticised her approach:

Wierzbicka suggests that I underestimate the depth of cultural variation in emotion concepts as well as the problem of language (p. 250)

Words have power to influence, yet -- as in the Whorfian hypotheses will large -- they cannot override the life conditions that make people sad or angry, which they can sense to some extent without words...

I am suggesting, in effect, that all people experience anger, sadness, and so forth, regardless of what they call it. Words are important, but we must not deny them.

(Lazarus in Wierzbicka 1999b: 28)

Wierzbicka insists on the importance of words in the study of emotion, criticizing Lazarus for his reluctance to concede that there is a problem in the psychological study of emotion. She rejects Lazarus' criticisms, arguing that "But by refusing to pay attention to
differences between different languages, scholars who take this position end up doing precisely what they wished to avoid, that is, 'deifying' some words from their own native language and reifying the concepts encapsulated in them" (Wierzbicka 1999b: 28).

Wierzbicka emphasises two equally important reasons why words matter for the study of emotion: (1) words provide clues to other people's conceptualizations; (2) it is only by studying words that we can go beyond words:

First, words provide clues to other people's conceptualizations. Pace [sic] Harris, Ekman, Lazarus, Pinker, and many others, it is words more than anything, which allow us access to the "emotional universe" of people from another culture. Second, it is only by studying words that we can go beyond words. For example, if we are interested in "emotions" and uninterested in words...we still have to take enough interest in words to notice that English words such as sadness, enjoyment, or anger are no more than the cultural artefacts of one particular language. (Wierzbicka 1999b: 28-29)

See also Harkins & Wierzbicka (2000) for further reference on the importance of languages in emotion study.

3.2. The Problem in the Study of Emotion: The Reliance on the English Language

In the last decade there has been an explosion of psychological literature on emotions, and a number of different schools of thought have emerged. Despite their merits, most of these studies by contemporary psychologists, as Wierzbicka (1992a: 286) points out, "suffer from one important flaw: they seem oblivious to the problem of language. In particular, most of them take English emotion terms for granted and use English words...as if they stood for universal concepts and were reliable tools in the investigation of emotions".

As we have seen in section 2.4.3. of chapter 2, and also as Van Brakel (1994: 189) points out, there has been a great deal of the problem of language-specific 'ethnocentricty' in the major psychological literature available on emotion study. These studies discuss the existence of basic emotions and 'pancultural' facial expressions linked to these emotions. In order to examine this point, consider the following comment by one of the most major psychologists on emotion study, Paul Ekman (1973: 219):

Regardless of language, of whether the culture is Western or Eastern, industrialised or preliterate, these facial expressions are labelled with the same emotion terms: happiness, sadness, anger, fear, disgust, and surprise. (bold emphasis mine)

Commenting on this statement, Wierzbicka (1992a: 287) highlights the fundamental problem of English language-specific 'ethnocentricity' by stating that: "Ekman's reasoning seems almost to imply that the whole world speaks English". Since most languages of the world don't have words corresponding in meaning to the English words 'happiness, sadness, anger, fear, disgust, and surprise', Ekman's statements such as the one above must be viewed with scepticism. Wierzbicka, pointing out this "anglocentricity" found in the studies of emotion by major psychologists, points out that "From a linguistic point of view, the main point at issue is that the categorisation of emotions encoded in the English lexicon (or any other lexicon) is language-specific, and therefore cannot reflect a universal classificatory scheme" (Wierzbicka 1995c: 228).

Considering this English language-specific ethnocentric problem, we should not categorise basic emotion with words for the English lexicon, such as 'happy', 'sadness', 'anger', 'fear', 'disgust', or 'surprise'. In order to illustrate this point precisely, let us take the word "song" in the Ifaluk culture which is considered corresponding to English 'anger' (Lutz 1985). If the Ifaluk word "song" differs in meaning from the English word 'anger', and is associated with a different range of situations, feelings, and facial expressions, it seems clear that it would be ethnocentric to think of 'anger' rather than "song" as a 'basic human emotion'.

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For another example which illustrates the problem of English language-specific ethnocentricity, consider that fact that the word 'happy' is chosen for labelling one of so-called 'basic emotions' in most major psychological literatures on emotion. In modern English, presumably 'happy' is an everyday word compared with its synonymous word 'joy', since 'joy' and its derivatives are more literary and stylistically marked. However, we should note that in many other European languages, the closest semantic equivalents of 'joy' are much more common in everyday language than the closest semantic equivalents of 'happy'. For example, if a German psychologist were to draw a list of 'basic emotions' they would probably choose "Freude (roughly 'joy')" rather than "Güte (roughly 'happy')". Therefore, from the European people's point of view the closest semantic equivalents of "joy", rather than "happy", would be chosen if they would have a word for labelling one of 'basic emotions' (cf. Wierzbicka 1992a: 298).

Furthermore, Wierzbicka claims that some languages don't have words which correspond exactly to the so-called English 'basic emotions' at all (cf. also discussed in 2.4.2.3. (4) of chapter 2). For example, Wierzbicka (1992c: 119; 1999b: 25) reports, as a native speaker of Polish, that Polish does not have a word corresponding exactly to the English word "disgust". Moreover, Wierzbicka says that the linking of the smiling face with the term "enjoyment" (Ekman's 1993: 384) is not justified, because there is no such category in the Polish lexicon and so she does not think in such terms. Here we should also remark Ekman's statement; even Ekman (1994c: 275) himself reports that "The Dani of West Iran are a culture whose language has no words for most of the emotions".

Thus, Wierzbicka (1992a: 287) concludes from a linguist's viewpoint that "there are no emotion terms which can be matched neatly across language and culture boundaries; there are no universal emotion concepts, lexicalised in all the languages of the world. In particular, it is certain that all languages of the world do not have words corresponding to the so-called basic emotion concepts: happiness, sadness, anger, fear, surprise, and disgust".

Wierzbicka (1999b: 282-3), while concurring with Ekman's hypothesis where some thoughts and feelings are attributed to facial gestures in his cross-cultural research, proposes that what people all over the world share is not the emotion concepts which can be labelled as 'happiness, sadness, anger, fear, surprise, and disgust', but the message of these facial gesture. For example, the facial gesture of raising the corners of the mouth can be interpreted as meaning "I feel something good now".

Wierzbicka (1999b: 286-288) states there are certain cognitive components which appear to be universal as reference points for basic emotions concepts. These components should not be labelled in English specific term like "fear", "anger", but should be described as the message which is composed of the crucial cognitive components as presented below:

- "fear-like" emotions: something bad can happen to me
  I don't want this to happen
- "anger-like" emotions: I don't want things like this (to happen)
  I want to do something because of this
- "shame-like" emotions: people can think something about me
  I don't want this to happen

\(^3\) However, some doubts have been raised about some aspects of his methodology and conclusions by psychologists like Russell (1994, 1995) or Fridlund (1994).

\(^4\) Ortony and Turner (1990) also claim that it is not emotions but some components (or subcomponents) of emotions which are universally linked with certain facial expressions, or rather with some components of facial expressions. However, Wierzbicka (1993b: 2) claims that, while Ortony and Turner's idea of linking "components of emotions" with "components of facial expressions" is extremely promising, a more rigorous conceptual framework than the one employed in Ortony and Turner's paper is required, in order to have the most fruitful definition of the meaning of the emotion term/expression.

\(^5\) Wierzbicka (1999b: 189) mentions that among these three potentially universal categories discussed here, "fear-like emotions" and "anger-like emotions" correspond to two hypothetical 'basic human emotions' proposed by psychologists like Ekman or Izard, whereas the third - "shame-like emotions" - does not. This may be due to the prevailing biological emphasis of the literature on 'basic emotions'. Yet the complex which extends over "shame", "embarrassment", and "shyness" clearly has a social focus. Moreover, Wierzbicka (1986b: 291) says that a distinction between 'fear-like emotions' and 'shame-like emotions' is probably not universal.
Linguistic anthropologists such as White and Shweder take a similar position on this issue. They also point out the problem of English language-specific ethnocentricity which widely occurs in emotion study. White (1993: 30, 33) criticizes psychological approaches where English terms are regarded primarily as referential labels for universal feeling states or "basic emotions modes", and remarks that such an approach has "contributed to the relative neglect of cultural modes of emotion and problems of translation" (p. 33). Shweder (1993: 424) also states that none of the English words signify the full and equivalent set of meanings associated with an emotion word in non-English languages.

Shweder (1994: 35) agrees with Wierzbicka's argument that "there are no basic emotions because emotion concepts (e.g. angry, sad) are not conceptual simples; they are themselves complexes, which are reducible to more elementary or primitive concepts (e.g. feel, bad, want, think)*. Yet Shweder, in his early work (1991: 235-259), believed that there were basic emotions in terms of English words:

What is the role of a cultural meaning system in the growth of an emotional life? Consider this question in terms of an emotional keyboard, with each key being a discrete emotion: disgust, interest, distress, anger, fear, contempt, shame, shyness, guilt, and so on. (...) While a differentiated emotional keyboard may be available to most four-year-olds around the world, the ones that get played and the emotional scores that are available diverge considerably for adults. [Emphasis added].

Opposing this view, Wierzbicka (1994a: 439) questioned the existence of such an "emotional keyboard":

For example, the English word anger differs in meaning from its closest counterpart in Ilngot ilgig (cf. Rosaldo 1980), or Halko song (cf. Lutz 1988) or Yankunytjatjara pula (cf. Goddard 1991) ... 'anger' is, then, no more a universal category of human experience than is 'ilgig' or 'song'... If there was a universal emotional keyboard, then the keys of this keyboard could not be identified in terms of culture-specific categories such as "anger"....

Later, Shweder (1994: 33, 35) supports Wierzbicka's opinion, saying that:

*the whole world does not speak English; that English words such as happiness, sadness, anger, fear, and disgust encode concepts that are 'different from those encoded in emotion terms of

Now Shweder (1994: 33) declares that "Undoubtedly most anthropologists will appreciate Wierzbicka's sensitivity to the all too often glossed over problem of translation".

Thus, unlike social psychologists who tend to regard the problem of translation as a mere methodological nuisance - something to be ignored so that they can move on to implementing familiar research techniques, anthropologists, not surprisingly, tend to be relatively more sensitive than most psychologists to the possibility of deep-rooted conceptual differences between languages and cultures.

3.3. Problems of Translation and Definition in Currently Available Dictionaries

In this section, we will discuss the difficulty of defining emotion words/expressions or translating them from one language to another, taking a particular Japanese culture-specific word "setsunai" as an example. Defining emotion words/expressions or translating these in one language to another language presents various kinds of issues which need to be examined closely. For example, Díaz (1992: 110) comments on the 'translation problem' by saying that for Humboldt, "translating means being able to translate the language as well as the character or 'spirit' of speakers. In that way, truth in translation means being true not only to the form, but to the whole culturally determined content of the text being translated".

It is said that there is not a good English translation for the Japanese-specific emotion word "setsunai" (cf. Yamada 1993; Furuschi 1996). The current biggest Japanese-
something of the original point of view is lost. I said above that in saying something in a language we construct a reality; a free translation is likely to involve a change of perspective so that the circumstances of the thing being reported appear different.

On the other hand, an overly literal translation which ignores idiomatic requirement may actually be incomprehensible or at least misleading, and at best it will have an awkward character.

[bold emphasis mine]

Adopting either approach, we cannot capture the essential, unique nature of an emotion concept of a word, as long as we continue to use vague analogies from the English language and culture specific words, such as 'oppressive' or 'painful' for the meaning of the Japanese emotion word "setsunai".

We need definitions for understanding other cultures and for making ourselves understood. Concepts of emotions can be defined. However, definitions are needed that are free of ethnocentric biases; that is, definitions couched in terms of universal, culture-free, primitive concepts. Otherwise, we cannot capture the invariant of the emotional term, we fall into the fundamental trap of all traditional dictionary definitions: their 'circularity'.

The perennial problem of 'circularity' in a definition in dictionaries can be illustrated here. The following are the definitions of two words 'kind' and 'gentle' which are provided by Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary (1987):

"Kind" — Someone who is kind behaves in a gentle, caring and helpful way towards other people.
"Gentle" — Someone who is gentle is kind, mild, and pleasantly calm in character or behaviour.

Here, 'kind' is defined in terms of 'gentle', but conversely, 'gentle' is defined in terms of 'kind'. The reader is sent from one adjective to another, and back, and can never discover the individual meanings of 'kind' or 'gentle'. Defining a word in terms of others that are of equal complexity in the same language ultimately leads to circularity where words are defined by each other. In this 'vicious circle' of definitions, the meaning of a word is not really stated. The meaning of a word is explained by its being

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English Dictionary, Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary (Masuda 1993; hereafter KNEJED) lists for the meaning of "setsunai": (1) oppressive, suffocating; (2) painful, trying, distressing. However, these English words give very little insight into the concept of "setsunai", which is so crucial to traditional Japanese culture. These words are usually offered as approximate glosses, and not as exact equivalents. By looking at the list of these English words, we cannot grasp the exact meaning of a "setsunai" feeling.

In Nakamura's dictionary of emotion terms, Kanjoo Hyogen Jiten (1993), the author does not give a definition of the meaning of each emotion term. Instead, he provides a citation of several sentences including the emotion word for each emotion term. Surely we could get some idea about how, and in what situation, these words are used, from the citations? If the quotations are sufficient, is the definition of an emotion word unnecessary? In answer to this question, Wierzbicka (1987: 19) asserts the importance of 'a definition' by saying that a method of only providing citations, including an emotion term, "puts the whole burden of analysis on the reader's shoulders (since the reader has to deduce the meaning from the quotations)".

Citations are crucial in a dictionary — not only as illustrations of the way a word is used but also as a standard against which a definition must be assessed, and as a crucial test of its validity. They can never replace a definition, but they play an essential role in validating it. (p. 19) [bold emphasis mine]

For the translation of a word in a work from one language into another, there are choices between "free translation" and "overly literal translation". Grace (1981: 41) discusses the difficulty of the task of translation as follows:

There is a long history of arguments favouring the use of relatively free or relatively literal approaches to translation. If content form is sacrificed and a very free translation is produced,
replaced with a series of similes. Therefore, the meaning of a word is alluded to, but it is not spelled out explicitly.

There is also another problem. If a dictionary does manage to define a word without relying on such a vicious circle, it is likely to achieve that definition by not even attempting to capture the invariant. Lexicographical devices such as "or", "etc." "often", or "usually" are signs of the lexicographer's failure to find a semantic invariant (cf. Wierzbicka 1992c; Goddard 1998: 30, 34) The use of 'or', for example, reveals a failure to capture the semantic invariant. Longman Lexicon of Contemporary English (McArthur 1981; hereafter LCE) defines the word "provoke" as 'to make (a person or animal) angry or bad tempered' However, this disjunctive definition with the word 'or' does not capture the semantic invariant. There are two options 'angry' and 'bad-tempered' that need to be replaced with one expression which covers both situations. The use of the word 'etc.' in a definition is also a problem. For example, for the meaning of the word "badger", LCE gives 'to tease, worry, annoy, etc. (someone) especially again and again with questions, requests, small actions, etc.' This is just counting a number of different possibilities covered by a concept instead of capturing the invariant. The use of the abbreviation "etc." specifically includes variations, so any definition incorporating "etc." could potentially apply to the definition of words other than "badger". In order to capture the semantic invariant, the definition needs to be minimal (not too broad, not redundant, not using elegant variation), but sufficient. Moreover, 'usually' cannot be used in defining a word. For the word 'trick', LCE gives 'to make (someone) believe what is not true, usually in order to get something'. Yet the word 'usually' cannot be used in defining the word 'trick', because "usually" means only 'in most cases' and not 'always'. In order to capture the semantic invariant, we need to state invariant definitions which cover all situations of the word. For similar reasons, the word "often" cannot be used for the definition of a word.

Thus, so far there have not been any dictionaries or texts available which successfully provide the appropriate, invariant definition for the meaning of the emotion word/expression, such as the meaning of a unique Japanese emotion word "setsunai".

Nobody has been able to capture the exact meaning of this word. However, this thesis aims at proving that defining the unique nature of the concept of any culture-specific emotion words/expressions is possible if we use a particularly rigorous linguistic semantic method. For example, in chapter 6 (I), the meaning of an emotion word "setsunai" in Japanese is accurately revealed by means of the most appropriate method.

3.4. Using the "Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM)" Method for Defining Emotion Words/Expressions

In this section, we will show that the "NSM" semantic methodology developed by Anna Wierzbicka and her colleagues is most effective for defining the meaning of emotion words/expressions. As previously mentioned in section 3.2 of this chapter, Wierzbicka, in her many articles and books, has pointed out that most psychological models have a substantial flaw in that they use English-language terms as a tool for labelling universal available 'basic emotions'. Other models used by linguistic psychologists, linguistic anthropologists, and other linguists do not successfully define the meaning of words/expressions, since their methods include words which are not culturally or linguistically universal. For example, while there are many scholars such as Averill, Hochschild, Kövecses, Myers, Ortony et al., as seen in table 1 in Van Brakel (1994: 181), who have defined the meaning of the 'angry-like' emotion word, their definitions lead to a problem, the problem of English language specific ethnocentricity. All of their definitions include non-universal English language-specific words/expressions whose meaning is too complex, obscure, and unintelligible. Without a sound methodology for lexical semantic analysis, defining the meaning of the full conceptual content of indigenous emotion terms will not be successful.
3.4.1. Universal Semantic Primitives

If we want to define concepts of emotions in a way which would be truly explanatory, we must define them in terms of words which are intuitively understandable (non-technical) and that are not themselves names of specific emotions or emotional states. Wierzbicka claims (1992c: 138), that what is ‘untranslatable’ on the level of words is nonetheless translatable on the level of "universal semantic primitives" and near-primitives. Universal semantic primitives consist of a set of words which are considered to be available in all languages of the world.

History of the Search for "Semantic Primitives"

Here, I will outline the history of the search for the "semantic primitives".

<Ancient times - the 17th century>

The beginning of the search for semantic primes goes back more than two millennia, to Aristotle. Aristotle said:

What matters is ...semantically more basic and thus inherently more intelligible. (…) The "absolute order of understanding" depends on semantic complexity. For example, one cannot understand the concepts of 'promise' or 'denounce' without first understanding the concept of 'say'. (…) (In Wierzbicka 1972: 10)

The search for the universal, non-arbitrary, "elements of human thought" was greatly advanced, by seventeenth-century thinkers; Descartes, Pascal, Arnauld, Leibniz, and Locke (Wierzbicka 1972: 3).

First of all, for René Descartes (1596-1650) wanted to establish which concepts are so clear that they cannot be understood better than by themselves; and to explain everything else in terms of these. He states:

Further I declare that there are certain things which we render more obscure by trying to define them, because they are very simple and clear, we cannot know and perceive them better than by themselves. (1970/1931: 324)9

Similarly, another philosopher Blaise Pascal (1623-1662) comments as follows:

It is clear that there are words which cannot be defined; and if nature hadn't provided this by giving all people the same idea all our expressions would be obscure. (…) (1667/1954: 580)10

Pascal claims that without a set of "primitives" whose meanings cannot be defined further, all descriptions of meaning are actually or potentially 'circular' (Wierzbicka 1996b: 11).

Likewise, consider the following comment by Antoine Arnauld (1612-1694) who also suggested the existence of semantic primitives:

Our first observation is that no attempt should be made to define all words; such an attempt would be useless, even impossible, to achieve. To define a word which already expresses a distinct idea unambiguously would be useless: for the goal of definition...

(1662/1964: 86-7)11

The following is a quotation from another outstanding 17th (and 18th) century philosopher, G. W. Leibniz (1646-1716), who claims that complex and obscure

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meanings can be effectively defined (explicated) in terms of simple and self explanatory primitive words:

If nothing could be comprehended in itself nothing at all could ever be comprehended. Because what can only be comprehended via something else can be comprehended only to the extent to which that other thing can be comprehended, and so on; accordingly, we can say that we have understood something only when we have broken it down into parts which can be understood in themselves (Leibniz 1903/1961: 430)\textsuperscript{12}

Lastly, examine John Locke’s (1612-1704) statement which also supports (albeit from a different perspective) the existence of elementary semantic words whose meaning cannot be defined any further:

The Names of Simple Ideas are not capable of any Definition; the Names of all complex Ideas are. It has not, that I know, been yet observed by anybody, what words are, and what are not, capable of being defined. (...) This being premised, I say, that the Names of simple Ideas, and those only, are incapable of being defined. (1772)\textsuperscript{13}

Commenting on this statement by Locke, Wierzbicka (1972: 7) argues that the determination of what words are, and what are not capable of being defined should be the central task of contemporary semantics.

< The Modern stream of the search for semantic primitives >

The first modern linguist to have turned his attention to the search for "elementary semantic units" appears to have been Edward Sapir (1884-1939), in a series of works written in the early 1930s.\textsuperscript{14}

In the 1950s and 1960s, a deepening and greater articulation was brought to the purely theoretical aspects of the search for semantic primitives through the work of such people as Louis Hjelmslev (1899-1965), in Denmark, and his student Holger Sørensen. Hjelmslev proposed the singling out of elementary constituents which he called "figurate", at two levels - content and expression (Wierzbicka 1972: 8).

In the 1960s, the idea of "componental analysis" became very popular in linguistic study. In 1963 Katz and Fodor\textsuperscript{15} made an attempt to graft this kind of analysis onto the stock of generative grammar. In the sixties, most linguists followed Katz and Fodor in being interested only in the theoretical aspects of semantics. It was left to Manfred Bierwisch to produce the first concrete semantic analyses of the universal and non-arbitrary character of semantic primitives. In his article "Semantic Universals of German Adjectives", Bierwisch states: "A semantic analysis of a lexical item is finished only if it leads to a combination of basic elements that are true candidates for the universal set of markers".\textsuperscript{16}

In the 1970s, when "componental semantic analysis" was still popular, the works of Jurij Ajupov’s Moscow occupied a special place. Ajupov saw semantic analysis as being a kind of translation from natural into "semantic" language, the "words" of which are what he calls "elementary meanings" (Wierzbicka 1972: 10). Another original approach to the problem of basic semantic units was provided by the joint work of Žolkoškij\textsuperscript{17} and Melčuk\textsuperscript{18} on "elementary particles of meaning" (Wierzbicka 1972: 11).

All the concepts presented by those scholars listed above (Sapir, Hjelmslev, Bierwisch, Melčuk and Zolkoškij, and Ajupov) are undoubtedly some kind of


\textsuperscript{16} Bierwisch, Manfred (1967) "Some semantic universals of German adjectives" in \textit{Foundations of Language} 3, p. 3 (pt. in Wierzbicka 1972: 9)

\textsuperscript{17} He was born in Moscow, and now lives in the U.S.A.

\textsuperscript{18} He was born in Moscow, and now lives in Canada.
linguistic equivalents to Leibniz's ideas. However, they did not aim at finding the “elementary semantic units in the form of indefinables” whose meanings are maximally simple and clear (Wierzbicka 1972: 11-12).

The first person to have put forward a concise and elaborated program for the search for universal semantic elements was Polish linguist Andrzej Boguslawski in the years 1965-6. The central proposition in Boguslawski’s program is that non-arbitrary and universal “primitive elements” of content are to be found in the elements of maximally articulated expressions, that is to say in their indefinable sub-units (Wierzbicka 1972: 12). Wierzbicka (1996b: 13) states that her interest in the pursuit of non-arbitrary “semantic primitives” was triggered by a lecture on this subject given at Warsaw University by Andrzej Boguslawski in 1965. The “golden dream” of the seventeenth-century thinkers, such as Descartes, Pascal, Arnauld, Leibniz, and Locke, which couldn’t be realized within the framework of philosophy and which was therefore generally abandoned as an unattainable Utopia, could be realized, Boguslawski maintained, if it was approached from a linguistic rather than from a purely philosophical point of view.¹⁹

In 1972 Wierzbicka published her first book *Semantic Primitives* which attempted to take up and partially carry through the program proposed by Andrzej Boguslawski. Her objective was to search for those expressions in natural language which themselves are impossible to satisfactorily explicate, but in terms of which other expressions (utterances) can be explicated. The list of indefinables should contain only those elements which are really absolutely essential, while being at the same time adequate to explicate all utterances (Wierzbicka 1972: 12-13).

The Candidates for Semantic Primitives

The size of the lexicon of the semantic primitives has greatly increased since Wierzbicka produced her first book in 1972. In 1996, Wierzbicka published a book *Semantics: Primes and Universals* (1996b) which is based on linguistic research undertaken (by colleagues and Wierzbicka herself) over three decades. This book proposes a hypothetical table of fundamental human concepts; a table of “lexical universals”. If we really want to study, in a rigorous way, correlations between forms and meanings, we need “semantic primitives (or semantic primes)” included in that table whose efficacy has been demonstrated for a quarter of a century.

When we compare a list of semantic primitives proposed in 1972 with that of the most up-date one in 1999, while there were only 14 hypothetical semantic primitives in 1972, currently the lexicon of the NSM metalanguage numbers about 60-65 elements. Some of the primitives which were proposed in 1972, such as “imagine”, “world”, “become”, were omitted from the list, and many words which were not considered as ‘primitives’ in 1972, such as “if”, “time”, “more”, “very”, “the same”, “can”, “good”, “bad”, or “all” are now included in the current list. Yet the current list of semantic primitives is still not final. It is thought that it may well prove necessary to revise it in some particulars which corresponds to reality in all languages available in the world.

The latest set of semantic primitives in English is as follows (cf. Wierzbicka 1999b: 36-37):²⁰

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE OF CONCEPTUAL PRIMITIVES AND LEXICAL UNIVERSALS [ENGLISH VERSION]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Substantives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I, YOU, SOMEONE/PERSON, SOMETHING/THING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEOPLE/PERSON, BODY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Determiners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THIS, THE SAME, OTHER/ELSE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantifiers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ONE, TWO, SOME, MANY/MUCH, ALL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attributes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOOD, BAD, BIG, SMALL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental Predicates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THINK, KNOW, WANT, FEEL, SEE, HEAR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹⁹ Leibniz's theory of an "alphabet of human thoughts" (1903/1961: 435) could be dismissed as a Utopia because he never proposed anything like a complete list of hypothetical primitives (Wierzbicka 1996b: 13).

²⁰ In order to avoid a long and unwieldy explication, I have used an expanded list of NSM, including words which, although not universal, recur widely in the languages of the world as separate lexical items.
As this thesis is written in English, the English version of the set of these primitives is used, but cross-linguistic studies have shown that a similar set of basic terms can be identified in each language. 21

Until recently, this assumption that all languages have a set of semantic primitives was based largely on theoretical considerations rather than on empirical studies of different languages of the world. This situation, however, has changed with the publication of Semantic and Lexical Universals edited by Goddard and Wierzbicka (1994). This book is a collection of systematic studies across a wide range of languages from different language families on different continents. This first large-scale attempt to test hypothetical conceptual primitives cross-linguistically did not answer all the questions, but the studies included in the volume did strongly support the hypothesized set of primitives.

As for combinations of semantic universal primitives, or universally available grammatical constructions, a workshop on universal grammatical constructions was held in 1994 at the Australian National University. This problem has been in focus in recent research, and is the subject of a forthcoming collective volume Meaning and Illustrated Grammar (Goddard and Wierzbicka, eds./Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company).

Difficulties in Identifying Semantic Primitives

A proposed set of semantic primitives must be proved by tests as to whether they are available in a range of languages in the world. The presence or absence of a word for a universally given concept cannot be established by a simple or easy method. Empirical and pains-takingly accurate analysis from the perspective of various (ideally all) languages in the world is required in order to identify which words are "semantic primitives".

< The Problem of Polysemy >

Identifying exponents of semantic primes across languages is complicated by various factors, especially by differences in secondary meanings (i.e. polysemic meanings). For example, cross-linguistic investigations show that the pattern of polysemy which links "feel" with body part terms such as "liver", "insides", or "stomach" is very common (Goddard 1994; Wierzbicka 1999b: 277). For example, Heelas (1986: 234) observes that the Javanese of Ponorogo employ liver talk; 'it is the liver (ani) that appears in idiomatic expressions indicating emotion. Levy (1984a: 221) also finds that in the Tahitian language the feelings can arise spontaneously in the "intestines". 22 For another example, Haré (1983: 125) shows that the Maori vocabulary has 'heart-emotion',

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21 Since this set of semantic primitives should be universally available in all language, a set of Japanese primitives should be obtainable and describable, by means of a Japanese set of NSM. However, this requires a more lengthy study than can be accommodated in this thesis.

'bowel-emotion', and 'stomach-emotion'. Goddard and Wierzbicka (1994) states that
"it appears that in some such cases, the true exponent of FEEL has been overlooked (or
interpreted metaphorically) on account of its being identical with a concrete meaning such as
'belly' or 'intensities'".

A single word may have two related meanings, one indefinable and the other
definable. For example, Goddard and Wierzbicka (1994: 32) says that "English feel is
polysemous between its semantically primitive sense (I feel good/bad), its action sense (I
felt her pulse) and its cognitive sense (I feel its' wrong). The assertions about
"polysemy" of this kind are not purely impressionistic. Consider the following
comments on "polysemy" by Goddard and Wierzbicka (1994: 35):

It goes without saying that polysemy must never be postulated lightly, and that it has always to
be justified on language-internal grounds: but to reject polysemy in a dogmatic and a priori
fashion is just as foolish as to postulate it without justification. Polysemy is a fact of life, and
basic, everyday words are particularly likely to be polysemous (cf. Zipf 1949)23. We may
therefore expect that exponents of semantically primitive meanings will frequently be
polysemous.

[underline, bold emphasis mine]

For further discussion on the problem of polysemy, see also Goddard (1994: 23).

< The distinction between FEEL and THINK >

Wierzbicka (1999b: 276) proposes that all languages have a word for FEEL.24
However, this claim has often been denied. For example, Lutz (1983, 1985a, 1985b)
suggests that Ifaluk does not distinguish lexically between "feel" and "think". Lutz


Wesley.

24 This word doesn't have to be a verb - it can be an adjective, or a noun - but cross-linguistic surveys conducted to date suggest that all languages do have some word corresponding in meaning to the English

feel - not in all its senses, but in the basic "psychological" sense which can be illustrated with the

following sentences: "I feel like this now", "I don't feel anything", "I can't describe what I felt", "How

are you feeling?", "I felt, as if I was going to die" (Wierzbicka 1999b: 276).

(1983: 25) states that "Ifaluk does not make a sharp distinction between affect and
cognition. Lutz (1985a: 84; 1985b: 47) affirms that thoughts are not separate from
emotions, and the one term 'numanaw' is glossed as "thoughts/feelings".25

However, Wierzbicka (1999b: 278) argues that in fact "Lutz's careful and
scrupulously presented data are compatible with a different analysis; namely, that
'numanaw' means "think" rather than "think or feel", and that its frequent emotive
connotations are due to context rather than to the word itself. 'Numanaw' always means
"think", and that "emotions" are implied by the word's context.

Howell (1981, 1989a) also suggests that the Chewong people of Malaysia don't
make an explicit distinction between "think" and "feel". Howell (1981: 142) says that the
 Chewong do acknowledge the existence of emotions, but conceptually these are not
differentiated from thoughts. The Chewong people consider that the liver (rus) is the seat
of thoughts and feelings. Howell (1989a: 152) concludes that the Chewong do not make
a conceptual separation between thoughts and emotions, and there is no word for either
thought or feeling.

Yet, Wierzbicka (1999b: 278) disagrees with Howell's analysis. She asks: if the
Chewong really made no distinction between thoughts and feelings, then, why should the
sentence "my liver is good" (rus ing sedap) mean "I'm feeling fine" rather than "I think
well"? Wierzbicka claims that the very gloss offered by Howell suggests that while one
of the meanings of rus is "liver", the other one is simply "feel", not some mixture of
feeling and thinking (p. 278). As for Chewong's exponent of "thinking", it is possible
that the currently used Chewong word for the translation of English "think" is a loan
from Malay. But Wierzbicka insists that "even if the verb for 'think' is in fact a loan
from Malay, this would not disqualify it from being a valid exponent of the primitive and
universal concept THINK, for first, a loan from Malay may have been in use for

25 A similar phenomenon about the impossibility of distinction between "think" and "feel" is
observed by Wilkan (1990) for the Balinese word 'kenali', glossed as "feeling-thought."
hundreds of years, and second, it may well have replaced an earlier indigenous word” (p. 279).26

3.4.2. The Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) Method

The indefinable "semantic primes" are universal elements in terms of which all complex meaning can be coherently represented. The "Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM)" approach, which is based on these semantic primitives, has been developed over many years of cross-linguistic semantic research (e.g. Wierzbicka 1996b, 1999b; Goddard & Wierzbicka 1994; Goddard 1998). The NSM method uses these semantic primitives which are supposed to be possessed equally by all languages in the world. NSM aims at capturing the semantic invariant of a word/expression and representing it by means of a paraphrase composed of these semantic primitives. By using this approach the differences in the use of two or more words or expressions can be reflected and accounted for in the differences between their explications. Wierzbicka (1992c: 135) states:

...no matter how 'unique' and 'untranslatable' an emotion item is, it can be translated on the level of semantic explication in a natural semantic metalanguage and...explications of this kind make possible that 'translation of emotions words' which seems otherwise impossible to achieve.

This thesis aims at explicating and defining the meaning of words/expressions as well as cultural norms/rules associated with them explicitly by means of the NSM method.

The methodology of Natural Semantic Metalanguage makes it possible for a definition of an emotion word to capture the invariable aspects of a word's use, that is, to capture a word's semantic invariant. If emotion terms are analysed into universal, language-independent, self-explanatory elements, such as 'want', 'feel', 'think', 'say', 'good', or 'bad', there is no threat of overt or covert circularity. Through the use of the framework of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage the analysis of emotion words can be free from circularity and all concepts encoded in emotion terms can be clearly and rigorously portrayed.

If we want to define concepts behind any term or expression in a way which would be truly explanatory, we must define them in terms of a set of semantic primitive words which are maximally clear, maximally self-explanatory, maximally simple, and maximally universal. Such a set of semantic metalanguages are independent of any particular language or culture.

Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM), which consists of these semantic primitives and also relies exclusively on simple and universal grammatical constructions, allows us to explore human emotions from a universal, language-independent perspective.

"Basing our analysis on lexical universals we can free ourselves from the bias of our own language and reach a universal, culture-independent perspective on human cognition in general and on human emotions in particular" (Wierzbicka 1995c: 236).

By using NSM, emotion words/expressions across cultures can be represented and compared with those in different cultures from universal perspective. For example, let us compare the meaning of English 'angry' and that of Illokot 'liget', which is often glossed as "energy, anger, passion" in English (Rosado 1980). Wierzbicka (1992c: 141) provides the following definition for each word:

[angry]
X thinks something like this:
this person (Y) did something bad
I don't want this
I would want to do something bad to this person because of this, X feels something bad toward Y because of this, X wants to do something

---

26 The claim of the imposibility of distinguishing between "think" and "feel" in other cultures are also reported in North Balinese: "...say Balinese, "everyone must think with their feelings" (Wikipedia: 1990: 195); in the Samoan "The Samoan theory of the origin of emotions involves the operations of what is called the dots (. . .) ...the dot is thought to be the repository of some of a person's thoughts and feelings" (Gerbler 1985: 135); and in Bengali and Sanskrit "in the Bengali and Sanskrit languages, terms for emotion and thought, mind and heat, are not opposed" (p. 43). "There is no sharp distinction between emotion and cognition" (p. 44) (McDaniel 1995).
(liget)

X thinks something like this:
other people can do something
they could think that I can't do it
I don't want this
because of this, I want to do something
I can do it
because of this, X feels something
because of this, X wants to do something
when someone feels like this, they can do things
that they can't do at other times

Although "the categorisation of emotions encoded in the English lexicon (or any other lexicon) is language-specific, and therefore cannot reflect a universal classificatory scheme" (Wierzbicka 1995: 228), by using NSM, we can explicate the definition of meaning of both English 'anger' and Ilongot 'liget', clarifying the similarity and difference between these two words.

Goddard (To appear) states that, with the aid of these semantic primitives, it will be possible to explicate all words and expressions; not only individual words, but also sentences, and to account for all semantic relations existing between different words/expressions. Explication using these semantic primitives are able to capture very subtle differences between the meanings of related emotion terms/expressions, since these explications are readily intelligible. This kind of explication "reveal the hidden structure of the words or expressions and reveal the structural relations linking different words/expressions. Both the similarities and differences of the meanings of different words/expressions can be stated with these primitives" (Goddard, To appear). Thus, semantic primitives offer us a tool for investigating the structure of semantic groupings or fields.

3.5. Prototypical Cognitive Scenario

To construct a form of explication of an emotional concept, we will adopt a framework of "(Prototypical) Cognitive Scenario". The prototypical cognitive scenario aims at representing the state of mind of a hypothetical individual. In this approach, the explication of a certain emotion is stated via a prototypical set of thoughts, this means that one will feel like a person who experiences certain thoughts characteristic of that particular situation (cf. Wierzbicka 1994a: 778, 1996a: 180; Harkins & Wierzbicka 1997: 323-4; Goddard 1998: 95).

Wierzbicka has employed this concept from her earliest work on emotions. Wierzbicka takes her cue from a phrase suggesting subtle emotions by means of ingenious hypothetical scenarios (Goddard To appear). Consider the following passage by Wierzbicka (1999b: 12) concerning the English translation of Tolstoy's novel Anna Karenina:

In literature, feelings are frequently described by means of comparison: the hero felt as a person might feel in the following situation (description follows). (...) 

He [Anna's husband] now felt like a man who on coming home finds his house locked against him. "But perhaps the key can still be found", though Karenin. (p. 123) (...) 

The same mode of description is also often used in everyday discourse, as well as in popular songs and other similar texts.

Goddard (To appear) states that references to imaginary situations of this kind, while highly evocative, are essentially individual and don't have the force of generalisations. In Wierzbicka's insight the emotion words of ordinary language work in a similar fashion, except that instead of linking feelings with illustrative situations they link them with "cognitive scenarios" involving thoughts and wants. These kinds of cognitive scenarios are used extensively in the NSM approach to emotions.

Wierzbicka (1999b: 13) says, "There are many ways of describing to other people how one feels but most of them can be reduced to two basic modes...: (1) one can tell other people that one "feels good" or that one "feels bad", and (2) one can tell other people that one feels like a person feels in a certain situation and then identify, in one way or another that "prototypical situation". All languages have some words for describing feelings based on certain thoughts. The framework of this prototypical cognitive scenario of emotion words/expressions include the following two components:
someone feels something
because this person thinks something

For example, the nature of the feeling of an emotion sentence "Person X was + [emotion word]" can be represented via the following prototypical cognitive framework:

\[ \text{[Person X was + emotion words. (e.g. angry/afraid, ashamed/worried, etc.)]} \rightarrow \]
\[ \text{person X felt something} \]
\[ \text{because X thought something} \]
\[ \text{sometimes a person thinks: } \{Y\} \]
\[ \text{because of this person feels something} \]
\[ \text{person X felt something like this} \]
\[ \text{because X thought something like this} \]

Ready-made labels for describing emotions/feelings are usually based on the same basic modes as seen above. Thus, emotion expressions can be defined via "prototype", describing, in very general terms, a kind of situation (or a "scenario"), associated in minds with a recognizable kind of feelings.

Wierzbicka (1999b: 15) says:

> Every language...has lexically encoded some "scenarios" involving both thoughts and feelings and serving as a reference point for the identification of what the speakers of this language see as distinct kinds of feelings.

> Since the cognitive scenarios linked with emotion words can be stated in the same universal human concepts (i.e., semantic primitives), these scenarios can be understood by cultural outsiders, and the kind of feeling associated with them can be identified, explained, and compared; and both the similarities and differences between scenarios lexicalised in different languages can be pinpointed.

[bold emphasis and underline mine]

Depending on which words or which grammatical constructions are used in a sentence about emotion, the prototypical scenario changes; some words, and some grammatical constructions, present the experience's emotions as caused by a particular thought, or chain of thoughts; others do not imply any particular thoughts [the "cognitive" character (including a component "sometimes a person thinks") vs. the "non-cognitive" character (there is no component which refers to thought(s)).] In order to illustrate this point, Wierzbicka (1992a: 290; 1992c: 177) provides the following examples:

A: I am sad/depressed/happy/anxious today --- I don't know why.
B: * I am disappointed/grateful/disgusted/angry/surprised --- I don't know why.27

Wierzbicka explains that:

...for some emotion concepts (e.g. for disappointed, grateful, or disgusted) we do need a reference to a particular thought ("X thought something like this"), whereas for others (e.g. for sad, happy, or anxious) we do not --- although for the latter, too, we need a reference to a prototypical thought ("sometimes people think something like this") In both cases, however, there has to be a reference to a prototypical scenario, which identifies indirectly the emotion in question. (Wierzbicka 1992a: 291)

Emotion terms like 'sad/depressed/happy/anxious' are defined only via a prototypical scenario, where no thoughts are attributed to the experiencer. On the other hand, when one feels 'disappointed/grateful/disgusted/angry/surprised', one feels LIKE a person who thinks certain thoughts, although one doesn't necessarily think these thoughts oneself (cf. Wierzbicka 1999b). Wierzbicka (1992a: 291) suggests the following format for the explication of the meaning of emotions words:

27 Similarly, in Japanese, as Nishio (1972: 31) points out, while predicates such as "suki (nom.adj.:=like)", "izinai (nom.adj.:=dislike)", "hoshibi (adj.:=want)", "uzayamashiki (adj.:=be jealous of)", "nikai (adj.:=hate)", "natsukashikii (adj.:=have a desire to go back/see again)", necessarily take the "stimulus object" complement, as in:

Wasashii wa kare ga sukki/kare no hoshibi/uzayamashiki etc. (I TOP be SUB like/dislike/want/be jealous of him.)

adjectives like "sabishii (lonely)", "yosozu da (be depressed)", "tanoshii (happy)", "itya da (unpleasant)", do not necessarily require the "stimulus object" complement, as they can represent obscure feelings which are not caused by, or directed toward any specific object. Thus, we could say:

Wasashii wa naze kara sabishii/yosozu da/itanoshii/de. (I TOP somehow lonely/depressed/happy/unpleasant; I don't know why.)
X is 'sad' (or 'depressed', 'happy', 'anxious')

X feels something
sometimes people think something like this:

X feels like this

X is 'grateful' to Y (or 'disappointed' in someone/with something, 'disgusted'
with something, 'angry' with someone/about something)

when X thinks of Y, X feels something
sometimes people think something like this:

X thinks something like this
because of this, X feels like this

I have divided the emotions concepts discussed in this thesis into six groups according to
the themes of evaluative components of the "cognitive scenario" which underlie the
emotion concepts: (1) "I feel something good towards somebody" (chapter 6); (2)
"something good happens/happened" and "good feelings" (chapter 7); (3) "something
bad will happen" (chapter 8); (4) "I don't want things like this to happen" (chapter 9); (5)
"thinking about ourselves" (chapter 10); and (6) "thinking about someone else" (chapter
11).

3.6. Cultural Scripts

The issue of the 'translation problem' was discussed in section 3.2. and 3.3. in this
chapter. Kolwai (1991: 46) says that "any translation must begin with an appreciation of
the culture and thought of the source language, and then be reconstructed by the creative
talent of the translator". Translation is not only an interlinguistic but also an intercultural
operation.

Wierzbicka (1999b: 240) states that "Although human emotional endowments is no
doubt largely innate and universal people's emotional lives are shaped, to a considerable
extent, by their culture. Every culture offers not only a linguistically embodied grid for
the conceptualization of emotions, but also a set of "scripts" suggesting to people how to
feel, how to express their feelings, not to think about own and other people's feelings,
and so on" [underline mine].

One of the goals in this thesis is to describe the tacit cultural norms of the expression
or world of Japanese emotions. This is because, in order to explore the concepts of
emotions experienced and defined by Japanese people and reflected in Japanese culture,
not only the meaning of emotion words/expressions, but also the cultural factors
embedded in the usage and meaning of these words are important. Each society has a
shared set of cultural norms, or specific cultural needs and values, such as how to think,
how to feel, how to want, how to speak to others, things that one can or cannot say,
things that one can or cannot do, etc. These tacit cultural norms can be stated in the form
order to identify "cultural scripts" concerning Japanese attitudes towards emotion in this
thesis using Wierzbicka's Natural Semantic Metalanguage.

As for comparing emotional norms across languages and culture, the contrasting
cultural scripts (altitdae-), as be stated with a phrase involving the following component
which starts each explanation:

[everybody knows]- cultural model
[people think]- normative cultural script

The above component "people think:" which opens the scripts reflects the fact that even
people who personally don't identify with the content of that script are nonetheless
familiar in: they, too, belong to the community which shapes familiarity with this script"
(Wierzbicka 1999b: 242). These cultural scripts are formulated from the insider's point
of view. These cultural scripts try to articulate the native's tacit knowledge rather than an
outsider's objectivist and experience-distant representations of human experience and
competence. At the same time, being formulated in universal human concepts, they can
be intelligible to outsiders, too (Wierzbicka 1999b: 272).
Different cultures have different norms and expectations towards emotions. Wierzbicka’s (1999b: 241) claim is that when one analyses linguistic evidence concerning emotions and emotional expressions, there emerge basic cultural scripts associated with them. In one example, Wierzbicka (1999b: 246) discusses a common speech/conversational routine - the “how are you” routine - which manifestly reflects a cultural premises in English:

In English, there are many common speech routines which manifestly reflect a cultural premises to the effect that it is good to “feel good” - and to be seen as someone who “feels happy”. In particular, the common “How are you? I am fine” routine implies an expectation that “food feelings” will be expressed, and if need be, “artificially displayed”. Of course this expectation may be violated, but it is undoubtedly there, as highlighted by the dictum “don’t tell your friends about your indigination, ‘How are you?’ is a greeting, not a question” (Arthur Guiteau, quoted in Leech 1983: 196).

Wierzbicka states that the ubiquitous presence of the words “great” or “happy” in American discourse is the linguistic reflection of certain American cultural scripts: roughly speaking, ‘positive thinking’, ‘enthusiasm’, and ‘cheerfulness’ scripts. Wierzbicka (1999b: 247) explains that speech routine where one frequently uses words such as “great” or “happy” suggests the following Anglo-American cultural scripts:

Anglo-American
[people think]
it is good to say often something like this:
"I feel something very good"

This cultural scripts shows that American values positive, enthusiastic and cheerful attitude very highly, even compared with that of Anglo-British or Anglo-Australians.

This kind of cultural script has to be described by the NSM lexicon/grammar. This is because only a universally available lexicon or grammatical patterns can both reflect the invariant meaning of the cultural scripts and make it intelligible to cultural outsiders. For example, Wierzbicka (1999b: 254) gives examples of comparison between American and Polish culture as follows:

...the implicit “cultural scripts” which for the society’s shared frame of reference - are different from the Polish one; for the hierarchy of values governing interpersonal relations is different. "Anglo cultural scripts” encourage people to be “careful”, to be “considerate”, to be “thoughtful”, to avoid “hurting other people’s feelings”. (...) It is not an accident...that Polish doesn’t have any words corresponding to the English words considerate, thoughtful, or even kind, or expressions like to hurt someone’s feelings, all of which concentrate on the other person’s feelings, not on our own. (p. 254)
(Underline mine)

...the Anglo [pattern of way of thinking/behaviour] is clearly based on the cultural premise that it is good to try to avoid “hurting the other person’s feelings”, whereas the Polish one is based on the cultural premise that it is good to say what one really thinks and what one really feels. (p. 237)

However, if we compare Japanese culture and Anglo culture, attitude of people in Anglo culture are less "careful", less "considerate", less "avoiding hurting other people’s feelings" from the Japanese person’s perspective. Thus, complex and language-specific words/expressions such as "careful", "considerate", "not considering other people’s feelings" can not represent the cultural norm in its absolute sense.

Only the NSM method can clarify differences between cultures, including those most directly affecting the use of emotion words, the display of emotions, and styles of communication.

The cultural script method can facilitate cross-cultural communication, as stated in the following comments by Wierzbicka (1994c: 49):

Since cultural scripts can be formulated as lexical universals, they can be easily compared across cultures. What is more, comparison of cultures based on cultural script can be undertaken from a language-independent and a culture-neutral point of view, and can be free of any ethnocentric bias. The fact that cultural scripts are directly translatable from one language to another and that they can be associated, to some extent, with any language whatsoever, ensures their universal and culture-independent character. (...) Natural semantic metalinguage provides us with a universal
4. GRAMMATICAL FEATURES OF EMOTION EXPRESSION SENTENCES

4.1. Inflections and Derivations of Adjectives and Verbs

The Japanese language has two adjectival subclasses: I-adjectives (‘keiyooshii’) and Na-adjectives (‘keiyo-oo-shii’). Modification is the most common function of these adjectives. While the non-past indicative form of I-adjectives can be used in modification, Na-adjectives need to be followed by “na” (the attributive form of the copula “da”) when they are used as modifiers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I-adjective</th>
<th>Na-adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Itoshi</td>
<td>Hito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-adj. (beloved)</td>
<td>Noun (person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suki</td>
<td>Na Hito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na-adj. Cop (beloved)</td>
<td>Noun (person)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Matsuda et al (1993: 5) states, I-adjectives inflect for tense (past and non-past) and mood. Na-adjectives do not inflect for tense and mood by themselves. The part which inflects is the copula (Backhouse 1984: 172; Kindaichi 1988 Vol.2 : 133). As for verbs, they inflect for tense and mood like I-adjectives. The following is the list of inflections of the two types of adjectives and verbs. I will focus on the words “itoshi (I-adjective; roughly ‘loving’), “suki (Na-adjective; roughly ‘like/love’), and “aisuru (verb; roughly ‘love’), to illustrate their inflection forms.\(^1\)

---

\(^1\) For example, in the case of “itoshi-ka-ta” of I-adjective, ‘itoshi’ is a root of the adjective, ‘itoshi-ka’ is a stem, and ‘-ta’ is a past tense suffix. In case of “aisu-i-ta”, ‘aisu’ is the root of the verb, ‘aisu-i’-t is an inflectional stem of the verb, and ‘-ta’ is the past tense suffix.
Inflectional categories of I-adjective, Na-adjectives, and verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>I-adjective</th>
<th>Na-adjective</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-past indicative</td>
<td>&quot;itoshii&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;suki&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;aisuru&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past indicative</td>
<td>itoshi-i</td>
<td>suki da</td>
<td>aisu-ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>itoshi-kat-ta</td>
<td>suki dat-ta</td>
<td>aisi-hi-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund</td>
<td>itoshi-ku</td>
<td>suki de</td>
<td>aisi-hi-te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerund + auxiliary</td>
<td>itoshi-ku-te</td>
<td></td>
<td>aisi-hi-te iru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For nominalising the emotion adjectives, the suffix '-sa' is often used: for example, itoshii (I-adj.) --> itoshii-sa (Noun); setsuuni (I-adj.) --> setsuuni-sa (Noun). Some adjectives may have derived nouns with the suffix '-mi'. For example, the adjective "tanoshii" has two noun forms: "tanoshii-sa" and "tanoshii-mi".4 "Ai" and "koi" are the noun form derived from verbs "aisuru" and "koisuru" respectively where "-saru" is omitted from the verb form. The nominalised form of verbs such as "tereru" or

"akogareru" is "tere" and "akogare" where it can be observed that the last part is omitted.5

4.2. Grammatical Characteristics of Japanese Emotion Sentences

There are significant differences that can be observed between the structure of emotional expressions in English and Japanese. Because of these structural differences between the two languages, English-speaking learners of Japanese often make mistakes in their use of emotion expressions in Japanese.

English speakers may at times utter unnatural sentences such as "watashi wa yorokobu (lit. I feel glad)", without realising that emotional verbs, such as "yorokobu", are not usually used for expressing one's own subjective emotions in Japanese. Also, they often utter ungrammatical sentences such as "kare wa ureshii (lit. He is happy)". This is because they are unaware that in Japanese, the speaker cannot make a definite statement about another person's feeling. Further, non-native Japanese speakers often do not recognise the difference in meaning between sentences such as "ano sensei ga kowai (I am in fear of the teacher)" and "ano sensei wa kowai (The teacher is fearful)", where the only formal difference is the particle "ga" and "wa". It would seem that in the syntactic and morphological behaviour of emotion expressions, there are certain rules at work, which are characteristic of the Japanese language.

(cf. Previous studies of 'wa' and 'ga' can be seen in Shibatani (1990) or Okamoto (1991)).

4.2.1. Emotion Adjectives and Emotion Verbs

Verbal emotional predicates, such as "yorokobu (feel glad)", "kanashimi (grieve)", are different from adjectival emotional predicates such as "kowai (be in fear of)", "ureshii

5 'akogare' of "akogareru" or 'tere' of "tereru" is a verb root.
"be glad"). "kanashii (be sad)", in that the former describe a person's emotion more objectively. To illustrate this, Mura remarks (1983: 220) that the emotional verb "yorokobu (rejoice)" cannot be used to express the subjective feeling of the speaker:

...yorokobu, as a rule, describes a third person's feeling glad and expressing it by speech, attitude, or behaviour. Thus, of the following examples, (1) is correct, but (2) is not.

(1) Kodomo wa yasumi ni naru to yorokobu.
(Children are glad when a holiday arrives.)

(2) *Watashi wa yasumi ni naru to yorokobu.
(I am glad when a holiday arrives.)

In (2), to express the idea intended, yorokobu would have to be replaced by urenshii, as in

(3) Watashi wa yasumi ni naru to urenshii.

Thus, the verb "yorokobu" is used for the objective description of the third person’s feeling, rather than for the subjective description of the speaker’s own feeling.

There are, however, instances where "yorokobu" may be used with the first person.

This is the case where the verb is in the progressive aspect (indicated by its gerundive form followed by the auxiliary 'to'). This is because one could describe one's emotional state dispassionately if the emotion is the one which lasts for a certain time or which has happened in the past.

(1) Watashi wa yorokon-de iru.
I TOP feel glad-GER PROG
feel glad-in the state of
(I am in the state of feeling glad.)

(2) Watashi wa sore o kite yorokon-da.
I TOP that OBJ hear feel glad-PAST
(I rejoiced to hear that.)

Still, we should note that the above two verbal sentences sound relatively objective compared with the following adjectival sentences:

(3) Watashi wa urenshii (adj).
(I am glad.)

(4) Watashi wa sore o kite urenshii (adj.)
(I was glad to hear that.)

Adjectival sentences (3) and (4), convey the speaker's internal emotional states directly. Conversely, verbal sentences such as (1) and (2) report the speaker's own emotions more objectively.

In a similar vein, Morita (1991: 218) mentions that the verbal emotional expression:

(5) Sofu no shi o *kanashimu (verb).
(I grieve about the death of grandfather.)

is not acceptable since it sounds too objective and cold for describing one's feeling towards the death of his/her grandfather. In order to express the imminent 'sad' emotion, we would use the adjective "kanashii" as in:

(6) Sofu no shi ga kanashii (adjective).
(I am distressed about the death of grandfather.)

Furthermore, Yamashita (1986: 88-89) points out that when a person steps on a nail,
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(6) Sofu no shi ga *kanashii* [adjective].
(I am distressed about the death of grandfather.)

Furthermore, Yamashita (1986: 88-89) points out that when a person steps on a nail, he/she would cry "A! Itai! (Oh! Ouch!)" with the adjective 'itai (painful)!'. One would never cry "A! Itamu! (Oh! It hurts!)" with the verb 'itamu (hurt)', because it does not convey an instinctive subjective painful feeling but sounds like the objective description of pain as if the foot is somebody else's. On the other hand, when one shows the painful part of his foot to a doctor, one would use the verb 'itamu' to describe the pain objectively as in "(ashi no) koko ga *itamu* no desu (This part [of the foot] hurts)."

The same phenomena could be seen with the following sets of words: 'kuyashii (adj.) / kuyamu (v)', 'urayamashii (adj.) / unyamumu (v)', 'urameshii (adj.) / uramumu (v)', 'wazurawashii (adj.) / wazuramu (v)."

Examine the below to confirm the point discussed so far.

Although one could say:

(a) Aa, kare no koto ga kuyashii / urayamashii / urameshii / wazurawashii, naa!!
(Of, I) really feel vexed/envious/regrettable/annoying about him!!)

It is inadequate to exchange the above adjectives with the corresponding verbs, although it is correct if we change the above sentence as the below one

(b) Aa, *mada* kare no koto o kuyan-de iru / urayan-de iru / uran-de iru / wazurata-te iru naa!!
(Oh, I) still have been feeling vexed/envious/regrettable/annoying about him.)

However, we should note here the above sentence does not express the spontaneous feeling as the sentence (a) does, but represents the subject's objective feeling which he/she has had for a while.
4.2.2. Third Person Emotion Adjectival Sentences

We have seen that the distinction between the use of emotional verbs, such as "yorokobu (rejoice)", and the use of emotional adjectives, such as "tenshi (be glad)" is important in Japanese. When describing a third person's emotion, verbal emotional predicates which represent the speaker's objective description of the fact or event of emotion should be used to convey an objective manifestation of emotion.

The second characteristic of Japanese emotional sentences is that the emotional adjectival sentence cannot take a third person as subject when the sentence is a simple clause and the adjectival predicate is in a non-past indicative form. An example can be seen where "tanoshii (be happy)", as a rule, refers to the speaker's (or in questions, the addressee's) happy feeling. The following sentences (7b) and (8b), with a third person as subject, are incorrect. Sentences (7a), with a first person as subject (in a declarative sentence), and (8a), with a second person as subject (in an interrogative sentence), are correct.

(7a) Watashi wa mainichi ga tanoshii. (I am happy everyday.)
(7b) * Kare wa mainichi ga tanoshii. *(He is happy everyday.)
(8a) Anata wa mainichi ga tanoshii desu ka? (Are you happy everyday?)
(8b) * Kare wa mainichi ga tanoshii desu ka? *(Is he happy everyday?)

Akatsuka (1979) explains this phenomenon as follows:

"Because we cannot read minds, it is impossible for anyone to enter another person's inner consciousness and directly experience his internal feelings, sensations, emotions, or beliefs. Our knowledge about the mental state of another ego must necessarily come from our interpretation of external evidence." (p. 7)

and further she says:

"One characteristic of Japanese syntax...is its extreme sensitivity to epistemological considerations based on the ego/nonego distinction or the distinction of 'he/she' or 'other'. Traditional Japanese grammarians have long observed that Japanese adjectives of emotion, sensation, feeling, intention and so forth are sensitive to this ego/nonego distinction." (p.8)

Miura (1983: 194) also states that "in Japanese, one cannot make a definite statement...about someone else's feeling unless one is a novelist manipulating a character in a novel". Aoki (1986: 226-7) comments that a narrator in a novel "may adopt a position which enables him to process sensations as though he has privileged direct access to the sensing areas which are inaccessible under ordinary circumstances".

Kuroda (1973: 381) called a style produced by such an omniscient narrator "a nonreportive style". We should note here that, unlike English, even the omniscient narrator of a novel cannot express the third person's emotion in the present tense, for example:

(9) * Kare wa mainichi ga tanoshii. *(He is happy everyday.)

The following sentence is grammatical, even with the third person as the subject, when it is in the past tense. The sentence is particularly representative of, and restricted to, a written, narrative style:

(10) Kare wa mainichi ga tanoshikatta. *(He was happy everyday.)

Thus, in the ordinary conversational style, the third person subject cannot co-occur with an emotional adjective.6

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6 The following emotion adjectival sentences with "I (feel pleasing)" and "I'm (feel unpleasant)" serve as further examples of a form which cannot take a third person 'experiencer' form.

* Kare wa Hanako ga iifya da. *(He feels pleasing/unpleasant to Hanako.)
There are several devices which may be used to make emotion adjectival sentences, such as "* Kare wa mainichi ga tanoshii ("He is happy everyday") grammatical (cf. Nishio 1972: 29-30; Aoki 1986: 223-237).

(12) Kare wa mainichi o tanoshi-gut-te iru. 
He TOP everyday OBJ happy-Verbalsur-Genred FROG
(He shows sign of being happy everyday.

(13) Kare wa mainichi ga tanoshii nai da. 
He TOP everyday SUB happy marker of fact COP
(It is a fact that he is happy everyday. I know that he is happy everyday.

(14) Kare wa mainichi ga tanoshii-oo da. 
He TOP everyday SUB happy-(the) say COP
(They say he is happy everyday.)

(15a) Kare wa mainichi ga tanoshii-soo da. 
He TOP everyday SUB happy-(inferential) COP
(They look like he is happy everyday.)

(15b) Kare wa mainichi ga tanoshii-oo da. 
He TOP everyday SUB happy-(appear) COP
(I infer from my own experience that he is happy everyday)

(15c) Kare wa mainichi ga tanoshii-rashii. 
He TOP everyday SUB happy-(seem) COP
(I infer from what I heard that he is happy everyday)

Sentence (12) is grammatical, since the adjective "tanoshii" takes the verbaliser/indirect evidential marker "gar", which "converts inner sensations and desires into a verb which expresses externally observable changes" (Aoki 1986: 225). The verb derived by the addition of "gar" receives the further addition of "te iru" to express a state. The sentence (13) is also grammatical with an evidential 'no/n da' (nominalize 'no') and its informal

We should note here that the emotion nominal adjectives, "suki da (like)" and "kirai da (dislike)", although they are synonymous with "ii (feel pleasing)" and "iya da (feel pleasing)" in meaning, can take the third person 'experience' in a definite statement.

Kare wa Hansho ga suki da/kirai da. 
(He likes/dislikes Hansho.)

This is because, as Nishio (1971: 201) suggests, the emotion represented by "suki da" or "kirai da" is someone's conscious emotional attitude towards something. Therefore, these emotions are more objective than the emotions represented by "ii" or "iya da", which is rather subjective and temporal. Because of this objective property, adjectival predicates such as "suki da/kirai da" can be used to describe the feelings of a third person in a definite statement.

form 'n' + copula 'da'), which "converts a statement for which ordinarily no direct knowledge is possible into a statement which is asserted as a fact (Aoki: 230). The sentence (14) is grammatical with the special "hearsay" nominalizer 'soo' followed by a copula 'da', which adds the meaning of "they say". Sentences (15a), (15b), and (15c) are all grammatical with the inferential forms 'soo-da', 'yoo-da', 'rashii' respectively, which may be translated as 'look like', 'appear', 'seem'. Of these, 'soo-da' in sentence (15a) is "used when the speaker believes in what he is making an inference about" (Aoki: 232). 'Yoo-da' in sentence (15b) is used "when the speaker has some visible, tangible, or audible evidence collected through his own sense to make an inference" (Aoki: 231).

'Rashii' in sentence (15c) is "used when the evidence is circumstantial or gathered through sources other than one's own senses" (Aoki: 231).

It should be noted that all of the sentences corrected above with different devices do not convey the manifestation of the inner state of subjective emotion, as "tanoshii (be happy)" in "Watashi wa tanoshii (I am happy)" does. To describe a third person's emotions, the corrected sentences should show "on what basis they are presenting the statement about other people's emotions", by using the evidential marker "gar", 'no/n', '-yoo', '-soo', '-rashii', for example. Thus, when speaking of emotions in Japanese, the speaker needs to present some formal evidential markers when describing emotional feelings experienced by other people.

In contrast, in English, expressions like "He is happy" or "He wants water", are just as grammatical as "I am happy" or "I want water". Jorden, an American linguist studying the Japanese language, concludes that "culturally we are much less reluctant
than the Japanese to describe the feeling of others in definite statement ('She is happy', 'He is sad', etc.)' (Jordon 1987: 140). The Japanese speaker needs to make a formal distinction between the description of his/her own emotional feelings and the description of an emotional feeling experienced by another. These structural characteristics of emotion expressions in Japanese reflect the Japanese speaker's psychic structure and perspective of the world. In Japanese culture, where interpersonal involvement is restricted and the disclosure of self is limited (when compared with English speaking nations, for example), people may avoid describing the feelings of others in definite statements.

4.2.3. Subjective Emotion Adjectives & Attributive Emotion Adjectives

It is necessary next to explain the difference between sentences like (a) "Ano sensei ga kowai" and (b) "Ano sensei wa kowai", where the difference is only between the particle "ga" and "wa".

In a sentence containing an emotional expression, the 'experiencer of emotion' complement appears as a phrase with the topic particle "wa" in a simple sentence as (16).

\[ \text{(16) Watashi wa (ni-wa)}^{1} \quad \text{ano sensei ga kowai.} \]

[experiencer TOP (DAT-TOP) that teacher SUB be in fear of (I am in fear of the teacher.)]

Since it is evident that the experiencer of the emotion adjectival sentence is the speaker (or the addressee in question) in Japanese, the 'experiencer' complement can usually be omitted as understood as in (16).

\[ ^{1} \text{As Uehara (1998: 254) also mentions, since no third person subject can come to the subject position of emotion predicates like "kowai" or "kanashii", the subject of such predicates, whether overt or zero, can be correctly assumed to be the speaker. In other words, unless otherwise required, the speaker has the option of freely dropping the subject pronoun, "watashi T ", of such predicates.} \]

The adjective "kowai" in both sentences (16) and (17) above indicates the fearful feeling of the 'speaker'. When the 'stimulus/object of emotion' complement, "ano sensei ga" is marked by the topic marker "wa" as in (18), then it can be seen that the same adjective "kowai" is used to describe the attributes of the topic subject (that teacher), defined from an emotional perspective.

\[ \text{(18) Ano sensei wa kowai.} \]

[experiencer TOP fearful (That teacher is fearsome.)]

Sentence (18) implies that the attributes of the topicalised subject "ano sensei (that teacher)" causes 'people in general' to feel fear-like feelings. Thus the same adjective "kowai" has in (17) a subjective use, and in (18) an attributive (descriptive) use.

Therefore, the same emotion adjective in the subjective use can also be used as an attributive adjective in constructions where the focus is placed on the 'object/stimulus of the emotion' complement. Indeed, many emotion adjectives can also be used in an attributive (descriptive) use (cf. Teramura 1982):

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{[Subjective use]} & \text{[Attributive (descriptive) use]} \\
\text{osoroshii (be in dread of)} & \rightarrow \text{osoroshii (dreadful)} \\
\text{kowai (be scared)} & \rightarrow \text{kowai (scary)} \\
\text{kanashii (be sad)} & \rightarrow \text{kanashii (sad, sorrowful)} \\
\text{sabishii (be lonely)} & \rightarrow \text{sabishii (deserted)} \\
\text{urayamashii (be jealous of)} & \rightarrow \text{urayamashii (being something/something which one would desire to be in place)}
\end{array}
\]

It is worth noting here Kishimoto's (1967: 110) following comments:
Kishimoto then states that "One of the characteristics of the Japanese language is to be able to project man's experience in its immediate and unanalysed form".

Some emotion adjectives, such as "suki (like)" "kirai (dislike)", "hoshii (want)", "urameshii (feel resentful)" "ureshii (happy)" "shiajase (happy)", are predicates which describe an individual's emotions. Therefore, they cannot be used attributively, where they describe the object as something towards which people in general would have a certain emotional feeling.

Some emotion adjectives have specific forms for their attributive (descriptive) use, which are formally different from the forms as they are used subjectively. However, they often share the same stem form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjective use</th>
<th>Attributive (descriptive) use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>niku (have a feeling of hate for)</td>
<td>nikurashii (hateful)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iya da (feel bad of)</td>
<td>iyashii (unpleasant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kawai (love)</td>
<td>kawarashii (lovely)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ureshii (feel happy)</td>
<td>yorokobashii (happy, pleasant)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The emotion adjectives convey the speaker's subjective feeling toward someone/something in the construction where the 'stimulus/object of emotion' complement is marked by the subject particle "ga". In another construction where this 'stimulus/object' complement is marked with the topic particle "wa", however, the emotion adjectives change their meanings from that of their subjective use into that of their attributive (descriptive) use. The emotion adjectives in the attributive use define the attributes of the focused object with emotion connotation.

4.3 The Japanese Component for NSM 'THINK'

In the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) there are four 'mental predicates': THINK, KNOW, WANT, FEEL. In this section we will consider what is an equivalent Japanese component for the mental predicate THINK.

Oonishi (1994) mentions that there are two candidates ("omou" and "kangaeru") for THINK, and he argues in favour of the former. He argues that basically "omou" refers to a spontaneous non-volitional type of thinking, while "kangaeru" refers to a conscious analytical thinking process. Indeed, Hirose & Shoji (1994: 181, 179) also argue that "omou" is "to mentally or emotionally sense something. "Omou" is much more intuitive and emotional than "kangaeru", while "kangaeru":

"refers to the intellectual mental process of making judgments or forming logical ideas based on sense. There is a clear sense of attempting to reach a conclusion. Thus, when referring to academic matters such as mathematical calculation, "kangaeru" is used rather than "omou"."

Kawashima and Amamori (1993: 37, 49) mention that "omou" refers to something that occurs in KOKORO (roughly 'heart') spontaneously, while "kangaeru" means to confront some person or thing.11 Miura (1983: 151-152, 99-100), explaining the

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9 "Samishii" is a form of "sabishii" which is often used in the colloquial style (Bunkachoo 1993: 45).

10 Wierzbicka (1996b) claims that no languages fail to distinguish between THINKING and FEELING. Although Lutz (1995: 47) suggested that fiksh does not distinguish lexically between feel and think, and that most relevant word in this area, namunna, "refers to mental events ranging from what we consider thoughts to what we consider emotion ... Thus, namunna may be translated ... as 'thought/emotion', Wierzbicka (1996b) says, that Lutz calls namunna means 'think' rather than 'think or feel', and that its frequent emotive connotations are due to context rather than to the word itself.

11 As Hirose & Shoji (1994: 180) state, "Omou is often used at the end of a sentence expressing conjecture, hope, opinion, or argument in order to make one's statement softer. Consider the following example: Nippon zo sokoku kappuru hakusho Aite ni hidaketo"
difference between these words, says that "kangaeru" is the verb to be used for analytical thinking, and also that while "kangaeru" does not need an object, "omou" is used when the object of thinking is mentioned (or at least clearly implied).\(^2\) Therefore, for the translation of 'think' in the famous phrase of Descartes' *Discours de la méthode*, "I think, therefore, I am (Cogito, ergo sum). Je pense, donc je suis,", "kangaeru" is more accurate than "omou" as in "Ware kangaeru, yue ni ware ari" (Sakuta 1975: 46-47; Kashima 1986; Mei jishoin-kyoookasho-henshubu Vol.2 1997: 99). Furthermore, un-analytical "omou" can be used synonymously with a verb such as 'imagine' as seen in the following sentence:

(19) Shiki to wa me no ugoi ka toka, kao no hyoojo do toka ressun da toka ite kita ga, kore datte hyoozan no suimenjo no ichibubun no na no da. Somo se de, jiben ga hyoojen shini rize no enso o, hittasara "OMOU" no de aru. Shiki to wa, kono "OMOU" da te to itte ii-darou. Jiben wa, furikata nante, doco demo ii no da. [Iwaki 1999:88]

Ooko: "Suki da to gomou" te no "OMOU" te no yome kurenai? Omou: "OMOU" to is te iro o wakatte kudanai. [MORE 1994 February:164]

(19) White paper on Japanese couples
(A word to your partner)

Matu: Could you stop using "omou" (think)? [when you say] "I think I like you?"
Woman: Please understand the shyness to the word "omou (think)?"

Therefore, when the speaker is not sure about his/her opinion, as seen in the following phrase, one cannot replace "omou" with "kangaeru".

Mosihikashita, ano toki, ara, sore de kono hito, ao ito made no watachi ni tsukimimono tuumori kashira te, KANGAE/OMOTOMA n ja nai ka te, its KANGAE/OMOTOMA kamo. shihenai te OMOTOMA "KANGAE" de a de. (…) Tsumeta, sore de ito wa OMOWaza KANGAERete shihensite kare no te, OMOTOME "KANGAE" de ite te de kedo te.

(I thought/OMOTOMA" KANGAE/en) maybe you at that time thought (KANGAE/OMOTOMA) I wanted to follow you around. I mean, I thought/OMOTOMA" KANGAE/en you thought (KANGAE/OMOTOMA). (…) But I thought/OMOTOMA" KANGAE/en you might take it that way.

12 "Omou" is polysemous. Non-NSM "omou" occurs when the object of this verb is something/someone the subject yearns after. Jinami (1963: 156) mentions that from ancient times "omou" has referred to the feeling of affection, for example:

"Boku ga kanjo o "omou" kimochi wa honmono da [Murakami 1997: 57]
I SUB the OBU omou feeling. Top real COP
(B: My feelings for [lit. feelings to whom] her are real)

Doku wa atashi o omotte kureru-shi... [Capote 1968: 94]
Doku TOP1 OBU omou give-and
(J –E: Dus really love me...)

In the above context, where "omou (or its noun omoti)" is used with a similar meaning to 'imagine', 'kangaeru' cannot replace "omou".

Although Oonishi (1994: 367-368; 1997:220) says he prefers "omou" to "kangaeru" for the Japanese candidate of THINK, I support Asano's (1998: 142) opinion that in some contexts, such as in the sentence 'I have to think about it' of 'I cannot think about it now', "kangaeru" should be used for the translation of THINK rather than "omou". I agree with Asano's statement that "omou" and "kangaeru" are allolexes of the same primitive THINK.

However, I cannot accept Asano's (p.131) conclusion that "omote iru" is a better candidate than "omou" for THINK. Asano mentions that the translation of the mental predicate THINK is problematic: The Japanese "omou" cannot be used to describe the mental state of a second or third person in the simple declarative present tense sentence.

Therefore, Asano suggests that the sentence becomes grammatical if one uses "omote iru". However, I claim that "omote iru" has a more complicated meaning than "omou". Moreover, "omou" can be used in a sentence with a second or third person subject in NSM scripts.

In order to argue this point, it is important now to examine what "omote iru" denotes. As noted in the previous section, a second or third person subject sentence cannot take a mental lexical item such as "omou" in either its past or non-past tense form in Japanese.

Consider the following ungrammatical sentences:

(20a) *Chichi wa jiben ga shita to omou/omoti-shi, father TOP himself SUB die QUO think/think-PAST
(Father thinks/believes that he will die.)

(20b) *Asana wa jiben ga shita to omou/omoti-shi.
In order to argue this point, it is important now to examine what te iru form of "omou" (omote iru) supply additional complicated denotation to compare with the meaning of simple "omou" form.
For the Japanese equivalent of 'think' in component (b) and (e), we could use "omou" as in "X wa tokidoki omou" for component (b) and "Kono hito ga kore o omou toki..." for component (e). If we use "omotte iru" here, the whole description sounds too objective, rather than something like a description of a subjective emotional feeling.

The second occasion where "omou" can be used with a second or third person subject is when THINK is embedded in the relative clause. In an NSM description "X is someone/the kind of person who thinks something like this", "omou" can be used without any problem as in "X wa yoko yoo-ja nanika o omou hito da".

For the above reasons, I cannot agree with Asano's (1998: 135) statement that "omotte iru" seems to be a better NSM translation of THINK than "omou".

4.4. The Japanese Component of NSM: FEEL

The verb 'omou' seems to cover some of the semantic domain of both the English words 'think' and 'feel'. Oonishi (1994: 369) suggests "kanjiru" as the Japanese candidate for the NSM word FEEL. Hasada (1994b) claims that "kanjiru" and "kimochi (ga suru/da)" are allolexes of FEEL. Although Oonishi (1997: 227) later states that he

13 For example, for the translation of the word 'feel' in the following sentence, both "omou" and "kanjiru" can be used:

But you do feel, don't you, in terms of respect, that it was a good thing he died? [Abe 1993: 8]

This use of 'feel', however, is English specific, and 'feel' doesn't stand here for the NSM 'FEEL'.

14 Japanese use this word 'kimochi' frequently. For example:

(1) Kenka shita, 2.3 aichi tate ryokore ni boku komo o taisshite kita otto. Sore o wasashi ga kyoji. Ono wa "boku no kimochi ga wakaran ka" [Midori Ishikawa (71 years old, wife prefect) in Saloon 1995: 159]
(MT: A few days after we had a quarrel, my husband suggested that we should go on a trip. I refused. [Then] my husband said "Can't you understand my kimochi (feeling?)")

(2) Soijo nii engi o osaimashita. Chugoku no Rii Shosee. Koo toki no kimochi te iu no wa donna mon desho ka nara. [Comment by Gushiken (boxer) in the TV broadcast "Atlanta Olympic"]
prefers "kimochi", rather than "kanjiru" to express the basic meaning of FEEL, Hasada (1994b) argues that in some contexts, such as "watashi wa nanika o kanjiru (I feel something)", "kimochi" cannot replace "kanjiru".

Despite this argument, the translation of 'I feel good/bad' or 'I feel something bad/good' via the same word "kanjiru" sounds very awkward. The closest equivalent is using the phrase "...kimochi ga suru (kimochi da)" (cf. Hasada 1994b). While the literal meaning of "suru" is 'to do', "suru" in Japanese is often used to refer to a human feeling:

(22) Nanika ii kimo (ki)/otoshi suru SUB do some good feeling / sound / smell SUB do (I feel/sense some good.)

The following sentences show that the use of "kanjiru" for the sentences 'I feel good' and 'I feel something good' sounds awkward. The use of "kimochi (ga suru)" is appropriate.

(23a) *Watashi wa yoku kanjiru. I TOP good feel
(→ Sounds like 'I am very sensitive.')

(23b) Watashi wa ii kimo (ga suru) kimo (da) i TOP good feeling SUB do / feeling COP (I feel good)

(24a) *Watashi wa nanika ii ko no o kanjiru. I TOP something good thing OBJ feel
(→ Sounds like 'I have a premonition that something good will happen.')

(24b) Watashi wa nanika ii kimo (ga suru) / kimo (da) i TOP something good feeling SUB do / feeling COP (I feel something good.)

As for the translation of 'I feel bad' and 'I feel something bad' also, only "kimochi ga suru" can be used. I note here that, while the Japanese candidate for NSM word BAD is "warui", the use of "warui" for these two sentences sounds awkward. The following sentences using 'iya na (unpleasant)' instead of "warui (bad)" are a more natural way of conveying the meaning of 'feel bad' (cf. Hasada 1994b).

(25a) ?Watashi wa warui kimo (ga suru). I TOP bad feeling SUB do
(→ Sounds like 'I feel guilty/sorry')

?Watashi wa kimo (ga) warui. I TOP feeling SUB bad
(→ Sounds like 'I feel sick')

(25b) Watashi wa iya na kimo (ga suru) / kimo (da). i TOP unpleasant feeling SUB do / feeling COP (I feel bad)

(26a) ?Watashi wa nanika warui kimo (ga suru). I TOP something bad feeling SUB do
(→ Sounds like 'I feel somehow guilty')

?Watashi wa nanika kimo (ga) warui. I TOP something feeling SUB bad
(→ Sounds like 'I feel somehow sick')

(26b) Watashi wa nanika iya na kimo (ga suru) / kimo (da). I TOP something unpleasant feeling SUB do / feeling COP (I feel something bad.)

In summary, on balance "kimochi" is better than "kanjiru" for the Japanese component of FEEL except for the difficulty that it will not work with 'FEEL SOMETHING'.

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15 When combined with "kibun", the word "warui (bad)" can be used:

Watashi wa warui kibun ga suru. I TOP bad feeling SUB do
This sentence sounds like it is restricted to referring to the mood or sensation of 'feeling unwell, ill, sick, indisposed, and not to one's emotional reactions. Hirose & Shoji (1994: 259) explains that "kibun" refers to "emotions or temporary states of mind brought about by the atmosphere of a place or existing conditions." Thus when one refers to overall bad feelings, one should say in Japanese "iya na kimo (ga suru) / iya na kimo (da)".
5. BODY PART TERMS AND EMOTION: 
KOKORO / HARA, MUNE / KI, MUSHI

McVeigh’s (1996) comments are worthy of attention in the discussion of the use of body part terms for referring to emotions.

...all languages press into service terms for inner organs and other bodily parts in order to build notions of subjectivity. (p.32)

Our mental worlds are the products of sociocultural processes which are based on the interchange of qualities of the bodily and the cultural, of things and values, using analogies from the sensible and observable world to describe and define psychological events. Experiences of the concrete are used in a discourse that represents and defines abstract notions. This is because we do not and cannot just ‘think’, we can only think ‘of’, ‘about’, or ‘with’ something borrowed from the world. It is, therefore, the tangible and observable, or in a word, the sensible, which is essential in defining our experience of mental events. ... Our minds, then, are basically metaphorical in the sense that they are machines which borrow things from the world — including our own bodily experiences — and produce meanings. (p.35)

Mental intuitions ... or at least their linguistic representations ... originate in the description of bodily, sensible experiences. The fact that what is used to describe perceptual events is also used to indicate mental states should alert us to the metaphorical function of language. (p.42)

Thus, it is not only Japanese people who use bodily terms metaphorically for referring to the inner states of their emotions. However, the body parts and the way they use them for expressing certain emotions is characteristic of their own language and culture. Therefore, for example, the comment that the stomach is strongly associated with feelings of jealousy by Lyman and Waters (1986 qut. in Plutchik 1994: 7) does not sound natural to a Japanese person. This chapter will treat bodily terms which are associated with Japanese emotion expressions.

5.1. KOKORO: The Seat of Emotions for the Japanese People

It is said that the origin of the word “KOKORO” comes from the verb “koru (to grow stiff)” (Satoo 1985: 82-3; also Mitsui-ginkoo-gyoombu-koohooka 1970: 68; Satoo

1976: 123, Sugimoto 1963: 76). It was thought that the souls of human beings flowing through the air become firm and moulded into KOKORO.

(1) Dare mo ga mowite iru “KOKORO.” Soshibe dare mo ga yokosakurai no mo “KOKORO”.
“Sekaiju no koro o shiru yori mo jibun no KOKORO o shiru hoo ga yahodo mukashiki, to wa yoku ita mono.
Aru toki wa ashi to nari, aru toki wa kanjyo to nari, aru toki wa kado o hata, nata aru toki wa kuruma no uguki to naru awarenai KOKORO.
[Satoo 1985: 29]

(MT: Everybody has [his/her] KOKORO, and nobody really understands what KOKORO is. It is often said, ‘It is harder to know (one’s own) KOKORO than to know about world affairs.’ Sometimes KOKORO is as the will, sometimes it is emotion, sometimes it expresses words, and sometimes it is expressed as a bodily movement.)

What is “kokoro”? As seen in the following comments by two Japanese psychiatrists, it seems too difficult to know what KOKORO is:

(2) Rinsho-shinrigaku nado to ira koto o semmon ni shite iru to, tanin no KOKORO ga sugu wakaru no de wa nai ka to, yoku iwarete Watanuki ni as to, suga ni KOKORO no o ni o minokusare-soo de kowari, i made to hito mo aru. Tashikani wazashi wa rinsho-shinrigaku no semmonika de aru shi, hito no KOKORO to ira koto o shite iru koto ningen de aru. Shibashi, jira no tokoro wa, ipan no yoso to wa hantni ni, watah ni wa hito no KOKORO nado wakaru haza ga nai to irome iru no de aru. Koro tae o motto kyochoo-shihi toki wa, ipan no hito wa hito no KOKORO ga sugu wakaru to irome osanri ga, hito no KOKORO ga ikeni wakannai ka to sa koto o, kashichin o mette shite ira tokoro ga, semmonika no tokuchoo de aru.
[Kawai 1998: 16]

(MT: People say that I can understand other people’s KOKORO easily, since I specialize in clinical psychology. Some people even say that they think I can penetrate their KOKORO. It is true I have dealt with people’s KOKORO as a professional clinical psychologist. However, in fact, contrary to people’s common general expectation, I think that nobody can understand what people’s KOKORO is. What I want to emphasise is acknowledging the impossibility of knowing people’s KOKORO as a character of professional clinical psychologists, unlike of people in general.)

(3) Kimi ni mo KOKORO ga aru. Boku ni mo KOKORO ga aru. Sono koto o, kimin wa inbido danse usagasu koro wa arumai. Bokuchuu wa KOKORO no uguki o kanjimagare hitte iru. Yorokonde kuruma, kuruma, kuruma, shite iru. Sono jibun no KOKORO no uguki nashi ni, kimin wa inbido datte ga shite darou ka?
KOKORO wa sore kuri, bokuchuu ni ni waga millia na mono da. Iya, millia na mono dokoro ka, bokuchuu hitte sono mono de aru. Tokorode, bokuchuu wa, sono KOKORO ni tsuite, dare de shute iru shite darou ka. Shite iru yoo ni nai to irome, kowari shite hitte shite inai mono, sore ga jibunshin de aru KOKORO da.
[Nada 1992: 7]
(MT: You have KOKORO. I also have KOKORO. You must never doubt that. We live with the feeling and movement of our own KOKORO. Can you live without feeling the movement of your KOKORO, without feeling glad, sad, angry, love or hatred? KOKORO is very familiar to us. No, KOKORO is not only familiar to us, but it is we ourselves. By the way, how much do we know about KOKORO? We tend to think we know it very well, but actually we rarely do.)

The word KOKORO is often used to describe the seat of the emotions as seen in the paragraph in example (4) below. The examples of KOKORO which appear in the second paragraph show how KOKORO is used in a similar sense to another word "kimochi (roughly 'feeling')."

(4) Moshi, kimi no otoosan ga KOKORO no naka de okore iremo, chitomo sore o sotsugawa ni arawashite kurenakusan, kimi ni wa okore ina no ka, ina no ina, nakakana keeore ga tsukurani daroo.
Shiikashi, sono toki no, tada, KOKORO no ugoeki ga karada ni arawaretomo, sore dake de wa, kimi ni wakarani daroo. Kimi wa jibun no KOKORO no ugoeki o shite iru, sore no hikashushite, hitome no, hitsuyoh no KOKORO ga wakariru no da.
[Nada 1992:21-22]

(MT: Although your father may be angry in his KOKORO, if he does not express it outwardly, you cannot assume he is angry at all.
You can know the movement of your own KOKORO, and what you can do is manage to understand other people's KOKORO by referring to it.)

The word KOKORO is often used in a Japanese person's life. Having KOKORO is considered important in order to be a good person or to have a good life, while not having KOKORO is regarded negatively. The following examples illustrate this point:

(5) 21-seiki wa "KOKORO no jidai"
Deai o tadai ni.
[CM from Human Network TV in Asahi Shimbun 1999 May 13th, Morning Edition: 18]

(MT: 21st century should be the "age of KOKORO."
Let's make a point of meeting with other people)

(6) Watachi wa kore ni mo iroo na men kara hon o kaite kimashita. Sore wa, "KOKORO" o ushinatta hitobito ga amari ni m o oiru kara desu. Ningen ga nigens to shite manabu biki koto o manabete ni ikite iru, osashite fukuen ga jisetsu o tomusou ni shite yatsu no hitobito o, KOKORO no soko kara, sukute ageta to ono to kimochi kara, watachi jishin ga manase no koto o hon ni matomere shuppun shite kimashita.
[Hosoki 1999:10]

(MT: I have written books from various points of view. This is because there are a lot of people who have lost their KOKORO. People who live without having known what people should learn to be a human being, as well as people who have hard and unhappy lives.... Having seen these people, I have published my books so far, wishing from the bottom of my heart to help others by some means.)

(7) Tsuna wa shigoto o motsu iru koto no atta ga, kaji wa nimate, shugei nado mattaku dame ningen...no haa datta. Sono tsuna ga nani 3-nen gakari de watachi no seetsu o ande kureru, "Watachi no KOKORO o kire kudasai ne." Kubi ya no kuchi mo suga nobire shimasu.... Desu, 3-nen gakari no tsuna no KOKORO ni, kyuan to natta watachi datta.
[Shigeyuki Kikawu (50 years old: Saitama prefecture) in Salon 1995: 76]

(MT: My wife, maybe because she has her own job, is not good at housekeeping and she is really bad at handicrafts. But she knitted me a sweater although it took three years. She said, "please wear my KOKORO." The neckline and cuffs look like they will quickly become stretched..... But I felt a pang at my wife's KOKORO which took three years to make.)

Older people criticise young people's behaviour as "KOKORO naki koodoo (actions without KOKORO)", while young people call elderly people "shigoto ni KOKORO o suitoraeru awara no otona (poor adults whose KOKORO has been taken over by their work)" (Shirisu-gakko-kyooshoku-kyoossi-linkai 1989: 6). Thus, KOKORO is often used as something indispensable for life as a good human being. In addition, the existence of KOKORO is very important for the traditional Japanese arts, such as the tea ceremony, flower arrangement, and kabuki theatre. The head of a school of these arts tells us that KOKORO is a fundamental factor for the improvement of these 'skills' or 'arts' (Miyakoshi 1989: 48). Furthermore, Koo (1989: 259) reports that KOKORO is repeated frequently in Japanese popular songs.

Other examples of usage of KOKORO are as follows:

(8) KOKORO wa hito no kara, sore o damaite mishugushi wa shinaidaroo.
[Yamada & Ito 1986: 282]

(B [J->E]: A conscientious person (lit. A person who has KOKORO) would not keep silent and let it pass.)

(9) KOKORO ni bakkas-tachi ga tsugi kara tsugi e to gomi o suite iku.
[Yamada & Inoue 1986: 282]

(B [J->E]: One after another, inconspicuous bikers (lit. bikers without KOKORO) throw litter in their path.)

(10) Kare wa KOKORO no hito (temari) hitori da.

[110]
Which word corresponds to KOKORO in English? The seat of the emotions in English is usually considered to be the ‘heart’. However, as Passin (1982: 87) mentions, the Japanese word KOKORO is not exactly the same as the word ‘heart’. "They overlap to some extent, but there are many uses of the word KOKORO in Japanese that cannot be translated as ‘heart’ in English." Passin (1982: 96) says that KOKORO has an enormous range of meanings, which intersect variably with the English words heart, mind, soul, spirit, etc. Therefore, many translators do not translate the title of Sooske Natsume's work KOKORO and leave it as it is in Japanese (Satoo 1985: 80).

It is interesting to see what kinds of English words correspond to the Japanese word KOKORO in published translations of English texts as well as in English popular songs translated into Japanese. The following are examples of how KOKORO corresponds to the English word 'heart'.

(11) "Kamisama ga Beu o tanukete kodasuttara, wataashi wa ittouo kamisama o aishite, orasukanhi agaru wa." to joo mo makau ni nentojo kocone itta.
"Watashi, KOKORO sante nakereba yokatta to omou wa, koreshihite tamarasai n desu mono," Megu wa shibaruku tante kara, seu itte tateishi o tsuira.

(7 <— E: "If God spares Beth I’ll try to love and serve Him all my life," answered Jo, with equal fervor.
"I wish I had no heart (KOKORO), it aches so;" sighed Meg, after a pause.)
[Alcott 1967: 163]

(12) Watashi atama de kongesu wa kono hito shita inai ate
Watashi no KOKORO e>> sore ni ojitsa wa
(7 <— E: My heart was saying this is the man
And my heart (KOKORO) agreed)

In Japanese folk-psychology, it is assumed that human beings are composed of "karada (body)" and "KOKORO" (Miyakoshi 1989: 47). Mutch (1987: 59) says Japanese see their KOKORO as being located in the region around their chests, as well as in the head area. This is contradicted by Satoo (1985: 77-78) who says that Japanese KOKORO is located in the area of the chest but not the area of the head. I support Satoo's opinion.

On the other hand, a Cartesian split between "body" and "mind" dominates Western, especially Anglo-Saxon, ethno-psychology and ethno-philosophy as a whole (Wierzbicka 1992c: 41, 43), and the mind is considered to be located in the head area. Wierzbicka (1992c: 44) points out that "the older English mind was clearly linked with emotion, whereas in present-day English emotions are normally linked with heart, not with mind".

On the other hand, KOKORO is considered located in the area of the chest but not the area of the head in Japanese. It seems that Japanese people consider that an intellectual mental function word like "mind", which is considered to be located in the head area in English, could sometimes be likened to KOKORO, which is considered to be located in the area of the chest, and never in the area of the head in Japanese. The following

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1 Wierzbicka (1999) mentions that the popular concepts of the West contrast the head and the heart as the organs of thoughts and feelings.

2 In her study of Japanese bodily emotion terms, Mutch (1987: 58) also says that they are not exactly the same.

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3 Translation from English into Japanese is by Yasumi Yamamoto in Olivia's Greatest Hits vol.2 1982 by 'Y's Shiba EMI Records, Inc.

4 Yamazaki (in Meihi-Shio-Kyuokoh Shorebusho Vol.2 1997: 137) mentions that in Japanese traditional songs there is an argument that the opposite of KOKORO is words, and while some historical figures such as Noritaka Motoo (1730-1802) considered "words" more important, others such as Teika Fujiwara (1158-1214) took KOKORO to be more important.

5 Wierzbicka (1994: 41, 63) says that traditional Western dualism is related to the distinction between body and soul, not between body and mind, but the use of word soul has declined and the word mind has ascended over time.
examples (14) (16) (17) show the English word "mind" translated as KOKORO in Japanese.

(14) Watashi no koibito
unarete hajimete
Watashi no KOKORO wa kanjirarenaru
Kanzashimi ga kanjirare, yume ga kanjirarenaru
(I <— E: Oh my lover for the first time in my life
My mind [KOKORO] can feel
I feel sorrow, oh I feel dreams)

As suggested above, in general, emotional feelings are considered to be felt in the heart in English, while some intellectual components of feelings can be felt in the mind which is associated with the head area. Thus, consider the following examples:

(15) Tsumetasi KOKORO
[Sanseidō-henshujo 1995: 232]
(B [J—>E]: A cold heart (*mind [KOKORO])

(16) KOKORO no hiroi hito
[Sanseidō-henshujo 1995: 232]
(B [J—>E]: A broad-minded (*/sharped) person; lit. A person who has broad KOKORO)

(17) Kirei as KOKORO
[Sanseidō-henshujo 1995: 232]
(B [J—>E]: A fair mind (*heart) [KOKORO])

The intellectual components such as "broad-mindedness" or "fair-mindedness", are felt in the "mind" which is located in the area of the head in English, and are felt in the KOKORO in Japanese, which is located in the chest area. It can be seen that the meaning of both "mind" and "heart" in English overlap with the meanings of the Japanese word KOKORO. The commentator in the following example expresses his wonder at

why non-Japanese people point to their head when they are talking about KOKORO, since for Japanese people KOKORO is always located in the chest area, but he does not recognise that English "mind", which could be translated as KOKORO in Japanese, is considered to be located in the head area.

(18) KOKORO, KOKORO ste imasu kedo ne. Nihonjin wa KOKORO ste imasu to, mune o osateru shimasu nee. Demo gaiokujin tsu is to zembo koko (atama) o osasemasu kara ne. [Giichi Fujimoto (media personality/writer) in the TV program "Tetsuko no Hoya" June 1996]

(MT: Although we say KOKORO, KOKORO, the Japanese point to their 'mune' (chest/heart) 'when they talk about KOKORO', but foreigners point to their 'atama' (head).)

Yet, as commented or by a Japanese psychiatrist below, KOKORO is something which cannot be seen nor touched from the outside.

(19) KOKORO ni wa, iro mo katachi mo ookisa mo, katasa mo, netus mo, sonna mono wa nai. Suve ga, KOKORO no tokuchoo demo aru. Tateba, tembruru ya booren ya koppu nado ti chigatte, mono de wa nai. Sore wa, me de miru koto mo, is de sawaru koto mo, nagasya ya ookisa ya omosu nado o hakataji suru koto mo dekina. Sono suru koto so deku moto o, busshiru to is no da keredo. KOKORO wa busshiru de wa nai. (...) Makushii ni hito-zashi wa, KOKORO o nanika me de minai no, de sawaru koto so dekina mono da ga, (...) mune no naka ni osamite iru mono da to kagaste ita. [Naka 1992: 18-19]

(MT: KOKORO does not have colour, figure, size, hardness, nor heat. These are the features of KOKORO. That means, it is different from what is around you or me, such as a table or ball-point pen, or cup, it is not the object. It cannot be seen by the eye, nor felt by the hand, nor measured in length/width/weight. The substance can be seen, felt, or scaled, but KOKORO is not the substance. (...) People in the old days thought that KOKORO is something which cannot be seen by the eyes nor touched by the hands, (...) but something which is located in the MUNE (chest),)

Observing all the points above, I will posit the following explication for the meaning of body part term KOKORO.

KOKORO
(a) a part of a person
(b) people think it is like something inside the upper part of a body
(c) people think it is something people cannot see
(d) because a person has this part, this person can feel many kinds of things
(e) because a person has this part, a person wants to do something
(f) because a person has this part, a person can think of other people (another person)
(g) because of this, a person can do good things for other people (another person)
(b) when a person does not have this part, a person cannot be a good person
(i) because of this part, a person can be good/bad
(j) other people cannot know what this person feels/thinks inside this part, if this person does not want them to know.

As seen in example (19), KOKORO is not a part of a person's body, but something which is considered to be located in the middle/upper part of the body, around the chest area (component (a) "a part of a person" (b) people think it is like something inside the upper part of a body"). As illustrated in the same example (19), KOKORO is something which cannot be seen, felt, or measured (component (c) people think it is something people cannot see"). Component (d) "because a person has this part, this person can feel many kinds of things" shows that KOKORO is the seat of all the emotions of Japanese people except for physical feelings such as 'hunger' or 'richness', which are felt in the belly or on the skin respectively. Component (e) "because a person has this, a person wants to do something" is needed because we can say "Soo shiinta/shitakunai to KOKORO no soko kara omotta (I felt I wanted/didn't want to do that from the bottom of my KOKORO)".

As we have seen in examples (16) or (17), Japanese people consider that some intellectual mental function is linked to KOKORO. Components (f) "because a person has this part, a person can think of other people (another person)" and (g) "because of this, a person can do good things for other people (another person)" are justified, because, as illustrated in the examples (5) (7) (8) above, a person who has KOKORO thinks of other people (another person), so he/she takes an appropriate attitude in order not to disturb nor annoy other people. In example (5), KOKORO is regarded as something important for good personal relationships. In example (7), a wife says she put her KOKORO in her work while she was knitting a sweater for her husband; anything in which a producer's KOKORO is included is considered positively, which gives good impressions to other people. On the other hand, even a perfect looking product can be judged negatively if one cannot see the existence of its producer's KOKORO within it. Therefore, as mentioned before, KOKORO is considered a very important factor for producing traditional Japanese arts. Example (8) illustrates that a person who has KOKORO would not do anything which would disturb or annoy other people. Component (b) "when a person does not have this part, a person cannot be a good person" is posited because, as seen in example (6), people without KOKORO are regarded negatively.

Aspects of the moral character of a person depends on the condition of the person's KOKORO. Depending on what his/her KOKORO is like, a person can be either good or bad. While we have the phrase like "ano hito wa KOKORO no kirei na yoi hito da (lit. That person is a good person with a beautiful KOKORO)" we have the phrase "ano hito wa KOKORO ga mage noo shiyou mo nai (That person is hopeless and has a crooked KOKORO)" (cf. also examples (10) above). Therefore, (i) "because a person has this part, a person can be good/bad" is justified. As illustrated in example (4) one cannot know what other people feel/think in their KOKORO, unless the person actually tells you. Otherwise, what one can do is just assume other people's KOKORO by their verbal or nonverbal expressions. Therefore, the component (j) "other people cannot know what this person feels/thinks inside this part, if this person does not want them to know" is posited in the explication of KOKORO.

5.2. In Which Part of the Body do the Japanese People Feel Emotions?

As already suggested above, KOKORO, or the inner self, is symbolically localised in the chest "mune", but not in the head "atama" (also Lebra 1992: 112). Therefore, while there are many body parts relating idiomatic expressions using "mune" or "bara" to express various emotions in Japanese, there are very few which use "atama". An example of one is "atama ni kuru (lit. (blood) comes to the head 'get angry')". We should note that even this expression "atama ni kuru" has come to be used only recently (as discussed in Chapter 9).
5.2.1. MUNE

"Mune (chest)" is the place where the Japanese believe their KOKORO is located. Therefore, there are many expressions for emotions happening in the "mune" in Japanese. Examples (1) - (5) are from original Japanese texts. Examples (6) and (7) are Japanese translations of original English texts.

(1) Watashi no koto MUNE no honoo wa, anata ga tenkashita no desu kara, anata ga kashiite itte kudasai. [Dazai 1979: 96]

(2) "Ja, issui mo sezu ni?" "Kimino koto ga shimpai ni nante ne." .


(3) Konnai, doo shitei yurusenai to omotta no wa, kore made no yoo ni uwaki de wa naku, honki da to kanjita kara desu. Shujin ga kokoore mo jikan mo zemku zokki ni mukite iru, konna koto wa 18 nen-kan, ishido mo nakatta no desu. Kettei ni na uregiku-ku de to umomashita. Shujin e no shineri ga ikki ni kuzurete itu no o kanjimashita. Ikki ya kanashimi yori mo, MUNE no hashaguremashita. [Matu Nakayama (selection) in Fujin Kooron 1998 March 22: 33]

(4) Hondo de to o awaseasagara, MUNE ni komiajuro mono ga arimashita. (Nyuusen no kokusokubu.) Kaneshi o mukashita hi ni shinkyoku-happyo to ii yorokobi ni kawase, ssumo to kurashimi no hibi o hene, ima, jibun no kareda to kokoro ga konna ni mo genshi ni nareta koto ga, tamanakaru ureshikata no desu. [Chiyoko Shimagiku (singer) in Fujin Kooron 1998 May 22: 29]

(5) Soogi to taki, (yuujin ga) takushii no naka de hensu o okoshita to i koto o kire, boku wa, risshu to shita. Byooin de shitaribe, nanmono nai to iware, ururin shite dekaketa chokugo no koto dakara de aru. "...Wakasann mono de naa, isse nakki wa matsuku wakaranai, hakasann mono da," Sso ina koto ga, boku jishin, onaji shinxoo o yamu ni ni nata toki, matsuki ni MUNE ni kita. [Nakazato 1998: 170]

(MT: At the funeral I felt terrified upon hearing that my friend had died in a taxi from a heart attack. That was because the death occurred just after he'd been to hospital for a check-up. Told he had had no problems, he'd just gone out.

"...You never know. You never know what will happen the next moment. How brief is the span of human life". When I said that certain feelings came to my MUNE, since I suffer from the same heart condition.)

(6) Aru kanjou ga MUNE no eki wa nakiikoru

O <- E: I've got a feeling

A feeling deep inside (lit. in MUNE), oh yeah, that's right!

[John Lennon & Paul McCartney 1970

'I've got a feeling" by Northern Songs in Uchida 1992: 405]

(7) Haru no MUNE no naka de wa, yorokobi ga gikochinai oto otate, tobihanete iru. Aa, nanto ji i kibun. [Updike 1992: 238]

O <- E: These strange awkward blokes of joy bobbing in Harry's chest (MUNE.)

[Updike 1981: 158]

Various emotions such as love in (1), being moved in (2), disappointment in (3), and joy in (7) are all experienced in the area of MUNE. Certain feelings which one cannot name such as those in (4), (5), and (6) also come up to the area of one's MUNE.

In English there is the expression 'to feel a lump in one's throat'. However, since Japanese does not use the body term 'nodo (throat)' for the emotional expression for the feeling of being moved, the Japanese translation of this expression uses the body term 'mune (chest)' instead.

(8) Kanojo no genshi ni surikumatemere, watashi no yukai ni natta. To dooji ni, kare wa watashi ni sayonara o ni eki made kite kureta no da to kangeuru to, naniku MUNE ga ippei ni natta. Watashi wa soo ima kanjou o koo ni dasunai to, isshokooemmi ni natta. [Maughm 1964: 104]

(O <- E: Her high spirits cheered me, and at the same time the thought that they had come to the station to say goodbye to me gave me a lump in my throat (lit. made my MUNE filled). I tried hard not to let the emotions I felt appear on my face.)

[Maughm 1963a: 65]
Of course, there are English emotional expressions which use the body parts of chest or heart such as those below:

(11) "I'll write down the forms you need," he said. "You can get them at the post office, and I'll fill them out for your signature."
That sounded suitably important, and Hadley's chest swelled.
[King 1992: 47]

(12) Her thin body was shaken with sobs. Phillip had never seen a woman cry with such an utter abandonment. It was obviously painful and his heart was torn.
[Maugham 1963b: 371]

(13) There in the cemetery, clinging to each other in mutual sorrow and loss, the tears came for both of them. Jerry didn't know where his own tears began and his father's ended. They wept without shame, out of a nameless need, and walked together afterwards, arm in arm, towards the waiting car. The fiery knot of anger had come undone, unwound, and Jerry realised that whatever had been taken in its place -- emptiness, a burning ache like a hole in his chest...
[Coehl 1995: 68]

However, some idiomatic emotional expressions using "mune" such as "MUNE ga odoru (MUNE dances)"
or "MUNE ga hazumu/MUNE o hazamaseru (MUNE bounces/make one's MUNE bounce)" are specific to the Japanese language. Some examples are as follows. (14) and (15) are Japanese translations of original English texts, and (16) is from a Japanese original:

(14) Kimi ga soba ni iru da de MUNE ga odoru n da
Kurashimi ni minna fukinonde shima yo
Issu dono toki demo kimi to tomo ni sugoshita
(I <- E: Why do I feel so alive [lit. My MUNE dances] when you're near
There's no way any hurt can get thru [sic]
Longing to spend every moment of the day with you)

(15) Suteki wa, yorokobi o kikasetu to itta yoku de ikasseto no kara de gai o kante yaru. Keishiteho no kacho kurato no kore to oikosu koto ga dekaketa, to
MUNE ga hazumu no da. Rojin ni usuppetai mune o dake shinsetsu kokochi de aru.
[Fielding 1991: 31]

(16) Kondo no nichiyoobi no deeto ni wa nani o kise iku ka to, kanojo wa ima karu MUNE o hazamaseru ito.
[Isao 1992: 34]
(MT: Thinking about what to wear for her date next Sunday, she is making her MUNE bounce.)

The following expressions of "mune" combine5 with the psychomimetic word (emotional sound-symbolic word: cf. Hasada 1994a) "kyun" are used for referring to one's 'moved' feeling. Japanese people feel as if their hearts make the sound 'kyun' when their hearts throb. There is another heart-throb sound-symbolic word 'dokit' or 'doki-doki' (cf. Hasada 1994a), but 'kyun' represents a deeper pulsation than those words.

(17) "Wabash ni koreba de MUNE ga kyun to naru no i ru no? to oto ni kilte mite. Sugo ni kante kito no ga. "Intsushii, ki o tateare." Nagasama kore koreba ga totemo ureshii no desu ne.
[Reiko Aoki (32 years old) in Chiba Prefecture in Saito 1995: 79]
(MT: I asked my husband, "Is there anything I say to you, which makes your MUNE go kyun?" He immediately answered "Bye-bye, please take care" [before going off to work]. He says that such causal words are very pleasing.)

These descriptions of bodily events are used as a way of characterising one's state of mind. Wierzbicka (1999e) suggests that all languages appear to have some words or expressions referring, in a non-figurative way, to the interrelation between thoughts, feelings, and bodily events. This point is further discussed in a later section of this chapter.

Mune sometimes may seem to be used as the seat of thinking as seen in the phrase "MUNE ni yoku te o atete, jibun ga yatta koto o yoku kangaete miru (Put your hand on your MUNE, and consider what you have done seriously)". However, in this case, the Japanese do not think in their MUNE, but in their heads. In this expression, they put their hand on their MUNE, since when they think in their heads, they sometimes consult with the emotions felt in their MUNE.

MUNE

(a) a place in a person's body
(b) people think it is a part of the upper part of the body, a part which doesn't move
(c) people think there is KOKORO inside this part
(d) in this place, a person can feel things when this person thinks something
(e) in this place, a person feels many kinds of things, not all kinds of things

Component (a), (b) and (c) show that MUNE is the place around one's chest where Japanese people think KOKORO is located, with which they feel many kinds of things. Since people would not feel pure physical sensations such as feeling 'hot', 'hungry', or 'itchiness' in their MUNE, the component (d) includes reference to 'thinking': "in this place, a person can feel things when this person thinks something", and the component (e) indicates "many kinds of things, not all kinds of things" to exclude physical sensation feelings.

5.2.2. HARA

Japanese people express an anger-like feeling using the body part word "hara (roughly 'belly')", such as is seen in the expression "hara ga tatsu (lit. my belly stands)/hara o tateru (lit. to stand my belly)" which means, roughly, 'get angry', or a stressful feeling such as that seen in the expression "hara ni sukeanaru ([I cannot put this in my belly)" which roughly means 'feel impatient'. What is noticeable about this word "hara" is that Japanese people also use "hara" as the seat of their thinking. Consider the following examples:

(1) Futari wa HARA no naka de, jibun no uchi no kinenjoujitsu o betsubetsu ni kangaeta. Tsukizuki shippai shiteiru, matsu shitsuraa-shinkareba nanani kinugusa wa, kare ni tote

Cf. The following comment by Goddard (1996b: 149):

It is well known that in many languages the nearest equivalents to English terms like happy, sad, and excited apparently involve reference to a person's 'inside' or to an internal body-part like the stomach (as in Yankuntiistaja), the heart, or the liver. As Roger Kissing (1985) observes, anthropologists have often taken such formulations literally, saying that the people in question believe the stomach, heart, or liver to be the 'seat of the emotions'. [Emphasis mine]

Also, De Monte (1994: 120) remarks that:

"Greeks have historically believed that the stomach was one of the primary seats of power in the human body, with the result that it has played a variety of roles in the psychological profile of the people, in art, in religious practices, even in clothing. Japanese in particular associated the stomach with the mind, with courage, spirit, intuition, determination, ability and various other attributes that the Western world generally ascribed to the head or the heart."
In example (1), one thinks about home finances in the HARA. In example (2) the master sumo wrestler confesses he thought in his HARA that he could have been a much stronger sumo wrestler if he did not have diabetes. In examples (3), (4), (6), and (8) the speakers want to know what the other person thinks in his/her HARA. In example (7) the subject makes up his mind by summarising his thoughts in his HARA.

Kuze (1977: 25) comments that while Western people distinguish their heads from their bellies, Japanese people think that both their heads and bellies are used for thinking. When Japanese people use bellies for thinking, they "go beyond mere rational, intellectual thought and focus on the deeper, essential aspects of a problem" (McVeigh 1996: 39).

Ooe and Kawaiwa (1996: 26) say that although in modern Japan people come to tend to think they 'think' in their NOO (brains), there is no expression like

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(5) Sa, suvaste. Kimi no nayamigoto o NOO o waste hanazoo ja nal ka. [Snowden & Doli 1982: 124]
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(B: Sit down, and let's have a heart to heart chat [lit. cut & NOO in two and talk] about your worries.)

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(7) Shuzushokufi, wasuka 10-kigatsu de tazuka. Yagate Hikomaro wa, Tooko no iki ni shikukoze no shochozu de isai. Shochozu de hiratka "Sesshitoo" ni kakureta shi no iitezu ga me ni itmatu.
   "Shooziki wa seuru no soidai no kiten de aru. Senu yon, ikanaru jinselgkijoo ni olite mo shutsuzusha toda.
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(1) "Batu ia non-wa iwa no se deke ja nai. Jibun ga suumu jinsei so inochi kara zettai ni nizetara shiran. Mae e, mae e to iwarete iru-yoo ni omote. Shojojiki kokorobosokatta o desu ga, kono shi no iiteru de HARA ga kokoruta o desu."
[Hikomaro (actor) "Buymam gekijoo 27" in Uzoku 1997 March: 225-6]
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(MT: Quiting just 10 months after getting a job. Soon Hikomaro was on a bullet train for Tokyo. His eyes lit upon one phrase of a poem in a book called "Jinselshoo (a selection of life)" which he had opened in the train. "Timidity is the biggest defect of our youth. Young people, be performers on any of life's stages.")

Hikomaro says he cried on the train. "The stage is not only on the boards. We must never run away from the path which our life follows. I felt that the phrase said, 'Go forward, go forward.' Although I was feeling helpless, I was able to make up my own mind (lit. bind my HARA)."

(8) Karen wa osaga ni HARA ni saguirai o shite iru. [cf. KNIED 1994: 402]

(MT: They are each trying to fathom the unexpressed thoughts in their HARA of the other.)
In addition, Japanese people regard HARA as the centre of fundamental character and importance in human beings. McVeigh (1996: 40) says:

HARA is often employed in phrases that characterise people— as in hara-guroi (black stomach; 'evil, scheming') and fisapora (i.e. pora derives from hara) 'large stomach, generous', 'big-hearted') — and in phrases indicating mental behaviour, often having to do with a person's real intentions or true motives.

Therefore, there are expressions such as:

(9) HARA no ooki hito.
[KNIED 1993: 401]

(B [J–E]: A broad-minded person [lit. A person who has a big HARA].)

(10) HARA no suwata otoko.
[KNIED 1993: 402]

(B [J–E]: A man with plenty of guts [lit. A man whose HARA is set down].)

De Mente (1994: 119) remarks that in Japan "there has traditionally been widespread belief that the use of 'gut feelings' as a guide and often times the final arbiter in making decisions in business as well as in private life, was both valid and reliable. Those who relied on their stomachs instead of their heads were generally admired and sometimes glorified."

Moreover, we call the process of self improvement as "HARA-zukuri (making-HARA)". Bacarr (1994: 10) states that "In Japanese you don't make up your mind; your stomach, hara, decides the course of action. In the West, we employ logic and directness to express our needs—the mind. The Japanese often rely on feeling or intuition—the stomach".

The following is the explication I will posit for the meaning of HARA.

HARA

(a) a place in a person's body
(b) people think it is a place in the lower part of a body
(c) people think something happens to this part when a person feels something
(d) people think a person thinks many things in this place

(e) a person thinks what they want/want to do in this place
(f) other people cannot know what this person thinks inside this part of a person, if this person doesn't want them to know
(g) people think: if this place is big, it is good
(h) people think: if this place is small, it is bad
(i) people think: if nothing happens to this place when something bad happens to a person, this person is good

HARA is a part of a person's body which is located in the belly area (component (a) "a place in a person's body" (b) "people think it is a place in the lower part of the body"). Component (c) "something happens to this part when a person feels something" shows that the Japanese feel certain emotions such as an anger-like feeling ("hara ga tatsu (lit. HARA stands)")", "hara o tateru (lit. make one's HARA stand") or a patient-like feeling ("hara ni sukehaneru (lit. cannot put in one's HARA)"). Not all emotions can be felt in the HARA. Component (d) "in this place a person can think many things" implies that Japanese people think various kinds of things in their HARA as seen in examples from (1) to (8). Unlike KOKORO, what people think in their HARA is not about other people, nor something good they can do for other people. What they think in their HARA is their intention or desire, 'what they want/want to do'. Therefore, a component (e) "a person thinks what they want/want to do in this place" is justified. Component (f) "other people cannot know what this person thinks inside this part of a person, if this person doesn't want them to know" is posited, since people cannot know what other people think inside this part of a body HARA. For instance, in example (2), a sumo wrestler confesses he had his real intention in his HARA which was different from what he had said to the interviewers. In example (3), (4), and (6) situations where people try to assume other people's thinking which they have in their HARA is illustrated. Example (5) shows that there is an Japanese expression "HARA o wa te hanasoo (lit. Let's cut our HARA into two and talk)" when people try to talk sincerely about their thoughts to others. In the case of KOKORO, however, there is not an expression like "* KOKORO o wa te hanasoo (* Let's cut our KOKORO into two and talk), but we use another expression "KOKORO o hiraite hanasoo (Let's open our KOKORO and talk)".
Regarding components (g) "people think: if this place is big, it is good" and (h) "people think: if this place is small, it is bad", Japanese people consider HARA as the centre of fundamental and important characteristics. People who have big, broad HARA are judged positively, while people who have small or unsettled HARA are considered negatively. However, we should note that even if a person has broad HARA "futoppara (broad-HARA)”, a person cannot always be a good person, since we could say “Ano hito wa futoppara (futoi + HARA) da ga, KOKORO wa semai ne (lit. That person has a broad HARA, but his KOKORO is narrow)" which means the person may be generous, in a way, for example, he often treats his inferiors to dinner, but he could be a mean boss, being a "KOKORO no semai hito (lit. a person whose KOKORO is narrow)" which means a person who has a very limited or narrow way of thinking/perspective.

Therefore, component (g) cannot be, "people think: if this place is bi, this person is good", but just "people think: if this place is big, it is good". Component (i) "people think: if nothing happens to this place when something bad happens to a person, this person is good" is justified, since Japanese people admire those people whose HARA is always set and bold (e.g. examples (10) above), and would not be affected even if something bad happens to them.

5.3. KI

What is KI? S. A. Candus says that the most difficult Japanese word to understand is KI, which is often translated as ‘spirit’, ‘mind’, or ‘soul’ (quotation in Kindachi 1978: 175). According to Mitsubishi-shouji-koobushin (1983: 96), KI is “a versatile word whose meanings include spirit, mind, heart, will, intention, feelings, mood, nature and disposition --- the abstract qualities which concern the heart and mind”.

KI originally came from China. KI was used for expressions which refer to both the human body and nature. The Japanese borrowed the concept and developed their own concept of KI (Takeda 1996: 20).9 In contemporary Japanese, although KI is still sometimes used for the physical atmosphere such as ‘ten-KI (weather)’ or ‘KI-shoo (atmospheric phenomena), KI is mainly used for mental conditions or activities.10

There is an expression “KI wa KOKORO (lit. KI is KOKORO)” which means that "the gesture may be small but it shows sincerity or good will or genuine gratitude or desire to help" (Mitsubishi-shouji-koobushin 1983: 96). How is KI different from KOKORO? Akatsuha (1974: 18) quotes a passage from a novel Michikusa by Sooseki Natsume:

(2) KOKORO wa shinjunde ita. Sore to hantai ni kare no KI wa kooru funasi ita.

(MT: His KOKORO was despondent. On the other hand, his KI was excited.)

and explains that while KOKORO is originally something closed inwardly, KI is something like unseen feelers arising from the area around KOKORO and spreading outward (also Akatsuha 1996: 9). Sato (1985: 94) also says that Japanese speakers intuitively understand the existence and concept of KI, although they cannot define the

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9 Therefore, Peng (1996: 78) says that translating Japanese expressions using KI into Chinese is very difficult. Chinese often uses a word including the Chinese character KOKORO for the meaning of Japanese words including KI. Chong (1996: 70) further says that although Korean also borrowed the word KI from Chinese, they did not develop expressions using KI in their language. Thus the translation of Japanese expressions including KI into Korean is also difficult.

10 KI is linked in a way with ‘breath’ or ‘wind’, being implied by reference to its occurrence in weather terms. Therefore, this is something moving inside the body.
meaning of it, and that they can feel its movement around their bodies although it cannot be seen. Doi (1981: 97) explains KI as follows:

Judging from the ways in which it is used, KI is perhaps most accurately defined as the movement of the spirit from moment to moment. In other words, where ATAMA, KOKORO, and HARA all indicate the site where the various workings of the spirit take place, and the things that lie in the background of the phenomenon, KI indicates the working of the phenomenon as such.

As Doi (1981: 46) mentions, the term KI appears in a large number of Japanese expressions dealing with emotions, temperament, and behaviour. Satoo (1985: 96) points out that there are nearly a thousand expressions using this word KI. Among those expressions, KI is most frequently used for referring to the mental activity of human beings:

KI ni suru (worry [lit. to make it KI]) (Hirose & Shojoj 1994: 249),
KI ni suru (feel anxious [lit. to become KI]) (Hirose & Shojoj 1994: 220),
KI ni suru (be all on edge [lit. KI stands]) (Makuhana 1962: 89; 1957: 88),
KI ni iru (like [lit. to come into KI]) (Nakagawa 1992: 157),
KI ga hayai (jump the gun [lit. KI is fast]) (Nakagawa & Beers 1977: 75),
KI o onsei (get disappointed [lit. to drop KI]) (Snowden & Doi 1982: 125),
KI o kakeru (feel small [lit. KI feels small]) (Makuhana 1992: 85),
KI ga okikia naru (feel uninterested [lit. KI becomes big]) (Matsumoto 1978:92),
KI ga kiku (considerate [lit. KI becomes effective]) (Ujiie Kekyu 1994 No. 10: 55),
KI ga sumanai (feel impatient [lit. KI doesn’t calm down]) (Obo 1990: 190),
KI o waraku suru (take offence [lit. to make KI worse]) (McCaleb & Yasuda 1983: 801).

In Japanese, one can talk about “using one’s KI”. De Mente (1994: 216-217) comments on the phrase “KI o tsukau (lit. using one’s KI) as follows:

One of the primary facets of the lifestyle of the Japanese is summed up in the term KI o tsukau, which means to use energy, “in the sense of emotional/spiritual energy, and refers to contending with the highly charged interpersonal relationship system that prevails in Japan for centuries and remains a powerful influence today. One must constantly be aware of others, making sure that one’s own actions do not contravene any of the behavioural taboos.

As seen in the following examples, considering how other people use their KI is regarded very important in Japanese society:

Therefore, there is an expression “Hito no KI mo shiranai (You don’t know how much I am using my KI for you)”, which is used for criticizing a person’s failure to value the way that people are using their KI for others. The following example also shows this:

Kanojo wa shibaraku no aida, shakuri agaru. Namida wa, ato kara ato kara waite kite, soba ni ikuzu mo watashi o ojiketsuketsu. Atarashii otoko no hito to to tame no atarashii namida na no ka na. Watashi wa kanojo no KI no shirara ni nomiku ni sonna koto o kangaite ita. (Yasuda 1989: 16)
consideration to other people in an appropriate way, is highly regarded and required in Japanese society.

At first, I included the following two components for the meaning of KI: "people think: it is good if a person wants to do good things for other people with this thing" and "people think: it is bad if this person does not want to do good things for other people with this thing". However, these are not really part of the meaning of KI; they could follow as pragmatic implications (cf. Goddard: personal communication). If KI is what enables a person to do things which can be good or bad, then this might be enough to imply that it would be good to use one's KI for good. 'KI-kubari (lit. distributing KI)' is considered a good personal characteristic as seen in the examples above (3) - (5), while the lack of it is taken as an obviously bad thing.

5.4. MUSPI

In the Japanese language, there are many expressions which seem to indicate that the Japanese people have a worm, "MUSHI", in their stomach or belly, "HARA". As seen in the expression using this word "MUSHI ga shirasenu (lit. MUSHI tells me)". In the following example (1), a Japanese translation from English, such a worm has the power of prescience, telling a person that she will be harmed if she drinks more. It is like being told by one's sixth sense about a future happening. To look at the example below, in the original English text the word 'something', not a word like 'worm/germ', is used.


(2) E: "No I won't drink it now," Snow White said. "Perhaps later. Although something [MUSHI] warns me not to drink it at all. Something suggests to me that it is a bad scene, this drink you offer. Something whispers to me that there is something wrong with it." [Bartheline 1967: 174]
What is characteristic about use of this MUSHI is that Japanese people often use this word when they want to express an emotion that occurred not because they wanted it to, but because something in their bodies, a MUSHI, which acts beyond their control, caused it to. To illustrate this, consider the following Japanese translation from English:

(2) Mise ga hanjooshita no wa kono chikashita no juunin ga maotsukai datta kara de wa naku, masu ni kare ga Yudayajin de wa nakatta kara da. Kono atari ni sumu ikoototachi wa deoeru o ate ni shite iru hoo ga tanoshii no da. Yudayajin wa MUSHI ga sukan, to ru wa de da. [Malamud 1967: 79]


(MT: "I am sorry. I apologise. When you put it like that, you're right. I was bad. I was in a slightly ill humour [lit. my MUSHI was in a bad place]")

the subject wants to express that MUSHI is responsible for his feeling of ill humour.

Another example is the expression "hara no MUSHI ga osararanai (lit. MUSHI in one's belly will not calm down)" where one uses MUSHI as the cause of an angry-like feeling, since one's belly does not become calm:

(4) "Shujin to nagarai no kenka ni natte, moo wakaretai wa. Guchi demo iwa na, HARA no, MUSHI ga osamaru wa." [Masumi Hayashi "Giwreka no tsuska wa otto no sougi made jumbi shite ita?" pp. 188-191 in Shinsha Bunko 1998 October 1st: 190]

(MT: "The fight with my husband became violent; I want to leave him from now. Unless I grumble. I cannot be patient [lit. MUSHI in my belly does not get calm down]")

Also, when a baby cries, Japanese people say "kan no MUSHI ga warui (lit. MUSHI which has a quick temper is bad)" and they try to convey that it is not the baby or his/her parents who are to be blamed for a baby's crying, it is the MUSHI existing in the baby that is responsible for that.

In the Japanese language the word MUSHI is often used for the feeling of something like 'anger'; "MUSHI ni sawaru (feel sore [lit. to touch MUSHI])", "MUSHI ga osararanai (be dissatisfied [lit. MUSHI does not calm down])", "MUSHI no hayai hito (a person who gets angry easily [lit. a person whose MUSHI moves quickly])". The Japanese language also uses this word MUSHI for expressions when controlling feelings of anger: "MUSHI o osare (suppress one's MUSHI [anger] )", "MUSHI o nadameru (sooth one's MUSHI [anger])", "MUSHI o shizumeru (calm one's MUSHI [anger]), "MUSHI o koresu (kill one's MUSHI [anger])" (cf. Watanabe & Muraiishi & Kabe 1989: 15; Nakazato 1998: 56). In Japanese society the 'anger' feeling is considered an emotion which should not be shown to others and one that therefore should be suppressed in front of other people. MUSHI is therefore used for this emotion, since a person can put his or her feeling of anger down to the MUSHI, and can blame the MUSHI as the cause of uncontrolled anger.

The following is the explanation of the meaning of this MUSHI.

MUSHI

(a) it is inside a part of a person's body
(b) it is not a part of the person's body
(c) it moves inside a person's body (HARA)
(d) people think about it like this
(e) because this thing says something, sometimes a person can know some things will happen
(f) sometimes something happens to this thing not because this person wants it to happen
(g) because of this thing a person sometimes feels something very bad
(h) sometimes a person can do something not to move this

Components (a) "it is inside a part of a by some means person's body", component (b) "it is not a part of the person's body", and component (c) "it moves inside a person's body"
indicate that Japanese people believe they have a worm-like MUSHI in their body part HARA. Components from (d) to (h) show how Japanese think of the function of this MUSHI. Component (e) "because this thing says something, sometimes a person can know some things will happen" indicates that such a worm has the power to tell what will happen in the future as seen in the phrase "MUSHI ga shiraseru (MUSHI tells you)". Components (f) "sometimes something happens to this thing not because this person wants it to happen" and (g) "because of this thing a person sometimes feels something very bad" mean that Japanese speakers use this word MUSHI when they want to express negative emotions such as anger-like or hatred-like feelings which occurred not because they wanted it, but because something in their bodies, MUSHI which acts beyond their control, caused them to. Component (h) "sometimes a person can do something not to move this" implies that sometimes a person can control its movement.

6. (I). I FEEL SOMETHING GOOD TOWARDS SOMEBODY

Setsunai

There is perhaps no better term than SETSUNAI to illustrate the unique characteristics of Japanese emotion. Despite the fact that this word is used widely, many people find it difficult to define or translate into other languages such as English. A bilingual writer, Yamada (1993: 376), is one such person who claims that the word SETSUNAI is very difficult to define. She affirms that there is no single English word which could precisely express the meaning of the word. Yamada remarks that non-Japanese people also experience this feeling, but no one she knows can determine which English word is appropriate to translate its meaning. In the following example too, a singer, Tooko Furuuchi, says that she never heard any English word which corresponds to SETSUNAI when she was in the United States:

(1) Watsu ni shi te, sugoku Nihonteki da to onoi masu. Mawarikudoi te tsu ka (wara), simai na hyogens ga ooi. "SETSUNAI" te tsu hyogens jitsu ga Nihonjin dokonaku no kimono na n deshoo ne. Ameriku de wa sore ni shikoudi kara kotehe o kanashikatta. Tabun, kara wa jitsu koto wa shi, yurado koto wa yaru kara na no kamo shirenai.
[Tooko Furuuchi (singer/song writer) in TARZAN 1996 No.246: 83]
(MT: I think the words in my songs are very Japanese. There are many circumlocutory or ambiguous expressions. The expression "SETSUNAI" is doubtless an emotion which is particular to Japanese people. I did not hear any word which was similar to it in the United States. Probably because they say what they want to say, and do what they want to do.)

Furuuchi suggests that SETSUNAI roughly means 'painful-cum-loving'.

(2) Watsu ni totte, "SETSUNASA" wa negaihu na koto ja nakuse, in-kimoshi-ni demo tsu ka, sono kanji.
[Tooko Furuuchi (singer/song writer) in TARZAN 1996 No.246: 84]
(MT: For me "SETSUNASA [Noun]" is not something negative, but something painful with a lozing, good feeling attached to it.)

1 As the noun form of the emotion words does not always mean the same as the corresponding adjective (or verb), I will not attempt standardise the part of speech used to identify a give emotion concept.
The following two examples also illustrate that the feeling of SETSUNAI is something like happy-cum-sad.

(3) Mimi ni nan no shimpai mo na noi no da. De ga motete, leiju ni shinheku ni no kari ga tadaoi niwa ni wa poono gu yurete iru. Soshite Reiiko wa torotoro to nemukou, manna ga SETSUNAI hodo kooko fu de, nazare kanashii no datta. "Zeikaku sugite wa" to kanojo wa jibim o shikkatt. Kooko sugite kanashii nante, omogari ni mo hodo ga aru. Keredomo, kanashii wa toko ni kari, kanojo o torimatte iru no datta. Kooko to kubeyo no tsukanai kanashii ga. Reiiko wa seiuen to shita shinwa ni o miwazashita. Kono ga atashi no seki na.

(4) Waitsui no authuk ni ko ni ga shimenai jaa. "Annai, authuk, authuk ti ito kedo, authuk ni ko ni wa kanashii kimochi o isuono been shinai iru no yo." Sempai wa choite sabilde na hitobodshita. Zutto ate de, kookooyakasuu o omokashita toki ite, donna kinomochi ga kokoro no na no yugio no daroo. Watsuhi wa, sono matsudana na ni iru kara, mada wa kanai. Mogo nido to kurokeshibutai ni ao to no ka, soremono, nakai kuri ni antokasuu hito ni hitaru no ka. Nakai hodo ni, SETSUNAKU kokooyasii, sono kimochi wa, kito eokin osasoe no katojaru ga tokashite kure yo no ami mono daroo. Watsuhi wa, ate de, sore o asuikuru tame ni ima o sugiho no emoto. Sore jaa, sono ame no kato karikeneru no tsukunagete ni wa, mitai naa ga bitsumoyu no no daroo. Watsuhi wa kangaeru. Amiot koko o usukuru ni wa, mishigakuna, koto ti mono ga bitsumoyu no na ja naa kari aite. Sore mon o shinorakare, supashii na yasaa. Sugoku mujinaa iku keredo, sono kii ga suxu.

Yamada (1993: 376) remarks that SETSUNAI is a unique word, which is related to one’s lacrimal gland but not necessarily to tears. If the SETSUNAI emotion causes the person to shed tears, she says, the tears should cease before five drops have been shed.

Yamada gave the following situation as an example of where this SETSUNAI feeling occurred.

(5) Ana no koto ga sulii de, deo shitemo ima, wakare no koto ga dekinalo to caocu. Ka to ite, anaata to koibito docho ni naru yuki wo watsui ni wa nai. Ima, wakarete shimasu, watsui wa, sugikoo kinkushu, kore kara koi ni ochitaru, motto kinkushu daroo.

Watsuhi ga kimeto na wa, koo iku koto. Anaata ga kaeu sono ni no saa mada, watsui wa isuono ni iru. Soshite, butsurisuki ni yuri de, watsui shiina, hitori, (...) Dakara, yuruukoro o shinshuu. Zettai ni, ni o yokosu senyo no koto wa kuchii ni dasunai koto. Soshite, wakarete toki ni namida o misetai koto. Tanoo hito wakare no tame ni, korekara no nokeru no hohi o sugiho shimasu. (Soshite wakare no hii ga yatte kito toki) Yukiwasa, yappari mamore no koto, dekinalo yo. Kure wa, soo itte watsui o mita. Yappari, kono koto o iwari ni hanareru nante dekinalo.

"I fell in love with you." Kure wa soo itte, namida o kobosha. Watsuhi wa, tada kare no kaa o mise ito. Nuku koto wa shimunai. Kereokedo, totemo kurishita. Sore to doji ni kurokoro no naa wa, totemo annai. Ima, omoi o tsu, kare wa totemo SETSUNAI kimochi dattoro to, yurikemi. Dake, kare no ragashira namida wa, nashi ni gosu shita inai. Watsuhi wa boozoe no tachinashizushite inu de keredo, yaho SETSUNAI kimochi dattaa.

(Multilingual) Because I like you, I don’t think there is any way I can leave you now. Yet, I do not have the courage to become your lover. If I leave you now, I will be very hurt, but I will surely be hurt more if I fell in love with you.

What I have decided is that I will remain with you until the morning of the day you go back to your [the United States]. Then we will be physically apart. (...) So, let’s make a promise. We should never say anything which suggests love. We will not shed tears when we separate. Let’s spend the remainder of our days together happily.

(And when the day of separation comes) "I cannot keep the promise after all," he said and looked at me. He said he could not leave without saying: "I fell in love with you"

Katoo (1994: 184) points out that Japanese people enjoy some ‘sad’-like feelings.

The noun which occurs most frequently in Japanese popular songs is "namida (tears)", the verb which appears most often is "naku (cry)", and the adjectives which we see most in popular songs are "kanashii (sad)" or "SETSUNAI". From these results, Katoo
concludes that Japanese people enjoy this sort of sad emotion. Thus, the word SETSUNAI does not necessarily always express a negative emotion.

6.(I).1. SETSUNAI (I)

SETSUNAI has both the subjective use: "(Watashi-wa) Y ga SETSUNAI (II feel SETSUNAI about Y)" and the attributive (descriptive) use: "Y wa SETSUNAI ([People in general feel] Y is SETSUNAI)". Also, we should note that SETSUNAI is polysemous: SETSUNAI (1) where something bad is happening to the subject, since he/she feels some distance between him/her and the object he/she feels affection for; SETSUNAI (2) where something bad is happening to the object whom the subject feels affection for.

Firstly, we will discuss the subjective use of SETSUNAI (1). Kamei (1982: 156) gives examples of situations where a SETSUNAI feeling occurs: when one cannot marry somebody one loves, when one loves somebody who already has a partner, when a couple cannot convey their feelings despite the fact that they care for each other, or when a couple has to separate although they love each other.

SETSUNAI is related to adjectives such as "setsujitsu (acute) " and "setsuran (heart-rending)", which include a component 'cannot not feel' in their semantic structure. SETSUNAI refers to a feeling which cannot be suppressed nor resisted. In the following passage, the subject uses SETSUNAI to describe his eagerness to dance.

(6) Ane to dooemon no izoko ga ashiki ni kuro to, futari wa yoku danse no manesato o shite miseta. Izoko wa yakusha ga umakata. Ane no kumi wa odooreru to, kare wa, o muite oogoe de wareru. Ane no kubi o kashioge kusukusu wazaru. Sore no mae iru buku no ma no matsue wazugo o tateru. Edo no tonesu ni kanyakaku datta no wa. Sore wa boku date SETSUNAI hodo yente mitai to wa omote ita no da ga, sono kuse saxowaremoto kubi o furu bakari de atia. Jibun ni wa an ia koto wa dekkonosai to i kachuwari no yoo na sono ma ga atia no kamo shirenai. [Kira 1968: 11]

(7) When my cousin, who was the same age as my sister, came to play with us, the two of them would often imitate the grown-ups dancing. My cousin was a born actor and, bowing with impeccable aplomb, he'd take her hand and sweep her across the floor, then throw his hand back and produce a large guffaw, which made my sister look slyly down and giggle, Watching them, I used to laugh as well, but in an idiotic, surreal way, as if I was always only a looker-on, and no matter how eager [SETSUNAI] I was to have a go, whenever I was asked to do so, I merely shook my head. I suppose I realised that for someone like me it was simply out of the question.

[Kira 1991:9]

There are numerous examples where SETSUNAI is used to describe a feeling of irresistible love towards others.

(7) Watashi wa Jun'ichi ni kou o mieru. Kare wa, doshita no? to ita fuu ni kubi o kashioge, watashi o mikaseu. Non no kutsu ni no mii kae. Kono sumae no ottosokorui no, sanzenko no kimochi nante wakaru hi ga kuru oru da roo. Watashi ne, ito no ma ni ka, anata no koto, nuki ni natte ita no yo. Sore kare ni tujugeru koto o soochooshite miru. Soshite zetsutsusoku. Kare ni tote no watashi no kuchi wa, soo to koto o iikushibitarikai to shiru no aru no da. (...) Watashi wa, Rie no kimonohi o kare ni kirakusetsukai to, aratanemu emoru. Kanojo dake ja nai no da. Watashi dante, SETSUNAI. Watashi dante, kare no koto o anna fuu ni mukunteme mitai no desu. Sore ni nai, watashi wa kare to no kiraku na oshibare no jikan o ushitaikai kane ni, sono kage to o matsukku kangaete inai ka no yoo ni furumawanakute wa suru. Kare wa, fukakare tsudte ni watashi no kai ni fureru. Senaka o okina te de tatakai. Watashi no karada no netsu, sore no nai, kare ni wa koshite tsuwatorina. [Yamada 1989: 43:44]

(8) I looked up at Jun'ichi. He looked back at me, his head tilted to one side as if asking, "What's up?" It was a face without a single worry. The day when this straightforward boy would understand how a girl felt was not far off. "Hey, you know what? I, uh, all of a sudden started to like you and, uh..." I tried to imagine saying that to him. And then I despaired. What Jun'ichi liked about me was that I would never say anything like that. (...) Now I really didn't want him to know how I felt. It wasn't just Rie. I, too, was miserable. [SETSUNAI], I, too, wanted to gaze at him like that. And yet I couldn't bear to lose the time we spent talking so easily to each other, so I had to act as if I didn't feel that way at all. Joking around with me, he'd touch my shoulder. He'd slap me on the back with his big hand. The fever burning in my body didn't communicate itself to him at all. [Yamada 1992: 42]


(8) Late that night Tomiko took leave of the shed without sleeping there. It was like a student party during a quartet. Yukiko listened intensely to the, the mounting footsteps of Tomiko with bare breath. She could not stand it any more [began to feel SETSUNAI] and dashed out frantically. It was a cold night, the sky was spangled with innumerable stars. She ran along to the station, but found the man nowhere. [Hayashi 1965: 215]

(9) Yamashita Kunitoki san no ryuu arubamu "Sumairu" no kaka demo, tobi ni kokoore yuusaburuuru u ga aru. 'Bajiwai'. Kore ni mo sukii no no, koi ga kowantai ito o mitusumeni shika, sono SETSUNAI kimonohi ga fureru ruo sono da. Kii ite iru omonowazami nami to kaiboret shiaw shi kono uga wa, Yamashita san ni tote mo oochi deshi dado, no da iru to. [Lee 1998 Vol. 1: 227]

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(MT: Among the songs on Kumiko Yamashita's new album "Smile", there is one song which especially impresses me, "Vegetarian". Although I like you so much like this, I can do nothing but gaze at the breaking of our hearts... It is a love song full of an incredible SETSUNAI feeling. Ms. Yamashita says that this song, which makes us spontaneously shed tears when we are listening to it, was a big experience even for her.)

(10) Sono koro boku wa koi o shite itta. (…) Hitomeboreshita to itte ii. Sono otsu ni uchiawase ni aka tabi, deshaku no makoto de hataraito ita kanojo no sugata o mitatekure wa, boku no mune wa kyun to shite. Chizugakusen ya kokoroen ja amurai shi, ii otomu ga ‘kyuu’ mo nai doro ga, tashika ni nantomu isu, SETSUNAI omoi ni suru no da. Inuuma nara, sanaka no ryuun o kyojutsukan o chokushiki ni suru no da ga, kanojo ni taisite no boku wa, masutaku okute datta. [Akimoto 1994: 85]

(MT: At that time I fell in love. (…) You could say it was love at first sight. Every time I went to the office for a meeting, I found her over the desk working, and my chest felt ‘kyuu’. Being neither a junior high school nor a high school student, why should an adult like me feel ‘kyuu’? But I certainly came to feel SETSUNAI, which cannot be expressed in words. Usually I would ‘approach’ girls with any excuse, but I was a late bloomer where she was concerned.)

In the following examples, SETSUNAI appears in the Japanese translation of the English texts.

(11) "Sate zempee hitto, nambas wan, disuko no joo, Dona Sannos no 'botto sutaffi' o cucurashimasu!"

Hitomi SETSUNAKU koko ni zuwatte
Dare ka kyoite ga demasu o kake kare no o matsu....

[Udove 1992: 50-51]

(I <-E: "And now, the Number One Hit coast to coast, 'Hot stuff,' by the Queen of Disco, Donna Summer!"

Standing there out my heart (SETSUNAKU) out waitin'
Waiting for some lover to call...."

[Udove 1981: 32]

(12) "Aishiteru yo! Futari dake ni natta toki, kanojo ni itta---futari dake ni nattara shite wa ikasekata no da ga. "Sugoku moushiwakenai to omotemita." Boku wa sasayita. "Dakedo boku wa nesu o aishiteru a da, monogatiri.""

"Atashi mo anata o aishiteru, SETSUNAI hodo." Furani wa itta.

[Irving 1989 Vol. 2: 246]

(I <-E: 'I love you,' I told her [my elder sister]. when we were alone—which we should never have allowed ourselves to be. 'I'm sorry,' I whispered, 'but I love you, I do.'"

'I love you terribly much. Terribly to the extent that I feel SETSUNAI,' Franzy said.)

[Irving 1982: 346]

So far we have seen examples where a subject feels SETSUNAI when he/she loves or longs for somebody. We should note here that the SETSUNAI feeling often takes place when the subject cannot convey his/her love straightforwardly for some reason. In example (7) the subject feels SETSUNAI since she cannot express her yearning for Jun'ichi, as another girl Rie does, because she is afraid that the friendship between her and Jun'ichi will be damaged if she does that. In example (8) Yukiko feels SETSUNAI towards her lover Tomioke leave although she did not want him to do so. In example (9) Yamashita writes a song about a girl who feels SETSUNAI since she can do or say nothing to stop the breaking of her love. The subject in example (10) feels SETSUNAI towards a woman working in another company; since he has not been able to approach her, he yearns for. In example (11) the subject feels SETSUNAI until she gets a call from somebody she wants to talk with. The subject in example (12) feels SETSUNAI since she loved her own younger brother, which is considered to be taboo.

The following examples describe well how the SETSUNAI feeling is often accompanied by some negative emotion represented by such words as "sadness", "tears", "bitterness", "crying" or "sleeplessness".

(13) Wasashi wa, watashi ni koishita to ishiito no kokushaku o, sone kokote dooriri ni, ureshiku kurosuku, ddokiki to kiku koto wa sokimasendeshita. Soo horai ni, ibun no hoo isara, kono hito wa, to omotte suki ni natta hito ni taisite wa, donna ni SETSUNAKU kanashii, kokoronomochi ni nata hageshiku koishita ka.

[Udo 1994: 161]

(MT: I could not listen to declarations of love from people who said they fell in love with me happily, enjoyously, gaily. On the other hand, towards people whom I fell in love with, how intensely I loved them with SETSUNAI and sad feelings.)

(14) Nemuroo to omotte mo nemuremashita.

Ago hi, kimi to no sakai o yakusouzute wakaseta ato, boku wa hito no heyo no naka de, nani hito no te ni tsukazu, kimi e no SETSUNAI emo ni mune wa haitai koto dattu.

[Todatsushi Yamamoto (40 years old, company employee) Akuten Futatsudachoo 1995: 220]

(MT: I could not sleep although I tried to.

That day, when I parted from you after promising to meet again, I could not do anything by myself in my room, and my heart almost exploded. It was so full of SETSUNAI feelings.)

(15) Aita o omou to niku SETSUNAKUte
Nemiro o naramite wa
[Tennoyuru Hotel 'Pride' 1996 by Fuji Pacific Ogasaku Shuppan]

(MT: When I think of you, I just feel SETSUNAI
I had tears, and ....)
Koi nante kantan to omotte
Konna ni SETSUNAI to nemurenasai
Dore gai ni aishitara / Kokoro ga taimaguru no? Eien ni
[Tomoko Oomote "White" 1996 by T. Oomote & K. Takahashi]

(MT: I was thinking that love was easy
I feel SETSUNAI so much that I cannot sleep
How much do I have to love you in order to connect my heart to yours forever?)

Carry on, carry out
Kirstenbo kiuitsuise
Asaeru nare SETSUNASA ni Soko ni hukarera no
Oh, oh, mei icchido yume miiyoo
Asaeru yorokobi o Shitte iru no nara Oh
[KAN "AI wa kaito" 1990 by KAN]

(MT: Carry on, carry out / we hurt others and they hurt us
Although we get a little tired of feeling the SETSUNASA (Noun) of love
Let's dream again / If you know the joy of being loved (Oh)

Watasari wa koishite ide, dakaereta akamboo no yoo ni sore o kakusenai,
Kono SETSUNAI koi no tokimose wa onajimi no se no de, wakatte iru hana na soni ne
Koko no tokoro inai no shite iru no
Kono toru ni toranae magasimono no otoko ga watashi o kuruwareru kara
(B [1—2]; I'm in love and don't I show it like a baby in arms
Love's the same old sad SETSUNAI sensation
"Lately I've not slept a wink"
Since this halfprint imitation puts me on the blink)

SETSUNAI always implies that there is some distance between the subject and the
object of the feeling. The following examples show this point.

Hajineta no koi shiteru
Anata o sotto mitsumeru
SETSUNAKUTE sono koto de
Nanida ga ato kara suferera
[Nidori Karashima "Hajinete no koi" 1997 by M. Karashima]

(MT: In love for the first time
I feel SETSUNAI because of that
My tears overflowed one after another)

Here, the person feels SETSUNAI since she can do nothing but look at the loved one
from a distance. The following examples (20)-(25) illustrate where one feels
SETSUNAI after he/she separates from a loved person, either for the time being or
forever.

Koinuta to koi ni
ai o tsugite kita keredomo
Owari sa mima owari sa
Kimi no hitoriyo nagai
ima puresu to kireta
Junko kimi no naman o yobetsu wa SETSUNAI yo
[Tatsushi Nagahoshi "Junko" 1980 by YAMAHA F.M.E.]

(MT: Although I have been expressing my love to you in words so far
It's the end, everything has finished It was your self-satisfaction
The thread linking me to you has just been cut
Junko I feel SETSUNAI when I call your name)

Wakareta koto ga amari ni hakanakute
Wasurenai noni wasurenai
SETSUNAI koi yo
[Toshiie Miki "Onna minamotochii" in Soraname-koiboo: 1977]

(MT: The words of good-bye were so momentary
that I cannot forget you although I want to
KOI (Love) which makes me feel SETSUNAI ...

Noomitsu na yoru o omoidasera
Nakete kuru todo SETSUNAI noni
[Hiroshi Inaba "Easy care, Easy go!" 1990 by K. Inaba & T. Matsumoto]

(MT: If I remember our last night
I feel so SETSUNAI that I come to cry)

Futari ga mada aishate iru koto wa tabiha da kedo, futatabi tukiashideshita, mata mukashi
no yoo ni, igimai, kiutusukae koto wa me ni miite iru. Nanji ayaamae o kurekasanai tame ni, onna wa namida o nozete, otoko ni yasashia o minemaru. (...) Akira nomo ittome, kore mo nai maamuku no wakare de ari, kanashimi o futari o tomo no tayo so ga. Sukuhska, tamanite kita maee no kobito o oikakeshita ato no kanjo no kokoro no naka o ono o to, SETSUNAI.
[Matsumoto 1993: 146]

(MT: It is certain that the two of them still love each other, but it is apparent that they would quarrel and hurt each other as before if they started to go out again. In order to avoid repeating the same mistake, the woman holds back her tears and does not show her tenderness to the man. (...) Although this is giving up, it is a positive parting and the strength to stave aside the sorrow can be seen there. When we think of the heart of the woman who turns her ex-boyfriend from the door, it is SETSUNAI.)

Pureppouzu no yaku ninou-go no showa 65 nen 8 gatsu namaoki, Ayanomiyai wa Okusakusudo
daigaku ryouyouga e te tabidana. Futari no kikoshinashiwa shihenshichi masa de aru.
Kiko-san wa shippo hite iru sempai ni, "dooshite ichchau no kashira..." to namida nagara ni
SETSUNAI kimochi o uttare to ia.
[Rawahari 1992: 299-300]

(MT: Two years after his proposal to her, on August 7th, 1988, Ayanomiyai left Japan to study at Oxford University. The negotiations for their marriage were not progressing. Kiko appealed to a trusted senior revealing her SETSUNAI feelings towards Ayanomiyai with tears and saying "I wonder why he goes..."

Shitsure shite iru saichuu ni wa, dare demo, koro SETSUNAI ni o kureru-yo no omoi
tara, shitsu made nukedeku koto wa arumai o omoo koro ga kurete, okaashi na koto ni, sore
A person feels SETSUNAI, not only when he/she feels physical distance between him/herself and a loved one, but also when he/she feels psychological distance between them, as illustrated in the following examples (28)-(34).

(28) Konna ni suki na no ni furimuite mo kurenai
Shite iru hazu na no ni furimuite mo kurenai
Shiru hodo SETSUNAKUe nama ni mo karahaten
[Yakusho "Furimiteemono kurenai" 1966 in Soramame-koboo 1979: 183] (MT: Although I like you so much, you won’t even turn towards me You must know my feelings, but you won’t even turn towards me I feel SETSUNAI so great that I could die, and my tears have dried up)

(29) Sensei no haya wa, gakufu ya hon ya tabako no sugura de, unto chikarante ita. Sempai wa mado o abete kowki o irekata. (…) "Hajimete, kono heya ni kita toki, namida ga de-oo ni ureshikatta wa. Sono toki, mada, ano hito ga kontoo ni watashi no koto suki de iie kureteru no ga wakaranakatta kara, SETSUNAKU na. Tabako no sugura o ippon mohchikate, hako ni irete, taijutsu ni totosa ni kuri wa." [Yamada 1989: 155] (MT: The first time I came here, I thought I’d cry, I was so happy. At the time I still wasn’t sure if he really liked me, so it was hard. I took a cigarette butt and kept it hidden in a box.)

(30) Soba ni iite mo SETSUNAKU naru Anata no mono mo Misty Spot Yashibara da de wa
Ina wa Senete koi o koreba ni shite
[M. Ohkawa "Aishita manakanto" 1995 by M. Ohkawa] (MT: Even when I am near you I feel SETSUNAI / Misty spot of your heart Because your tenderness alone probably cannot satisfy me Please at least express your love in words now)

(31) Fuyu o kosose koi nya / say good bye SA.YO.NA.RA: sase ikenkute
Misumme asha SETSUNAKUe Dame na no ni hitotsukokute / Motsuketa futari
[K. Maeda "Natsu o machikirenakute" 1993 by Gunbaramu & Being] (MT: Say good bye to the love which cannot last through winter We could not even say good bye We felt SETSUNAI when we looked at each other We tried to smooth it over although our love was disappearing Two of us whose relationship is confused)

(32) Anata to ite mo SETSUNAI gurai
In (28), a woman feels SETSUNAI towards a person who she knows very well but who does not show the same signs of affection towards her. In (29) the female student felt SETSUNAI when she did not have any evidence of psychological closeness with her teacher. In (30), (31), (32), and (33) the subject feels SETSUNAI because he/she perceives psychological distance between him/her and his/her loved one. In example (30) and (33), the subject of the SETSUNAI feeling is not confident about the love between her and her loved one, although they are close to each other physically. In examples (31) and (32) the subject feels SETSUNAI, because he/she is anticipating a break-up with his/her companion. As discussed in the previous chapter, when one feels KOI ('love'), one thinks there is some distance between him/her and his/her lover. In example (34), the wife feels SETSUNAI towards her husband even seventeen years after their marriage.

Hida and Asada (1996: 318) comment that this word SETSUNAI has somewhat negative connotations. Many Japanese informants, however, say that they have a rather positive impression of this word. The following example supports this view:

Why is this? I think it is because SETSUNAI expresses the subject’s affection-like feeling towards some person or thing, which could be summarised as follows: “when I think of this person/thing, I feel something good; I think this person/thing could be a part of me; I wanted this”. However, the situation the subject is in makes him/her feel bad, since it is not possible to obtain an exclusive possession of this person or thing the subject desires in the situation, where he/she is in, as illustrated above; or something bad happens to this person or thing, as in the examples which will be discussed later in 6.(II).2. It does not necessarily mean that one has negative feelings towards the object. What one consequently feels towards the object is a positive feeling, and a desire for it.
6.1.1. The Subjective Use of SETSUNAI (1)

In order to examine the subjective use of SETSUNAI (1) in detail, consider the following example. The author describes how she liked a boy called Mitsuo when she was young and came to realize that he felt good about her change of schools. She hoped that he would be disappointed, but in fact he was not. She feels something bad because of this, and yet, when she thinks of Mitsuo, she still has a good feeling towards him. That's why she feels SETSUNAI.

(36) Watasahi ga kokonosu no toki, saki datta Mitsuow wa watasahi ga tenkōsuru to shiru to, “Woo, yata ze, onnasanka nakakaru to seikiituru wa” to domatu.

Watasahi wa trutata mama, Mitsuow no koto o nasu tobe mo naka bacakura o shite mite ita. Shikashii bacakura no shita no i no stari no SETSUNAI kanashii kimocho wa, 20 demo, 30 demo, 40 demo, ttabu 70 demo onaji da to onou.

[Sano 1995: 86](MT: When I was nine years old, Mitsuo, whom I liked, yelled when he knew that I would transfer to another school, "Wow, that's good. I will feel refreshed after you leave here."
I was standing upright, looking at Mitsuo's face with a silly grin on my face and not doing anything. However, the SETSUNAI sad feeling, which I felt around the lower part of my stomach below my silly face, will be the same even when I am 20, 30, 40, and perhaps even 70 years old.)

In the following example, a father describes his daughter's SETSUNAI feeling, when he took her money, which she had intended to spend on clothes or shoes. If the father felt that his daughter really grudged him the money, he would not have described her feeling as SETSUNAI.

(37) Iji ni mo kuvukokubeta na. Jinan ga banke shi, choojo ga Sendai e itta ato, saigo made, ano musume o ni hikikomete byakuboku no teshii o sazen shimatte, 19 toka 20 no koro no, musume de itai koro no nani hiteetsu fuku mo kutsu mo kate yarenakata. (...) Ano ko ga jibun no fuku o kara tanem ni jariage saho no dokata ni dete, zeni o kaseideki kiti toki mo, sono zeni o ozetsu wa torigeta, sumamutte no gakari ni ozetsu mono datta. Anoko ga fuku ya kutsu o kaitte to ozome hatarai kane o torigeta toki, anoko wa unrakumite nite kita.


[Kobayama 1996:167](MT: I put a heavy burden on my second daughter. After my second son left the family and my eldest daughter went to Sendai, I kept my second daughter as long as possible and made her help with the farm-work. When she was 19 or 20 years old, in the bloom of girlhood, I could not buy clothes or shoes for her. (...) Even when she earned money from construction work such as scooping pebbles, in order to buy clothes, we took away the money and used it to pay for the school expenses of my third son. When we took away the money with which she wanted to buy clothes and shoes, she knelt down and cried. She must have felt SETSUNAI. I did a bad thing. Although it is too late, I apologize to her.)

Although she was upset by her father's action, she did not give the money to her father because she loved her brother and father. If the father thought that the daughter blamed him, he would have described her feeling as KANASHI (sad) or YARIKIRENAI (unbearable), instead of SETSUNAI.

In the following example, Yamada feels SETSUNAI about her lack of ability to write a novel. Although she wanted to write a novel, she played around with her boyfriend.

She felt something negative, perhaps guilt. This contradiction between her desire to write a novel and her guilty feeling about her present lazy attitude made her feel SETSUNAI.

(38) An, SETSUNAI. Watasahi wa omotan. Nankagetsu mo umi o mitte kurashi, kiko'ro ni hi ni yake te, anoko ga watasahi no te o nite iru. Depression, ni muke na ni SETSUNAI no darse. Yuureiku fune no naka de kimagte iru uchi ni sono ritsu ga mite kara. Jibun wa ima, ichiban shihito to omotte iru koto o shite inai no da. Soshite, sore wa shousetsu o kudu o isu koto na sono, anoko koto ni kanashikite tte genkosyoosuru o kau koto o sume shite inai no da. Demo, naze, kanasanai no darse. Sore wa, kanasanai to isu koto o jibun de shite iru kara da.

[Yamada "A commentary" in Hayashi 1986: 256]

(MT: Oh, I feel SETSUNAI. I thought as follows: I have lived by the sea for several months, I am tanned golden, and I have a man to hold my hand. Why do I feel so much SETSUNAI like this? I was thinking about it while on a rocking boat, and the reason came to me. I am not doing what I most want to do now, write a novel. I have not even bought any paper and I am busy playing around. Why don't I write? It is because I know that I cannot write.)

The writer of the following example felt SETSUNAI when she was suffering from sterility. Her husband's gentle words of comfort made her feel guilty about not being able to have a baby. Her husband's gentle words made her have contradictory feelings. She felt good toward her husband who had always been gentle, but at the same time she felt something bad, since she knew she could not get pregnant because of her physical condition.
In the following example, an orphan, Judy, feels SETSUUNAI when she thinks that she is alone, she feels something bad because she does not have her own family. She wants to show or give affectionate feeling. So, she writes to her guardian that she wants to pretend that he is a member of her family. By thinking this way, Judy tries to feel something good.

In the following example, a man feels SETSUUNAI when he feels pain in his amputated arm. In fact, that is not possible since the arm is missing. He feels bad about his hallucinations of imaginary feelings of pain. He cannot stand the fact that he lost his arm. This is because in his heart, he is still attached to his lost arm. This complicated situation makes him feel SETSUUNAI.

If one used another adjective such as KANASHII, it would sound like the subject was describing his emotion more calmly or objectively. By using the word SETSUUNAI, a more impending and unsuppressed feeling is conveyed.

In the following example, the woman feels SETSUUNAI when she recognises that she will be forty very soon, because she knows that her favourite magazine is mainly published for readers in their 20's or 30's.

The subject here recognises she is getting older than the average readers of the magazine she really likes. That's why she feels SETSUUNAI.

Finally, in the following passage, Fabiola feels SETSUUNAI when he finds warm and lovely weather. He has a good feeling about this kind of weather, but he also has opposite feelings because he has to be hospitalised.

A person often feels SETSUUNAI when he/she cannot convey their true feelings to others, even if he/she has a good feeling towards them.
(44) Hijoo ni minshiki yohoo no 21-stai no nooson-seisen. Issakujisutu no natu kara, aru jossi o aisitennasu. Otsunajissi de ari, kogo koro mo yoku shite orimasu ga, kangojo wa uonukushiku, mata mare ni miru hodo no jinkaku no mocchini tashu. Uchikurara koto no dekira. SETSUNAI mono de daite, hibi o yobu hikashinde erimuru.


(MT: I am a 21 year old apprentice farmer who has a very ugly face. I have been in love with a woman since last year. She is a friend from my childhood, and I know her very well, but she is beautiful and has an incredibly good personality. I cannot confess my love to her and I am suffering everyday from the SETSUNAI feeling in my heart.)

(45) Kono machi ni kate kara, dorokurai tatata no daoroo. Kimi to hanarete kara, dorobedo no toki ga nagasesita no daroo. (...) Saibishukai, SETSUNAKUTE, kanashikute, boku wa kedo koro o kuchisaisemi.


(MT: How long has it been since I came to this town? How much time has passed since I parted from you? (...) Feeling lonely, SETSUNAI, and sad, I think the loneliness to myself. Unbearable tears often roll down my cheeks. At that time I could not confess my feelings towards you. Although I wanted you in my heart, I could not be honest. I could do nothing but look at you until your back disappeared in the distance. (...) You are you, I am me, and we should go different ways. We should not have a long distance relationship. I tried to imagine that way, because that was easier. In the end, I did not have enough courage. (...) In my dreams I will say what my heart tells me. I SUKI you very much.)

(46) Moco ichidou dekata koro ni modoreta nara
Moteto joo ni tsutakerera no nai
Putari chikaku naretegu
Kokoro wa insumu urahoa no kocho ni sunti itu
Yasshiku saseru to SETSUNAKU naru
Tsumetakuru yoo nikiwaku naru
[Teodo Pusushiyo "Dare yoo sakii no natai" 1996
by Yomitori-seto-jun-morita & appaflante ongaku & Goroobarumai]

(MT: If I could go back to when I met you for the first time, I would be able to express my feelings to you much better. We are too close to each other now, so my words do not express my true feelings. I feel SETSUNAI when you are gentle to me. I feel like crying when you are cold to me)

(47) Yuzuki o dashiten tsukaremari
Issumo kimiko to iru da de SETSUNAI, SETSUNAI
[Motemaru Sanoe 1996 "Tanchoi toki" by M. Sanoe]

(MT: Even if I summon up my courage, I cannot convey this to you Always, just by being with you, I feel SETSUNAI, SETSUNAI)
Western fathers who are used to taking such actions. But they cannot express it, since they have not brought their daughters up in such a way.

On the morning of her wedding day, a Japanese daughter wordlessly understands her father's SETSUNAI. Now, therefore, she also comes to feel SETSUNAI, and a tear falls down her cheek. She knows, too, that her father is just one step short of crying. (...) Do you realise that Japanese fathers don't only feel SETSUNAI on the morning of a wedding ceremony? (...) Usually, a father would not want to show SETSUNAI to his daughter. But something can be seen, on occasions, when he is alone with his daughter. And then the father becomes embarrassed, and tries to hide it, by becoming sullen, etc.

Mori, who has a British husband, says fathers in Western countries would not feel SETSUNAI to the extent which Japanese fathers would. This is because, she says, Western people are more used to expressing their emotions outwardly. Mori observes that her British husband always hugged and kissed his daughters whether he was happy or sad. Since Western fathers can manage to express their emotions in that way, they can also express their feelings on their daughter's wedding day. On the other hand, Japanese men are quite unskilled in expressing their affection toward others. Therefore, they experience an acute SETSUNAI feeling more often than Western fathers do, particularly when they face their daughter just prior to her wedding.

On the basis of all the observations discussed above, I will posit the following explication for the meaning of the subjective use of SETSUNAI (1).

SETSUNAI (1) --- the subjective use
[(Watashi wa)3 SETSUNAI (I feel SETSUNAI)]

(a) I felt something because I thought something
(b) sometimes a person thinks about someone else/something Y:
(c) "when I think of this person/thing, I feel something good
(d) I think this person/thing could be like a part of me
(e) I wanted this
(f) I now know: this person/thing cannot be like a part of me
(g) I want this person/thing to be like a part of me
(b) because of this, I want to do something if I can
(i) I know I cannot do anything
(j) when this person thinks this, this person feels something bad
(k) this person feels something good towards Y
(l) I felt something like this
(m) because I thought something like this

3 When the speaker attaches 'the past tense suffix' or 'some formal evidential markers' to SETSUNAI (1), this describes an emotion feeling experienced by other people. Otherwise, the subject (experiencer) of the feeling is always "I" in Japanese.

The cause of SETSUNAI feelings can be human (e.g. (7)-(13)), animate (e.g. (41)), or inanimate (e.g. (37), (38), (42)) (component b) "sometimes a person thinks about someone else/something") Component (c) represents the subject's affectionate feeling towards the object of his/her affections ("when I think of this person/thing, I feel something good"). The subject wishes that the object of his/her affection is close to him/her both physically and mentally, like a part of him/herself (component (d) "I think this person/thing could be like a part of me", component (e) "I wanted this"). However, for various reasons, the subject recognises that he/she cannot realise this desire (component (f) "I know now: this person/thing cannot be like a part of me"). Components from (g) to (l) express the subject's frustrated feeling that he/she can do nothing about it although he/she wants to do something in order to conquer the obstacle which impedes the desire (component (g) "I want this person/thing like a part of me"; (h) "because of this, I want to do something if I can"; (i) "I know I cannot do anything") The resultant feeling is "something bad" (component (j)). However, since one consequently feels "something good" when he/she generally thinks about the person/thing he/she years after (component (k)), most Japanese people don't have a negative image of the word "setsunai". For this reason, while component (j) shows that the subject feels "something bad" about the current situation as a result, at the same time component (c) "when I think of this person/thing, I feel something good" or (k) 'this person feels something good towards Y' shows the subject's general good feeling towards the object.

6.1.2. The Attributive Use of SETSUNAI (1)

Examples of the attributive use of SETSUNAI (1) are as follows:

(49) Koi wa amakute SETSUNAI mono de aru.
[Ichikawa 1995: 42]
In example (49) KOI is described as something that makes people feel sweet and SETSUNAI. In example (50) Rie's glance towards Junichi is described as SETSUNAI since he did not recognize her glance at all. SETSUNAI is used in an advertising phrase for selling books in example (51). Here the publisher wants to appeal to readers by telling them that the book will make them feel SETSUNAI. In example (52) the subject's feeling is described as SETSUNAI because she does not know what her male friend thinks about her.

The meaning of the attributive (descriptive) use of SETSUNAI (1) can be posited as follows:

SETSUNAI (1) --- the attributive use
Y wa SETSUNAI (1)

6.(I).2. SETSUNAI (2)

In all the above examples, the Setsunai feeling occurs because something bad is happening to the subject (the subj. cannot have the object as a part of him/herself). However, one will also feel Setsunai when something bad is happening to the other person/thing whom one feels affection for.

6.(I).2.1. The Subjective Use of SETSUNAI (2)

We will start to examine the subjective use of SETSUNAI (2). For example, the example below illustrates a situation where a Setsunai feeling occurs. Here a boyfriend feels SETSUNAI looking at his girlfriend after she changes for the worse. It describes how he liked Risa before she became fat and began to devote herself to him totally. She had changed, physically and mentally, but he misses the old Risa's ways. He feels something bad because of this, but he feels SETSUNAI looking at Risa's present state, because he remembers what she used to be like.

Risa wa, kibanzate sono ni dero koto o tometa. Kanojo wa tsume ni, in de, boku o machitsuzuketa. Boku no tame ni ryou ni otsukari, ikekochi no yori kakeko kara kakuhoushoubuku deyokushita. Kerojo, toncongera te to o miru tahi ni, boku wa funeagari, soto no tata. Honzaka de ushiihi kijishi o miru tame ni, yoru no sakeba o irasaita. Kanojo wa, nani mo iwashakata. Soshite, tada zemiku deko o tashite ita. Makashi no kanojo to wa besshujin no yoo ni futsoku onna wa, boku o SETSUNAI kimochi ni suseta. Kanojo ga, niku o
SETSUNAI. When she nestled close to me, her body wobbling, I had to close my eyes.)

In the following passage, the subject is feeling bad about career women who abandon their traditional gender roles to further their careers. The subject uses the word SETSUNAI, since she wants them to become more attractive by displacing qualities of womanhood that are not so compatible with their careers. The subject wants them to reconcile both career and gender roles.

(54) "Watsabi, mukashi kara shigogenhiteru onna no hiro o miteru kedo, yappari dokoka de onna o suteru no se. Konna ni shinakya yatte kirenakatta no ka na ite, SETSUNAKU naruto koto me aru mono." [Nakayama 1991: 263]

(MT: For a long time, I have been watching working women, and thinking that they are somehow abandoning some parts of their womanhood. I sometimes feel SETSUNAI wondering if they have to go so far.)

In the following passage, Nakano describes her mother's suffering contradictory feelings towards her daughter as SETSUNAI. Her mother wanted her daughter to do whatever she wanted to, but thinking of her health, she knew that it was very dangerous to let her daughter do so. As Nakano feels her mother's deep affection towards her, she uses SETSUNAI rather than a word like TSURAI (hard). The SETSUNAI feeling is closely related to one's affectionate feelings towards the other.

(55) Watsabi ga chichi no hatai o oshite barebushu o hajimeta toki, haha wa donna ni tsumi omoi o shita koto deshou. Kofome-ashibi asobi wa hanashi hitorikata wa ga ko ni, tate no mata, tsuera-yoo no koto ga ate mo, sonote yarita to in koto wa yureaste yarita... Demu, sore o yuruishitra, koto mata tsuete shimasu. Hyouo shite koto koto ko wakarou o dare ni shinai shimasu kamo shirenai. Haha wa nayanda-oo desu. Yuregokui hana no kimeo towa SETSUNAI mono data to omoiinashu. [Nakano 1994: 193]

(MT: I wonder how troubled my mother might have felt when I started playing volleyball against my father's wishes. She wanted her child, who could not play the way normal children

could, to do what she wanted to do, even though there was a possibility that she might fall down again... But, if she let the child play, she would fall down again, and that might damage her child's life forever. Somebody said to me that my mother worried. I think my mother's wavering feeling was a SETSUNAI one.)

In the following example, the wife of a sumo wrestler confesses that she feels SETSUNAI when she watches her husband lose in a match on TV. In this case also the subject feels SETSUNAI when something bad happens to a person whom she feels affection for.

(56) Sore ni shinme terebi de torikumi o mite iru toki wa, kotonou ni iita kokochi ga shimasen. Dekidoki nante kotoba de wa, iruwaranai kuri. Moo shinoo ga bokushuu shite shimasen. (Oto ga sumo do) Makera toki wa, makaeta koto ga kamsashii to iu yori, "ima donna kimo ite de iru no darou. Anna ni gamabete iu sono" to, sono koto ga SETSUNAKUTE tamairimase. [Keiko Hanada "Yokozuna to musuko to watsabi no asu ni natsumeshita" pp. 72-77 in Puji Koro 1998 June 76: 72]

(MT: And yet I feel more dead than alive when I am watching a match (which my husband is participating in) on TV. I cannot express the feeling in words such as dokk/doki. My heart beats violently. Whenever my husband loses in his sumo match, I don't feel sad; rather I cannot help feeling SETSUNAI, "what is he thinking now? (I wonder why he lost) Although he tried so hard..."

Similarly, the same person says she felt SETSUNAI when she cooled down her husband's feverish body. Her husband, who is still ill, does not want to give up wrestling. She feels SETSUNAI, since something bad (injury or illness) is happening to the person she loves, but she cannot do anything about her husband's firm decision to keep fighting.

(57) Watsabi ga ichiban tsurakkata no wa ihigatsu-basho no toki deshita. (Oto no) zukeiku ga piiiku ni tamari shuniichi-goro ni kaze ni hiki, kudou-iro no netu ga nometchi mo hikanakkata no desu. (...) Oyakata wa nando mo kyuusha o sumaseta-so desu ga, "Ongeki desu. Yami no kadozai" to, to iku, hikitakata toka. Izen, kanzou o wakaruku shita toki mo oyakata no susuru o kowatere datsukusunamahita shi, aisho ni yubi o konsentushita toki mo iku shite shiotosu/soeite iru no desu. Watsabi wa SEETSUNAKsuite, yokuun no no rezhin no koori de hikashinage, mukanunto o nai tei shinaishimashita. [Keiko Hanada "Yokozuna to musuko to watsabi no asu ni natsumeshita" pp. 72-77 in Puji Koro 1998 June 76: 76]

(MT: The hardest for me was when the January tournament was held. (My husband) got a cold in the middle of the tournament when: the player's exhaustion peaks, and he had a
represent the subject's affectionate feeling towards the object of his/her affection.

However, contrary to the subject's wish, something bad and unwanted is happening to the object (component (e) "I now know: something bad is happening to this person/thing") and (f) "I don't want this to be happening"). Component (g) "I want to do something if I can" and (h) "I know I cannot do anything" express the subject's frustrated feeling that he/she can do nothing about it. The resultant feeling is "something bad" (component (i)). However, like SETSUNAI (1), the subject's consequent general feeling towards the object is "something good" (component (c) "when I think of this person/thing, I feel something good") and (i) "this person feels something good towards Y").

6.(1).2.2. The Attributive Use of SETSUNAI (2)

In the following examples (58)-(60), SETSUNAI (2) is used attributively. In the following passage (58), the subject feels SETSUNAI about the deterioration in the state of his father. His father became unable to tell whether he had enough money to buy his favourite food. The speaker feels sad about the ageing process which made his father, whom he loved, grow senile.

(58) "Ichiji wa sono toshi no kure, 83 sari de nakakatta. (….) "Ichiji wa aru teido no okaze o mottsu na noni, (toshi de) tsukibata ga wakaranaku nante shimatta. Koobutsu no unagi mo tabezu, chikuwa bakari kante. Toshi o toru ni, SETSUNAI koto de su ne." [AERA 1998. January 12th: 23]

(NYT: My father passed away at the end of the year, he was 83 years old. (…) "Although my father had a certain amount of money, he became too old to know how to use it. He did not buy his favourite, eel, but bought only chikuwa (a kind of fish paste). It is SETSUNAI to get old, isn’t it?"

Here is another example:

(59) "Totsuzen ooto to yo imoto ga kono yo ni shukugenshi, tomodota kodomotachi wa sannazama na pafomoumu ni dera koto ga arimasu. (…) Ookai wa akashedari to is hooho de sono tomodato o sarawashimasu (e.g. omorashi, akachan-kotoba). (…) Kodomo ni totte to ima no jiban yori sunti ni dekinakatta kore ni modoreba, kore made doori ni kazoku no ameishita
aijō to chushoku o torimodoseru no de wa nai ka, 'yume yō mae ichido' to ita SETSUNAI
kōdoo na so desu kara sono jun na shinjoo o (hahaoya ga) sukkōrikite yaranai tooto ni wa ii
hoochoo ni mukimasen.
[Matsuo & Matsuo 1996: 82-4]

(MT: Puzzled children often begin to act up when younger brothers and sisters appear.
(...) Many of them express their puzzlement by reverting to infant behaviour (e.g. bed wetting
or using baby words). (...) For those kids, these are SETSUNAI actions driven by the
feeling that, if they revert to a stage where they are completely helpless, they could regain
the stable love and attention they had earlier, and get that dream back again. Unless mothers
understand this, development will be problematic.)

Here the elder child feels something good towards his/her mother, and wants to be the
centre of her affections and attention as before. Since she/he now has a younger sibling,
less of his/her mother's attention is given to him/her. That's why the child feels
something bad, while still desiring his/her mother's affection. The child's action is
described as SETSUNAI by the writer who feels empathy towards the child.

In the following example, the hierarchy in a company is described as SETSUNAI.
Although a man feels something bad about the girls in the company who try to judge
men's personalities by their positions, he would not say SETSUNAI unless he held
positive feelings towards both the people who cannot be promoted and toward those
girls. Otherwise, he would say "atama ni kuru (get upset)" or "kanasihii (sad)". The
subject sees that any person in a company who cannot be promoted above section chief
receives a low evaluation as a human being from girls working there, therefore he feels
SETSUNAI or sympathy towards that kind of man.

(60) Abe: "Nai, kaisha maza ni iru to, onnoko no me wa kanari shibira desu yo. Kono hito
wa bucho de tomara to ha, kacho domari ya te, dalna wakarite imasu kara ne.
Inoue: Tada, chotto SETSUNAI so wa, kacho domari ine ni so wa, yaheru sore jiru
shusshesuru hito yori no ningeneki-miyoku ni oite mo oteru to omowarete shimasu n deshoo
ka.
[Pujita Koan 1996 November: 223]

(MT: Abe: Actually, the attitudes of young female workers at the company are quite severe.
They say they can see if a person will be promoted only to the level of section chief.
Inoue: What is a little SETSUNAI is that they think that a person who will end
up as a section chief is less attractive as a human being than a person who will be promoted to
a higher position.)

Then, the explication of the meaning of the attributive use of SETSUNAI (2) as seen in
example (60).

SETSUNAI (2) --- the attributive use
[Y wa SETSUNAI (2)
((People in general feel) Y is SETSUNAI (2))]
(a) I want to say something about something
(b) sometimes a person thinks about someone else/something Y:
(c) "when I think of this person/thing, I feel something good
(d) I want something good to happen to this person/thing
(e) I now know: something bad is happening to this person/thing
(f) I don't want this to be happening
(g) I want to do something if I can
(h) I know I cannot do anything"
(i) when this person thinks this, this person feels something bad
(j) this person feels something good towards Y
(k) I say: other people can feel like this when they think about Y

The attributive use of SETSUNAI represents what people feel in general (component (f)
in SETSUNAI (1), or component (k) in SETSUNAI (2) "I say: other people can feel like
this when they think about Y"). Components (d) and (e) in the attributive use of
SETSUNAI (2), above, (d) "I want something good to happen to this person/thing"; (e)
"I now know: something bad is happening to this person/thing"] are different from
components (d), (e), and (f) of the attributive use of SETSUNAI (1) [(d) "I thought this
person/thing could be like a part of me", (e) "I wanted this", (f) "I now know: this
person/thing cannot be like a part of me"]:}
6. (II) I FEEL SOMETHING GOOD TOWARDS SOMEBODY and related concepts

Suki, Koi(suru), A(suru), / Horeru, Akogareru
Koishii, Itoshii, Itooshii, Ijirashii, Kenage

In this chapter, we will deal first of all, with Japanese emotion words which are usually translated into English by verbs such as "like" or "love". Then follows a discussion on adjectives which refer to affectional emotions.

Before we go into a detailed discussion of each word, it would probably be useful to sketch the main differences between the three words SUKI (na-adjective), KOISURU ("koi": noun; "koisuru": verb), and AI(SURU) ("ai": noun; "aisuru": verb). They are often used, but it is difficult to describe which one corresponds to English 'love' or 'like' in various contexts.

The word SUKI has a wide semantic range. While the verbs AISURU and KOISURU cannot be used with concrete inanimate objects or activities, SUKI can.

1. Watashi wa kare ga Suki da o AIISHI-te/o ni KOISHI-te, I TOP him NOM SUKI COP/OBI AIISHI-Prog/ DAT KOISHI-Prog (I love him.)

2. Watashi wa chokoro-roto/kosodate ga SUKI da/-o AIISHI-te/-o ni KOISHI-te, I TOP chocolate/childcare NOM SUKI COP/ OBH AIISHI-Prog/- DAT KOISHI-Prog (I love chocolate/childcare.)

The following examples below show that SUKI is different from AI(SURU) or KOI(SURU). First, examples from original Japanese texts are shown:

3. Watashi, 'SUKI' to 'AIISHI' wa chigau to omou n desu. 'SUKI' wa ikura demo iero kedo, 'AIISHI' wa, hontoo ni daiji na toki dake. 'AIISHI' te iu no wa, jiben no ko no yori taietumu na hito no koto o iu n desu yo. Jiben yori taietumu de, kono hito no tame ni shizumu to omotte hajimetee 'AIISHI' te kuchi ni daseru. [Sakaya Youshi (director) "Oya ni ii kano mineteru dake" pp. 58-61 in Fujin Kooron 1998 July 22nd: 61]
Examples (3), (4), (6), and (7) illustrate how SUKI is different from AI(SURU).

Examples (5), (6), (8), and (9) show how it is different from KOI(SURU).

SUKI indicates a fairly general positive disposition, while AISURU and KOISURU involve a more specific set of attitudes and feelings; hence the explication for SUKI is more brief and general than that for either AISURU or KOISURU.

Next, what is the difference between KOI(SURU) and AI(SURU)? Although Japanese does have a phrase "KOI ni ochiru (fall in KOI)", meaning roughly 'to fall in love', there is not an alternative phrase with AI "**AI ni ochiru (fall in AI)". The following is an example of a Japanese translation from an English novel. The expression in the English novel, 'fall in love', can be translated as "KOI ni ochiru", but not "AI ni ochiru".

(10) Usami, socchoko na, asobite usukushii hummen, sore wa akira ni, onna o kudokinakete iru odo no tegami datta. Boku no mune wa mato o komu kimochi de ippai desu. Hajimeru omo ni kakatta toki kaeru, KOI/ AI ni ochite shinatta no desu.

(Maugham 1959a Vol.3:113)

This is because, as Sakaguchi (1989: 250) notes, AI(SURU) refers to a calmer, quieter, clearer, and more lasting affection than KOI(SURU); the nature of AI is inconsistent with the negative meaning of "ochiru (fall in)". On the other hand, KOI could refer to some intense feeling where one seeks after something strongly. Therefore, in the following sentence, the intense Japanese emotion word KOI, not AI, is given for the translation of an intense feeling of 'passion'.

(11) Ga, sore ni shite mo odoroi na wo, ona no hoo no kanjoo datta. Somosomo kare wa, kono onna ni, konna hagenhi KOI ga kanoo da to wa, tada no ichido mo kangaeta koto ga nakatta. Ga, kore wa maushiku KOI datta. Magiremo naku KOI datta.

(Maugham 1959a Vol.3:126)

(12) Dakedo, okashi na moe de, tsuna ni wa maaru-yoo na KOI o shita1 to is kiseki ga mai n desu. Aiboo mitai na kanji de. (...) Shikashi mochiron AISHiHemasu.2

(Himati Tachi (actor) in Fujin Kooro March 1997: 196)

(MT: But, strangely, I don't really remember ever having had a passionate KOI with my wife. She is like my mate. (...) However, of course I do AISHiHemasu.)

Similarly, because AI refers to a calmer feeling than KOI, one cannot replace KOI with AI when one tries to translate 'love' in the phrase like 'love-sick', as seen in the following sentence:

"Sure you do. You love [AISHI] her, like I love [AISHI] Sula. I just don't like [SUKI] her. That's the difference."

"Guess so. I like [SUKI] them is another thing."

"Sure. They different people, you know..."

[Morrison 1973: 57]

1 KOI o shi-te: KOI + Obj + do-Past

2 aishite-masu: AISU + -te (conjunctive suffix) + masu (polite)
The following three examples give us the idea that, unlike the feeling of AI, KOI is not a long-lasting feeling, despite its intensity.

(14) Mochiron kekkon-mae ya kekkon-toooko no auji kimochi wa, sore hodo nagaku wa tsuzukimasen. Kekkon wa akurumade seikatsu desu kara, ren'ai to is koto de no 'KOI' no buhun wa, kekkonjuru to jojo ni kiete yukimasu. Sono kawari ni 'AI' wa beens to shite sokorimashu. Kono 'AI' ga fuusha no kihon ni nai to, kekkonseikatsu wa umaku ikana ni de wa sai deshoo ka.

[Kyooko Hayashi in Fujin Kooron 1997 November: 86]

(MT: Of course the intense feelings before or at the beginning of a marriage will not last for long. Because marriage is for life, the 'KOI' part of ren'ai (KOI-AI) will disappear gradually after marriage. Instead, the 'AI' will remain as a base. Married life will go well unless the couple has this 'AI' as their base, will it?)

(15) Date motomoto KOI nante nagaku wa tsuzukinaai mono.

[Matsunoto 1993:14]

(MT: Because KOI by nature does not last for a long time.)

(16) KOI o hajimeru no wa kantan da ga, KOI o jaikusasenu no wa taiben muzukashii. Tsunagi KOI wa futatsu manzokuushaijo to hajimarim to, manzoku shite shimau to KOI de wa nakanaru no de aru.

[Misako Ooba "Kofooku na Fusu" in Fujin Kooron 1970 July: 42-3]

(MT: Although it is easy to start KOI, it is very hard to continue KOI. That means, that while KOI usually begins when we are not satisfied, it is not KOI any more once we feel satisfied.)

(17) Kekkonshuru danjo no aida de daaji na mono wa KOISuru kokoro ja nai no yo. Sonna mono 2-ri-getsu de samete shimau mono.

[Mori 1998: 20]

(MT: What is important between two people who will marry is not KOI, as such a feeling will cool down in just two months.)

(18) Otoko no hito mo sono desho ga, Onna wa ikuru ni natteru KOI o shite ita n desu. Tokorega, KOI ni wa owarri ga aru. Tokoni, kekkonshite shimau to, kakeru mo nai.

["Anata o aishita koto mo aru No. 24" pp. 82-86 in Shukan Asahi 1998 Nov. 15th: 86]

(MT: Maybe it is the same for men, but women always want to feel KOI however old they may get. However, KOI has an end. Especially, after you got married, there is no part of it left.)

3 'Ren' in "Ren'ai" is the Chinese reading of KOI.

In the following examples, AI is compared with the word KOI, which will be discussed in detail in the following section. These examples illustrate that AI is accompanied not only by pleasure but also by concepts like self-sacrifice.

(19) KOI wa dare ni demo dekimasu. (...) Doyoko mo naitaini no soo iranai de kara.

[Shikanai AI no hoo wa dare ni demo deku ni izu wakede wa arimasen. (...) AI no nai-shi-geomo de 'sutrae hoto' desu. Aite e no hika ga koto, kikenu ga uen ga jikku de, shikumo site o 'uterera' kote ga AI no hajimari desu. Aite no hiko dae no kakru, ketumi ya iya na nan o fukumere hoto no sugata o mizukimi, shikumo sono hoto no to o oten no ga AI no hajimari desu. KOI nante dare demo deku mono, AI koto taisukardau mono, to oboete oite badanai.

[Endoo 1994: 238-240]

(MT: Anybody can experience KOI. (...) Because you do not need much effort or patience for it.

Not everybody, however, can experience AI. (...) The first principle of AI is 'not to abandon'. It is the beginning of AI when we do not 'abandon' the partner even after our admiration and passion towards him/her ceases. AI arises if we do not abandon the partner even after we discover his/her negative features, recognising not only his/her good points but also his/her bad or annoying points. Anybody can experience KOI, but remember that we must create AI ourselves.)

(20) 'AI' wa anneru mono de ari, jikogosete o tonomou mono desu. 'KOI' wa motowenu mono de ari, jikogosho o tonomou mono desu.

[Sasanuma 1984: 160]

(MT: 'AI' is something you give, and it is accompanied by self sacrifice. 'KOI' is something you seek for, and it is accompanied by assertiveness.)

(21) Hito o AISURU to to kata to wa, sono hito o itawar to to kata to da. Omoi-yarou to in kata to de aru. KOI ni KOHitsuwa musume ni wa, aite ni taisuru hairo ga kakeru. Jiban ne yokoreba subete yot no da to omotte iru.

[Mori 1997b: 31]

(MT: To AISURU somebody means to take good care of that person, to put oneself in the place of that person. The lady who is KOHitsuwa somebody lacks of consideration for the person she is in KOI with. She thinks everything is all right if things are good for her.)

(22) KOI o shite iru toki wa tanoshikute, AISURU to iru toki wa kuroshii.

[Tomie Yamazaki 1995 (1943): 109]

(MT: I feel happy when I KOISURU somebody I suffer when I AISURU somebody)

4 A psychiatrist Kawai (1992: 46) also says that to "AISURU" somebody means that we will never break off a relationship with him/her whatever happens between us.
Thus, to summarise, SUKI is the most generally used word, while AI(SURU) and KOI(SURU) involve more specific sets of attitudes and feelings; hence the explication of SUKI is more brief and general than that for either AI(SURU) or KOI(SURU). As for the difference between KOI(SURU) and AI(SURU), AI(SURU) refers to a more calm, quiet, clear, and long-term affectionate feeling than KOI(SURU), which refers to some intense feeling where one seeks after something strongly. AI(SURU) is a calmer feeling than the feeling of KOI(SURU). However, unlike the feeling of AI(SURU), KOI(SURU) is not a long-lasting feeling, despite its intensity. Moreover, AI(SURU), unlike KOI(SURU), is accompanied not only by pleasure but also by concepts like self-sacrifice.

6.(II).1. SUKI

We will start with an investigation of the meaning of the word SUKI. SUKI is a Na-adjective which is often translated as 'like' or 'love' in English. Miura (1983: 184) comments on this word SUKI as follows (cf. also Sugimoto 1963: 48):

- Although suki is a no-noun and not a verb, it often corresponds to the English verb "like."
- "Suki" in fact, suki used with reference to a person often means more than just "like." It means "love."
- "I love you."
- "Man: Kiini ga suki da."
- "Woman: Watashi mo anata ga suki yo."
- "I love you, too."

The use of SUKI is strengthened or weakened in meaning according to the context or accompanying paralinguistic features. For instance, in the above example, SUKI is translated as 'love' in English. However, when the object is something like a family member, SUKI should normally be considered to refer to 'like' rather than 'love'.

SUKI is used in the following example. The first SUKI is translated as 'like' and the second one is translated as 'love':

(1) Totto-chan wa, kokoro no soko kara kokoushita. (Soo data), mainichi emplissu o kazitte agasu kuni SUKI na hito o, sande, osumo no jikan ni, sukkari wasurete, nagareboshihachatta n darou.... Demo, moo osokatta. Totto-chan ga, Tai-chan no ooyomae ni narenai koto wa kimatte shirinatta. (Demo, Ashita kara, yappari emplissu wa kazatte agetoo) Datte, SUKI na n da mono. [Kuroyanagi 1981: 202]
- "I'm going to go on sharpening his pencils all the same," Totto-chan decided. "After all, I love [SUKI] him."
- [Kuroyanagi 1982: 144]

In the following example, SUKI is used to translate the English 'love':

(2) Atashi Nyuu Yoooku ga dai-SUKI na no yo. Ki datte tooru daite to datte, nani hioutou bonto ni atashi no mono to inu wake ja na kedo, demo yappari, naamaku Nyuu Yoooku ga jiben no mono no yoo na ki ga suru wa. Datte kono machi wa, pittei atashi no shoo ni atten n da mono. [Capote 1968: 109]
- 'I love her, much SUKI New York, even though it isn't mine, the way something has to be, a tree or a street or a house, something, anyway, that belongs to me because I belong to it.'
- [Capote 1967: 83]

We could posit the fairly general meaning of SUKI as follows:

SUKI [X wa Y ga SUKI da (X SUKI Y)]

(1) When the object is: a human being, an animate thing, an inanimate thing (except for activities)

(a) X felt something because X thought something about another person/thing Y
(b) sometimes a person thinks about someone else/something:
(c) "When I am with this person/thing, I often feel something good"
(d) because of this, I want to . . . "with this person/thing"
(e) when this person thinks this, this person feels something good
(f) this person feels good towards this someone else/something
(g) X felt something like this
(h) because X thought something like this about Y

(2) When the object is: an activity

(a) X felt something because X thought something about something Y
(b) sometimes a person thinks about something:
(c) "When I do this thing, I often feel something good"
(d) because of this, I want to do this thing"
(e) when this person thinks this, this person feels something good
Because SUKI covers such a wide range of meaning, it can only be defined vaguely in order to allow for its substitution in many contexts. As we have seen in examples (1) and (2) at the beginning of this chapter, as well as examples (1), and (2) shown above, the object of SUKI could be either a human being, an animate thing, an inanimate thing, or even some activity. Depending on what the object is, the explanation changes. That is why a "double prototype" explication is given for SUKI.

In the case where the object is either a human being, an animate thing, or an inanimate thing, except for an 'activity', the subject feels something good when he/she is with the object, so he/she wants to be with the object (component (c) "when I am with this person/thing, I often feel something good"). That is why the subject wants to be with the object (component (d) "because of this, I want to be with this person/thing").

In case where the object could be an activity such as "ikuji (child care)", component (c) and (d) becomes "when I do this thing, I often feel something good" and (d) "because of this, I want to do this thing".

The resultant feeling in both explications is "something good" (component (e)). Component (f) "this person feels something good towards this someone else/something" for SUKI (1), or (f) "this person is feels something good towards this something" for SUKI (2), is necessary to make it clear that generally the subject of SUKI feeling has a positive feeling towards the object.

As discussed briefly in 4.2.2. in Chapter 4, unlike most other emotion adjectives, for example, those which will be discussed later, SUKI (na-adjective) can take the second or third person as subject in a sentence in a definite conclusive form, since this is a continuous emotional attitude towards something, which can be observed objectively by other people.

6.(II).2. KOI(SURU)

In this section the meaning and usage of KOI and its verbal counterpart KOISURU will be discussed. They are often translated as 'love' in English similar to AI(SURU). Murao (1991 Vol.3: 170) points out that because the Japanese language has two words, AI(SURU) and KOI(SURU), for the English word 'love', it is sometimes troublesome to translate the word 'love' as it occurs in English songs into the Japanese language. The translator always has to decide which word should be chosen between for 'love' in a particular context.5

Sugimoto (1963: 47) says that unlike AI, which came to be used after the Meiji era, KOI was used even during the Nara period when the Man'yoshu, was compiled (759 A.D.). The origin of this word is the verb "kou (call upon)" (Sugimoto 1963: 47; Satoo 1976: 109). Although KOI is used for referring to something like 'love' between two persons in present usage, in old Japanese, KOI meant particularly the feeling of an unattainable longing; —typically experienced when one wants to see somebody, but one cannot. Therefore, as Yamaguchi (1993: 93) notes, a phrase like "KOI no yorokobi (joy of KOI)", which is used in the present time, was inconceivable in ancient times.

According to Imai (1987: 64), KOI does not arise when one is living with one's lover happily. KOI occurs when one feels there is some physical/psychological distance between one and another person. The following two sentences illustrate this point:

(1) Bokura wa itsumo jibun kara hanasarete iru mono o KOISURU no de. Sore wa butsuri kesu ni kyori o kanasebiza inashi. Katamari ni hito ga suwante ite mo, mashi sono hito no kokoro ga tookerera, bokura wa KOISURU no de. [Tanigawa 1988:93]

(MT: We always KOISURU something separate from ourselves. That does not necessarily mean physical distance. Although another person is sitting beside you, if her/his heart is distant from you, you KOISURU him/her.)

(2) KOI to iru mono wa fushigi na mono na n da.

5 As seen at the beginning of the previous section, SUKI can also be translated as 'love' in some contexts.
At the beginning of this chapter, where KOI and AI are compared, we saw five examples (examples (14)-(18) at the beginning of this chapter 6.2.1.) which illustrate that KOI is not a long lasting feeling. Example (3) again illustrates that AI is more long-lasting than KOI. KOI has a strong power beyond our control, as demonstrated in examples (4), (5), and (6) which illustrate that KOI has intense power to make people absent-minded and unrealistic.

In the following example, KOI is used for the translation of English 'love'.

(7) “Nee, otoshibii mon da yo, KOI ni no wa.” kare wa itta. “Sore o mata, dare mo kare no, KOI o shigurau n da?” [Maugham 1959a Vol.3:126]

(4) It is awful, KOI, isn't it? he said. 'Fancy anyone wanting to be in love, KOI?' [Maugham 1963b: 371]

Here, since one recognises the strong power of KOI, the subject describes KOI as something 'awful' and 'irresistible'.

The above discussion leads us to explicate the meaning of KOI as follows:

KOI(SURU) [X wa Y o KOISURU (X KOISURU Y)]
(a) X felt something because X thought something about another person Y
(b) sometimes X thinks about someone else for some time, not for a long time:
(c) "there are two kinds of people
(d) sometimes I think something very good about a person of the other kind
(e) when I think about this person, I want to be with this other kind of person
(f) I know: I am not with this other kind of person now
(g) I would do anything if I could be with this other kind of person
(h) I cannot not think about this person
(i) when this person thinks this, this person feels something
(j) this person feels very good towards this someone else
(k) X felt something like this
(l) because X thought something like this about Y

The object of the verb KOI(SURU) is a human being (component (a) "X felt something because X thought something about another person Y"). In component (b), for some
time, not for a long time' is included since, compared with AI(SURU), KOI(SURU) is not a long-lasting feeling. Components (c) "there are two kinds of people" and (d) "sometimes I think something very good about a person, of the other kind" indicate that the affectionate feeling of KOI(SURU) is usually directed to the opposite sex. On the other hand AI(SURU) or SUKI can always be used towards a person of the same sex as well as of the opposite sex. We should note that one would not usually use KOISURU toward one's family members even if he/she are of the opposite sex, since one usually KOISURU the person with whom one feels there is a physical/mental distance, or no family blood relationship which already implies closeness. When one is in KOI with somebody, one wants to be with that person (component (e) "when I think about this person, I want to be with this other kind of person"). The component (f) "I know: I am not with this other kind of person now" represents the (physical/mental) distance between the subject and the object. The feeling of KOI has an intensity strong enough to make one want to do anything in order to shorten the distance between one and the object (component (g) "I would do anything if I could be with this person"). However, unlike AI, KOI does not necessarily include the subject's desire for something good to happen to the object, since one who is in KOI might not care about the other person. One who is in KOI often thinks it is all right if things are good only for one's self. The person who is in KOI cannot help thinking of the other person, that is, he/she cannot control his/her feelings (component (h) "I cannot think about this person"). Although the subject's general feeling towards the object is "very good" (component (i)), the person in KOI(SURU) does not always feel "something very good"; rather he/she feels "something" (component (i)) since he/she might even suffer from KOI, as seen in a phrase like "KOI-wazurai (KOI-sick)".

6 Yet, homosexual people can experience KOI towards persons of the same sex.

6. (II). 3 AI(SURU)

Sono (1988: 202) says that human beings, especially those who want to know its meaning, cannot tell what AISURU or AI (the noun form of AISURU) means. Sono points out that even after looking at the many precise definitions of AI(SURU) in the most widely used Japanese dictionary, Koujien, we are not convinced and feel that "love is not something like that" (p. 200). The following examples illustrate a similar view. The writers find it very difficult to define the meaning of AI-PU-IRU.

(1) Toki ni ...teganu ni tsukawarete inagari, AI hodo tsukaminikii mono wa nai. Namnen ka mae, koko ni no aru toshi de, hitori ni hito ni "Ochiasu-san wa AI o doo iraginakemasu ka" to shitsunou sante tomarotte koto ga aru. Watashi jishin AI ni wa koe no mono, to hitosu no teigi o kudasu koto wa dekina. Tobin issho dekina doro. [Ochial 1969: 19]

(MT: Although it is often used lightly, there is no word whose meaning is so hard to grasp as AI. Some years ago, in a city where I gave a lecture, I got bewildered when I was asked by a lady "How do you define AI". I cannot myself define what AI is in the singular. Probably I won't be able to do that for as long as I live.)

(2) Ittai, nani o AI to yobee kara ka wakaranai. Kanojo wa, omo omotte iku. Hito wa, doo i kanojo ni AI to ite maru o tojouoru no doro. Shoushoku, aigan, joometru, donna kotoha mo, AI to ite maru koto ga dekite-yoo ni, kanojo ni wa omenora. [Yamada 1994a: 92]

(I --> E: What is the hell is love (AI), anyway? Attachment, fondness, passion—It seemed to her that any of these terms were interchangeable with the word "love (AI)")

(3) "AI ite, donna koto da ka, hiku ni wa, yoku wakanai kedo, itsumo kekore ni, sono hito no koto ga katanai-ru te koto ka nan." "Sore ni yoku nite iyo wa." Bakkii ga ite, hochoenda. [Yamada 1994: 561]

(I --> E: "I don't really get what love (AI) is, but I guess it's when that person is always stuck to your heart," he said.
"Very much something like that, I'd say," Bucky put in with a smile.)

Tomioka (1989: 34) says that there are too many meanings for the word AISURU; treating a person like a prince/princess, suffering from a person's existence, thinking of a person even when he/she is far away, suffering with a person when he/she is suffering,
and so on. Tomioka says that none of these meanings can be left aside when referring to the meaning of AISURU.

Kövecses (1986: 61) indicates that defining the meaning of "love" is also difficult in English:

Romantic love is commonly thought of as a mysterious emotion which is notoriously difficult to pin down. This idea is shared not only by laymen. Various authors in various disciplines have expressed the view that this is a concept that is difficult to grapple with and define.

Note also the following comment by Steinberg and Barnes (1988:3):

For many people, love is the most important thing in their lives. Without it, they feel as though their lives are incomplete. But what is it? This question has been addressed by poets, novelists, philosophers, theologians, and of course, psychologists, among others.

Thus, the British singer Howard Jones sings the following lines:

(4) What is Love anyway, does anybody love anybody anyway? [Howard Jones "What is love?" 1984 in Human Lib by WEA Record Limited; PS]

Fehr and Russel (1991: 425) say that "The natural language concept of love has an internal structure and fuzzy borders: Maternal love, romantic love, affection, love of work, self-love, infatuation, and other subtypes of love can be reliably ordered from better to poorer examples of love". Thus, the English concept of "love" also seems to be hard to define.

However, I think it is not impossible to describe the meaning of AI(SURU) or love if we use the Natural Semantic Metalanguage.

Before we try to define the meaning, it is important to note how the word AI(SURU) came to be used in Japanese culture. The English word 'to love' is particularly influenced by Christianity. Branley (1987: 8) says that the idea that a person can "love" someone comes from the Greek word 'agape'. In Christian literature, Jesus used to talk

about 'love' for enemies, neighbours, and God, a word that derives from the Greek word 'agape'. Miyaji (1966: 447) says that the Japanese came to use the word AI(SURU) in the Meiji era (1867-1912 A.D.) when the Japanese accepted this as the Chinese translation of the Greek word 'agape'. Thus, Henley (1977: 115) remarks:

In pre-Meiji times, the Japanese word ai was used to apply to a love from a superior to an inferior, there was another word which referred to simple physical attraction. Missionaries chose the first word ai to translate God's love for man, but they also used the word reciprocally to express man's love for God, and this levelling has spread to indicate the relations between lovers. Pop music has had a considerable influence on attitudes, and so have western romantic literature and films.

Iizumi (1960: 56) also points out that the Japanese word AISURU came to be used after the Meiji era in the translation of Western literature, and Miyaji (1979: 182) says that before the Meiji era, the word AISURU was used only by superiors to their inferiors; people could not say that a woman AISURU a man prior to the Meiji era. Sakaguchi (1989: 250) mentions that before the Meiji era Japanese people had great difficulty choosing which word they should use to describe Christian love. In the end, the Japanese decided to use the word "aietsu (important)" for the translation of the word 'love'. Sugimoto (1993: 131) says that the phonologically identical word "aisuru" existed in Japanese even in the Heian era (792-1192 A.D.), but he claims that the meaning of this word was something like "fondle" and did not have the connotation which the present word AISURU has.

In order to grasp some of the meaning of AISURU, consider the following examples. Example (5) is from a Japanese novel, (6) is from a Japanese TV programme, and (7) is from a Japanese magazine:

(5) "Shujin no koto datta, anata AISURU sai wake ja sai wa so. Takaku wa tsuzuketa. "Demo ne, watashi ga wakai otoke to rasshishin o ojitaiwokoro e haitte kitemo, yasashii sei. Doco to tsuzuketa kuretaite mi ga moto de i uito yo." (...) "Sonna oto ja, AI dante samurai wa. Watashi, isou AISURU ni i. AISURU ita no." [Aikawa 1997: 284]

7 "AI", therefore, is a Chinese word, and not a Yamato word, while the word "koi", which is mostly translated into English as 'love' is a Yamato word. For the present meaning of AISURU, the Japanese people in former times used words like "omou" (cf. Saito 1977: 233).
Example (5) is the feeling of AI towards the opposite sex, which is similar to KOL.

Example (6) and (7) are the feelings of AI which are directed towards a family member.

The following are examples where AI is used as a gloss in the English text.

(8) "Moshimo anata ga watashi wa te mitai no to io to shite iru no nara, ima wa iya. Watashi ga anata o kokoro kara AISHIte iru to kokoro kara omoima made, moshimo watashi-tachi ga kirei ni suru you na koto ga aru ni shiranai, taben sono toki made wa gamabite kudasaiara to boasu wa." [Malamud 1969: 139]

(I <E: I won't sleep with you now, if that's what you mean. If I have to wait til I am really sure I love [AISHIte iru] you, maybe till we're married, if we ever are."

(Malamud 1967: 122-3)

(9) "Sono ebiashi ne, sasuna ni ki ni suru no; haka da wa..." "Ne, Firiippu, anata ga omou hodo, sasuna koto, hira wa kagetsu ya shihai mono yo. Soya, hajimete atta toki wa ki ga tsubu doroku kedo, sugi ni wasurete shimasu mono yo." "Watashi wa nee, watashi, anata o AISHIte kara kennes koto o iru no. Kennes koto de, anata ga fukiko ni naru no, watashi, iya na no yo." [Malamud 1959b Vol.3: 24-25]

(I <E: It's very silly of you to be so sensitive about your club-foot...! You know, people don't think about it nearly as much as you do. They notice it the first time they see you, and then they forget about it. "You know, I only speak about it because I love [AISHIte iru] you."

Example (5) is the feeling of AI towards the opposite sex, which is similar to KOL.

Examples (5), (6), (8), and (10) refer to feelings of AI(SU) towards a person of the opposite sex. Sentences (6), (7), and (11) are examples where the subject feels AI(SU) towards his/her family members either of the opposite or the same sex.

Kushida (1979:68) suggests that when human beings experience AI, they will also experience "kurushimi (suffering)", and that AI without "kurushimi" is unthinkable. The following sentences serve to illustrate this point:

(10) Kanjo ga AISHIte iru mono, sore wa Mootsuurato to Basha, shonrei Biitoruza. Sore ni boku.

[Segal 1994: 5]

(I <E: That she loved [AISHIte iru] Mozart and Bach. And the Beatles. And me.)

[Segal 1977: 1]

(11) "Nerii ga li to onna o nara, iru dake watashi wa ano ko ni aita wa. Ano ko wa ojichan ya watashi ga nozode ita-yo ni sannakatta ni shite mo, watashi wa kokoro kara anoko o AISHIte iru wa."

[Updated 1992 Vol.1: 61]

(I <E: "Nellie, I am happy to see hime whenever he deems fit, I love [AISHIte iru] that boy with all my heart even though he hasn't turned out the way his grand father and I had hoped.")

[Updated 1981:59]

Hatomura (1963:318) introduces the notion of "AI(TERU)" as the fused form where "-i" of "iru" is dropped from Aishi-TERU.
(14) AI to is no wa, site ni mujokom ni atsenu mono de ari, site o mujokom ni yurusu koto de aru. [Yoko Mori "AI no kusari kara doo nakedasu ka" pp.7-14 in Nakamura 1989: 8] (MT: AI is something that you keep giving unconditionally, forgiving unconditionally.)


Mikako: Darling, please cure me. Tetu: Yes, I will. By all means.

Mikako: I am happy. I am now living on the limitless power of my husband. I am AI sarete iro [Passive form of AIISHETE iro] better than anybody in Japan, in the world. I can see your face attending me all the time. I am really happy. I rely on you. (Cries). After 42 years, I understand that this is how people truly AIISHERE somebody.

Tetu: This is just a natural thing. It is AI that we should share this suffering. But I cannot do it. I feel impatient.

We have seen that AI is accompanied not only by pleasure but also by concepts like self-sacrifice. The following comment by Endoo on AI also provides us with a hint about an important component of the meaning of AI.

(16) Don-fan ga seishinteki de ari risokote ni josi no sugata o chijoo no onna no naka ni mildaseenakatta to wa ia, suterereta oonzashii koso ii meiwaku de arimasashoo. Sore yori mo, kono Don-fan no syamachii wa, kare ga okoo no onna o motomete no mo kakawaran (…) kare wa jibou wa AI to iku mono o shiranakatta koto no aru no desu. Nazeru, AI to wa jooetsu to wa chikara kara desu. Jooetsu ni hituru to ia koto wa dare ni den dekimasu ga, AIISURU to ia koto wa, soo yanzashii dekimu mono de wa nai kara dezu. Jooetsu to wa genki no jooetsu to monshite koto desu ga, AI to wa genki kara mirai, ni muzukU ni ni ooyoku de nanaka o tsukuriage iku koto desu.

Don-fan wa jibou no koibito no naka ni risokete ni josi no sugata ga nai to ite kanjoo kara hanasaiteru. Dajj, naze Don-fan wa koibito o jibou no chikara, kanjoo no kyoozyoku ni yotte, risokote josi ni tsukuriage itanakatta ia. AI to wa genki no sugata ni jisuboo koto de wa arimasu. Genki no sugata ni yuuhanse ni kara mirai, ni muzukU, fureU, no ita ni nanaka o tsukuriage iku koto no AI to yoku narah, Don-fan wa taishita ni kono AI no imi, AI no chikara o shiranakatta no de arimasu. [Shusasak Endoo "Otoko no don-fan-teki shiru ni tsuite" in Nakamura 1989: 105-106]

(MT: Although Don Juan lamented not being able to find his ideal image of a female anywhere in the world, it was women who experienced troubles after he dumped them. Don Juan’s real mistake was that he did not know what AI was, even though he sought it in so many women.

This is because AI is different from passion. Being absorbed in passion is possible for anybody, but to AIISURU is not something one can do easily. Passion entails one's being fascinated by the present situation, but AI means that one tries to create something with patience and effort in the present, as an investment for the future.

Don Juan left his lovers saying that he could not find his ideal in them, but why did he not try to change his lovers into his ideal woman through his effort and her cooperation? AI is not something where one gets depressed about the poverty or imperfection of the present situation. If we call what a couple tries to create for the future AI, Don Juan certainly did not know the meaning and the power of AI.

Here Endoo emphasises that AI is not something which can be achieved easily, but that one has to make some effort to create AI.

The following example (17) shows that a person who feels AI can be very patient towards another person.

(17) Watashi ga gakko o yameru to ita toki, chichi wa nan ni ga nan demo gakko ni iku to wa imaasendeshita. (…) Chichi wa soo ni hito desu. Hontou ni kommatu toki ni wa tansuke kurerushii, watashi no senkaku ni mo shashou jiyuuza tsukuiete mo kureru. Watashi ga jibou de soo sekibuku ke kahunu kare, jito matte iro no desu. Sore dake AI ga okii ni hito ni a deusu. [Anza Umemiya (model) "Jiritu e no michi" pp.78-81 in Fujii Kooren April 7th: 80]

(MT: When I said to my father that I wanted to stop going to school, he did not force me to go. (…) My father is like that. When I am in real trouble, he helps and gives advice to me, and he also waits patiently until I can make a choice. He waits quietly. He is a person who has such a big AI for me.)

The example below (18) shows that a person who has AI towards someone does not expect to receive a return.

(18) "...Miren te, atee no mi-kenai-bun ni taijira miren na no yo. Kangasete mireba, samashii kanzou na no yo. Okasanshi nante kati shite, hito o AIISURU te koto jisai ga, sade ni hito o hontou ni AIISHITE wo to iemai koto no na yo. [Morii 1992 Vol. 2: 316]

(MT: "...One's reluctance to give up a person is his/her lingering attachment to a return which he/she still has not received from that person. On consideration that is a mean feeling. We cannot say it's a real feeling of AIISURU towards somebody, if he/she expects the person to return something when he/she AIISHIRE the person.

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What is quite characteristic of Japanese people regarding their attitudes towards this concept AI(SURU) is that they find it embarrassing to use the word openly. Consider the following examples which illustrate this point:10

(19) Noriko wa, "anashi o AISHite iru?" to itta. Ore wa sono kotoba wa shoogetsu ya terebi dorama no maku de tsukau mono da to bairi omote ite node, koppuusakushite kuma kuma. [Tanabe 1975: 36]

(MT: Noriko said, "Do you AISHite me?". I had thought that people only used such a word in a novel or a TV drama, so I became embarrassed and kept silent.)

(20) "Nee, watashi no koto AISHite iru?" Sono toki mo kare wa makkari enchi oito ita. "AFF! Sore te dojo iru koto? Koppuusakushite sono koto kangaeta koto mo nai yo. [Hayashi 1997: 247]

(MT: "Well, do you AISHite me?" At that time, too, he answered with exactly the same words "AFF! What do you mean by that? I am too embarrassed (HAZUKASHII) to have ever thought about it.)


(MT: Masaru is reading out Hiroshi's love letter. "I have ended up loving [AISHite shimaishimashita] you completely." Hey, he says he had ended up loving [AISHite shimaishimashita] her. Ha ha ha ha, how embarrassing (HAZUKASHII).")

(22) (Hoya ni Off Course no "I Love You" ga kiloete kuma.)

Yamashita: Mas shikashi, saugus no Oda-san (Off Course no riidasu) mo jissaisu to ya, konna kaissu I love you o itte wa inai deshoo ne. [Wara] Uta daikare ukereraremu kotoba desu yo no.

Shina: "Kono alba, kisatten ni itta n desu yo. 'I love you' te itte yatsu ga ga." [Wara] "Majime nii."

Shina: "Moo, majime ni. Ore, fuzakete itteru no ka to emottomo, chiga ni no. (...) Datte nai, futtamu iwanai yo, matome na shiketsu shite iru etoko datara, Nihongo de datte, AISHITETE nante iwanai deshoo."


(MT: [A song I love you by Off Course is heard in the room.] Yamashita: "Well, even Oda (the lead-singer of Off Course) would not say 'I love you' so often in real life. [laughs] This is a phrase you can accept when it is included in a song." Shina: "The other day there was a guy who said 'I love you' in a cafe."

Yamashita: "Was he serious?"

Shina: "He was serious. I thought he was making a joke, but he wasn't. (....) Usually, men who have a normal sensibility would not say AISHite even in Japanese, would they!"

Yamashita: "No, they would not.")

(23) Jiissai ni, kobito ni mukatte AISHite iru to is kotoba o tsukau no wa, Nihonjin ni totte kannari hanzukashi kitate nagase no koto de atte, eiga ya shibai no tsukigoto da to shitte iru tokore de yattekari sarero no o kiko no nai toreru. [Tanaka Tomiokka "Alsum, aishita!" pp. 15-34 in Tanigawa 1981: 12]

(MT: In practice, using the word AISHite to one's lover is very embarrassing and difficult for the Japanese, and even if you know that it is used in movies or plays, you feel embarrassed to hear the word.)

(24) Kimochi no warui no kakugo de in ne. Okaasan wa watashi no inochi, AISHITETE. U, hanzukashi. [Female (62 years old) in Fukuiken Marukocho 1995: 155]

(MT: I would say it even if I knew that I would feel uncomfortable if I said it. Mom, you are my life, I AISHITETE you. Oh, how embarrassing (HAZUKASHII).)

(25) "Nee, sono kami to is kotoba yamete kuremas. Inaisanu shi jikkai ga nai no. Watakashi ni wa jittai ga nai n desu mo. Daigaikoka no toki kara gattusumihajime-te ni tsukau ono kami to is kotoba ni endokatta no."

"Sumimasen, sono kotoba ga iya nara, ta no na ni kaete mii ni in desu. Tomato demo ii, tamanegi demo ii. (....) Kami wa sonzai to ii yoi, hankashi desu. Tamanegi wa AI no hataraku kanamari ni in desu."

"Nai kimoichi warui wa, majimesa kano shite AI nante hanzukashi koitoba o tsukawarete ino. (....)"

[Endo 1996: 103-4]

(I -> E: 'Listen, could you please stop using that word 'God'? It makes me nervous, I can't relate to it, and it doesn't mean anything to me. Even since I was in college, I've felt distant from that word 'God' which the foreign priests used.' 'Sorry, if you don't like that word, we can change it to another name. We can call him Tomato, or even Onion if you prefer.' (....)'God' is not so much an essence as a force. This Onion is an entity that performs the labours of loved AI."

'That's even more reductive. How can you use such upbuilding words as love [AI] with a straight face?....')


(26) Hito o AISHU e ni is no wa ne, nakanaka wareware Nikonjin te no wa hetta na n de, maza, sono nijika ni iru habana ni ikasoro ni koimochi, koi no tsukurabera ni na no omotte. [Akiko Wada (singer) in TV programme "Tensoku no Hoya!" June 24, 1996]

(MT: We Japanese are not good at saying AISURU to somebody, therefore, I think it would be good, first of all, if we could express appreciation to our mothers who are close to us.)

As seen in examples (19) to (24), although the word AI(SURU) is often used in popular songs, the use of this word in everyday conversation sounds awkward and can be

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10 Kyokoku Fujimoto (in AERA 1998 July 27th: 6-7) reports that Japanese couples who have lived in Western countries come to say "AISHite iru" to each other after being influenced by conversations between Western couples.

11 Aishite-shimaishimashita: Aitsu (Verb) + -te (conjugative suffix) + shima (end up doing) + masu (polite) + -te (Past).
embarrassing. A woman in (25) even feels that using this word AI is repulsive and upsetting. Isaka (1990: 301) points out that, although almost one hundred years have passed since the word AI(SURU) began to be used in the Japanese language, the usage and concept of this word have not been integrated into Japanese life (cf. also Matsumura 1977: 30-31). AISURU is not culturally as important as SUKI, or KOI, it is used only in writing and in formal speech (Ruigo-kenyukai 1991). Miura (1983: 15) comments on this word AISURU as follows:

The noun ai "love" and its verbal counterpart, aisuru "to love," are both written expressions. Although some young lovers nowadays may use such words of endearment as Aishite-iru yo (men's speech) and Aishite-iru wa (women's speech) to mean "I love you," such sentences still sound stilted because the verb aisuru is rarely used in speech. Kinu ga suki da (men's speech) and Anata ga suki yo (women's speech) also mean "I love you." Versions containing suki (cf. see SUKI which is discussed in section 3 of this chapter: RII) are more conversational and are perhaps more frequently used in speech than versions with aisuru.

Translators who have tried to translate the English word "love" have always had great difficulty. Although they often use the word AI(SURU), it sounds very literary. An anecdote from the Meiji era (1867-1912) illustrates this. When a student translated "I love you" into "Ware nanji o AISU (lit. I AISU you)", Sosooke Natsume, a famous Japanese novelist suggested that the translation was mistaken and corrected it into "Tsuki ga kirei desu nee (The moon is beautiful, isn't it?)". Even in the present time, Sakaguchi (1989: 251) suggests "Boku wa anata ga SUKI da (I SUKI you (roughly 'I like you'))"

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12 However, recently, women especially are beginning to expect to be told AISUITesu by men in Japan. The following example illustrates this point:

Sakunen, furirinatta (41) wa, juuen me ni rikonshita usumi ga saikomiha koto o kaze no tayoi ni kikita. Ima, mitari ni karbud de furiratten ka.

Tasuma ga koi hito koto ga aru. "AISHITE iru to hito kuentu koto ga nai."

"Furitshiki naa, hito kuenten ni ja nai to, toshu wa kaiisagatta ga, suppanetan.

[Otto go rikai dekinai renmon-rinon] pp. 6-10 in AERA 1995 May 20th: 9

(MT: Last year a freelance writer (41 years old) heard a rumor that his ex-wife (10 years divorced) got married again. Now, he looks back in his memory and talks about her in a calm tone.

"Once my ex-wife said, 'You have never said you IAI(SURU) me.'

"How can I say such an embarrassing thing?" I answered.

"You could say it when we're alone', my wife said, but I rejected her suggestion."

is a more appropriate translation for "I love you" because the more basic, conversational and salier word "SUKE" has a milder meaning than AISURU. Kanayama (1978: 67) also notes that an indirect expression such as "Isho ni kuroo shite kuremasen ka? (Will you not share hardship in life with me [from now on]?)" would be more appropriate for a proposal of marriage in Japan than the phrase "Anata o AISIMITE (I AISIMITE you)". Tomioka (1989: 16) observes that while younger people have become more familiar with the expression AI(SHITE iru) and that they sometimes use it, they see it not as a 'word' but as a 'symbol', without really knowing the meaning of AI(SHITE iru). She says that most Japanese feel embarrassed even when they overhear this word in everyday life, as illustrated above in examples (17) and (18).

Some Japanese feel embarrassed even when they use weaker affectionate emotion words such as "nuki", as seen in the following examples:

(27) Chisai toki kuru harukasshite iwareshikatta. Ina wa. "Omasan o SUKI ya."

[Pakulon Mawatasehoo 1995: 179]

(MT: I have been too embarrassed to say this ever since I was little. I say it now. "I SUKI my mother.")

(28) "Omotachi ga SUKI da to kazoku ni mukatte kotoba o nagakakeru otoasan ga, kono Nihon ni itai namin iru darou ka. Kotoba ni dasakakutemoto wakaru daro to ino ga Nihon no makushii kara no shinikan de aru ga...

[Saimon 1990: 36]

(MT: How many fathers could we find in Japan who say to their families "I SUKI you." It is a traditional Japanese custom for people to expect that others understand what they feel for them without expressing it in words, but...)

(29) Tatoebu, jibun ga roku ni itte, kanojo ga nanette iru to o shichireshon. "Iogashikute, oniyagare ga konnaitakata' to wa jwanai. Koto wa nakute no, nanoka kure iku. Ssu no kounichi o takusan kasanete iku no ga kare no yasashina no hyogens-chohou no yoo de da. Kotohe de wa naku koodou de misuteru. Terekkushite, "SUKE Deusu", niite zetai misneru kare dakaara.

[CanCam 1993 March:129]

(MT: For example, he's out on location. She's waiting for him. He would never return saying "I was too busy to buy you a souvenir." Even if he has no time, he will make an effort to buy one. Accumulating such feelings seems to be his way of expressing his kindness to her. He expresses it with actions not with words. This is because he is the type of person who is too shy to ever say "I SUKI you."
This Japanese attitude of reluctance to showing how one feels, especially strong affectionate emotion towards others can be described in the following cultural script:13

**Japanese reluctance to express affectionate feeling to others:**

(a) when I feel something good towards another person
(b) I cannot say this to this person
(c) I know I will feel something bad if I say this to this person
(d) because other people can think something bad about me
(e) I don't want this

Components (a) and (b) describe Japanese people's reluctance to show their affectionate feelings towards others. This is because they know that they will feel something like embarrassment if they do that (component (c) "I know I will feel something bad if I say this to this person") since they are overtly concerned with other people's views towards them (component (d) "because other people can think something bad about me"). This way of thinking is closely related to the words "HAZUKASHII" and "TEREKUSAI", which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 10.

This kind of attitude is typical of Japanese men. The following example illustrates this quite well:

(30)  (Ore wa tsuna o AISHHite itsu daaroo ka.)
Kaanojo ga shita ato, tototsute, kawkyo ni natta mainichi no naka de, kanojo no shiin—nichijou tsukatte ita kanojo no hanai, shingu, youyukudassu ni burasaguite iku kanojo no fuku—o me ni suru tabi Isebe wa hai ni iyouko no nai sabishita to kuu o kamakienmawara jimunjou shiha. Shiko shita no Nihon no dante no time to shite kare wa "AISURU" to wa hitai, nan sa no ko koko konsensukatsu de majime ni kangaeta koto wa na ni.
Kokkonsensukatsu to wa kare ni tsueta, tagai ni soshoitari mendo ni mizutansu danja no bungyootei na tasuketa data. Onaji yase no nai ni shite de seikatsu o tomu ni shi, horeta haretu nado to iu kimochi ga kyosuku ni shoosuetshite shimaeba, aoz wa otage ga dono yoo ni yaku ni tanu ka, bori ka ga mondai ni naru no da. (...). Oto ga mainichi, shiko kou o surihaeshe kaisha kara motsuta toki, dore dake waganama o yurete, kyosuku no ba o tsukute oite kureru ka ga tsuna no saido ni shigoto da to kare wa kangaetsu iu. [Endoo 1996: 205-6]

("I -> E: Did I love. [AISURU] my wife?

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13 Wiersbicka (1992c: 146-147) states that different people can attach different importance to a given concept. It could be argued that the modern European concept of love (amour, Liebe, amore, and so on) is particularly important and that the emergence of this concept in Western folk philosophy constitutes a significant stage in the development of human ideas and human values.

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Here, the man confesses that he never thought seriously if he AISHite itsu his wife during his marriage and says "Married life to him was a division of labour between a man and wife who look after one another and tend to one another's needs".14 Of course in modern Japanese society, people's concept of "love" has become more and more

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14 A similar example is seen below:

(1)  Wazashii wa anna no nan na no?
Ono o kitesumun shita.
Nyoubo no daro.
Nyoubo o hoto keera tsukita ga imasu ka. Maukashii wa iku made ruddate matte lite kurete ja nai desu ka. Iken wa yoku no ni kyosukenkobetu kurendaa n da. Dainichi, iku made ruddo te orera o sazette, rando de.
[Excerpts from a newlywed woman in a letter to a male friend who is going to work outside for a long time.

(MT: What am I for you? I asked my husband.
You are my wife, aren't you?
What kind of a husband leaves a wife and goes back home? Before you used to wait for me for ever. We have to use time efficiently. First of all, until when do you love us to be a man and woman?

(MT: What?
A husband and wife are like the air. You would be in trouble if you didn't have a partner, but it would be ideal if we could exist so naturally as to forget the existence of each other. Otherwise, a couple would not be able to live together for a long time.)
Westernised, and many people have come to think that they AISURU their partners, but still they don’t use the word AISHITE IRU very often in daily conversation.15

Furthermore, the following example demonstrates that some Japanese think the word AISHTERU can be used only by people who reach a certain age.

(31) Kangase miru to Kisekue wa 'AISHOTERU' to ku koto o ichido mo itte kurenakatta. "Daisuki ja tsunagaran wa. Ano ne, suki ga jukku atomaru to daishuki da, daishuki ga jukko atomaru to AISHITOE ni naru no yo." Umasu tenen koredo, 'AISHITOE' nante is no wa nijushi-sai ijiru ko hitotsuki ga tuskau mono no yoo nai ki ga shite iru no to mo hontoo de. [Hayashi 1994a:150-1]

(MT: When I think of it, Kisekue never said to me 'AISHITOE'. 'I am not satisfied with DAISUKI (SUKI very much). See, when TEN SUKI gather around, they become DAISUKI, and when TEN DAISUKI gather around, they become AISHITOE.' I cannot say this properly, but it is true that I was thinking that it is people over twenty-five years old who would use a word like 'AISHITOE'.)

The love among family members is different from love between two individuals. The following is an example of a father’s feeling of AISURU towards his daughter.

(32) Hahayoa no Machiko-san wa kuu furiakaru. "Otto wa Tae ni kibishikatta hannya, totemo yaashikinata n desu. (...) Sagui chikaku ni kombini ga aru n desu ga, yuugata yoi chikaku ni nate sakebiri demo kuraku naru to. "Nama ni atte wa ikkenai to ii kurenakatta, Shirenai otokonoko kara desu ga kikatte kuro to, toritogasu. Me no mae ni Tae ga iru nomi, gachan to kiteru imashita". Soo iru hana o ma no stari ni shite toki, Satoya wa, "Otomo ni ikka no ni AISHERU iru na da na. Tae ga kawarin na da ne?" ["Moorguru-chan Satoya Tae no kattobi dolyoo" pp. 151-153 in Shukan Asahi 1998 Feb. 27th:153]

(MT: (Tae Satoya’s) mother remembers her husband likes this. "My husband was very strict to Tae, but on the other hand, he was very kind to her. (...) There is a convenience store nearby, but once it got a bit dark in the evening, he would not let her go there, saying...

15 Therefore, as seen in the example below, a problem often occurs in a marriage between Japanese and non-Japanese people.

Haruman "Aru toki muzume ni, mama wa papa no koto doo onome iru no, to kikaran. Sorode kare ni kikata koto o kii no ga, chikaku ni shite, chikaku no mestro ni yubukashita. Kore ni kotanze chodai. Ken sachi to wa karakurensho to. Saigo ni wa wazashi no kato o suki ka tiki." Shogoer "Boku to shite wa, sonna koto no wa wakaretemo kawaru daren to omote iru. Demo kare no ni shite mireba, AISHITE IRU to itte kurena no kikata iru to omote to. Sore de toonna gaiitai ga tokieta. Koto ni shite hoo ga gakai ni da hoo wa wakariran. [Haruma (picter) & Shogo Shimizu (writer) "Fuku no kaidan 249" pp. 96-99 in Shukan Asahi 1998 August 21th-28th: 99]

(MT: Haruma "One day I was asked by my daughter what I thought about my husband. I made a list of questions to ask him and invited him to a nearby restaurant. I asked him to answer the questions and I suggested that repetition depended on the answers. Lastly, I asked him if he liked me."

Shogoer "As for me, I thought she knew that without my even saying it. But from her point of view, she thought I hated her since I did not say to her I AISHITE IRU her. Many misunderstandings were solved then. I understood how important it was to put my affectionate feelings into words.

"Something bad may happen to her. When there were calls from boys he did not know, he would not put them through. Even though Tae was in front of him, he would hang up". When Satoya saw such scenes, she said, "I am AISORTETE [16] by my father. You like me."

However, many Japanese feel too hesitant to ever express their affectionate feelings towards their children or parents with the words AISURU.

Another characteristic of Japanese attitudes toward affectionate emotions is that, as Kamei (1982: 21) notes, many Japanese tend to believe that silence is the ultimate expression of AISURU. When people feel AISURU, they lose words; they face the enormous difficulty of expressing their feelings exactly, realising that words can only convey a small portion of their whole feeling. Consider the following example:

(33) Koto no ni dekinal no ga AI ni, koto de wa kimi o tsunagenai. [Jun Natsume "Saigo no ame" 1992 by NTVM & Kiki Music]

(MT: It is AI which we cannot express in words, as I cannot tie you to me with words.)

A similar attitude can be seen in the following sentence from an English novel:

(34) Even if I'd known the right thing to say, I probably couldn't have said it. Speech destroys the function of love, I think.....The word is the hammer.....Love has teeth; the wounds never close. No word, no combination of words, can close those love bites. [King 1992: 469]

However, this phenomenon is more apparent in Japan than in English speaking countries.

It should be noted here that some English expressions using words such as ‘love’ cannot be translated into Japanese with AISURU(RU). For example, consider the following passage about one of the English usages of "love":

(35) And about love. 'Love' is one of those words that illustrate what happens to an old, overworked language. These days, with movie stars and cowboys and psychiatrists all pronouncing the word, it's come to mean nothing but a vague fondness for something. In this scene, I love the rain, this blackboard, these desks, you. It means

16 AIS-sorte [Verb-Passive-Conj. Progressive auxiliary "in"]
nothing, you see, whereas once the word signified a quite explicit thing—a desire to share all you own and are with someone else.
(Upstake 1963: 55)

We cannot translate the underlined sentence above with "AI(SURU)" except when the object is the animate "you":

\[(36)\] Wasabi wa *mata / iyo / *ane / kono kobukan o AISU/AISHI*teru.
1 TOP you / dogs / *rain / this blackboard OBJ love

\[(37)\] Wasabi wa *kono kuni / kono tochii o AISU/AISHI*teru.
1 TOP this country / this land OBJ love

Here we should remark upon Harin's (1995: 22) comment that the non-interpersonal use of love (as in *Jane loves chocolate*) has a different meaning from the core meaning of love, much closer to like; its explication would contain no reference to wanting to do good things for Y or to be with Y, as the core use of love has.* Wierzbicka (1992c: 146) also says that "In sentences with inanimate objects, love is used hyperbolically, as an emphatic and deliberately exaggerated substitute for the unmarked and expected word like... when used with inanimate objects, love is usually endowed with special prosodic clues, which signal an expressive emphasis and an emotional attitude to the subject matter".

While in English the object of the "love" feeling can be either animate or inanimate polysemously, the Japanese word AI(SURU/SHI*teru) applies only to sentences with human object.

However, we can say:

\[(37)\] Wasabi wa *kono kuni / kono tochii o AISU/AISHI*teru.
1 TOP this country / this land OBJ love

This is because 'kuni (country)' or 'tochi (land)' implies the existence of people in it.

Here I propose the following explication for the meaning of AI(SURU/SHI*teru)

\[ AI(SURU/SHI*teru) \{ X wa Y o AISU/AISHI*teru \ (X AISU/AISHI*teru Y) \}

(a) X felt something because X thought something about another person Y (in place Y)
(b) sometimes a person thinks about someone else for a long time:
(c) "I know good/bad things of this person"
(d) "I can think many good things about this person"
(e) I want to be with this person
(f) I want to do good things for this person
(g) if I could do something good for this person, I would do it.
(h) I will always want this"
(i) when this person thinks this, this person feels something good
(j) this person feels something very good towards this someone else
(k) X felt something like this
(l) because X thought something like this about Y

The object of AI(SURU) is human beings (component (a) "about another person (in place Y)"). An example of the optional component in "about another person (in place Y)" is a case such as sentence (37) above (i.e. kuni (this country) which implies the existence of people in it). In component (b), "for a long time" is required since, unlike KOI which is relatively short and usually has an end, the feeling of AI(SURU) is generally long-lasting. Component (c) "I know good/bad things of this person" implies that the subject knows the object well, not only their good points, but also their bad points. Component (d), "I can think many good things about this person", represents the subject's affectionate feelings towards the object despite recognising the bad points of the object. Component (e) "I want to be with this person" indicates that when the subject feels AI(SURU) towards somebody, he/she wants to be with him/her and do something good for him/her. Component (f) "I want to do good things for this person" and (g) "if I could do something good for this person, I would do it" imply that the subject wants to do something good for the object and would do anything if that would be good for him/her (a good example of this is (15)). Component (b) "I will always want this" emphasises that this feeling of devotion is steady and long-lasting. As a result of thinking all these, one feels "something good" (component (j)). What the subject generally feels towards the object is "something very good" (component (j)).
6.(II).4. HORERU

In this section we will discuss the meaning of the verb HORERU. Suzuki (1992: 218-9) says that the original meaning of HORERU was "to get enchanted and absent-minded because one is attracted to someone" (cf. also Mizukami 1984: 374; Iguchi 1988: 94). Yoshiyuki states the difference between HORERU and SUKI is as follows:

(1) 英: "Tada SUKI da to is no to, HOREta to is no to, dokka de zen o hiteru no ka... so... ia kubetsu te ni deshoo. Sonoo hito sono hito ni yotei chigai wakete deshoo." Yoshiyuki: "Shikashi, HOREta jookyo no to is no wa wari ni kantun ni waraeru yo. Tenmaru, anata ni shita koto ga... to is jookyo no nara koto ga HOREta te koto da." [Yoshiyuki 1980: 112]

(M: Beauty: "I wonder where you could draw the line between just SUKI da and HOREta. There is no such distinction, is there? The distinction is different depending on each person."

Yoshiyuki: "But I can easily understand the situation of HOREta. That means, if you are in the situation 'Why should I feel like this,' you have already HOREta him/her."

One can HORERU not only a person, but also attributes of a person as follows:

(2) Watashi wa anata no ude/angi ni HOREta.
I TOP you NOM skills/performance DAT HORERU-Past
(I HORE-te your skills/performance.)

In a sentence like (2), one could not replace HORE-ta with AISHI-ta, KOISHI-ta, nor SUKI da. A similar example follows. Here, the founder of Honda Car Company HOREta the business talent of Mr. Fujisawa:

(3) Itobaka: Tokore/no, Honda-san ga Fujisawa-san to dekita kakkake wa doo da? Honda (Honda-giken sosetsuhashi); Watashi wa tsukuru koto wa jibun de inshokushin mei taskata. Tokore/no, uru to nara to karakata de da. (....) Sore de da to de to nade, wynin ni, matoika kare o karashinu no ga wa ma-yo no hito wa ince no ko to tanoshikonda. Sokko de shobainin wa iru yo to, shokkai arueta no ga, Fujisawa Takko fukushihaco da. Tookyo no de

hajimete atta. Iroiro hanashi in uchi ni boku ni nai mono o motte iru. Watashita motomoto jibun to onaji-yo no ningen to wa kumana. Sok对方 kono hito nara to HORE-konda. [Itou 1995: 34]

(M: Itou: By the way, how did you meet Mr. Fujisawa?
Honda (the founder of the Honda Company): I worked as hard as I could to make products. But I was no good at selling them. (...) That was no good, so I asked my friends if they knew somebody good at collecting money. And the current vice-president Takeo Fujisawa was introduced to me as an excellent businessman. I met him in Tokyo for the first time. While we talked about various things, I realized that he had something I didn't have. By nature I don't team up with people like me. So I was stricken [HORE-konda] by him, thinking this is the man I was looking for.)

In this example where the object is the attribute of a person, too, HORE-konda cannot be replaced by the equivalent form using AISURU, KOISURU, and SUKI.

HORERU is usually considered appropriate to be used only by males, as seen in the following example:

(4) Azoko ni tartu-u ano ko o mita totan
Hoka no ko to odoru ki ga usechatta
Kanzō mo jitto boku o mitena / Sorede pinto kita yo
Kito kono ko ni HOREchau / daro to

(I <>E: So how could I dance with another
Oh, when I saw her standing there
Well, he looked at me / And I, I could see
This... we too long I'd fall in love with [HORERU] her)

But in fact, we can, on occasion, assert that HORERU is not used exclusively by males. In the following examples, women use it to express their feelings towards men:

(5) Watashi wa hajimeta kare o shomen kitte mita.
Honto ni it toko data no de aru.
Shiranakotta... (....) Watashi, kare ni HORE-soo ni natta.
[Todoo 1994c: 74]

(M: I looked at him front-on for the first time. (...) He was really a good-looking man.
I did not know that...(....) I almost HORE-ta him.)

---hore-ta: horeeru (verb) + -ta (past case participle)
Similarly, in the following example, HORERU is used for the Japanese translation of an old woman's utterance of 'love' in English.

(7) Obaachan: "Kono nega no toshitsuki, ojichan wa, atasashi no joosai o chitomo shinjite inakkatta n da ne?"
Ojichan: "Eee?"
Obaachan: "Tokoroga, atasashi ni wa atta no — magokoro komeita joosai ga atta no —
HOREE, HOREEee, HOREEmu itta n da yo!"
[Williams 1959: 107-8]

(8) Obaachan: "Kono hito wa "Boku wa uwakishite inai. Honki de kanojo ni HORERU ni da" te kakuusanai n desu yo."
[Shigeko Kazama in Shukan Asahi Hemshusubu 1994: 41]

(MT: He (my husband) would not hide it, saying "I haven't been unfaithful. I am seriously HORERU her.")

Similarly, in translation from English:

(9) "Ore wa nyussha shite kara zuu kimi ni HOREREIta.
[Confession of love used for the author's friend by her present husband]
(I have always been in love with [HOREEIta] you since I started to work for this company.)

Thirdly, HORERU is not always used for sexual desire as seen in the following examples:

(11) Ore wa nisshu no jinkaku ni HOREREIta.
(I HOREREIta his character.)
HORERU is used when the speaker admits that the other person is superior to him/herself in some respect. However, we should note that even if the other person is superior to the speaker in some respect, one would not use HORERU for one's family members.

Watachi wa jibun no 5 ani/*chichi ni HORERU iru.
(* I HORERU iru my older brother/father.)

I would posit the following explication for the meaning of this word HORERU.

HORERU [X wa Y ni HORERU (X HORERU Y)]

(a) X felt something because X thought something about another person Y
(b) sometimes a person thinks about someone else/something about someone else Y:
(c) "I think good things about this person/thing about this person
(d) because of this I want to be with this person all the time
(e) I want to do something because of this
(f) I cannot think of anything else"
(h) when this person thinks this, this person feels something good
(i) this person feels something very good towards Y
(j) X felt something like this
(k) because X thought something like this about Y

Component (b) "sometimes a person thinks about someone else/something about someone else Y" is posited since, as we have seen in examples (2) and (3), the subject does not always HORERU only human beings, but also the attributes of a person.

Component (d) "I think good things about this person/thing" shows that the speaker is attracted by the other person or by some attribute of that person. Components (d)

"because of this I want to be with this person all the time" and (e) "I want to do something because of this" describe the active character of this feeling. The subject of this feeling wants to do something to possess the fascinating character of the object.

Component (f) "I cannot think of anything else" shows that the subject is preoccupied by the existence of this person. Thinking of all these, the speaker feels "something good" (component (b)). The subject's general feeling towards the object is "something very good" (component (i)).

That's why 'horeru' is usually used by male rather than by female.

6.(II).5. AKOGARE(RU)

Hiejima (1994: 32) gives "be attracted by/long for/pine for/yearn after" as the English gloss of AKOGARE(RU). Sasaki (1989: 9) also defines the meaning of AKOGARE(RU) using "yearn" as follows: "Akogareru is to yearn for some idealised object or objective; to want to do something or become something with your whole heart". However, we cannot say that the English 'yearn' or 'yearn for' is equal to AKOGARE(RU), since it is also used as the translation of words such as "omoiakogareru" or "natsukashigaru".

Iguchi (1988: 134) says that the word AKOGARE(RU) was made from the combination of the obsolete word "aku" which meant 'place' and 'kawaru' which meant 'leave', and that this word originally meant that the soul left its right place (also Izumi 1963: 35; Yoshida 1990: 87). Suzuki (1992: 9) explains that the soul of a human being leaves the body when it finds something wonderful or beautiful outside; when this happens the person becomes absent-minded. Sugimoto (1963: 55) also says that AKOGARE infers that the soul walks with a light-hearted desire for hope or happiness.

The prototypical usage of this word AKOGARE(RU) is one's affectionate feeling towards somebody who is older, superior, or has superior attitudes. The examples (1) - (9) below illustrate this point. AKOGARE towards one's elders is shown in examples (1) - (3). Example (2) shows that one could AKOGARE(RU) somebody who is of the
same sex as oneself. The feelings towards somebody one respects are illustrated in examples (4), (5), (6), (8) and (9). A boy’s affectionate emotion towards a girl is shown in example (7). Sentences (10) and (11) show black people’s desire for white people or their attributes, that are unattainable for biological reasons.  

(1) *Iwasaga wa daikiri da to, hotondo no jossite ga ite ita. Sukunakutomo sannensei no jossito no kuchii kara, Iwasaga o homerus kotoba o kiita koto ga nai. Kare ni AKOGARE, tegami ya hana o obura no wa kakyusei no onnannoko ni kagirarenne ita.* 

[Hayashi 1993: 175] 

(J <E: Almost all the girls said they detected Iwasaga. At least I’d never heard of any of the senior girls say anything nice about him. It was only the younger girls who admired AKOGAREin me and sent him letters and flowers and other things.) 

[Hayashi 1996: 173] 

(2) *Rumiko-san no mite iru to, soue no kanjiru no. Kizutsuku kedo, mata iete, ii koto mo ippai jibun de tsukanderashite. Ii karada tte sugo ieru deshoo. Rumiko-san wa karada mo kokoro mo sugooka shiniyaka. Sono ii suu ni naretera suteki da na te, onaji josei to shite AKOGAREnu yo.* 

[Nakayami Kawashima (actress) "Koi o motome, Ai ni naku" pp. 76-83. In Fujiriko Kooron 1999 May 7th: 77] 

(MT: “I feel it when I look at you (Rumiko-san). Although you get hurt, you heal, and grasp many good things. A good body heals rapidly. Both your (Rumiko-san) body and heart are very flexible. Thinking it would be wonderful if I could be like that, I see AKOGARE as a woman.”) 

(3) *Chuugakusei no koro kara maeginii de, toshite, sono koro desu kara kokooseyo ga ii na, nante AKOGAREmashita noo.* 

[Tokio Furuschi (singer/song writer) in Tanzen 1996 No. 246: 84] 

(MT: “I was a precocious child from the time I was a junior high school student, so I AKOGAREna its older boys, that is, high school students or university students.”) 

(4) *Yoohien no toki kara, (...) kabuki no busi o mite, “Shooroku no ojisan, kokoo ill!” tte omotte imaashita. Toko ni, Shooroku no ojisan ni wa sugoku AKOGAREna ita kara, busi no mite iru to, toriha ga taite, furus ga tomenasuku naru.* 

[Hashimoto Naokuma (Kabuki actor) in Kurashi to Kenkoo 1997 Vol. 5: 5] 

(MT: “Since my childhood, I thought “Mr. Shooroku is cool!” whenever I saw him on the kabuki stage. I especially AKOGAREna in Mr. Shooroku, and when I see him on stage, I get goose-bumps and cannot stop shaking.”) 

20 AKOGARERU is often translated as "admire" in English. When one admires somebody, one has a very positive evaluation of somebody else’s abilities; admiration for someone’s attitude (e.g. in the face of adversity) or inner qualities (e.g. one confounds a threat). However, one does not admire ‘good looks’, thus one would not say “I felt admiration for her huge blue eyes, for her gorgeous hair” (Wierzbicka 1999b). Yet in Japanese one can AKOGARERU somebody else’s good looks as illustrated in example (11).
The object of the feeling AKOGARE(RU) does not have to be human. The object of AKOGARE in example (12) is the sea, and one in example (13) is the role of manager for a popular rugby team.

(12) "Matsubotomo Hiyogokonomi no yamasi no mura de umarete sodatta watashi ni totte 'umii' wa AKOGARE datta." 
[Moe Nagato (Illustrator) in Fujin Gahoro 1994 Vol. 6: 50]

(MT: For me, who was born and raised in a mountain village in the Hoyo prefecture, the 'sea' was AKOGARE. Noun for me.)

(13) Nandemo sono tsuki no shinjin no uchi, ichiban kirei na onnanokoko ga ragashibito no manenjia ni sara to in shibutsu ga aru to Noriko wa kita koto ga aru. Manenjia to ittemo taishita keito o suru wake de wa nai. Josetto ga ni, san-san no busshitsu no souju ya sentaku nado, komagaema to shita zatsuyou o suru. Sore dake no koto na nanti, kono yakume wa hotondo no josetto ga AKOGARE de ina. Nanensha ragashibito no bun wa, Komeikan-koookou ni cite, hotondo sutaa asu datta kara da. 
[Hayashi 1993: 64-5]

(J -> E: Noriko heard that it was virtually an unwritten law that the prettiest girl in the freshman class became a manager for the rugby team. "Manager" in this case was just a glorified name for the two or three girls who did the team's chores. Even though there was nothing special about the position, almost all the girls termed [AKOGARE(s)] to be rugby managers. That's because, at Komeikan, the boys on the rugby team were practically stars.)

On the basis of these examples and discussion I would propose the following as the explication of the meaning of AKOGARE(RU):

AKOGARERU [X wa Y ni AKOGARERU (X AKOGARERU Y)]
(a) X felt something because Y thought something about another person/thing Y
(b) sometimes a person thinks about someone/something else [Y];
(c) "I think this person/thing is good"
(d) if I were like this person/if I were near this thing, I would feel something good

While the object of the AKOGARERU feeling is usually a human being, it could be something inanimate as seen in examples (12) 'sea' and (13) 'manager's role' (component (a) "X felt something because Y thought something about another person/thing Y"). Components (c) "I think this person/thing is good" and (d) "if I were like this person/ if I am near this thing, I would feel something good" show that the subject X is attracted to someone/something Y which X respects. Thinking that the object is good, the subject wants to be like the object person or close to the object. However, the subject is not like the object, nor close to the object yet (component (e) "I am not like this person/ I am not near this thing"). X is eager to have a close familiarity/connection with Y (component (f) "I want to be like this person/ I want to be near this thing"). The resultant feeling is "something good" (component (g)). Although one has not attained the object which one AKOGARERU, one feels something good while one is pursuing it. When the subject thinks about the object, the subject generally feels "something very good" (component (h)).

6.(II).6. Adjectives Referring to Affectionate Emotions

In this section, I will discuss the adjectives (I-adjectives or Na-adjectives) which refer to the affectionate emotions. They are KOISHII, ITOSHI, ITOOSHI, IJIRASHII, and KENAGE.
2 As we have outlined in Chapter 3, the adjectives expressing emotions usually occur in two systematic frames: the subjective use ([Watashi wa] Y ga I-/Na-adjective ([I] feel I-/Na-adjective about Y)) and the attributive (descriptive) use ([Y wa I-/Na-adjective ([People in general feel)] Y is I-/Na-adjective)). What we should note here is that in the case of the subjective use, only "I" can stand as the subject, unless it occurs in a narrative discourse or the adjective is followed by an evidential marker.

6.(II).6.1. KOISHII

KOISHII has only the subjective use: "(Watashi wa) Y ga KOISHII ([I] feel KOISHII towards Y)".

The following are examples of KOISHII in original Japanese texts.

(1) Fushigi na koto ni, is de nōto o hirogete iru toki wa woa omoi硝わんす。Kono na onna, gakko-o eiki, kono kyochoitsu ni kuyou no mo moo namichō mo sa to kanage hajimu to mō dame da. Mone ga haraiso-zo wa hodo, Gōwa-kun ga KOISHIIKARI naru. Kere to anekku natara doo shiyou o omou. "Koo la no ga KOI te na h de ya yo ne." [Hayashi 1993: 186]

(I --> E: The strange thing was, she didn't think about him when she was at home, sitting at her desk, her books and notes spread out in front of her. Nevertheless, once at school, she'd get to thinking about how few days they had felt and she'd be plunged into despair. She missed for. 

(4) [Because KOISHII] Gōwa no much she felt so much she said about him. 'Whatever would she do when she wasn't able to see him any more?" I wonder if this is what they call love. [KOISHII]

(2) Aa, hito wa mukashi mukashi teri datta no kamo shineinai ne. Konn ni mo konn na mo sora ga KOISHII. [Miyuki Nakajima "Kono e o tobetaru" 1978 by YAMAYA, F.M.F.]

(MT: Oh, people might have been birds a long long time ago, I feel KOISHII (the sky so very much.).

(3) Inuke kimi to itsu / Elga ga mata kuru
Tugyo o nukedashita / Furi de dekite
Kanashii bamen de wa namidagundera / Succhi na yokogao ga ima mo KOISHII
[Yumi Arai "Ittike hakusho o moo ichido" 1975 by Kay Music]

(MT: The film I saw with you will return soon
We went together, cutting classes
Even now, when I think of your splendid profile shedding tears during the sad scenes
I feel KOISHII.

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In the following examples, English words like 'love' and 'miss' in original texts are translated as KOISHII:

(4) Mohaya kare ni totte wa, kanjojō ga, kanjo mukō de, zannin da, gerettu de, gudon de, dorōka de aru no, sonna koto wa doo Demo yuraku no da. Tada mushoo ni KOISHIKATA na no da. Nora to tomo ni koishikatu de aru yori mo, mushiro Mirudoedetto to sono ni, fukuo de aru koto no hoo o erae da no de sita. [Maugham 1959a: Vol. 3: 63]

(I --> E: He did not care if she was heartless, vicious and vulgar, stupid and grasping, he loved. [KOISHIKATA] her. He would rather have misery with one than happiness with the other.

[Maugham 1965b: 338]

(5) Ikina, hanaoyaa ga KOISHIKU natta. Shinde hoanta hanaoyaa ni omot o haseru to, namida ga hoo o tsunoo ochinas. [Cornier: 1994: 249]

(I --> E: Suddenly, he missed [became KOISHII] his mother. Her absence formed tears on his cheeks.

[Cornier: 1995: 233]

(6) Anata ga itte kara totemo KOISHIKUTE 31 Mainichi wa o harashitari
Hitobito hitobito kusaneagaru nan to karei o matte iru [Lee Gaines "Just squeeze me" 1946 by SHK/ROBBINS
CATALOG INC in Murao 1991 Vol.2: 119]

(B: Mistake [KOISHII] you since you went away
Singing the blues away each day
Counting the nights and waiting for you)

(7) "Kimi ga KOISHII" to Rasserau.
"Uso bakkari."
"Hontou sa."
"Issu kimī."
[Mellin 1993 Vol. 1: 275]

(I --> E: 'I miss [KOISHII] you,' he says.
'No you don't.'
'Yes I do.'
'Since when?' I say.
'Since I've been gone,' he says.
'You've been gone a long time, Robin.'
'I know it. To long. I do miss [KOISHII] you, Robin.'

[McMillan 1993: 170]

31 KOISHIHU: koishihu: (Adj.) + -te (conjunctive suffix)
KOISHI -- the subjective use

([Watashi wa]22 Y ga KOISHII ([I] feel KOISHII towards [Y])

(a) I felt something because I thought something about another person/thing Y
(b) sometimes a person thinks about someone else/something [Y]:
(c) "I know this person/thing
(d) when I was with this person/near this thing, something good happened to me
(e) because of this I felt good
(f) I am not with this person/I am not near this thing now
(g) I want to be with this person/I want to be near this thing now"
(h) when this person thinks this, this person feels something
(i) this person feels something very good towards this someone/something else
(j) I felt something like this
(k) because I thought something like this about Y

The object of the KOISHII feeling could be either human or inanimate (component (b) "sometimes a person thinks about someone else/something [Y]"). Components (c) "I know this person/thing" and (d) "when I was with this person/near this thing, something good happened to me" and (e) "because of this I felt good" indicates that the subject thinks positively towards the object, since he/she knows something good about the object with which he/she is familiar. The component (f) "I am not with this person/I am not near this thing now" represents the physical/psychological distance between the subject and object, which is felt by the subject. The subject years after the object (component (g) "I want to be with this person/I want to be near this thing now"). When the subject thinks all these, he/she feels "something" neutral (component (h)) since KOISHII is a one-sided feeling which cannot possibly be rewarded. However, when the subject thinks about the object he/she generally feels "something very good" (component (i)).

Now I will discuss the differences in meaning between the verb KOI(SURU) and its adjective form KOISHII. While the object of the feeling KOISHII can be either a human being, or inanimate object, that of KOI(SURU) is usually a human being of the opposite

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22 When the speaker attaches 'the past tense suffix' or 'some formal evidential markers' to KOISHII, this describes an emotion feeling experienced by other people. Otherwise, the subject (experiencer) of the feeling is always 'I' in Japanese.
sex. Also, while the person who KOISURU, feels he/she wants to do something to shorten the distance between him/her and the object, KOISHII does not have such an active connotation. Finally, KOISURU expresses a more intense feeling than KOISHII. Thus the component "I cannot not think about this person" is included in the meaning of KOISURU, but it is not included in the meaning of KOISHII.

6.(II).6.2. ITOSHI

Like KOISHII, ITOSHI has only the subjective use: "(Watashi wa) Y ga ITOSHI=((I feel ITOSHI towards Y))."

The following are examples where ITOSHI is used in original Japanese texts.

1) Kono mama kimide o ubaisuritai
Yagate asa no hitari otoruemeni mano ni
Soshite mata ano hi made yume o kanayoyco
Issu made mo shinjiite taiso yo
Kokoro furueru hodo ITOSHI kara
[Noboru Usugi: "Kono mama kimide o ubaisuritai" 1993 by BEING, INC.]

(MT: I would like to take only you away [with me] before sunlight visits us and let's realize the dreams we saw that day again I would like to believe [in you] forever / because I feel so ITOSHI towards you that my heart trembles.)

2) Ina sugu atte mitumeru saburi misutemoto
Naze ni damatte kokoro hanaret e shimagai? Nakaanside yoru ga tsukastemoto
Ame ni utera hana no yoo ni
Magadoro tōki hodo sugao ga ITOSHIKute
[Kenise Kuwata "Namida no kiss" 1992 by Publish House Amuse]

(MT: Although I pretend to see you now and look hard at you Why do we become silent and our hearts become distant? Don't cry, even if the night is hard, like the flower hit by rain I feel ITOSHI (toward you when looking at your really angry face)

3) Tooi kisoku no naka dake kimide no sugata sagashitemo
Moo moshiare demo wasure ni
ITOSHI kono seiki
[Kanzashi Sakurai "Cross Road" 1993 in Komoto et al. 1995: 1002]

(MT: Although I seek your image in long ago memories,

It won't come back but I won't forget your ITOSHI smile.)

4) Onaka o oe ni shite kororo to kogurugu no ga, (shibi ni neko no) tokui to nozomi no zuon. (....) Boroboro no sugata de sore g yarurearu to emowaru wasste shimasu shi, hitohito ITOSHIKU nai, tsui hitoriaku, futakare to (keishinii ni) yatte shihimatsumu, [Housewife (53 years old) "Insu-baka, neko-baka, Petto-baka No. 250" in Shukan Asahi 1997 October 3rd: 97]

(MT: Lying down with her belly up is my cat's favourite pose when she clamours for food. (....) When she takes that pose with her rough figure, I cannot help laughing and feeling ITOSHI about her still more, so I end up giving her one or two pieces of "sashimi (raw fish)."

The following are two examples where ITOSHI/ITOSHISA (noun) is used for the translation of original English texts:

5) Moshoiro Nette ga denwa o kakete kure sas shita, to kanjo o wa imasemadamo kangae tsumikiteta. Daga denwa wa kikō mimin motem to de ittage ni kanjiri ni nari o hibemote ita. Yoru ni mireba kanjo wa kare no yume o mita. Kare o no ITOSHISA wa tanomu, kare o no motomote kanjō wa sasa. Hono kasoku ni nasuatu kure sas shita, aruwa watsashi o motomote to kare ni tanomu da ho yuki ni kanjo o ni atta, kanjo o wa isoito to tanakakuru shiroi kare no mire da ni locočišumeto tobikonde ita kore daroo. [Malamud 1969: 90]

(<E> If Nat would only call, she thought endlessly, but the telephone was deaf and dumb. She dreamed of him nightly, felt deeply in love [ITOSHI/ITOSHISA: Noun], fascinated by him; would gladly have danced into his warm white bed if only he nodded, or she dared ask him to ask her.

[Malamud 1967: 81]

6) 1948 nen umare no bokokishin no sobo ga 13 sai no toki, jibun yori mo hoono sukoshi toeshikira no chishina kokujin no komakushu o futari yoochi, Ichinoseki Rikuan no derekika-o-segens no jūden ni no tokoi wakasuu, nabeku-senku no seichu seno omonakotoki o ITOSHI kaitai da na minshite ita. 'ITOSHI' to bokis ga in to no wani no hinni de wa nai. Sobo ga sono kotsu o totemo sashite ita ika kashikasuteru kara da. Doushita no Rishindara (kore ga futari no tagai mare naru nuni da) no onomizo o kaire toki, sobo no oita furueru koe wa kandō de ware, sono chishina omonakotoki ga jibun ni tore 'donna ni kawashi, kawashi monoo de atta, sao ni tsuwamoni fyou wa nasaku no sono kotsu o komakushu o amo ite o donna ni kuroshite shichidō sagashiumawanaka o hanasu.] [Styron 1991: 50-51]

(<E> ...born in 1848, my own grandmother at the age of thirteen possessed two small Negro handmaidens only a little younger than herself, regarding them as beloved [ITOSHI] chattel all through the years of the Civil War, despite Abraham Lincoln and the articles of emancipation. I say beloved [ITOSHI] with no irony because I'm certain that she did very much love them, and when she recollected Dussila and Lucinda (for these were their incompatible names) her startled trembling voice cracked with emotion, and she told me 'how dear, how dear! the little girls were to her, and how in the chill depths of the war she had to search high and low for woolen yarn in order to knit them stockings.)

[Styron 1983: 40-41]
There are some differences in meaning between KOISHII and ITOOSHII. Firstly, unlike the feeling of KOISHII which requires either an animate or an inanimate object, the object towards which one feels ITOOSHII has to be animate. The objects of ITOOSHII feeling in the above examples are all human beings or some part of human beings: in example (2) the object is a person’s angry face, and in example (3) the object is a person’s smile. But the subject feels ITOOSHII towards the person who has that angry face or that smile. In example (4) the object of the ITOOSHII feeling is a ‘cat’. One could not use ITOOSHII when the object is something inanimate (*Watashi wa 'sora/umi' ga kowai [*I feel KOWAI about 'sky/sea']

Secondly, whereas the KOISHII feeling occurs only when the object is physically or mentally distant from the subject of the feeling, ITOOSHII does not have such a restricted connotation. Therefore, one could say "Watashi no ude no naka de nemutte iru watashi no kodomo ga ITOOSHII (I feel ITOOSHII towards my child who is sleeping in my arms)". In examples (1) and (6) one feels ITOOSHII towards the people who are beside oneself. One could also feel ITOOSHII towards a person who is away at a distance, as examples (3) and (5) show.

Considering these points, I explicate the meaning of ITOOSHII as follows:

**ITOOSHII**

[(Watashi wa)²³ Y ga ITOOSHII (I feel ITOOSHII towards Y)]

(a) I felt something because I thought something about another person / living thing Y
(b) sometimes a person thinks about someone else/some living thing [Y]:
(c) "I know this person/living thing
(d) when I am/was with this person/thing, something good happens/happened to me
(e) because of this, I feel very good when I think about this person/thing
(f) I want to be with this person/thing because of this
(g) when this person thinks this, this person feels something good
(h) this person feels something very good towards Y
(i) I felt something like this
(k) because I thought something like this about Y

²³ When this speaker attaches the past tense suffix or some formal evidential markers to ITOOSHII, this describes an emotion feeling experienced by other people. Otherwise, the subject (experiencer) of the feeling is always "I" in Japanese.

Unlike KOISHII, the objects of the feeling ITOOSHII are only animate things (e.g. example (d)) (component (b) "sometimes a person thinks about someone else/some living thing [Y]"). The subject has positive thoughts towards the object she/he knows (components (c) "I know this person/living thing", (d) "when I am/was with this person/thing, something good happens/happened to me", and (e) "because of this, I feel very good when I think about this person/thing"). The subject wants to be with the object because of this (component (f) "I want to be with person/living thing because of this"). However, unlike KOISHII, the subject could have ITOOSHII feelings towards somebody who is either close by or distant. Therefore, the components "I am not with this person/I am not near this thing now" or "I want to be with this person/I want to be near this thing now", which were included in the definition of KOISHII, are not included in the meaning of ITOOSHII. The resultant feeling of ITOOSHII is "something good" (component (g)). The subject generally has an affectionate feeling "something very good" towards the object (component (b)).

6.11.63. ITOOSHII

Like KOISHII and ITOOSHII, ITOOSHII has only the subjective use: "(Watashi wa) Y ga ITOOSHII (I feel ITOOSHII towards Y)".

Hida & Asada (1996: 62) state that whereas ITOOSHII refers to a keen affectionate feeling, ITOOSHII suggests that one has a more gentle, protective, and maternal feeling of affection towards the object. Miyaji (1979: 227) explains the historical change in the meaning of this word ITOOSHII. ITOOSHII began to be used quite often in the Heian era (792-1192 A.D.) in women's kana (Japanese syllabary alphabet) writings. Originally it referred to one's own feeling of pain, but it gradually changed to refer instead to a sympathetic feeling towards others. In the middle ages (1192-1603 A.D.) the idea of an affectionate feeling became attached to this word.
In the following examples, it is evident that when the word ITOOUSHI is used to describe one's maternal or protective feelings towards the object, the subject regards the object as 'something weak'. In example (1) Koko feels that Rick is "itaite na yowai mono (A pitiful weak thing)", and in example (2) a man feels ITOOUSHI towards a partner who shows her weakness to him. In example (4) a person feels ITOOUSHI towards birds and flowers which human beings regard as small or weak. In example (5) a man feels ITOOUSHI towards himself, and describes himself as miserable.

(1) Koko wa Rikkou no agoihi o omoidashita. Kare no totoharu wa kuroguro to shite ita ga, sono bubun wa, tenreti ni sogawaranai shirosa datta. Soshite, sore ga, kanjoo o konwakusasaru mono no hitosai demo atta. Dousa ni, kanjoo go hara o taisou, sono agoihi o me ni suru to, kanjoo wa, natsukaizumi ni hodo, Rikku o ITOOUSHI onomu no datta. Ittoku na yowai mono. Kanjoo ga kanjiru no wa, sore datta.
[Yamada 1994a: 177]

(MT: Koko thought of the stumble on Rick's chin. The hair on his head was completely black, but he had a lot more white hair on his chin than a man his age should. It was one more thing that made trouble for Koko. No matter how mad she got at him, when she saw that stumble she felt ITOOUSHI towards him. She felt that he was a pitiful weak thing.)

(2) Fusoku no ai wa, aite ni tsaiuru yasashisa, omouyuri ni yotte nomi sodatsu no de wa nai ka. Soshite aite ga jibun no yowasa o sarakeshita toki ni ITOOUSHI wa suru ni tomoda. [Nobuya Fusetani (57 years old, Saitama prefecture) in Saitou 1995: 80]

(MT: Love between a couple will grow only out of the tenderness and empathy felt towards each other, won't it? We feel more ITOOUSHI [Nomi] when we expose our weaknesses.)

(3) "Watashi ga anata to kkekou shita no wa, anata ga oishasan dakeru. Datte hooigi shita toki ni shiranai oisha san ni hakaku o miranenshite sumu desu." (....) Mukiashita no 'dousu' wa minakari ga, mukiashita no 'chakkari' wa chakkari kawaii no de aru. Otoko wa sore ga ITOOUSHI.
[Nagao 1995: 11-12]

(MT: "I want to marry you, because you are a medical doctor. Then, when I get ill, I don't have to show my naked body to a doctor I don't know." (....) An exposed 'amorousness' is cute. Men feel ITOOUSHI towards that.)

(4) Wareware no shizoo-shizoo no naka ni wa moo ichido gena ga ukinata uchuu no seimeikan o chiisana tekkaburi ya kago no naka no kotori o tooshite fureiri to iu yokkya ga kakurete iru no da. Wareware gena no Nihojin no kikoro no oku ni sus yahari uchuu no inochi no araware de aru hana ya kotori o ITOOUSHIMU naniku ga hataaraitte iru.
[Endou 1994: 92]

(MT: In our deepest mental state, there is a hidden desire to reestablish ourselves with the sense of nature, lost in the present day through a small flower pot or a bird in a cage. Even today, deep in our Japanese mind there is something which ITOOUSHIMU [Verb flowers or birds].)

(5) Aware na jibun ga ITOOUSHI mo aru konogoro de wa....
[Kamihisa Sakurai "Innocent World" 1994 by K. Sakurai]

(MT: These days when I feel ITOOUSHI towards my miserable self....)

Since the subject feels a protective or maternal feeling when he/she feels ITOOUSHI towards someone or something, the subject consequently wants to do something to the object of ITOOUSHI. In all the examples we can see that the subject of the ITOOUSHI feeling wants to caress or do something to benefit the object.

From the above observations, the following explication is posited as the meaning of ITOOUSHI.

ITOOUSHI --- the subjective use ([Watashi wa]) Y ga ITOOUSHI ([I feel ITOOUSHI towards Y])

(a) I felt something because I thought something about another person/living thing Y (b) sometimes a person thinks about someone/some living thing: (c) "I think this person/living thing cannot do much (d) I think of some good things about this person/living thing (e) I want to do something good for this person/living thing because of this (f) when this person thinks this, this person feels something good (g) this person feels something good towards Y (h) I felt something like this (i) because I thought something like this about Y

The object of this feeling could be either human or non-human as seen in example (4) (component (b) "sometimes a person thinks about someone/something") Unlike ITOOUSHI, the object of ITOOUSHI can be the subject him/herself (e.g. "Nokori sukunai inochi no jibun ga ITOOUSHI (I feel ITOOUSHI about myself, since the remaining days of my life are numbered)"). Therefore, the object of component (b) is not "someone else/something" but just "someone". However, it cannot be used for non-living things (e.g. *Kono nagamen tsukatte iru tansu ga ITOOUSHI [*I feel ITOOUSHI towards this

24 When the speaker attaches the past tense suffix 'i' or 'some formal evidential marker' to ITOOUSHI, this describes an emotion feeling experienced by other people. Otherwise, the subject (experience) of the feeling is always 'I' in Japanese.
chest which I have been using for a long time). Thus, component (b) is "sometimes a person thinks about someone/some living thing". ITOOSHII is a protective feeling (component (c) "I want to do something good for this person/living thing because of this") towards an object which the subject feels good about (component (d) "I think of some good things about this person/living thing") and regards as weak (component (c) "I think this person/living thing cannot do much"). The resultant feeling is "something good" (component (f)). The subject generally has affectionate feelings towards this object "something good" (component (g)).

6.(II).6.4. IJIRASHII

Unlike the adjectives discussed so far, IJIRASHII has both the subjective use:
"(Watashi (ni-wa) Y ga IJIRASHII (I feel IJIRASHII about Y)", and the attributive (descriptive) use: "Y wa IJIRASHII (people in general) feel Y is IJIRASHII".

The following sentences illustrate the subjective use of IJIRASHII. Hirose and Shoji (1994: 293) explain the meaning of this word as follows: "Ijirashii is used when the speaker feels pity for or is deeply touched by someone young or weak that is trying his or her best to overcome difficulty". Russell (1991: 444) says "Ijirashii is caused by seeing someone praiseworthy overcoming an obstacle".

In the following example (i), the subject feels IJIRASHII towards Princess Michiko, who was married to the Crown Prince, and did her best despite adverse circumstances. Palace officials treated her badly because she was not from an aristocratic family but was a commoner.

(1) Koso yoo ni, kokuniagai tomo ni nigoto o hidenaka o konsashite kita Michiko sama no shiteki
na nainsa o ukasu to, koso 29-nen, kibishii gyoukkyo no naka de tamashita IJIRASHII
sugata ga me ni ukeba,
[Kawahara 1999: 361]

(MT: Considering the private inner state of Princess Michiko, who has performed admirably the role of Princess both inside and outside Japan, I could see that her IJIRASHII figure had endured severe adverse circumstances for the last 29 years.)

Other examples of the subjective use of IJIRASHII are as follows:

(2) (Naomi no kazoku wa watashii no Naomi o joshii ni hoshii to iu tamori ni yasuyasu to
shoodaka shita.) Yo no naka ni wa zuibun mushinkin na oya ya kyoudai mo aru mono da to, watashi wa sono totoku nosukuzukina to kusshimashita ga, sore dake izoo Naomi ga
IJIRASHIKU, aware ni omoe ni narimasen deshita.
[Taniizaki 1947: 19]

(3) (-> E: Naomi's family easily agreed with my request that I wanted Naomi for my
maidervant.) The world has its share of irresponsible parents, I thought, but to me that made
Naomi's case all the more touching [IJJRRSHII] and pitiable.
[Taniizaki 1985: 14]

(3) [IJJRRSHII e; ni hachijutsuka datta no ga, yuu ni nai ni ga furibashita no de,
doshite iru ka to omoimagara dekite kiku to, ano, ike no gawa ni aru nanatsuma de ka no
chishiki yusairo no nokushita ni shigande, sore demo chasto mite iyo no ni wa hidoku
IJIRASHII ni ga shita koto ga arimashita.
[Taniizaki 1947: 14]

(-> E: Once we were at a meet at each bench, when it suddenly began to rain. I wondered
what she'd do. When I got there, I was touched for [IJJRRSHII] to feel her crouching under
the eaves of a little shirine by the pond, waiting for me.)
[Taniizaki 1985: 11]

(4) Tookkyoo ni mo doroi, (ninshin 3 kagetsu no) usuma ni (gan ga) s PLUS
sakuhinsha koto o tuugeta. Kanjo no mo kara, osukuru no namida ga kuderea. Shikashii, kenshitte teinshidau koto wa
nakatta. Hissuai de gaman shite iru no ga wakatta. Sono IJIRASHII 89 ni, atsumi mon ga
komiageta kita.
[Kisho Ikeda (musician) in Fujis Kuros 1998 May 22: 34]

(MT: I went back to Tokyo to tell my wife who was three months pregnant that my cancer had
flared up again. Large tears coursed down her cheeks, but she never got upset. I could see that she was trying to face the inevitable. Something hot came up in my body when I saw her
IJIRASHIIA.)

(5) Demo, too iru Yoshimura-san wa, kokojo seishinshiteki ni moroi ni desu yo. Sono wa mieta
kojo, jitsu wa hitori ni wa suzennetu-yoo no tsuu. Shikashoo ni, o juu no misenl koto mo
shita iru node, watashi to shite wa yoku IJIRASHIKU enoma; 1 suru wate desu yo.

(MT: But, Miss Yoshimura is mentally fragile. Although she does not look so, she is the sort of person that other people cannot leave be. Besides, since I know that she tries not to
show that part to other people, I feel more IJIRASHII about her.)

(6) Ose ga totamatsukake koto no koto o shirinagas, maa no iwanaakata kanjo. Aru toki,
yoppote "Watashi, anata o ichiban AISITERU jitsu ga aru. Dakara watashi dake o mite
yo" to minkakata. Doo yaa hitori no koto o shite iyo no ga waa motsu data-yoo. Kusshii no o
gekkashite iru kanjo ga IJIRASHII ni, hata no onna to o kiri keshii o shita.
[Musou Horma (company employee, 36 years old) in Shukan Joret 1999 Feb. 23rd: 110]

(MT: My girlfriend said nothing ever when I was having an affair with another woman. One
day, she got drunk and wept, "I am certain that I AISITERU you more than anyone in the
world. So please just think only about me! It seemed that she had just been pretending to be calm. I felt IJIRASHI towards her who bore her sufferings patiently, and I decided to separate from the other woman.)

7) Aru ki no chira zuukoshi ma ni, watashi ga genkan no soko ni idobata de, kotozoshi no haru ni umareta jigo no Toshiko no omoeuta o sanzokuushi itara, oto ga dorobou no yoo no hikagenosou kusai kazoku o shine, konnakyo yante kire, watashi o mite, danate hyori to atama o sageru, sumaseruto, sumoneru naka ga genkan ni haitte kenshita. Tsuma no watashi ni omowaru atama o shagari nado, za, oto mo kushoshi no daroo, to emotsura, IJIRASHISA de mune ga ippai ni nari, spinning sentaku o tsuzukeru koto ga dekimakute...

[Dazai 1985: 231]

(I -> E: Shortly before noon the following day, as I was crouching by the well near the front door to wash the diapers of our youngest girl Toshiko, my husband came creeping along like some bungler anxious to avoid detection. He noticed me and nodded slightly, then suddenly tripped and plumed headlong into the house. My heart overflowed with pity [IJIRASHISA; Naani] for this man who instinctively avoided his wife's gaze, and I could no longer attend to the washing.)

[Dazai 1983: 231]

8) Oto no kaei ga hayaku natta. Naze nara boonou de katta pasokon o ijinikuto tamaramari. Sosokusa to kante kete wa sugi ni pasokon no ma ni suwaru no da. Furui treibiadai o rizouple, ima no katsusmi ni keen o tuskuta no ga nantomo IJIRASHI.

[Hayashi 1994b: 152]

(MT: My husband comes home early these days. This is because he can't wait to use the personal computer he bought with his bonus. He comes back early and immediately sits in front of the personal computer. I feel IJIRASHI towards him who made space for the computer on the old TV stand in the corner of the living room.)

In example (2) the subject feels IJIRASHII towards Naomi who decided to work away from her family members who did not mind parting with her. In example (3) the same person feels IJIRASHII towards this same young girl, who was waiting for him in spite of the bad weather. The subject in (4) feels IJIRASHII towards his wife who is making an effort not to cry despite the bad news about her husband's illness. In example (5) the subject feels IJIRASHII about her colleague who makes an effort not to show her weak points to others. The subject in example (6) felt IJIRASHII towards his girlfriend who pretended to be calm although she was suffering a lot inside. All the subjects in these examples feel IJIRASHII towards the objects which seem to be in difficult conditions but try to make an effort to overcome their situations.

Hida and Asada (1996: 55) are correct in saying that it is hard to translate this word IJIRASHII into other languages. IJIRASHII includes specifically Japanese connotations of meaning, in that a person has affectionate feelings towards somebody weak or inferior who is trying to do his/her best in a bad situation. However, I do not agree with their opinion that this word is especially used for women or children. In the above examples (7) and (8) the object of IJIRASHII is a man. In example (7) the person has the IJIRASHII feeling towards her husband as he sneaked into their house. In example (8) a woman feels IJIRASHII towards her husband, who has made a computer area in a small corner of the room. In each case, the object of the IJIRASHII feelings is a man, and the subject of the feeling regards him as weak or meek.25

Thus, considering the above observations, I will posit the following explication for the meaning of the subjective use of IJIRASHII.

IJIRASHII — the subjective use

[(Watashi wa)26 Y ga IJIRASHI ((B) feel IJIRASHII about Y)]

(a) I felt something because I thought something about someone Y
(b) sometimes a person thinks about someone:
(c) "I think this person cannot do much"
(d) this person is doing something
(e) because this person wants something good to happen
(f) I want to do something for this person
(g) because I want something good to happen to this person"
(h) when this person thinks this, this person feels something
(i) this person feels something good towards this person
(j) I felt something like this
(k) because I thought something like this about Y

The object of IJIRASHII is human (component (a) "I felt something because I thought something about someone Y"). The object could be the subject him/herself, since one could say "Kyosen no watashi wa [shutome no guchi ni te ate ite] IJIRASHIKATtn (I

25 A similar phenomenon can be seen in the change of usage of the word KAWAII (roughly 'cute'). The psychiatrist Nada (1982: 200) said that KAWAII was used only from superiors to subordinates until the 1950s. For example, it was not possible for children to use "kawaii" towards their parents or for subordinates towards their superiors. Therefore, Nada comments humorously that if an adult was described as "kawaii" by his colleague he might commit suicide out of embarrassment. Today, however, we can call an older such as a father or superior, "kawaii" in a more familiar way as a joke.

26 "When the speaker attaches 'the past tense suffix' or 'some formal evidential marker' to IJIRASHII, this describes an emotion feeling experienced by other people. Otherwise, the subject (experiencer) of the feeling is always "I" in Japanese."
feel JIRASHII about myself last year [as I was patient with my mother-in-law's complaints]. Component (c) "I think this person cannot do much" describes the object as weak or powerless. Components (d) "this person is doing something" and (e) "because this person wants something good to happen" describe the object's effort to overcome his/her weakness as well as his/her hope that something good will happen.

The subject wants to do something to cause something good to happen to this object (component (f) "I want to do something good for this person because I want something good to happen to this person"). Actually, the speaker of examples (2) and (3) tries to help a girl by adopting her. In example (6) the man stopped having a love affair with another woman because he was impressed by his girlfriend's JIRASHISA [Noun]. Although the subject generally feels "something good" towards the object (component (b)), the resultant feeling is neutral "something" (component (g) "when this person thinks this, this person feels something"). It cannot be "something good" since the subject wants to help the object because of its weakness.

The following is an example of the attributive use of JIRASHII.

(5) Rie ga butsukotta tokki ni, furaveri to knotta anai niroi. Kanojo wa, moshita shitsun, Jun'ichi to butsukaru to is mangachi no gozen na tsune ni, manichi, soo ia ni o mi ni tsukone [ru no] kamo shiru no. Moshimo, soo dattara, konna ni JJIRASHII koto te na.
[Yamada 1988: 34]

(J → E: When Jun'ichi bumped into Rie, a sweet scent hung in the air. Maybe she put on that fragrance every day for the one-in-a-million chance she'd bump into Jun'ichi. If that were so, there couldn't be anything more moving [JIRASHII].)
[Yamada 1992: 33]

The meaning of this attributive use of JIRASHII is as follows:

JIRASHII — the attributive use
[V wa JIRASHII (people in general feel) Y is JIRASHII)]

(a) I want to say something about someone Y
(b) sometimes a person thinks about someone:
(c) "I think this person cannot do much"
(d) this person is doing something
(e) because this person wants something good to happen
(f) I want to do something good for this person
   because I want something good to happen to this person

6.(II).6.5. KENAGE

Unlike JIRASHII, KENAGE has only the attributive (descriptive) use: "Y wa KENAGE da (People in general feel) Y is KENAGE". KENAGE cannot be used subjectively: e.g. "* (Watashi wa) kare ga KENAGE da (* I feel KENAGE about him)". Examples of the attributive use of KENAGE are:

(1) Kono ko wa nakansha kashiki to ico ka, yuzooset to ico ka, jibun no oya ga yameta dattsu mono desu kara, hondan ga monegokute yoku nate, sakkir sensai ga oujutsu noori na no desu. Hootoo ni yuzooset de, mimakumo tashokkenmei yaruihiga ko de, iwayu, KENAGE na ko dattsu no desu.
[Kawai 1992: 63]

(MT: How can I describe a person like this? He is clever, and an honour student, and since his parents were hopeless, he became a very good person, as the teacher said earlier. He was truly an excellent student and he was a boy who tried too hard in everything, he was what is called a KENAGE child.)

(2) Kanojo wa chibana-kou de aru. Sono sobo ga hodontsu nakunamareta tokk ni kanojo wa, KENAGE ni mo kiren to shi, itsumo to onjikku shigoto ni leshimi...sono sugata o minagari, watashi no hoo ga tsunao kanashikatta. Kanojo ga amuri ni mo heijoo Shin o ushinuutai to kumetti ni doryokushite itu kara de aru.
[Toodoo 1994a: 22-23]

(MT: Her grandmother brought her up. When that grandmother passed away, afterward she was KENAGE. She bore the shock, and worked very hard as usual...looking at that attitude of hers, it was I who felt pain and sadness. This was because she was trying so hard to stay as usual.)

(3) Fujimura wa, shitsuku, KENAGE datta.
Kore hodo made ni, kagaman ni shokukin-tachi ga shinsetsu kampatsuhii o misutetsuke iru zoni, sore ni ki ga tsuite iru no ka, inai no ka, yoeki ni kisgi o susumete ita.
[Toodoo 1994d Vol. 1: 395]

(MT: Mr. Fujimura, however, was KENAGE. The staff of the section show their repulsion to him by their behaviour. However, he is carrying on the meeting cheerfully. I am not sure if he is aware of their repulsion or not.)
However, as seen in examples (4) and (5) below, one could also feel KENAGE about the attitude/behaviour of the object.

(4) Choojo Massako wa bekko totemo akaraku genki-soo de na ni o shite na ni iwarete mo biku no mo shahin omamoko no yoo ni onowarete imasu. Shihashi honso no derikosete de kizutsukiyasuku, hito no kokoro o taisetsu ni shi sekinin kan no tayui ko desu. (...) Sore to iku ni meruru ni shimpaisesshi to gambarite iru sugata ga KENAGE de...
[Nakano 1994: 203]

(6) Aso ko wa byojojiku na ryoochin o tsukete hataraku KENAGE na? LIJIRASHII kodomo na no da. Eni nee.
(That boy is a KENAGE na? LIJIRASHII child who helps his sickly parents. He is wonderful, isn’t he?)

(7) "Shimnesi no uchi ni ankerarette, kinto iroiro to futjyu no omoi o shite iru no daroo ne."
("Um, sobiboo yo.")

"Kimii no ne ko KENAGENona? LIJIRASHISANono na taishite, boku wa iu kotoba no nai."
[Toodo 1994b: 46]

(5) Sugujo to iikata ga hajimatta koro, watsashi, noji dai-bitto shieta "Kureimas Kureimas" to in eiga o mita n desu. Okasan ga iedeschikatte, danasan ga kowai ni daishunsho-shite, demo, iouro to umaku tsukakute, to iu omanashi. KENAGE ni gunshushite iru kodomo ga fubin de fubin de shikatsu ga naku ne... Miowatte koro, sa, watsashi wa yahari ronshushite wa ikasei ni da, kodomo ni ama fubin na omoi o sasete wa ikasei shite, katsu kokoro ni chikaimashita.
[Saito Akachi (talent) "Shinrin Rikon No.23" in Shinshin Joten 1999 Feb. 23rd: 84]

(7) "You must be experiencing a comfortless feeling since being left at your relative's house."
"No, I am feeling free."
"I am left speechless at such KENAGENA. LIJIRASHISAN."

(MT: "You must be experiencing a comfortless feeling since being left at your relative's house."
"No, I am feeling free."
"I am left speechless at such KENAGENA (noun) & LIJIRASHISAN (noun)."

When one uses KENAGE, one emphasises one's admiration for the object's strength rather than the subject's sympathetic feeling towards the object.

Araki (1994: 22) gives the following minimal pair:

(8) Anna chiasa oomamoko ga byoski de netakari no hahao no kanboyo o suru nante, nante, KENAGE na n daroo.
(I was touched to see that little girl looking after her bed-ridden mother. How admirable!)
using English words such as 'admirable' or 'diligent' to define KENAGE just make the meaning of this word obscure.

I will explicate the meaning of KENAGE with Natural Semantic Metalanguage. The meaning of the attributive use can be described as follows:

KENAGE --- the attributive use
[Y wa KENAGE da ((people in general feel) Y is KENAGE)]

(a) I want to say something about another person Y (b) sometimes a person thinks about someone Y: (c) "I think this person cannot do much (d) this person is doing something because this person wants something good to happen (e) this person is good (f) when this person thinks this, this person feels something good (g) this person feels something good towards this other person Y (h) I say: other people can feel like this when they think about this person Y

The object whom the subject feels KENAGE for is a human being (component (b) "sometimes a person thinks about someone... "). Components (c) "I think this person cannot do much" and (d) "this person is doing something because this person wants something good to happen" indicate that the object of the KENAGE feeling makes some positive effort despite being in a weak condition. In case example (3), for example, the object of KENAGE is a mature senior person, however, he is in a weak position at the time since he has just undertaken the role of director in a new place. Therefore, people in general objectively think that the object is good (component (e) "this person is good"). The resultant feeling is "something good" (component (f)). General feeling towards the object is "something good" (component (g)). Unlike the meaning of IIJRASHII in its attributive use, there is no connotation of the subject's 'sympathy' towards the object in KENAGE. The feeling of KENAGE does not necessarily induce other people's desire to do something good for the object. Therefore, the component (f) "I want to do something for this person because I want something good to happen to this person" which is included in the meaning of IIJRASHII is not found in the meaning of KENAGE. The subject simply admires the object. The object is admired as good
7. "GOOD THINGS AND GOOD FEELINGS" and related concepts:

Ureshii, Tanoshii, Uchooten, Shiawase / Natsukashii

In this chapter, I will discuss several common Japanese emotion words which are linked with thoughts about “good things” that happened, are happening, or will/can happen and which imply “good feelings” as a result. Especially non-native speakers often get confused about how they distinguishably use URESHII and TANOSHII, so I will start with these two words. I will also introduce in this chapter the word NATSUKASHII, which refers to "good things" but not necessary "good events".

7.1. URESHII and TANOSHII

To begin with, the difference between the two adjectives URESHII and TANOSHII will be discussed. While both of them are often translated as meaning 'happy' in English, each word has distinctive connotations.

First of all, while URESHII can be used only as a subjective adjective "(Watashi wa) [Y ga] URESHII (I feel URESHII [about Y])", TANOSHII can be used in two frames: the subjective use frame "(Watashi wa) [Y ga] TANOSHII (I feel TANOSHII [about Y])" and the attributive use frame "Y wa TANOSHII ([People in general feel] Y is TANOSHII)".

The Attributive Use of TANOSHII

Some examples of the attributive use of TANOSHII are as follows:

(1) Aashuu: Suprintan no jutsugyooka no seijika no kikenshimashita ga, shippitsukatsudou ga ichiban shitsuei o surberashai, shitsuei tomo ni takareshite shimaau sagyou desu.
Mauuda: Shiikashii, ichiban TANOSHII.
Aashuu: Soo, ichiban jutsuga shite iru. Diskara, kore kara mo doujou kikinashoo.
*Tanoshii-shiinshii no tashinami, Sosaka no himitsu* in (Tashio 1994 Sep.: 271)

(MT: Archer: I have been a sprinter, businessman, and politician, but the activity of writing is the work which most satisfies my sensitivity and makes me tired, both mentally and physically.
Mauuda: But it is the most TANOSHII.
Archer: Yes, it is the most substantial. Therefore, let’s write more and more from now on. )

(2) Seki sa koto ga dekiru to su no wa, TANOSHII mono desu. Atarashii ongaku ni, fasthon ni sekikusu kakuuru.
(Gross 1995: 191)

("It was exciting TANOSHII to be able to do what we wanted to do. The new music and the clothes and the sexual revolution.
(Gross 1995: 181)"

TANOSHII here in example (1) and (2) is used as an attributive adjective. URESHII does not have this kind of attributive use. Therefore, Sakaiai et al.(1991: 234) remark that TANOSHII, but not URESHII, is an emotion word which is used for referring to general character of the object. When one uses TANOSHII, a more objective feeling and the general character of the emotion is conveyed than when one uses URESHII. Thus, in the above example (1), Mauuda describes the work of writing in general as TANOSHII for him; he cannot use URESHII for this context.

The Subjective Use of URESHII and TANOSHII

Secondly, we will examine the differences in the subjective use of URESHII and TANOSHII. Hirase and Shaoji (1994: 138-139) say that URESHII is used "to express the pleasure of being moved or excited when something good happens, or when things go as the speaker wished them to. It implies a cheerful and happy feeling", while TANOSHII "expresses a casual and light mood, void of unpleasantness or boredom. Unlike URESHII, which suggests a reaction to a specific event, as in the example Nyuagaku shiken ni ukatte ureshii (I’m URESHII that I passed the school entrance examination), TANOSHII describes the overall atmosphere".

Just looking at these explanations, we cannot clearly see the similarities or differences between URESHII and TANOSHII. What makes URESHII different from TANOSHII?

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To begin with, I would say URESHII — unlike TANOSHII — always requires a thought. It would be odd to say "Watashi wa kyoo naze ka URESHII (I feel URESHII today, I don't know why)", although it would be natural to say "Watashi wa kyoo naze ka TANOSHII (I feel TANOSHII today, I don't know why)". One feels URESHII "with something" or "about something", that is, one thinks about something and one feels URESHII because of this. URESHII has to do with the real occurrence of the event.

The adjectival TANOSHII, however, can also be used to describe a certain mood, not necessarily linked with any thought.

The following are examples where URESHII is used. First, examples from the original Japanese texts:

(3) Dansei kara no okurimono de, "A, URESHII. Konna mono ga zutto hosshikatta no" to hoshii kara tsumete yoo na mono ni, one ni kakata koto wa nai. [Yoono Mor "Okurimono" pp. 135-144 in Harada 1996: 135]

(MT: Among the presents I have received from men, I have never received something about which I could say "Oh, I feel URESHII. I have always wanted something like this" from the bottom of my heart.)

(4) "Isho ni yuugohan o tabemasen ka. Watashi, jirou zaiyoo o katte kita tokoro na n desu. Watashi no usukatta mono ja cishikunai kamo shiremai ga." [Hayashi 1986:M1]

(MT: "Won't you have dinner with me? I have just bought various ingredients. It might not be really delicious because I will be cooking, but..."

"Really, I feel URESHII.")

(5) Yonsai de hatsubutsu o funde kara wa, gakko yori Kabanba ga, shikoku na asobiha. Gamakoyoko ga owatta tokki wa, suki na Kabukiaka de daiki no ga GAURESHIKATSa. [Hashikokusa Nakamura (Kabuki actor) "Watashi no suki ni nak ni" in Kurashi to Kenko 1997 No. 5: 5]

(MT: Since I made my first appearance on the stage at 4 years of age, the Kabuki rather than school was my favourite play area. After I finished compulsory education, I felt URESHII thinking that I would now be able to do only Kabuki.)


(MT: There was a man I liked. Because I liked him, I often went to see him. Because I liked him, I felt excited and URESHII on the way to his place. I could not help feeling URESHII when I saw his face and talked with him.)

(7) Kento noni me ni kita ka ni hi, fudan watashi to sumao na koto ni o kakewana imouto wa, watashi no haya ni soto togi o osukete kimashita. - Muchan ga shukoo o gambarite iru -yo ni, watashi no gambarite yo - me kaite tsumaashita. Namida ga dou hodo. [Mainichi-shim bunsha 1991: 21]

(MT: One day before a great prefectural contest (a speech contest), my younger sister who did not usually say a gentle word to me, quietly left a letter in my room in the note: "As you are doing your best for the speech contest, I will also do my best — I feel URESHII when I cried.")

(8) Sushihite, imi mo naku e-be-he-he to warai. "URESHII ka?"

"Sorenya, URESHII yoo. Datte no, Hayate to asobi ni iku deshoo? Sure de nne, kawa ni itte, osampo shite ne." [Nanami 1996: 207]

(MT: Then she laughed a meaningless laugh, e-be-he-he.

"Do you feel URESHII?"

"Of course I feel URESHII. Because, I can go out to play with Hayate. Then we will go to the river for a walk.")

The following are examples where URESHII is used in Japanese translations of original English texts.

(9) N'on ka ketsu kina toki, eiga-bantsukan no Antoniooni kan kore wa kare, "Watashi no eiga ni shueisen ni hoshii no de su ga" in iware wa de su. Hon no ni URESHIKATSa wa. [Green 1995: 232]

(J ≈ E: Then, when I came back from Japan, there was this phone call from Antoniooni saying, "I would like to have you for my film." I was happy [URESHII]."

[Green 1995: 219]

(10) Antatsachi ga kise kurseru no wa URESHIKATSu. Haka no kodomotsuchi ga totemo urayamashigata no de su. Koruma no moire iru hako ga hitotsu ni iru, to iru no wa token deshi. Kurei Shibe no kaka no nobori, yakkuri michi o bashita koto no Tsuwa-nari no magane no tsumori to watashi wa yorokobi de uchikirō-soo ni ninarashita. [Morgan 1992 Vol 2: 135]

(J ≈ E: I know it felt URESHII when they all came up, because other kids were so envious. There was a lot of stress in knowing someone who had a car. I thought I'd burst for joy when I saw the black Chevy creep up the hill and drive slowly down the road, to halt at George Turner.) [Morgan 1987: 251]


(J ≈ E: I was looking everywhere for Jenny. Had she left and walked all the way back to Radiolino alone? "Jenny?" I took three of four steps away from the fan, searching desperately. Suddenly she popped out from behind a bush, her face swathed in a scarf, only her eyes showing. "Hey, Popple, it's cold as hell out there." Was I glad [URESHII] to see her!)
TANOSHII to the extent one would shed tears. Since the URESHII feeling is an emotion which happens only to an individual, it is more intense in its "happiness" than TANOSHII.

Morita (1993: 668) points out the different connotation between URESHII and TANOSHII by saying that, if one says "Kookoo de no URESHII omoide (high school memories which make one feel URESHII)" it suggests that some concrete event (s) happened at a certain time which make one feel good, such as "a memory of having got top exam results", whereas if one says "Kookoo de no TANOSHII omoide (memories which make one feel TANOSHII)" it does not have to refer to any specific event(s). One could refer to a good feeling about one's non-specific impression of all three of years of high school life by using that word.

In order to examine the differences between URESHII and TANOSHII in the subjective use more closely, I have included the following examples where TANOSHII occurs. These examples are those of the subjective use of TANOSHII.

[Tsurobei Kusakaboti "Shoogoo no yaku to ieat" in Fuku Gacko 1996 May: 385]

(MT: Tsurobei: I will perform live for five days at Aoyama this year, talking for an hour on different topics. I feel TANOSHII even by myself. I talk about the things I've experienced for the last year, and people come to see me every day.)

(16) Kurayasagi: (Kishakaten no toki) ano okoto no kata wa dao de ioto de onna no kanto na n desu ka toka tte soo su ni iwametsu suru ja nai. Soo suru ni nante itai no. Yanman: Sono toki no koto doo na daashiman ka kedo, minko no, TANOSHIKU shoogoo ni n desu yo. Futasu nara zettu kishakaten nante kite merenai wa ja nai desu ka. Sono toki ni, "Aa, ginosojin no n da naa me" kanjite TANOSHIKU.
[Kurayasagi and Mami Yanman (talent) in TV programme "Tenuko no Haya" February 11th, 1997]

(MT: Kurayasagi: (At a press conference) you are asked questions like "What kind of a relationship do you have with that man?" or "Do you have a boyfriend-girlfriend relationship? How do you answer?"
Yanman: I will state the situation exactly, but somehow I cannot help feeling TANOSHII. If you are an ordinary person, you will never get people to come to a press conference. At the time (of the press conference) I feel "Oh, I am an entertainer..." and I feel TANOSHII.)

(17) Watashi wa tokidoki, TANOSHIKU kado no koro o omoidasu.

In the above examples, although URESHII, when used in passages like (5), (6), or (10) could be alternated with TANOSHII, in other passages that is impossible. This is because, as Hida and Asada (1996: 89) mention, URESHII refers to a more subjective and individual feeling about specific occurring events which do not last for a long time, while TANOSHII describes the atmosphere or objective content in a situation. URESHII in examples (3), (4), (7), (8), (9), (10), (11), (12), (13), and (14) describes the subject's individual and subjective feeling towards certain events or experiences that he/she has had. In particular, in example (7), one could feel URESHII, but one would not feel
We cannot, however, definitely say that URESHII is a 'momentary' feeling. It could be used for expressing emotions which last for a certain time, although that time would not be as long as a situation where TANOSHII is used. Therefore, in example (12) URESHII does not refer to a momentary feeling as Miura suggests above. Here, Sano describes how she felt URESHII on her way to see her favourite man, as well as during the time she talked with him. Yet, comparing it with TANOSHII, the feeling of URESHII is not so durable. Therefore, in the following example (20), one could only use TANOSHII, and not URESHII.

(20) Suki na oikoko ga ita. Suki da kedo, omn ni ichido shika senakata. Demo, saki da kara, kare ni kondo seru no o matte iru ichinnzasya TANOSHII / * URESHII no de atta.
(There was a man I liked. Although I liked him, I could see him only once a year. However, because I liked him, I felt TANOSHII / * URESHII for the entire year while I was waiting until I could next see him.)

In this example, the feeling which lasts for one year should be described with TANOSHII which connotes 'a sustained state of happiness'.

In the example (19), one could not replace the noun TANOSHIMI (derived from TANOSHII) with another noun URESHISA (derived from URESHII). This is because the emotion described here does not represent the commentator's individual subjective feeling. Pugorni's performance will not be shown only to commentators Akiyama and Gushiken, but to the entire audience watching the Atlanta Olympics. Therefore, the relatively objective emotion word TANOSHIMI should be used. Also, the feeling of URESHISA (URESHII) is triggered by a specific event which has already occurred or is occurring. URESHISA (URESHII) cannot be used in relation to a future (uncertain event). On the other hand, in a situation like the following one, where the performance has already been given to a specific person, one would use URESHII in preference to TANOSHII.

(21) Person A: Watashi no kare wa watashi no tame ni kyoo no piano ensou o shite kureta to ite kuremashta.
Miura (1983: 195) points out another important difference between URESHII and TANOSHII. He says: TANOSHII *represents a sense of happiness due to one's own experience. Simply receiving the news of a happy event, for example, does not make one TANOSHII*. He gives the following examples to illustrate this point:

(22) Botenamu-seenso ga owatta nyusus o kiite URESHIKATa / * TANOSHIKATa.
(I was happy [URESHIKATa/ * TANOSHIKATa] to hear the news that the Vietnam War was over.)

Sakairi et al.'s (1991: 235) following comments are also noteworthy. They say that when one says URESHII, the concrete cause of the feeling is usually clearly described as seen in the following sentence (23), whereas when only the scene or situation which caused the feeling is described in a sentence like (24), TANOSHII, not URESHII, is usually used.

(23) Haha kara no tayori ga kita no de totemo URESHII / * TANOSHII.
(I feel very URESHII/ * TANOSHII because I got a letter from my mother.)

(24) Kono pastii wa shukoo ga koreashite nite, TANOSHII / ? URESHII.
(I feel TANOSHII / ? URESHII at this party because it is imaginatively thought up.)

When one feels something good about the situation or atmosphere itself, one can only use TANOSHII. Sakairi et al (1991: 235) also state that, unlike URESHII, TANOSHII is not always "subjective", "straightforward", nor is it a "momentary" emotion. Since, unlike URESHII, TANOSHII is not instantaneous emotion, one could make an effort to feel TANOSHII while one cannot feel URESHII in that way.

Lastly, I will mention Morita's (1996: 255) comment about the differences between these two words. He says that since the URESHII feeling is an individual one, one could not say **URESHII TV bangumi** (a TV program which makes the audience feel *URESHII*), since it is not an individual but a broad audience who feel something good about the TV program. On the other hand, one could say "TANOSHII TV bangumi" (a TV program which make the audience feel TANOSHII) since the use of the TANOSHII feeling is not limited to an individual.2 If there is a situation where the sentence implies that an individual person feels happy because of a TV program, as seen in the following sentence (26), one could use URESHII.

(26) Kono bangumi wa watashi ni kokoro no tietsuusa o omoidasasete kureta.
URESHII/TANOSHII TV bangumi da nee.
(This program made me remember the importance of my KOKORO (heart). It is a TV program which made me feel URESHII/TANOSHII.)

Thus, the difference between URESHII and TANOSHII can be summed up by means of the following contrasts:

1. While URESHII can be used only as a subjective adjective "(Watashi wa) [Y ga] URESHII (I feel URESHII about Y)", TANOSHII can be used in two frames: the subjective adjectival use frame "(Watashi wa) [Y ga] TANOSHII (I feel TANOSHII about Y)" and the attributive use frame "Y wa TANOSHII (People in general feel Y is TANOSHII)."

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2 This is also due to the fact that while URESHII can only be used as a subjective adjective, TANOSHII can be used as an adjective describing a property of a thing.
2. URESHII requires a thought (component (a) "I feel something because I thought something about something Y"); (g) "I feel something like this" and (h) "because I thought something like this about Y" in URESHII although TANOSHII does not necessarily do so (component (a) "I felt something"; (f) "I feel something like this" in TANOSHII).

3. The URESHII feeling occurs because of a concrete event (component (c) "something good happened to me" (d) "I wanted something like this to happen" in URESHII) while TANOSHII has a more objective and general connotation (component (e) "some good things are happening here" (d) "I want these things to be happening this" in TANOSHII) [the presence vs. absence of 'to me'; 'something' vs. 'things'].

4. TANOSHII is a more long-lasting good feeling (component (b) "sometimes a person thinks for some time" in TANOSHII) than URESHII (component (b) "sometimes a person thinks") [the presence vs. absence of 'for some time'].

5. The intensity of good feeling in URESHII (component (e) "I don't want anything else now" (f) "I feel something very good" in URESHII) is stronger than that of TANOSHII (component (e) "I feel something good" in TANOSHII). Since TANOSHII can be understood as a longer-term state of emotion, it can be seen as a more "settled" emotion than URESHII. On the other hand, URESHII can be seen as more intense than TANOSHII, and more likely to be a short-term emotion.

Considering all the above arguments about the differences between the feelings of URESHII and TANOSHII, we could posit the following explications for the meaning of these emotions.

CREASEII --- the subjective use
[(Watashi wa)3 Y ga URESHII (I feel URESHII about Y)]
(a) I feel something because I thought something about something Y
(b) sometimes a person thinks:
(c) "something good happened to me"
(d) I want these things like this to be happening
(e) I don't want anything else now"

TANOSHII --- subjective use
[(Watashi wa)4 Y ga TANOSHII (I feel TANOSHII about Y)]
(a) I feel something [because I thought something about something Y]
(b) sometimes a person thinks for some time:
(c) "some good things are happening here"
(d) I want these things to be happening"
(e) when this person thinks this, this person feels something good
(f) I feel something like this
(g) [because I thought something like this about Y]

TANOSHII --- attributive use (e.g. example (1), (2))
[Y wa TANOSHII (people in general feel Y is TANOSHII)]
(a) I want to say something about something Y
(b) sometimes a person thinks for some time:
(c) "some good things are happening here"
(d) I want these things to be happening"
(e) when this person thinks this, this person feels something good
(f) I say: other people can feel like this when they think about Y

7.2. SHIAWASE

In this section, we will discuss another good feeling emotion term, SHIAWASE.

Like URESHII, but unlike TANOSHII, the na-adjective SHIAWASE has only a subjective use.

Mitsui-ginkō-gyoomubu-koobooks (1970: 28) explains that originally SHIAWASE was derived from the combination of "shi" which refers to 'do' and "awase" (join together)"; the original meaning of SHIAWASE was something like 'fate' or 'encounter'. And it did not necessarily refer to good feelings. In old times, one could say either "SHIAWASE ga yoi (the encounter is good)" or "SHIAWASE ga warui (the encounter is bad)", while only the former is understood today. The word SHIAWASE began to be

3 When the speaker attaches 'the past tense suffix' or 'some formal evidential markers' to URESHII, this describes an emotion feeling experienced by other people. Otherwise, the subject (experience) of the feeling is always 'I' in Japanese.

4 When the speaker attaches 'the past tense suffix' or 'some formal evidential markers' to TANOSHII, this describes an emotion feeling experienced by other people. Otherwise, the subject (experience) of the feeling is always 'I' in Japanese.
used in limited circumstances for the good 'happy'-like feeling only from the Muromachi era (1336-1603 A.D.) onwards.

Mizutani and Mizutani (1990: 40) say the URESHII feeling is "used to describe joy felt over a specific incident", whereas a feeling like SHIAWASE refers to "a state which lasts for some time". In the previous section we have seen that TANOSHI also refers to a state of good feeling which lasts for some time. What is the difference then, between SHIAWASE and TANOSHI?

The following are examples from original Japanese texts where the word SHIAWASE occurs.

(1) Nijussai o sugita, aru hi, haha ga, "Ano toki, dooshiteitsho sogakku kawatta ka, shineru?" to kikimashita. Watashii ga, "Omatte! to iu to, haha wa, "Honjoo wa taijaku ni natta no yo", to karei kaji de timashita. Moshi, ano ichimensei no toki, "Doo suru to no? Anata, moo taijaku ni nacchaitte! Tiupi no gagaku ni haitate, moshi, mata taijaku ni demo nattara, moo iku tokoro samuka arimasen ka na!" Moshi, konnai fu nii haha ni iwareto kikunara, watashii wa, donna ni, mijime na, omodoshiha kibun de, Tomemono no o, ano hajimeete no hi ni, kugema koto deshou. Sohshuta, mii, se no hata mon mo, densha no kyooshitu mo, ama ni, tanoshiku wa minaskatta ni chigai arimasen. Koi u haha ni soderaren koto mo, watashii wa SHIAWASE deishita.

[Kuroyanagi 1981: 270-271]

(2) Donna ni hidoi jookyou demo SHIAWASE na hito wa iru shi, kore kudo hotojottaa jooken no naaka de fu-SHIAWASE da te, mayu ne ni tsujiwaa kizande iru hito wo araa... Kore wa, sono hito no toraseyo dakeha, hata kara kou kou kou koto wa dekkina n desu. [Utsumi 1996: 214]

(MT: However bad their situation may be, there are people who feel SHIAWASE; there are also people who feel un-SHIAWASE and frown even in a situation where everything is as it should be... This depends on their grasp of their own situation, and people around them cannot do anything about it.)

(3) Unemiyaa: "Ma, tanoshinde yappari hono ni oshigoto yatterashii kedo, demo hono ni SHIAWASE da te na onnou n desu yo. Koo shigoto ga hono ni tanoshii te omominagaraa..." [Asa Unemiyaa (model) on the TV programme "Tetsuko no Haya" June 26th, 1996]

(MT: Unemiyaa: "Well, I am happily doing my job (modelling), but I really feel SHIAWASE, I really think my job is enjoyable..."}

(4) Ooashi: "Tomobataru ga ookee okasan no aijo, ootsoan no aijoo te mono o sono hodo wareware mita ni ni nihin ni shite sodatte desu ya ne, ima no hitotachi wa. Soru suru to, boku wa monori ionai na te omoimasu yo. Himoji omii omii karedo himo no shi no shi to honoo ni nihin ni uke to sodatte kara soo i i te de wa, kaimasu toka, goraku toka wa ochita kedo, monosogu SHIAWASE na jidai ni umanoshita na te konogoro tsukazuku omoimasu yo.

[Kiyosue Ooashi (television personality) on the TV programme "Tetsuko no Haya" July 7th, 1996]

(MT: Ooashi: "Unlike us, people these days are not raised with the full affection of their mothers and fathers since both parents often work. Therefore, I don't think I can complain. Although I felt hungry, I really grew up with my mother's full affection. In that sense, although I did not have the food or entertainment available these days, I really think I was born and grew up in a SHIAWASE na era.

(5) Ishida: "Kazoku yonin de, ano chi no tanagataenai ootooan desu keredo, tousikoshobba o tabeta dake na n desu kedo, sono toki ni "Aa, moo seikaju ni de ima, wataashickey ga ichiban SHIAWASE da" to omoota kare go aru n desu ya ne. Ima kare omoo to naste kare nai n desu yo. Nanka gasyaya warasetta wake demo nai shi, tada hontoo ni fussuto no koto ni oontan to shite ta dake na n desu kedo...."

Kuroyanagi: "Demos, honoo ni SHIAWASE te iu mono wa soo iu mono kamo shieraimono nai."[Eri Ishida (actress) on Tetsuko Karoyanagi on the TV programme "Tetsuko no Haya" February 6th, 1997]

(MT: Ishida: "All four of my family, including my stepfather, all we did was to eat New Year's Eve buckwheat noodles, but at that time I felt "Oh, we are the most SHIAWASE in the world!" When I think of it now, it was not that we had a particularly special thing, We were not laughing particularly loudly, we were simply doing something really ordinary...."

Kuroyanagi: "But true SHIAWASE might be something like that.


(MT: Yamashita: "On the TV program "Hall gluona": The other day I ate crab, delicious, well, Matsuba crab, well, the freshest and best crab, and I really felt SHIAWASE.

The following (7) - (9) are examples where SHIAWASE is given for the gloss of English 'happy' in the Japanese translation of originally English texts.

(7) Aoo ko no futsusu no hitomi wa
Nai no sora yori mo motto aoku kagayatai iru
Ano no miere daare dare
este ga dooshiteitsho oshigoto iru ka wakari darou ne
(Aa, SHIAWASE da nara.)


(B: A pair of eyes / That are bluer than the summer skies
When you see them you will realise
Why I love my sweet Lorraine
(I'm so happy, SHIAWASE!)]
Another point about SHIAWASE is that, as example (2) suggests, SHIAWASE is the subjective feeling which is defined by the individual according to his or her own subjective sense of values. Example (2) shows that there are people who would never feel SHIAWASE despite being surrounded by objectively good circumstances. For instance, the situation in example (5), would probably not be appreciated by many people to the extent that they would feel SHIAWASE, although the subject feels it there.

These observations suggest that the meaning of this emotion SHIAWASE conveys the following explanation:

SHIAWASE --- the subjective use
[X wa SHIAWASE da (X feels SHIAWASE)]

(a) X felt something because X thought something
(b) sometimes a person thinks for some time:
(c) "some good things are happening to me now"
(d) these things have been happening for some time
(e) everything is good now
(f) I can't want anything more now*
(g) when this person thinks this, this person feels something very good
(h) X felt something like this
(i) because X thought something like this

Unlike other adjectives we have examined so far, the subject of this na-adjective "SHIAWASE" is not restricted to the first person "watsashi (I)". This is because the emotion represented by SHIAWASE is usually someone's continuous emotional attitude.

Therefore, this emotion is rather objective (it can be observed outwardly), so SHIAWASE can be used to describe the feeling of a third/second person in a definite statement.

Components from (c) to (f) show that the subject's present contented feeling is due to the good situation he/she is in which lasts for some time (component (c) "some good things are happening to me now", (d) "these things have been happening for some time"). Since the subject is very much contented, he/she will think (e) "everything is good now" and (f) "I can't want anything more now". Unlike URESHII, this feeling is not a momentary feeling, but suggests that it lasts "for some time" (component (b))
although there is a wide variation in the time period caused by this phrase "for some time" as discussed above. The resultant feeling is "something very good" (component (g)).

7.3. UCHOOTEN

Like SHIWAASE and URESHI, this word UCHOOTEN has only the subjective use "X wa UCHOOTEN da (X feels UCHOOTEN)", and the subject X of this clause is not restricted to the first person. This is because the attitude of the person feeling UCHOOTEN is so apparent that it can be easily observed by other people.

Kawashima and Amamori (1993: 21) say that the word UCHOOTEN came from Buddhist thought. In Buddhism, UCHOOTEN referred to the highest place, which is located above the three worlds; the world of desire, the world of form, and the world of formlessness (cf. also Nakamura 1977: 64-65). When one reaches that height, one gets carried away and feels triumphant over everything. This state is called "UCHOOTEN ni naru (to become UCHOOTEN)". Takashima (1981: 306) translates UCHOOTEN as "to be in the highest heaven". Therefore, in the following first example, the subjects feels UCHOOTEN as if she is away from the ground, floating in the air.

(1) Watashi ga nyungaku-shiki no toki ni kare no sugata o mite irai, atama ni egaito ita yume ga genshita ni natta no da. Watashi wa jiboto kara ashi no ura ga 20 senchi oshite ku-ru-yoo ni kibon data. Isho ni kaete kuren-yoo ni natta wa wa, watashi to shiminbutsu ni nante kuretomo ii to i shihaiyo ni chigaihin wa to naishin, UCHOOTEN ni nante ita no da.

(MT: The dream which I have had since I saw him at the entrance ceremony became reality. I felt like I was floating in the air, with my feet 20 cm above the ground. I felt UCHOOTEN, thinking inside that he is showing signs of intimacy with me.)

The following are examples of where UCHOOTEN appears. The examples (2) - (4) are from the original Japanese texts. Example (5) is a Japanese translation of an originally English text.

(2) "Mendoookuse na. Onna de sa."

"Hee, demo, watashi to wa yoku hanasu jan."  
"Omae wa tokubetsu da yo."  
"Sono koto o watashi wa ureshina ni ki ga kuru soo ni narigara kamishimen. Watashi wa UCHOOTEN ni natta, Kare ni toto, watashi da de wa mendoo na mono ja nai n da. Watashi dake wa tokubetsu na n da. Soo sakebitai kimoichi data."  
[ Yamada 1989: 35]

(J -> E: "Girls are a hassle."
"Oh, really. You sure talk a lot to me."
"You're different."  
I grit my teeth, nearly out of my mind with happiness at those words. I was ecstatic.

UCHOOTEN: I was the only one who was not a hassle to him. I was special. I felt like shouting it out loud.)
[ Yamada 1992: 34]

(3) Tomu ga kanojo ni kekkon o moonshikonda toki kanojo wa UCHOOTEN data.

[Higashina 1995: 2]

(B J->E: She was on cloud nine (UCHOOTEN) when Tom proposed to her.)

(4) Kare wa umaku ittoko koto de UCHOOTEN data.

[Higashina 1995: 2]

(B J->E: He was mad with joy (UCHOOTEN) at the success.)

(5) Ninshin shita koto ga wakatta toki, watashi wa totemo ureshikatta. Biru mo UCHOOTEN deshita.


(J <- E: When I found out I was pregnant, I was really excited (UCHOOTEN).)

[ Morgan 1987: 282]

The subject in (2) feels UCHOOTEN since her favourite boy treats her as someone special. In sentence (3) Tom feels UCHOOTEN about his girlfriend's acceptance of his marriage proposal. The subject in (4) feels UCHOOTEN about his success. In sentence (5) the subject felt UCHOOTEN when he learnt of his wife's pregnancy. UCHOOTEN is originally a Chinese word. We have the Japanese expression "TEN NI MO NOBORU kimoichi /omoi (lit. feeling as if one goes up to the top of the sky)" to refer to the same meaning.

(6) Passuto kisu wa kekkon no zensen, Hibiyaa Kookaido de no Karayan no oosato-go. Oto wa "TEN NI MO NOBORU kimoichi" data.

[ Minato & Trohle Ooba "Foods no kaiden No. 270" pp. 82-83 in Shukan Asahi 1999 January 29th: 83]
Like SHIAWASE, the subject of UCHOOTEN is not restricted to the first person, because the attitude of the person feeling UCHOOTEN is obvious, and it can be observed outwardly. Components (c) "something very good happened to me" and (d) "I wanted something like this to happen" describe the happening of a very good thing to the subject, which he/she wanted to happen. Component (e) shows that the subject is very much contented ("I can't want anything more now") and component (f) shows that he/she feels happier than any body else (f) "things like this are not happening to anybody else." This 'happy'-like connotation is more intense than that of SHIAWASE. However, unlike SHIAWASE, UCHOOTEN does not necessarily carry the connotation of long-lasting feeling. So the explanation above does not include "for some time", which is included in component (b) and (d) in the meaning of SHIAWASE. The resultant feeling is "something very good" (component (g)).

7.4. NATSU KASHII

In the last section of this chapter, we will examine the meaning of the word NATSU KASHII. Strictly speaking, NATSU KASHII is different from URESHII, TANOSHI, or UCHOOTEN, since it does not necessarily refer to "good events". I include the word in this chapter since it implies the existence of "good feelings" as a result.

Unlike TANOSHI, but like URESHII and UCHOOTEN, NATSU KASHII has only the subjective use: "(Watashi) wa [Y ga] NATSU KASHII ([I] feel NATSU KASHII [about Y])."

Hida and Asada (1996: 405) say that NATSU KASHII refers to one's affectionate feelings for something or someone that was familiar or beloved in the past. They point out that one would not feel NATSU KASHII for someone or something unless one had not seen or heard from him/her for a long time. Therefore, one could not say:

(1) Iyan, *NATSUKASHII* naa, futaku buri da ne.
Kawashima and Amamori (1993: 104) claim that NATSUKASHI means one's heart is attracted to something or someone one used to be familiar with in the past. Although Bramley (1987: 97) is right in saying that NATSUKASHI is used more frequently than the English equivalent words 'nostalgic', her comment that NATSUKASHI is used about a wide range of things which are in the recent or near recent past is wrong. As seen in the above sentence, NATSUKASHI cannot be used to refer to an acquaintance met recently, or to an experience of the recent past.

The following are some examples of the usage of NATSUKASHI. Example (2) is from an original Japanese text. Examples (3) - (6) are Japanese translations of originally English texts, where NATSUKASHI is given as a gloss of various English terms.

(2)  "Sore ni, anata wa atashi ni ainai wake ja sai no yo. Atashi o dokita. Soo lu ko to na yo. Chigmi?"
"Kimio no soo lu kuchoo wa mukashi to kawaranai noe". Tamura wa yooki ni, mukashi o NATSUKASHIMU yoo ni soo lita.
[Mori 1979: 381]

(3)  "Moshi boku ga senchi na otoko de, natteba Haabaado no shashin o kabe ni hetomitori shiteru, sore wa Wintropu gakureyo ya, Memori kyoukai ja sakute, Diron no shashin da to omou. Diron beya da. Haabaado ni wa ga kokoro no furusato to demo is-yoo no mono ga atto to shitara, kono beya kono sore da. (…)
Daigaku jidai, itsumo koogi ga owarou to sono hoya ni iite, kigette no shiboreru rencho to echi ni naka o hakubishinbanga naru mono no fuku o kanagurutaseta, undoogi ni kigeta mono da. Pato o tsuke, mmo NATSUKASHI nanban no shasuto o kikiteru, (…), sukoto o haite Watonoo rinshu no hoo o eruite iku kibun no ito o miteku, mukashi natteke tamanakakata.
[Segal 1972: 21-22]

(4)  "Moshi boku ga senchi na otoko de, natteba Haabaado no shashin o kabe ni hetomitori shiteru, sore wa Wintropu gakureyo ya, Memori kyoukai ja sakute, Diron no shashin da to omou. Diron beya da. Haabaado ni wa ga kokoro no furusato to demo is-yoo no mono ga atto to shitara, kono beya kono sore da. (…)
Daigaku jidai, itsumo koogi ga owarou to sono hoya ni iite, kigette no shiboreru rencho to echi ni naka o hakubishinbanga naru mono no fuku o kanagurutaseta, undoogi ni kigeta mono da. Pato o tsuke, mmo NATSUKASHI nanban no shasuto o kikiteru, (…), sukoto o haite Watonoo rinshu no hoo o eruite iku kibun no ito o miteku, mukashi natteke tamanakakata.
[Segal 1972: 21-22]

(5)  "Moshi boku ga senchi na otoko de, natteba Haabaado no shashin o kabe ni hetomitori shiteru, sore wa Wintropu gakureyo ya, Memori kyoukai ja sakute, Diron no shashin da to omou. Diron beya da. Haabaado ni wa ga kokoro no furusato to demo is-yoo no mono ga atto to shitara, kono beya kono sore da. (…)
Daigaku jidai, itsumo koogi ga owarou to sono hoya ni iite, kigette no shiboreru rencho to echi ni naka o hakubishinbanga naru mono no fuku o kanagurutaseta, undoogi ni kigeta mono da. Pato o tsuke, mmo NATSUKASHI nanban no shasuto o kikiteru, (…), sukoto o haite Watonoo rinshu no hoo o eruite iku kibun no ito o miteku, mukashi natteke tamanakakata.
[Segal 1972: 21-22]

(6)  "Moshi boku ga senchi na otoko de, natteba Haabaado no shashin o kabe ni hetomitori shiteru, sore wa Wintropu gakureyo ya, Memori kyoukai ja sakute, Diron no shashin da to omou. Diron beya da. Haabaado ni wa ga kokoro no furusato to demo is-yoo no mono ga atto to shitara, kono beya kono sore da. (…)
Daigaku jidai, itsumo koogi ga owarou to sono hoya ni iite, kigette no shiboreru rencho to echi ni naka o hakubishinbanga naru mono no fuku o kanagurutaseta, undoogi ni kigeta mono da. Pato o tsuke, mmo NATSUKASHI nanban no shasuto o kikiteru, (…), sukoto o haite Watonoo rinshu no hoo o eruite iku kibun no ito o miteku, mukashi natteke tamanakakata.
[Segal 1972: 21-22]
NATSUKASHII meeting his old friend who is standing before him, because he remembers the days he spent with that friend in the past.

(7) Wa, NATSUKASHII uta. [Yoshida 1991: 286]

(B [J–E]: Wow ... that song brings back a lot of memories of the good old days. [makes me feel NATSUKASHII].)


(B [J–E]: Oh, it's my high school yearbook. This brings back so many memories [makes me feel NATSUKASHII].)

(9) (Hitachihori ni atta Endo to sono tomadachi)


(MT): [Endo and his friends who are meeting after a long time.] I feel NATSUKASHII. What are you doing now? Are you working for a TV station?


(B [J–E]: It feels just like the good old days [NATSUKASHII] to see you again.)


(I <- E: Thank you folks, the next song, the next song we're gonna sing is an oldie, NATSUKASHII kyōbu (song), some of you older people might remember. It's from last year and it's called She Loves You.)

We should note here that the reason why one feels NATSUKASHII is because the subject is superimposing an old image of someone or something on the person or thing he/she is facing in the present. What one is feeling NATSUKASHII for is something or someone one is confronting now, overlapping the old image of it. Therefore, NATSUKASHII always has the component "before now I was with someone/near something; I have not been with someone or near something for a long time now".

NATSUKASHII conveys some good feeling towards something or someone. Of course, one could politely say NATSUKASHII towards somebody one used to dislike as a greeting, but one would not say:

(12) ? Kyoo, kireta data sensei ni atta n dakedo, NATSUKASHIKA to yo. ? (Today I saw a teacher whom I used to hate, and I felt NATSUKASHII.)

The sentence like above (12) could only be said if, instead of hating the teacher in the past, the subject had a good impression of the teacher at the time when he/she met the teacher.

The explication of the meaning of NATSUKASHII is as follows:

NATSUKASHII --- the subjective use

[(Watanash) (I) feel NATSUKASHII about Y)]

(a) I felt something because I thought something about another person/things Y
(b) sometimes a person thinks about someone/something else:
(c) "sometime before now"
(d) I was with this person/I was near this thing
(e) I have not been with this person/near this thing for a long time now
(f) now I am with this person/near this thing
(g) I think something good about this person/things now" (h) when this person thinks this, this person feels something good
(i) I felt something like this
(f) because I thought something like this about Y

The object of NATSUKASHII can be either animate or inanimate (component (a) "I felt something because I thought something about another person/things Y"). Components from (c) to (e) describe how the subject presently thinks about the object which he/she knew a long time ago (component (c) "sometime before now" (d) "I was with this person/I was near this thing"), and he/she has not been close to the object for a long time (component (e) "I have not been with this person/near this thing for a long time now").

6 When the speaker attaches the past tense suffix to 'some formal evidential markers' to NATSUKASHII, this describes an emotion feeling experienced by other people. Otherwise, the subject (experienter) of the feeling is always "I" in Japanese.
8. "SOMETHING BAD WILL HAPPEN" and related concepts:
Kowai, Osoroshii, ZoQ (to suru)

In this chapter, the Japanese emotion words which include the component "something bad will happen to me" in their meanings will be examined. First of all, we will compare the synonyms KOWAI and OSOROSHII. Then we will examine the sound-symbolic emotion word ZOQ, which is also synonymous with the other two words.

8.1. KOWAI

Firstly, I will examine the meaning of KOWAI, comparing this word with its synonym OSOROSHII. Both KOWAI and OSOROSHII occur in the two syntactic frames: They have both the subjective use "(Watashi wa) Y ga KOWAI/OSOROSHII (I feel KOWAI/OSOROSHII about Y)" and the attributive use "Y wa KOWAI/OSOROSHII ((people in general feel) "is KOWAI/OSOROSHII") .

Iso (1996: 53) reports that in children’s compositions just after they experienced the Hanshin earthquake disaster in January 1996, every composition included the adjectival emotion word KOWAI. One example is as follows:

(1) Daijishin KOWAI, KOWAI KOWAI naa. Daijishin beddo ga uoku. KOWAI naa.
Daijishin ndemono ochira. KOWAI naa.
[Iso: 1996: 53]

(MT: Big earthquake. KOWAI KOWAI, I feel KOWAI. Big earthquake. The bed is moving. I feel KOWAI. KOWAI)

1 The origin of KOWAI is "one's body, muscle, or heart becomes tensed and hard "kowai" when he/she faces something frightening (Iizumi 1963: 53; Kawashima & Amamori 1993: 64; Mitsui-ginkoo-gyoubu-kochooka 1970: 70). The present use of KOWAI started from the Muromachi era (1336-1603 A.D.) (Mitsui-ginkoo-gyoubu-kochooka 1970: 70).
Isso says that in the children's compositions one month after the earthquake, they began to describe their feelings towards the earthquake more objectively, using verbs like "obiuru (become frightened)" or "kowagura (dread)".

In order to examine the meaning of KOWAI, it is worthwhile comparing its meaning and usage with that of another emotion adjective, OSOROSHII. In example (1) above, OSOROSHII cannot be used instead of KOWAI. This is because, as Morita (1993: 249) suggests, OSOROSHII has a more objective connotation when compared with KOWAI.

To give an another example, when one is frightened by someone or something, one would cry "KOWAI yo! Tasukete! ([I feel] KOWAI! Help!)", but not "OSOROSHII yo! Tasukete! ([I feel] OSOROSHII! Help!)". This is because OSOROSHII is used to describe an emotion objectively.

In the following example, KOWAI, which refers to the imminent presence of feeling, cannot be replaced with OSOROSHII. This is part of a letter written by a woman who was kidnapped and confined in an underground room.

(2)
...bunshuu wa matsuku ni yomitoretara. (…)  
Kichigai ni yukatsureta. F. Kureaga. Punoboru de tobaku de coana o atena  
shiyakushouzone no otoko. Rondos kara nijikan no kyauryou-choita. Genkan ni 1961-nen to  
kakureta ikken no no bessou no chiikashitsu ni tojikomaretate iru. Genzai no tokoro anzen.  
KOWAI / OSOROSHII.  
[Fowles 1984 Vol. 2: 102]

(3) Kokoro hen o aruku no wa nantoku KOWAI / OSOROSHII.  
(I feel KOWAI / OSOROSHII when I walk around here, I don't know why.)

On the other hand, one could use OSOROSHII in the following sentence where the cause of the feeling is specifically described.

(4) Kono michi o yuru aruku to kanarazu hitori ga mieru to is kara, KOWAI / OSOROSHII.  
(I feel KOWAI / OSOROSHII on this road, since they say every time you walk here at  
night, you will see the ghost of a dead person.)

Morita (1993: 249) points out that the degree of 'frightful' feeling implied by OSOROSHII is stronger than that of KOWAI. Therefore, one can use KOWAI, but not OSOROSHII, to express one's fear of dogs, whereas one would use OSOROSHII, in preference to KOWAI to describe one's fear of war.

(5) Watashi wa ano iru ga KOWAI / OSOROSHII.  
(I feel KOWAI / OSOROSHII about that dog.)

(6) Watashi wa senoo ga OSOROSHII / KOWAI.  
(I feel OSOROSHII / KOWAI about the war.)
Therefore, as Kurosawa (1994: 140) mentions, KOWAI is used more frequently in daily life, while OSOROSHII, which connotes a more serious feeling, is not. This is because we would suffer greatly if there were many OSOROSHII things in our daily life.

Hirose and Shooji (1994: 166-167) explain the meaning of KOWAI and OSOROSHII as follows: KOWAI "expresses fear or anxiety that some dangerous or troublesome event will take place, or that some harm is going to befall oneself", while OSOROSHII expresses "fear arising from something so out of the ordinary as to be unthinkable, or from seeing or coming in contact with something eerie or unpleasant". Looking solely at this explanation, we cannot clearly see the similarities or differences between the two words. In the above explanation of the meaning of both KOWAI and OSOROSHII, the specific, complex English word 'fear' is used. In order to explicate the meaning of these emotion words, we need to use NSM language. To determine the exact meaning of both KOWAI and OSOROSHII, we will look at examples of each word.

The Subjective Use of KOWAI

Firstly we will examine the subjective use of KOWAI. As can be seen in the following four sentences, the feeling of KOWAI is often related to one's death.

(7) \( \ldots \) watashi no baai, shoouki imada ni shi ga KOWAI. Yonaka naa de\( \ldots \) o samashii, jibun no shi no shunkan o kurasou suru to, nanmo ni se no shinzenzaru kimoichi n \( \ldots \) barare, oogoe de sakebikata ni naru. [Endo 1995: 128] (MT: \( \ldots \) as for me, to tell the truth, I still feel KOWAI about death. At night I [often] wake up, overwhelmed by an indescribable terror imagining the moment of my death, and I feel like crying out.)


People often feel KOWAI when they anticipate encountering ghosts, as seen in the following two examples.

(11) (Kuhonbutusu no otera ni \( \ldots \) made wa ebake wa denai, to tenshi wa \( \ldots \) kaita heko, watashi ni totohos de \( \ldots \) kakari kara shinaagas yno Ninsama no miso, otera no kuretsi ni hazori tte. Yoru no otera wa, otsukisama ga dete itemo, kuri ni misai de, itmono wa hibiri o shite kimoichi no ni tshiki nari, konma wa \( \ldots \) kara karu ebake wa, nanka kara wa kamaari o tora to iu, Tottosan-tachi wa, KOWAKUNai, KOWAKUNai, Kowaku-so shiyoo to hikatta. [Kurosawa 1981: 95] (J -> E: The headmaster said no ghosts would appear before they got to Kuhonbutusu Temple, but the children weren't too sure about that and proceeded nervously until they reached the entrance to the temple, from where they could see the guardian Devas Kings. The temple grounds seemed pitch dark in spite of the moon being out. It was pleasant and spacious there by day, but now, not knowing what \( \ldots \) ay would encounter one of the ghosts, the children were so terrified that \( \ldots \) KOWAI they could hardly bear it.)

(12) (Kuhonbutusu no otera ni \( \ldots \) made wa ebake wa denai, to tenshi wa \( \ldots \) kaita heko, watashi ni totohos de \( \ldots \) kakari kara shinaagas yno Ninsama no miso, otera no kuretsi ni hazori tte. Yoru no otera wa, otsukisama ga dete itemo, kuri ni misai de, itmono wa hibiri o shite kimoichi no ni tshiki nari, konma wa \( \ldots \) kara karu ebake wa, nanka kara wa kamaari o tora to iu, Tottosan-tachi wa, KOWAKUNai, KOWAKUNai, Kowaku-so shiyoo to hikatta. [Kurosawa 1981: 95] (J -> E: The headmaster said no ghosts would appear before they got to Kuhonbutusu Temple, but the children weren't too sure about that and proceeded nervously until they reached the entrance to the temple, from where they could see the guardian Devas Kings. The temple grounds seemed pitch dark in spite of the moon being out. It was pleasant and spacious there by day, but now, not knowing what \( \ldots \) ay would encounter one of the ghosts, the children were so terrified that \( \ldots \) KOWAI they could hardly bear it.)
As mentioned before, Hida and Asada (1996: 112) also say that the degree of "kyoobi (roughly 'fright')" or "fuan (roughly 'anxiety')" involved in OSOROHII is greater than that of KOWAI. Therefore, as Hirose and Shooji (1994: 166-167) suggest, when one says "Ano sensei ga KOWAI (I feel KOWAI about that teacher)", the teacher may really be a good teacher, but is known to be strict or stern and quick to reprimand; However, when one says "Ano sensei ga OSOROHII (I feel OSOROHII about that teacher)", the person is someone who can readily depart from the ways of humanity, i.e., be cruel and heartless. OSOROHII can be used to mean cruel, heartless, or tragic while KOWAI is not used in that way. Therefore, in examples (13) and (14) below, KOWAI cannot be replaced with OSOROHII. This is because the subject in these examples has basically positive feelings about the humanity of the object which makes him/her feel KOWAI.

(13) Keonomu: "Ano, watashi wa sugoku ano hito (one) ga KOWAKUte. Hijoco ni naka ga ii shi, inoo toci no one na n desu kedo... Ninushiro watashi no shinrai koto suste shitsumosu shi, totemo watashi wa ano hito ni wa kawasamai desu ne, tsune ni, (...) Shogakko no toki kara, uno, nanka watashi ga kanojo no ko ni kawasamai koto o suru to, 'Haa-chan, zaburon motte, heya ni kinasai.' Watashi wa susu ni atama ga agarasukai n desu ga... [Hanako Kozu (actress) in TV programme "Tetsuko no Heya" on January 22nd, 1997]

(MT: I always felt KOWAI of her (my elder sister). Although she said we were intimate with each other and she is considerate to me, she knows everything I don't know, and I am not match for her, ever.) Even when I was an elementary school student, if I did something she did not like, she'd say, "Haa-chan, come to my room with a kneeling cushion." ...) I have never been able to stand up to her...

(14) Tiri-tejaa no koro, watashi wa jibun ga nompo de, ushiki de, minshiki no tomoite imashita. Kawaato no wa, kookeo no seisyoysyohita ato no jitsu de. Ootoko no ko to mottehijimi, kirei ni natta kyo ga shitsumashita. Dento, saikin, kookeoeto no koro no gaikenmyo ni dattai koonokoto ni ato taiko, hoo iwaeta o desu yo. "Meari, kimi wa kirei datso yo. Totemo shikashi shite ima kara, katsushiki wa kimi ni chikazukai so ga KOWAKATI n da."

[Groos 1995: 238]

(B: [J->E]: "Wow! She looks so beautiful." "Like a different person." "Looks like a total stranger with make up." "Woman scares me [makes me feel KOWAI]."

(19) "Sonna hito to uso o tsuku to, ato ga KOWAI wa yo." [Mishima 1952: 274]

(I -> E: "If you tell such lies, you'll be sorry [feel KOWAI] later." [Mishima 1977: 127]

(20) "Koo ga tsuyoi daake to is sekai wa sugoku KOWAI mono yo" to Nanshil Baaga ga itte iru. [Gross 1995: 186]

(I <- E: "It's a very scary [KOWAI] world when all y'ere fas a face," says Nancy Berg. [Gross 1995: 171]

(21) Atashi wa karera to wakaran no ga KOWAI no desu. Koso mijikai kikan ni ano hitotachi wa atashi ni totte kazoku no yoo ni natto shimatta kara. [Walker 1966: 154]

(I <- E: I dread [feel KOWAI] parting from them because in the short time we've been together they've been like family to me.) [Walker 1982: 121]

(22) (Shikago gray nishi 42 mairu ni takusan no guanyu ga iru.) Jusmin: "Machi o aruku no ga KOWAI. 23-sai daakedo 8-ji ikoo wo gaishitoku shimal." [TV programme "Inside Edition", broadcast in Japan on February 26th, 1997. Translator from English into Japanese is unknown.]

(I <- E: (There are a lot of gangs just 40 miles west of Chicago.) Resident: "I am very scared [feel KOWAI] to walk in the streets. It's gonna sound funny. I am 21 years old, I don't leave the house after 8 o'clock."

In example (17) the subject, when looking at her face in a mirror, feels KOWAI about showing her face to others without make-up. Example (18) shows that the subject feels KOWAI towards a woman whose face changes dramatically when she has put on make-up. In example (19) the subject reproves her disciple that some KOWAI thing might happen if she tells lies. Example (20) shows the subject feels KOWAI about the modelling world where only beauty is valued, and you lose everything if you lose your beauty. Example (21) shows that the subject feels KOWAI anticipating the feeling of loneliness after leaving a family she feels strong affinities with. Example (22) describes the subject's KOWAI feeling about what could happen on the streets in his town after 8:00 P.M.

KOWAI can be used as modifier for an adjective, as follows:

(23) "KOWAI-yoo ni kiree na hito ne. Doo is kara desu no" to tsuna wa Ooki kara me o haussanaike kazaro o ukagatase ita. [Kawabata 1961: 46]

(I -> E: "She was frightening [KOWAI]-ly pretty," his wife said, her eyes fixed on him. "Who is she?") [Kawabata 1975: 44]

The event causing the feeling of KOWAI could be seen as something good for the subject if one views it objectively. Therefore, as seen in the following example, the subject feels KOWAI about her boyfriend's tenderness when she imagines that something bad could happen to their happiness in the future.

(24) Wakakusa ano koro
Nashi no KOWAI nakaata
Tada anata no yasashita ga KOWAI-Tsu

(MT: That time when I was young
Nothing was KOWAI for me
Only your tenderness was KOWAI for me.)

The explication of the meaning of the subjective use of KOWAI will be tentatively posited as follows:

KOWAI --- The subjective use

[(Watashi ga)] [Y ga] KOWAI ([I feel KOWAI [about Y])]
KOWAI can be used to describe one's feeling towards a dangerous situation, without applying to the specific object (component (a) "I felt something because I thought something [about someone/something Y]""). I did not put "about someone else/something Y", since one could feel KOWAI about oneself or something about oneself (e.g. "Otori to konoto no kikanai jibun ga KOWAI (I feel KOWAI about myself as I get uncontrollable when I get angry)"). Component (c) "something bad will happen [because of this person/thing]" refers to the subject's subjective imminent recognition about the possibility of bad thing(s) happening. This component (c) does not include 'to me' since KOWAI can be used to describe one's feeling towards a dangerous situation or circumstance, without applying to specific object, as seen in example (3) or (22). The subject does not want such a thing to happen (component (d) "I don't want this to happen"). The subject wants to do something if he/she could (component (e) "I want to do something because of this"), but he/she does not know what to do (component (f) "I cannot do anything now"). As a result the subject feels "something bad" (component (g)).

The Attributive Use of KOWAI

The examples of the attributive use of KOWAI are as follows:

(25) Umemiya: "Sugoku chichi wa watashi o sugoku amayakashita mono mo are a densu kedo, demo yappari otsuzamite deo su koto wo iwarezaru to, yappari KOWAI hiro na deo yo me."
Kuroyanagi: "Sugoku suparuta..."

8.2. OSOROSHII

After examining the usage of KOWAI, we will clarify how the meaning of OSOROSHII is different from that of KOWAI.
The Subjective Use of OSOROSHII

Firstly, we will examine the subjective use of OSOROSHII. As mentioned in the previous section, the degree of 'frightening'-like feeling is higher with OSOROSHII. In the following example, where a savage action occurs, KOWAI cannot be used.

1. "Watashi no yōda hon de wa, Doitsuino no daitsu wa nani ga okote iru ka o shiranakatta yo; esekara ne. Aushuvittsu no chikaku no jummin wa, are o sono-eki-koojoo to omokonde iru toki." "Ut, nante OSOROSHII." Monika wa, ii bagen ni naso to iitage na hyojo de oto o nitsukina. [King 1988: 247]

(J <- E: "According to what I've heard, the majority of the German people had no idea of what was going on. The locals around Auschwitz thought it was a sausage plant."

"Ugh, how terrible [OSOROSHII]." Monica said, and pulled a grimacing that's-enough-of-
that expression at her husband.)

[King 1992: 163]

We should note here that the English word corresponding to the Japanese emotion word OSOROSHII is 'terrible', which describes the state of something, not the emotion. This is because, as mentioned in the previous section, when compared with the subjective emotion word KOWAI, OSOROSHII is a rather objective description of an emotion. In the Japanese language, this is an emotion word, and not a word for describing just the state of something. When describing the state of something, the adjectives like "hidoi (roughly 'terrible')" would be used. In the following examples, an English adjective for describing a state such as 'terrible' or 'awful' is again translated into the emotion word OSOROSHII in Japanese.


(J <- E: "Oh, I'm so frightened! It's so OSOROSHII. I know something is going to happen, something terrible [OSOROSHII], and I can do nothing to stop it."

The rather objective nature of the term OSOROSHII permits the word to be used as a modifier indicating the degree of intensity, as seen in the following examples:


(J -> E: "Awful [OSOROSHIKU] empty room you've got here.")

[Murakami 1985: 64]

5. "(Kono chinsichi wa) dono kurai fukui no?" "OSOROSHIKU fukai." [Murakami 1990b: 193]

(J -> E: "How deep is it (the reservoir)?"

"Very [OSOROSHIKU] deep.")

[Murakami 1985: 102-3]

A bottomless, unfathomable OSOROSHII feeling can be described as SORA-
OSOROSHII, using the prefix "sora-", which means 'absence of rational thought'.

When a person feels OSOROSHII to the extent that one becomes unable to think rationally and unable to guess what the future holds, SORA-OSOROSHII is used.

6. Kaesen wa shokutsu ko katasuku, toroia iu o okusita. Kazoku to chi ni nagasera
booryokusen o zettai ni yoonin dekinal kaasan wa, mutto shite ooshimari, kizutsuita yooou de
SORA-OSOROSHII
Use tamarai to it kau o shite ita.
[Irving 1989 Vol. 1: 118]
(J <- E: Mother cleaned the table, picked up the fallen chairs; her determined disapproval of her
family's inner violence negotiated on her face as enforced silence, bitter and hurt and full of dread
[SORA-OSOROSHII]
[Irving 1989: 68]

I will posit the meaning of the subjective use of OSOROSHII in the following
explication:

OSOROSHII --- The subjective use
[(Watashi wa)4 Y ga OSOROSHII ((I feel OSOROSHII about Y))]

(a) I felt something because I thought something about
some person / some thing Y
(b) sometimes a person thinks about someone/something:
(c) "something very bad will happen to something because of this
person/thing
(d) I don't know what will happen
(e) I don’t want this to happen
(f) I would want to do something because of this if I can
(g) I don't know if I can do anything"
(h) when this person thinks this, this person feels something very bad
(i) I felt something like this
(j) because I thought something like this about Y

Unlike the subject use of KOWAI, the subject use of OSOROSHII always requires a
specific object (component (a) "I felt something because I thought something about
some person / some thing Y" (b) "sometimes a person thinks about someone/something"). Like
KOWAI, I did not put "about another person/thing Y" in (a) nor "about someone
else/something" in (b), since the object of KOWAI could be the subject him/herself or
something about the subject (e.g. Watashi wa jibun no kyooobooset ga OSOROSHII (I
feel OSOROSHII about myself as I have a brutal disposition)." The component (c)
"something very bad will happen to something because of this person/thing" describes
something 'very bad', not just something 'bad', will happen to the specific object. The

4 When the speaker attaches 'the past tense suffix' or 'some formal evidential markers' to
OSOROSHII, this describes an emotion feeling experienced by other people. Otherwise, the subject
(experience) of the feeling is always 'I' in Japanese.

content of that very bad happening could be something one cannot imagine (component
(d) "I don't know what will happen"). The subject does not want it to happen
(component (e) "I don't want this to happen"). The subject would want to do something
if he/she could do (component (f) "I would want to do something because of this if I
can"), but he/she is not confident about what he/she can do (component (g) "I don't know
if I can do anything"). Since the degree of the 'fright-like feeling' of OSOROSHII is
higher than that of KOWAI, the resultant feeling is "something very bad" (component
(b)).

The Attributive Use of OSOROSHII

Examples of the attributive use of OSOROSHII are as follows:

(7) "(...). Jusena kudo mae no ara fuyu no yoru, Yudayajin kara seiteki na shugeki o ukemashita.
Sono otoko wa ukigerottsu da to wakatta no desu ga, imouto o urugoya ni kakinersitude nando
mo chijoku o kawae na desu. Nikubiiteki ni wa imouto wa Yudayajin ni yoru shugeki no
ato stike imashita ga, seitekiin ni wa hanatoshihite shimasu. Nitsumato ni aaru
jitsuninshite no desu. Kawaio no to desu yo. Taiikusa ni kono OSOROSHII jiken de
demo, donna ni zangyou na koto o Yudayajin ga desu ka, Yurius Shatashira no rikai no
fukusa ga jitsuu desu ka e no omoidashii.
[Styron 1963: 38]

(J <- E: One evening about ten weeks ago she was walking near the gheto and was sexually
attacked by a Jew—it turned out that he was a butcher—who dragged her into an alley and
ravished her repeatedly. Physically, my sister survived the attack by this Jew, but mentally she
was destroyed. Two years later she committed suicide by drowning, the tragic child. Certainly
this terrible [OSOROSHII] deed validated once and for all the profundity of Julius Stricher's
understanding of what atrocities Jews are capable of.)
[Styron 1979: 371]

(8) "(...). Demo, Anshubuttu wa jitsu ni OSOROSHII tokoro yo, Sutingo. Mattaku
shinjinmaru aru koto OSOROSHII tokoro de kara. Hoka no sekai no yoi ni rippa na ledakai
yarikata de koto o okonu beki datta danna hontou ni sensu no ro.
[Styron 1963: 51]

(I <- E: "(...). But a terrible [OSOROSHII] place was this Auschwitz, Sitingo, terrible.
[OSOROSHII] beyond all belief, that you really could not say that this person should have
done a certain thing in a fine or noble fashion, as in the other world.")
[Styron 1979: 383]

(9) Shikashin, ningyou no teashi o basahara ni suru koto wa, hontou no imi de OSOROSHII koto
de wa nakatta. Hontou no imi de OSOROSHII de wa, maaji shiboddo o chihana bakujuin no
onnokoto ni utsuru koto datta. Watashi wa, bakujuin no onnokoto ni tsaihite wa matsuku
mukanshin de, one o furutte mo dojinarai hodo data ga, soo shitai to iu yokuboo o kanjiro toki
dake mukanshin de wa irarenaku natta.
[Morrison 1994: 27]

(I<--E: But the dismembering of dolls was not the true horror [OSOROSHII thing]. The
truly horrifying [OSOROSHII thing] was the transference of the same impulses to little white
girls. The indifference with which I could have axed them was shaken only by my desire to do
so. To discover what eluded me: the secret of the magic they wove on others.]
[Maugham 1999a Vol.3: 122]

(10) "Soi esha, ano Mujumto mo, doo nataa kashira? Sairoo no nai ningin ga suru, geitou e no
nesshin hodo, OSOROSHII mono wa nai. Inare wa, hitaka, uru, hyoki nado ni otenusearete,
asi go wa, dokoka byooin de demo iki o hikittota no daroo. Iya, soretemo zetsubou no chikai no
o shiro, ane nigetu Seema-gawa ni demo, shi o motome no de aru ka?
[Maugham 1993b: 136]

(I<--E: He wondered what had happened to Miguel. There is nothing to terrible
[OSOROSHII] as the pursuit of art by those who have no talent. Perhaps, worn out by
exposure, starvation, disease, he had found an end in some hospital, or in an access of despair
had sought death in the turbid Seine.)
[Maugham 1963b: 146]

(11) Onaka ni Birii ya iu toki, Gurasuwa wa porto ni kakatta. Marubertii Faamu de porto ni
yarearenaka te wa nakatta yo. OSOROSHII koto sa.

(I<--E: When Gladis was carrying Billy, she got polio. There weren't one family in Malberry
Farm that wasn't touched with polio. It was a terrible [OSOROSHII] thing.)
[Morgan 1987: 346]

(12) "Watachi ga shisshosuru mae ni nanika atta n da wa. Nanika OSOROSHII koto. Nani mo
kamo waseru shita nai-yoo na." Kanojo wa tenjoo o miageta.
[Fielding 1994: 393]

(I<--E: "Something happened just before I disappeared. Something so awful [OSOROSHII]
that the only way I could deal with it was by forgetting it. By forgetting everything." She
looked to the ceiling.)
[Fielding 1991: 320]

The explication of the meaning of the attributive use of OSOROSHII is as follows:

OSOROSHII -- The attributive use
[Y wa OSOROSHII (people in general feel) Y is OSOROSHII)]

(a) I want to say something about some person/thing Y
(b) sometimes a person thinks about someone/one-something:
(c) "something very bad will happen to something because of this person/thing
(d) I don't know what will happen
(e) I don't want this to happen
(f) I would want to do something because of this if I can

(g) I don't know if I can do anything"
(h) when this person think's this, this person feels something very bad
(i) I say: other people can feel like this when they think about Y

OSORE (1) 恐れ and OSORE (2) 恐れ

We may note, in passing, that the verb form of OSOROSHII, which is OSORERU,
as well as its noun form OSORE, has a homonym, to which a different character
is provided. The verb and noun form of OSOROSHII is OSORERU (1)
恐れる and OSORE (1) 恐れ, and its homonymous corresponding words are
OSORERERU (2) 恐れる and OSORE (2) 恐れ.

(13) Nohonaga no kashin ni taisuru ayatashi kata wa 'kyoofusseru' to iu koto data ga, huku o
'kyoofusu-ssei'-yoo na soojuboo wa kesshite nagashatusu shintai. Araki Murashige wa hankii o
hiragashii, Aoki Mikihito no human o okushte shintai.

Nohonaga wa kurai o OSORE (1) sante wa shita ga, OSORE(2) sante wa shinshakata.
'OSORE(1)' to 'OSORE(2)' wa kompetoriki ni chigau. 'OSORERU(1)' to wa ningen
no kyoufu ga zoku ni aru ga, 'OSORERU(2)' o wa aite ni taisuru sonkei ga komei ni aru.
[Endo 1994: 42-43]

(MT: Nohonaga's way of controlling his vassals was "to make them feel fear [kyou-fu]," the,
but the manipulation which makes subordinates feel kyou-fu can never continue for long.
Murashige Kuroki flew the flag of revolt, and Mikihito Aoki also revolted against
Nohonaga.

Nohonaga made his vassals feel OSORE (1), but not OSORE (2).
OSORE (1) and OSORE (2) are fundamentally different. There is a kyou-fu of human
beings at the base of OSORERU (1), but there is no person for the person as the base of
'OSORE(2)'.)

(14) "Sonde, doo desu ka," Vaisuferuto ga odayaka na kuchoo de kiita. "Kuroodo wa donna
chooshi desu?"

"Kivameto yoku yane iimasu yo. Duoo kamoku demo ii seikou o totte iimasu.
Zuiru hon o yonde ita-raishii desu ne." 
Iya, hoka no seito to no kanzai ni uite kikuita o desu ga ne. Hitozukai to iu ka."

Aiva wa chotto kaa o shikaketemae kagata. "Sokudo koritsukihemasu ne.
Amerika de wa nante ni o deshita ka. Ssu ipakkikomaku na o desu. Hoka no seito o kaette
kata o harateru-yoo desu. Chotto shita OSORE(2) o kanjiire iru seito no kuri desu."
[Comeroy 1994 Vol.1: 28]

(I<--E: "So tell me," Weissfield asked quietly, "how's it going with him over there?

2 'Kyoufu' is the Chinese compound word of a combination of two words 'kowai (kyou)' and
'osoroshi (-fu).'
neutral "something" (component (g)). If the resultant feeling is "something good", the subject would feel that the object is more approachable. However, the subject usually puts psychological distance between him/her and the object. Also, the resultant feeling is not "something bad" neither, since the subject has respect-like feeling towards the object. Therefore, the resultant feeling of OSORE (2) is neutral "something" (component (g)).

8.3. ZOQ(TO SURU)

The third word treated in this chapter is a sound-symbolic emotion word ZOQ (TO SURU).6

As discussed in Hasada (1994a, 1998), the Japanese language is rich in onomatopoeic emotion words, which are able to express inner feelings or mental conditions sound-symbolically. ZOQ is one of these words.

Kushida (1979: 135) remarks that when a person experiences an emotion like fear, the body reacts to it. One of the physical reactions is a feeling of cold. The following examples illustrate this point.7

6 ZOQ is an onomatopoeic word. For the final mora obstruent in this onomatopoeic words, /Q/ is used instead of /Vo/. For example, > zoq-te. Some onomatopoeic words combine with the verb 'suku' (do). Some onomatopoeic words in the unreduplicated form or onomatopoeia ending with the suffixes /Q/ and /N/ require the particle /to/ between them and the verb 'suru': e.g. zoq to suru (feel zoq), kyotom to suru (feel kyoto). (cf. Hasada 1994a: 28)

7 Other bodily reactions observed when one feels something like 'fear' are, for example, 'being unable to move', 'shuddering' because of the cold, as seen in the following.

(1) Mee nugu mayonaka da
Nanka junke no mite ga yami ni hirondou
Teiki no hitari no moto de
Shimono ga torari-oo no koko ni o kimi wa miru no sa
Sakashi o agare yo hina no
Kyuusei no atarui koe no demai
Onnashii marawase ni jitto mitsumerare
Kimi wa zoq te ni koritsu no
Koro mo ugo nozomu yo
(8 [II-II]: It's close to midnight and something evil's lurking in the dark. Under the moonlight you see a sight that almost stops your heart.
Your try to scream but terror [Kyusei] takes the sound before you make it.
Your start to forget as horror looks you right between the eyes, You're paralyzed.)

Morita (1989: 83) states that there is only a slight difference between having a fear-like feeling and having a respectful feeling. One could have a fear-like feeling embodied by OSORE (1) when facing a person toward whom one has a respect-like feeling OSORE (2), because of some kind of threat implied by the superior status accorded to the person.

The meaning of this homonymously word OSORE(RU) (2) can be explicated as follows:

OSORE(RU) (2) [れる (る)]
[X wa Y o OSORERU (2) (X OSORERU (2) Y)]
(a) X felt something because X thought something about another person/thing Y
(b) sometimes a person thinks about someone/something else:
(c) 'something good is happening to this person/thing because this person/thing has something good
(d) I am not like this person/thing
(e) nothing is happening to me because of this
(f) I cannot be like this person/thing
(g) when this person thinks this, this person feels something
(h) X felt something like this
(i) because X thought something like this about Y

Components (c) and (d) describe the subject X feels 'respect-like' feeling towards the object. Component (c) signifies that something good is happening to the object because of the superior figure of the object. The resultant feeling is neither 'bad' nor 'good', but...
The ZOQ feeling occurs when one physically feels cold in a biological sense, as in:

(1) "I must have stared upon it for near half a minute, sunk as I was in the more stupidity of wonder, before terror [kyo蜉] woke up in my breast as sudden and startling as the crash of cymbals; and bounding from my bed, I rushed to the mirror. At the sight that met my eyes, my blood was changed into something exquisitely thin and icy. Yes, I had gone to bed Henry Jekyll, I had awakened Edward Hyde. How was this to be explained? I asked myself; and then, with another burst of terror [kyo蜉], how was it to be remedied?"

[Stevenson 1955: 54]

(2) "The ZOQ feeling occurs when one physically feels cold in a biological sense, as in:


(4) "...and then there were footsteps. Really slow, shuffle...shuffle... like he was wearing slippers or something. The footsteps came closer and closer to the door."

[Michael Jackson "Thriller" 1982 by CBS Inc. Translated by Kumiko Uchida]

(5) "Dooshite boku ga mab mixeen hodo kowai oni o shita iru ka tte. MSDaiha ga kokorecchawari o shitara te kangeecchau kurisu sa"

[B [J<>E]: Every night why do I shake with fright [kowai feeling]? Because my Dinh might change her mind about me]

[Sloan M. Lewis & Joe Yong "Dish" 1952 by MILLS MUSIC INC. In Murakami 1994: 51]

(6) "She stared off into space and was shaking her head. "That was when I started to freak out [feel ZOQ]. Like maybe these footsteps weren't human. I don't know how I came to that conclusion. It was just this creepy feeling I got [lit. my spine got frozen], because human feet don't walk like that. Chills ran up my spine, I mean seriously. I ran."

[Murakami 1994: 44]

(7) "Aru hi, shihooshiken ni kansuru shibun-kiji o me ni shita. Sono kiji wa, shihooshiken ni gookiku suru koto ga ita ni konna ka o kara mono de, toto ni gookikakusa no hikeninnetori wa 29.3-tai ni ta doo ni bosoku no wo wabunete. Hotondo no jukensetai ga, daigakukuzaikakusuka kara bisyouyo o hajimeru koto o kangaeretara, shihooshiken ni kakeru kiken wa yaku 10-sen. Sono aite, zutto haisai-suuki ni nattte isakereba naranai ka to onnai to, saiplusplus ga, ZOQ to shita."

[Otobake 1998: 164-165]

(MT: One day I glanced at a newspaper article about the national law exam. The article said how difficult it was to pass the examination, and reported that the average age of successful candidates was 29.3 years old. This dazed me. To think that most of the examinees started to study when they entered university, and took almost ten years to succeed in the examination. When I realised I would have to keep studying for such a long time, I felt ZOQ along my spine.)

(8) "Kanojo no obake no hansom ni wa ZOQ to suru hodo kowakatta."

[Yamada & Inubu 1984: 444]

(B [J<>E]: Her ghost story was so scary that it sent chills up my spine [made me feel ZOQ].)

(MT: When we see a ghost, Chills run up our spine.)

(9) "Oscorobii sakebie is kiiete, kera wa ZOQ to shita."

[Yamada & Jewel 1990: 237]

(B [J<>E]: The horrible screams made their blood run cold [made them feel ZOQ].)

(10) "Setsuzoku zu owatta tokoro de, Supoonsa-shi wa koe no kago o kowas(tm), shinmi ni shita sonda koto ga nai Susan wa, totto ni koogai ni deru koto ga KOWAKU natta. "Konna tokoro" de cre wa hontou ni kurumi ki ga aru no ka doo ka kangaete to ZOQ to shimakete ga suru no de atna."

[Friedman 1971: 22]

(J <> E: At the end of the closing Mr. Spencer handed over the key, and Stern, who had always lived in the city, suddenly became frightened about being away from it. He wondered with a chill (feeling ZOQ) whether he really did want to live "out here." )

[Friedman 1962: 22]
Because of this association with a physical sense of cold, ZOQ (to suru) is often translated into English by a word which refers to the bodily action when one feels cold such as 'shudder'. Therefore, for the English gloss of ZOQ in the following examples, 'shudder' is given.

(9) Sensoo no koto o kaqganti de ZOQ to suru.
[Yamada & Imbu 1986: 444]

(B [J->E]: I shudder (feel ZOQ) at the very thought of war.)

(10) Kaeojo wa shinin o mite ZOQ to shita.
[Komishio 1974: 1201]

(B [J->E]: She shuddered (felt ZOQ) at the sight of the dead man.)

In the following example, the English word 'shudder' is translated as ZOQ in Japanese.

(11) Kure wa, Furanagan ni oiharetze, tokidoki omoidasu-yoo ni kayotta shokoo no koto o omoidashita. Fukurokojii no aru is o, kooset kasugii. Yuttezinho, hiroyo o bata ooresusuma, dokudokushi kureu o shita shobai-oenii no kobi. Omotta de ZOQ to shita.
[Mauqham 1959a Vol.2: 118]

(I <- E: He thought of the stray amour to which he had been introduced by Flanagan, the shy visits to houses in cael-de-raz, with the drawing-rooms in Utrecht velvet, and the mercenary grace of painted women. He shuddered (felt ZOQ).)

[Maughm 1963b: 225]

Another sense of the physical feeling associated with ZOQ is the one where one feels as if a worm is creeping about one's body. Therefore, in the following example (12), the English gloss for ZOQ TO SURU is "give one the creeps", and the Japanese gloss for the English phrase 'give me the creeps' is 'makes me feel ZOQ' in example (13).9

9 In this case, the meaning of ZOQ is 'queer'-like feeling rather than 'scary'-like feeling. Similar example of ZOQ in this sense is below (ZOQ is the emphatic form of ZOQ):

Haruko; Geo Hiroimi, iu no ma ni ka, HIROMI GO.
Asuko; Yatera engu-suru "Saawkyawan" no taimon ga sugoku hen. Sugoku hen.
Haruko; Membas shokoo no tiki no gakeikyu-chikku na nameri mo, sugasu ga ZOQ to suru hodo ki-ni ga waru shi.
["Kachi-shima-linked: HIROMI GO concert tour" p. 96 in Shokun Anshu 1996 Aug. 16-29: 96]

(TM: Haruko; Before I knew it, the name of Hiroimi Geo had been changed into the English-style "HIROMI GO".
Asuko; His pronunciation of "mawkyuwanuuuuuu" which he said over and over again sounded strange. Very strange.

We should note here that Japanese people tell the physical sensation of cold on their backs when they think that a worm is moving around in their bodies.

Thus, ZOQ (TO SURU) is associated with the physical sensation of cold. Although one might not always have a biological observable reaction, this image always accompanies the word ZOQ (TO SURU). The followings are examples where ZOQ appears in Japanese texts. In all examples when one feels ZOQ, the physical cold sense image always accompanies it.

(12) Anna otokot ni sawararetan ZOQ to suru wa!
[Murakami 1997: 135]

(B [J->E]: It would give me the creeps (I would feel ZOQ) if a man like that touched me!

(13) "Nandoko, ano hito to as to kinaite sejkti ga ZOQ to suru." Redii ga ina.
"Dooocu, to kurian ni suru sou wa."[10]
"Aburimito to iku ka, jito to shita kana ni ga suru no yo." [Conroy 1994 Vol.2: 207]

(I <- E: "I don't know why that man has always given me the creeps (It made me feel ZOQ at my spine)." Lady said.
"In what way?"
"Something silly. Something wet about him.")
[Conroy 1993: 411]

(14) "Anata wa de, mienjii de goojyo yo. Wagamama da shi... soo ne, watashi you ga kuchyoo da wa." (...) "ZOQ to suru hodo hoto uenai kana ga suru koto darte aru no yo. Gorooppoade egoistu da shi, tuite ikenai kana, soo emotta koto ga nando no aru no."[15]
[Hata 1974a: 160]

(TM; You're a show off and stubborn. You are selfish, too, well, you are more of a coward than I am." (...)"You're sometimes so cold, so much that you make me feel ZOQ. You are irritable and egotistic and I have often thought that I could not follow you.)

(15) Mata, suzu-zetaka no yoo na mono denso, "Koeka KOWAA" ni mil no ke ga yodatsu kotoba no aru. Moshi ana ga, okogata ni tiishai, sune ni kumaatasu tachiba de aru to shiyoo.

Haruko; The foreign accent he used when he introduced his band was also queer. It made me feel ZOQ along my spine.)

[Haruko; Geo] 9

[10] The emphasised form of "ZOQ".
In example (14) the subject tells how she sometimes feels ZOQ because of her husband's cold attitude. Example (15) shows that the subject will feel ZOQ when it is pointed out by his wife that she knows everything about his love affairs.

The following three are examples where ZOQ is given for certain English words in Japanese translation of English texts.

16. "Donna kibun deshita?"
   "Donna kibun mo nani mo, namenkai o nomu toki mo kibun tte, namenkai o nomu koto no an ningen ni shita wakaranai yo na. Koi ningen wa nera to nodometo o tootte, tsuu to ha ha no naka ni ochita ita no to inochiu ni umamari ze, sona. Tsumetaku tte, kuchi no naka ni atari o nokotte sa. Omoidashi mo ZOQ to saru na. Genga hakaitai no o shiminomuguri de osasete ya. Datte halmai shihara mata nominashi da mon na. Soshite ore wa tootoo samihiki zemu no noda yo."
   [Murakami 1991a Vol. 1: 63]

   [Nida 1982: 153]

18. "Repoceta: (Ano no suumasegan or koroshia) Shounen ni tsaito kimochi ha? Habai: Sato wa ninkushini shita arimasen-deshi. Misukeshihite, koso de koroshi, tsuni o teitana tame ni, watashi mo shino to osomite inashita. Sono kore, kagami ni utasen jibun no kao o mite, ZOQ to shita koto ga arimasu.
   [ARA May 25th 14]

19. "Anata mitai na kuru-ottoko ga, era-soo no kuchi kikanaiide yo!"
   Docome-ato to no korosu de, onowara hitotsurikku ni nozarte shiatsu shukan, Kazumi-san (30) wa ZOQ to shita. Shima hodo kiriinaiite kita hahayou ga, jibun o boshuuru toki no kuchuu to sokkuri da to kanjita kara da. [LKY 1999 February 23rd: 66]

20. "Don't you, you scam, dare to speak to me like that!"
   The moment she shouted hysterically like this at her de-facto partner during their quarrel, Kazumi (30 years old) felt ZOQ. That was because she sensed that her way of shouting was the same as that of her mother, whom she despised to death.

21. "Watashii wa jibun no kanjiteki sei o seikatsu no tame ni ryoukushita. Sainoo no karenawari wa sakensi. Demo watashi wa bi o sosozeshi. Sore o ensu to, kekkonshiteitai hahayou ga naru koto wa ZOQ to suru. Kaji to, ryoo to, kaimeshi no seki ni buntokushitai koto wa."
   [Fowlie 1984 Vol. 2: 3]

22. "I want to use my feelings about life. I don't want to use my skill vainly, for its own sake. But I want to make beauty. And marriage and being a mother terrifies me [make me feel ZOQ] for that reason. Getting sucked down into the house and the house things and the baby-world and the child-world and the cooking-world and the shopping-world."
   [Fowlie 1976: 151]
In example (16) the subject is reminded of the experience of having eaten slugs and feels ZOQ. Example (17) shows that the people who are afraid of heights will feel ZOQ when they look down from high places. In example (18) the subject reports that she feels ZOQ to see her face in a mirror when she was thinking of taking revenge on the boy who killed her daughter. In the last example (19) Kazumi felt ZOQ to find herself quite similar to her mother who she despised to death. In example (20) a singer, Hiromi Iwasaki, says she feels ZOQ, wondering if she could have escaped the depression caused by losing her children after divorce, if she had not had a job. In example (21) the subject feels ZOQ to think that married life and becoming mother may affect the creativity of her art work. In example (22) the subject feels ZOQ when he sees a cruel scene where a child is trampled by a man. Example (23) describes how the subject feels ZOQ imagining the cruel scene of bull-fighting where the bull is killed.

I will posit the following explication for the meaning of ZOQ (TO SURU).

**ZOQ (TO SURU)**

[(X wa ZOQ to suru (X feels ZOQ))]

(a) X felt something because X thought something
(b) sometimes a person thinks:
(c) "something very bad can happen"
(d) I don’t want this to happen
(e) I would want to do something because of this if I could
(f) I cannot do anything"
(h) this person feels like someone who thinks:
(g) ‘I say: I feel cold at my back/apine’ [ZOQ]
(h) I say this not because I think it is true
(i) I say this because I want to say how I felt'
(j) when this person thinks this, this person feels something very bad
(k) X felt something like this
(l) because X thought something like this

"something very bad" in component (c) "something very bad can happen" shows the higher degree of possibility of a dangerous thing happening than that of KOWAI. The subject does not want it (component (d) "I don’t want this to happen"). Although the subject would want to do something if he/she could do (component (e) "I would want to do something because of this if I could"), he/she realises that he/she cannot do anything (component (f) "I cannot do anything"). Components (g) to (l) show the association of ZOQ with a physical sense of cold. Although one might not always have the biological sense of cold, this image always accompanies the word ZOQ. The resultant feeling is "something very bad" (component (j)).
9. "I DON'T WANT THINGS LIKE THIS TO HAPPEN"
and related concepts:

Hara ga tatsu, Hara o tateru, Atama ni kuru,
(anger metaphor) (facial colour) (body reaction)
Kuyashii

Kurosawa (1994: 318) reports that when he conducted a questionnaire to asking his Japanese students how they would express their ‘anger’-like feelings in Japanese, the most frequent answer was a sound-symbolic emotion word “muka-tsuku” (cf. Hasada 1994a), secondly, “atama ni kuru (lit. it comes up to one’s head)”, and next was “hara ga tatsu (lit. my guts stand)”. There is another anger-like feeling expression “hara o tateru (lit. to stand one’s guts)” in Japanese. While “Hara ga tatsu” is used for expressing the speaker’s own subjective feeling (Endoo 1993: 28), one would say “hara o tateru” when describing the feeling of anger objectively; for instance, when expressing another person’s angry feelings, or describing one’s own feelings objectively.

In the first and second sections of this chapter we examine the usages of “hara ga tatsu”, “hara o tateru”, and “atama ni kuru”. Then we examine metaphorical expressions for anger-like feelings in Japanese in the third section. We discuss the colour of an angry face in section 4, and bodily reactions to anger in section 5. In the last section, we will treat KUYASHII, which has a component in common with the angry-like emotion words; which is “I don’t want things like this to happen”.

9.1. HARA GA TATSU / HARA O TATERU

9.1.1. HARA GA TATSU

Kurosawa (1994: 318-319) says that the expression "HARA GA TATSU" is a native Japanese expression, although a Sino-Japanese compound word "rippuku (lit. rip-(stand) + puku (guts)" also exists. This word is not found in Chinese, but was coined in Japan. Kurosawa says this is because Chinese does not connect ‘anger’-like feelings with the "hara (guts)". Furthermore, he says that only Japanese people use the expression "stand their guts" as a description of anger-like feelings. As we have seen in Chapter 4, Japanese regard "hara" as the place where emotions or thinking occur. The gut is important to Japanese people and so they place the important emotions there. ¹

It is worth noting here Wierzbicka’s comment on emotion expressions which use the image of the body. Wierzbicka (1999b) says that it seems that in all languages people can talk about cognitively-based feelings in terms of figurative “body images”, referring to imaginary events and processes taking place inside the body. We should note that, for example, a person who says “I was boiling inside (with rage)” does not think that something was actually boiling inside their body, or that if some water were actually boiling inside their body they would feel like they are feeling now. The person is instead consciously using an image which seems intuitively effective and which can be counted upon to be understood only as an image, not as an actual likeness.

The following are examples where the Japanese anger-like expression HARA GA TATSU appears. Examples (1) - (3) are from original Japanese texts. Examples (4) and (5) are Japanese translations from English where HARA GA TATSU is used:

(1)  "Gakkoo ni made, manakara tukete kite, me o pachipachi sasere s ja nai wa yo.
HARA TATSU² naa.
[Yamada 1989: 118]  
($\rightarrow$ E: “You’re not supposed to come to school wearing mascaras and go around batting your eyelashes. It makes me off (HARA (GA) TATSU.)
[Yamada 1992: 109]

¹ Kövecses (1994) says “hara” is a container that holds a substance that can rise inside a larger container, the body. And “ki” is a fluid that flows in the body as a container and that can build up pressure in that container.

² The subject marker ‘ga’ between ‘hara’ and ‘tatsu’ is dropped here.
HARA GA TATSU [(Watashi wa)] HARA GA TATSU
((I) feel HARA GA TATSU]

(a) I felt something because I thought something
(b) sometimes a person thinks this;
(c) "someone didn't do something
(d) I didn't want something like this to happen
(e) I say: my gut is standing inside me" [HARA GA TATSU]
(f) I say this not because I think it is true
(g) I say this because I want to say how I feel"
(h) when this person thinks this, this person feels something bad
(i) I felt something like this
(j) because I thought something like this

Components (c) "someone didn't do something" and (d) "I didn't want something like this to happen" represent that one feels HARA GA TATSU when something unwanted happens because of someone. As seen in example (1) when the cause of the feelings is somebody's wearing mascara at school, the cause does not have to be objectively 'something bad' but something subjectively 'unwanted'. Components (e) to (g) represent the physical image of standing up one's guts that accompanies the feeling of HARA GA TATSU although one does not think one's guts actually stand. The resultant feeling is "something bad" (component (h)).

9.1.2. HARA O TATERU

The following are examples for another angry-like expression which uses the body part "hara", HARA O TATERU (lit. to stand one's guts). Unlike HARA GA TATSU, this phrase can be used not only in the first person but also to express a third person's angry-like feelings (cf. Xu 1993: 210). Example (1) is from an original Japanese text,

3 Usually when one says HARA GA TATSU, the subject is the first person "I". When describing an emotional feeling experienced by other people, HARA GA TATSU has to be marked by the past tense suffix or formal evidential marker.

4 It seems as though the gut stands up. This is because it is normally relaxed; The gut 'stands' in the sense that it becomes rigid from its usual soft state.
and examples (2) - (4) are the Japanese translations of originally English texts in which HARA O TATERU appears.

(1) (Noriko ga koresaretta ato...) "Naru hodo..." Sono keji ni wa amari nashinoo de wa maatta. Nemutte iru no o tatakikoresaretta no ka, shikikin ni akohi ga de-oo no naru no o kashi-koreeru ita. Yuriko wa HARA GA TATE ga, (Noriko no otto no) Katasoe mo (mussune no) Atsuko mo ima wa HARA O TATERU hodo no yoeun no moi-yeo da.
[Asakawa 1985: 117]
(2) "Kedomo ga naitte iru wa" Janice ga Nerusou da dokkaeran. "Wasakatta wa, sakachan. HARA O TATERU o no ne. Sugu nakkyamu wa." "Akasambo ga HARA O TATERU me?" Futari wa chotto mimin o nomashita ga, kodomwa nakó. - anal. Kuchigi ni mitai na, yowayowashi nakó wa, irasurusu chinnokoto de kogirinagaru, itsu made mo tazukuru. Umemaseetemo, sare ga naru da ka wakarusan ni, kangoku no kate mitai ni suki de no nijin de iru haya no mada de futari wa ochinukinakko urouki, nichiyoben-ohamuran no kami de kore o furimushira. [Updike 1972a: 255]
(3) Chichi wa tekkoki milakera watashi no yuujinachii subete o, omo ni is ni deizashii iru toki no tido kara hondamu yurikata da, Baan o handanashita iru no da. Tadashi, kare no handan wa machigatte iru. Mata, chichi ga Kurisu o doroboo yobawariru toki wa itsumo, watashi wa HARA O TATERU. Naze nara, chichi wa Kurisu no koto o zensu shin{nai kara da. [King 1987: 57]
(4) Jiku ga youkageteru ni naru karara naranai ka no uchi ni, watashi wa mata ninshinshimashita. Isha no tokoro ni iku to, ima wa kedomo wa umanai hoo ga ii to itawera no desu. (....) Ninshin nanagateno ni saze mata byocho e iku to, kodomo o uma no o akinakemakata to i nude, sono isha wa watashi ni HARA O TATEmasaiita. [Morgan 1992 Vol. 2: 199-200]

Example (1) describes Yukiko's 'anger'-like HARA O TATERU feeling objectively. In example (2) the subject expresses her own's baby's emotion objectively as HARA O TATERU. In example (3) the subject objectively reports his own feeling which was caused by his father's biased view towards his friend as HARA O TATERU. In example (4) the subject describes how her doctor HARA O TATERU since she didn't follow his direction.

The explication for this expression HARA O TATERU is as follows:

**HARA O TATERU** [X ga HARA O TATERU (X HARA O TATERU)]

(a) X felt something because X thought something
(b) sometimes a person thinks
(c) "someone did/didn't do something to me
(d) I didn't want things like this to happen
(e) I say: I stand my guts inside me [HARA O TATERU]
(f) I say: I think it is false
(g) I say: this because I want to say how this person feels*
(h) when this person thinks this, this person feels something bad
(i) X felt something like this
(j) because X thought something like this

Unlike HARA OA TATSU, the subject of HARA O TATERU in the present tense in affirmative form is not restricted to the first person (component 4) "X felt something because X thought something". Components (c) "someone did/didn't do something to me" and (d) "I didn't want things like this to happen" show that the subject HARA O TATERU because another person did/didn't do something the subject did not want.

Components (e) to (g) describe how the subject represents his/her feeling metaphorically as if he/she makes his/her guts stand. Component (h) shows that the subject feels "something bad" as a resultant feeling.
9.2. ATAMA NI KURU

Kövecses (1994) says that in the Japanese language anger first appears in the “hara (gut)”, then it goes up to the “mune (chest)”, and finally to the “atama (head)”. An expression, ATAMA NI KURU, which literally means “(it) comes up to one’s head” is another Japanese expression for an anger-like feeling. This is used for referring to the speaker’s own feeling. What comes to one’s head in this expression is “chi (blood)” (Kurosawa 1994: 321). The blood carries the feeling from HARA to ATAMA. This expression began to be used only recently, around the mid-1950s (cf. Takeuchi 1986: 67; Watanabe & Murashi & Kabe 1989: 375; Kurosawa 1994: 321). Xu (1993: 210, 217) suggests that the expression ATAMA NI KURU is informal colloquial language when compared with the expressions HARA GA TSATSU or HARA O TATERU.

Furthermore, Xu (p. 215) says that ATAMA NI KURU is a more explosive, intense, and momentary feeling compared with HARA GA TATSU. Hata (1994: 128) mentions that younger people would use ATAMA NI KURU more than older people. Hata says that, for a long period Japanese have regarded “hara” as the seat of emotion but recently there is a tendency to connect emotions or “kakorok” with one’s head. This might be the influence of the Western way of thinking where one regards the head as the seat of one’s mind.

The following are examples of where this expression ATAMA NI KURU appears in original Japanese texts.

5 Takeuchi (1986) reports that at the end of the 1950s, most young people under thirty did not use “HARA GA TATSU”, but “ATAMA NI KURU”. In the mid-1960s, 80 percent of people never used “HARA GA TATSU” they only used “ATAMA NI KURU”. The other 20 percent used both “ATAMA NI KURU” and “HARA GA TATSU”. However, at the end of 1970s, young people who used only “ATAMA NI KURU” decreased to one third, and most of them used both “ATAMA NI KURU” and “HARA GA TATSU”. Takeuchi (1986: 70) also reports that in the mid-1980s, young people began to use another anger-like expression “MUKA-TSUKU”. When one feels MUKA-TSUKU, one feels like one’s stomach feels sick, and one feels like vomiting (for the meaning of MUKA, cf. Haasda 1994a).

6 To think that MUKA-TSUKU is most often used for anger-like feeling at present, we can say that Japanese people have started connecting anger-like emotion with one’s MUNE (chest).
Example (1) shows the subject's ATAMA NI KURU feeling about her mother's capricious attitudes. The subject in example (2) feels ATAMA NI KURU towards the person who spilled coffee on her skirt. The boy in example (3) feels ATAMA NI KURU about the teacher's unfair treatment of pupils running in the corridor. In example (4) the subject feels ATAMA NI KURU towards someone who does not pay back money. In example (5) the subject feels ATAMA NI KURU about the way land price riggers go about their business.

The following two are examples where certain English expressions in the original English are glossed as ATAMA NI KURU in their Japanese translation.


(6) "I hate (ATAMA NI KURU) the fact that they think white girls epitomise beauty and femininity."

[McMillan 1993: 189]

In example (6) the subject feels ATAMA NI KURU about the Pope's discriminatory attitude towards women in the priesthood. In example (7) a black woman feels ATAMA NI KURU about black men who pick the homeliest white women for their wives.

The expression ATAMA NI KURU could describe a more intense feeling than HARAGA TATSU. For example, one might feel like killing another person impulsively because of ATAMA NI KURU. The person who just feels HARAGA TATSU is unlikely to consider such a violent reaction.

(8) "Uchi no kiyakata no aijōshoyogoe ga sugoku hata da, yasashii koteba ga ikai hito no n desu. Minada ni omoide buru wa, shogukure no koro, hahahai no ki onaka ga o sameto komakusa o o purezento shita n desu ga, hahahai wa "Konna tsukai no shinnen mono o kate modakazukuru nante!" no otsukai so. Watashi, sono futu, hontou ni koroshite yaritori kuri ATAMA NI Kita no yo. [Maiishi-shimibunsha 1991: 13]

(MT: My mother too is very bad at expressing her affection, and cannot speak tenderly. What I still remember is that when I was an elementary student, I saved up my money and gave my mother a compact as a present, but my mother got angry and said 'Imagine wasting money on something like this which I will not use!' At that time I got so ATAMA NI KURU that I wanted to kill her.)

I will posite the following explication for the expression ATAMA NI KURU.

**ATAMA NI KURU ([Watashi wa]8 ATAMA NI KURU (I feel ATAMA NI KURU))**

| (a) I felt something because I thought something |
| (b) sometimes a person thinks for some time, nor for a long time: |
| (c) someone did something bad |
| (d) I don't want things like this to happen |
| (e) it is very bad if someone does things like this |
| (f) I want to do something bad to this person because of this |
| (g) I say: blood comes up to my head (ATAMA NI KURU) |

8 Usually when one says ATAMA NI KURU, the subject is the first person "I". When describing emotional feeling experienced by other people, ATAMA NI KURU has to be marked by the past tense suffix or formal evidential marker.

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7 Philadelphia
increase in blood pressure when angry, and this, together with muscular pressure, may be responsible for the pressure element in the "container" metaphors.

I will enumerate the following examples I have collected which show how anger-like expressions relating to body heat and blood pressure may appear in English:

(1) When I am angry I need to scream, I need to yell; My face goes as hot as the devil in hell
[Michael Bailey, aged 11 "Anger" in Canberra Times August 7th, 1994: 2]

(2) "I'm angry. I just don't give in to it." He sipped his tea and then put it down. "Stuff happens all the time. What'd you call it? Outrageous. Outrageous stuff makes you so mad you can just burst yourself up with it... You got to decide if the mad runs you, or you run the mad.")
[Conroy 1993: 317]

(3) By this time, he (Culson) was just about boiling over.
[Morgan 1987: 186]

(4) He felt a flash of anger, and acceleration of forces flaring in his head, begging for release.
[Conroy 1993: 39]

(5) When my father learned that I had smashed the fender on the car, he blew his top.
[McCabe & Yasuda 1983: 1146]

(6) (Getting expelled from the house by his sister Lucy, Linus says): "I live here, too, you know! You'll never get away with this! Do you hear me?! She drives me crazy! I'm so mad I feel like I'm going to explode!"
[Schutz 1958: n.p.]

(7) Jane ‘at in the school parking lot, wondering what to do next. She had barely made it to her car before the screams she had been suppressing burst forth, her body no longer able to contain her outrage. It had been essential to get away from Emily. She couldn’t allow the child to see the extent of her fury. She needed time to cool off, a few hours to get a grip on her emotion, put a lid on her anger, formulate a plan, what she had to do.
[Fielding 1991: 344]

(8) "You got all hot -- I remember it, your face actually turned red when you weren't allowed to use parallel frills. Boy oh Boy, you were steamy. Why not? Why not? You'd asked. You loved the sound of them.
[Conroy 1993: 203]

9.3. Anger Metaphors

Lakoff and Kövecses (1987) suggest that the central metaphor for anger in English is the container metaphor (cf. also Lakoff 1987; Kövecses 1995b). Lakoff and Kövecses explain the existence of a large number of anger-related expressions in terms of body heat (cf. the general metaphor "anger is heat") which is a physiological response associated with anger. Also, as Kövecses (1994) suggests, blood is often seen as producing an
Japanese also has metaphorical expressions of anger which are related to body heat and blood pressure, as seen in the following examples:

(9) Seifū no bakasa kageru ni wa HARAWATA GA NIEKURIKAERU yo. [Snowden & Doi 1982: 20]
   (B [J→E]: Such stupidity by the government makes my blood boil [HARAWATA GA NIEKURIKAERU] [lit. the bowels boil up].)

(10) Aisus ga ore no hatsune o utte hyakuman-chooja ni natta ka to omoou to, HARAWATA GA NIEKURIKAERU sake. [McCabe & Yasuda 1983: 101]
   (B [J→E]: The thought of that guy's becoming a millionaire by selling my invention makes my blood boil [HARAWATA GA NIEKURIKAERU] [lit. the bowels boil up].)

(11) Watashi wa, (ikari de) karedajuu no chi ga niekurikaeru ka to omootta. Sugu ni ketta, Mutsuki o guhagonaha ni shite nagutte yuritai, to omootta. [Esumi 1994: 114]
   (MT: I thought karedajuu no chi ga niekurikaeru (lit. all the blood in my body might boil up) because of anger. I wanted to go home as soon as possible and beat Mutsuki up.)

(12) Auto no hantei ni taishite, kasoku ga atama kara yuge e tatete dagusaato kara tohidashite kise shimpun ni koogishita. [Inoue 1992: 10]
   (MT: The coach flew out of the dugout with atama kara yuge o tateru (lit. his head boiling with rage) to complain about the referee's decision of 'out'.)

(13) Hirame-kun no Yoshimoto-kun e no ikari wa bakahatsu-sunzen! [Cancom Nov.1994: 243]
   (MT: Hirame's anger towards Yoshimoto is right on the point of exploding.)

(14) "Nani yo! ATAMA NI Kichas! Ano okkina taido!" Suzuki Akiko no ikari wa masa ni futoetoen ni taashiyoo to shite iru. [Akagawa 1997: 105]
   (MT: "What was that? ATAMA NI KURU! That arrogant attitude" Akiko Suzuki's anger is certainly about to reach boiling point.)

We should note, as Kövecses (1994) also mentions, that cultures differ with respect to conceptualised physiology (i.e. with respect to what their folk theories of physiological effects are). Kövecses states that Chinese culture, for example, appears to place a great deal more emphasis on the increase in internal pressure than on body heat. Chinese has a metaphor "anger is the movement of qi", but in Chinese anger qi is not a hot fluid (cf. Kövecses 1994). Similarly, another language, Chickasaw does not seem to have a "hot fluid in a container" metaphor for anger (Munro9 in Kövecses 1994). Thus, cultures do not observe the same physiological symptoms for anger.

9 Munro, Pamela (1991) "Anger is heat; Some data for a crosslinguistic survey" (manuscript), Department of Linguistics, UC Los Angeles.

9.4. The Colour of an Angry Face

The colours ascribed to angry faces are different in different cultures, too. For example, Neaman and Silver (1983: 178-179) say that while the sentence "My brother-in-law...looked rather black upon me" refers to a brother-in-law's angry feeling, its literal Japanese translation "Watashi no ani ga...kuroi kao o shite watashi o mita" sounds odd, and does not convey the feeling of anger. Akaike (1988: 48) says that in Japanese the colour of a face with angry-like feelings is either red or blue (pale). Therefore, the following four examples, where the colour of angry feelings is expressed either in red or blue (pale), sound appropriate both in English and Japanese.

(1) Kare wa ikari de akaku natta. [Momoza 1991: 79]
   (B [J→E]: He turned red with anger.)

(2) Kare wa giron ni makaeru to, ikari de okoku haru. [Momoza 1991: 79]
   (B [J→E]: He turns pale with rage when he loses an argument.)

(3) Kare ga niijiusununen mae, kishinda koe de ita konoha ga koko ni modota. — Kimi wa fuku o magisteru-yo ni oto o suseru a da. Sakaizome-fuki no oto no kushiburu wa, ikari no tama ni agasarette furute imita. [Morita 1989: 53]
Furthermore, the Japanese translation of the colour of an angry face as "murasaki (purple)" or "(dousu-)guroi (dark)" as seen in the following examples does not sound like a native Japanese expression. Japanese people feel they are a direct literal translation of an English 'angry' expression.

(7)
Joodan de wa nai no da -- Choppa no kuchibuu wa mekurete ha ga mukidashi ni nari, mimii wa surugisugitorunoo no maka no toride ins-yoo datta. (...) Choppa no noda kara shimekosoraeru -yoo no oososhiru kore ga mora. Choppa no shirome no maka to odoroku hodo kii ni kyuuunosotchuu, jibibiki o toite asomu ni taeta. Moomoos to tsuchikumari ni tatau. Isshun sono mama de ita ka to omou to, Choppa no kuchi ni hidarikashi kara. Arigeta shita ga darari to tareta.
Kore o mita Mairo wa ii ni no amari gyoukosho shita. Hiyake shite kurei karo ga, oososhii hodo no murasaki-iro ni kawatta -- teppen no niara ni katta mijikaaju kowai kami no ke no shita no nihakku sei mo. murasaki-iro ni kawatta.
[King 1987: 132]

(8)
B. B. Goodon-shi wa, umaretakki, kyoochi ni wa, funaki no otsuka datta. Kimijika de, okorippoo no da. Nanhiro aine wa koko no bakari, dare hitori, togaruma ningen ga ima mono dakara, oyoju jiyubutsu to isu mono ga nokku no mukashi ni, nakusuu iita. Subete jugyo wa puripuri de hajinatta, kankai de wajuu. (...) Hido ko zoono no hakkirinshiai, chisaii, aoi me o shita, ookin kawa wa, umaretakki ni wa, jiyubutsu to isu mono ga, sore na mana, tabibini, kukan ni nite RARA O TATEBU no kurei, murasaki-iro ni kawatta.
[King 1959a Vol. 1: 100-101]

(9)
Ferudo ni wa chookan ga hajinatta. Anna ho ya kanooobun de shudan ni shite, nanika toomawashi no boko no de, Seberu wa Mirlamu ni hitan ga kojo no aishite ino o uchikaketa no da. Kutsuya wa ato no damashichuu ni hageshi ikari o kanjita.
"Seberu, omae wa shooji ni jai zo, to kure wa kiyahhage ni ita. "Kanso wa omae mitai na toshiyori no minaruki otsuka to hokkonshuu haza ga sai." Seberu wa funn de dosoguroku natta. Kutsuya o noohonshi. Shikashi sore kara, mi o furusasute ganshojyou to shiranu ga sora, soro no mi wa nanika ni arukete kita, fukai suserenaki o hajinatta. Ferudo ni te o muke, kouchuu o aishitte withi mo haitai ite, sono kata wa ooshikushita mubenshiki ni furute ita.
[Malcolm 1971: 73]
(1983: 137) remarks that "the right colour for an emotion is not just synaesthetic, but also draws on the cultural associations of those colours, such as the imperial connotations of the purple".

9.5. Body Reaction to Anger-like Feeling

As seen in the examples below, when a person experiences anger-like feelings, his/her body or body parts shake. Hakugaku-kodawari-kurabu (1994: 213-214) explains that this is because, unlike other animals, human beings recognise that they should be patient at certain times although they feel like knocking someone down because of their angry feelings. There are many proverbs which instruct in the control of anger: "Ikari wa taki to onoe (Consider anger to be an enemy), "Kanshakumochi no koto yaburi (Anger is a short madness)", etc (cf. Tokona 1982: 134, 177). So human beings try to suppress their anger, but the suppressed anger causes the body or body part to shake.

(1) Washi wa ikari de zenshin ga waawana to furusetu ga, boteru de sono hikko oshihiki demo aru rashiku, shuni ni nashin no kikazama danjo ga ia, mismu nozomuku koo i no o kochira ni mukete in-yoo na yooa na node, washi wa taschigataa. [Iwaki 1999: 130-131]

(2) "Demashita no yo. Okasama wa, wantabi o odamashi ni natta no yo. Naoo gi kuru made, wantabi o riyooshite irashita no yo. Wantabi wa, okasama no jochii-san. Yoo ga sanda, koso wa Miyanama no tokoro ni kou to." [Dazai 1979: 30]

(3) "You've deceived me. Mother, you've deceived me. You were using me until Naoo came. I've been your servant, and now that you no longer need me you're sending me away."

While German people describe the state of forgetting something totally as "makkuro (dark black), Japanese people would express that kind of state as "masshiro (completely white)", since they interpret that state as their mind going completely blank. Harré
Also, we have the sound-symbolic words for an anger-like feeling such as 'MUKAQ' or 'KAQ' (cf. Hasada 1994a). 'MukaQ' is associated with a sick vomiting-like feeling experienced in one's stomach. 'KaQ' is linked with a bodily heat sensation felt on one's head or one's face.

Hagiwara (1999: 59) reports the result of a questionnaire conducted at a junior high school in California. It seems that American people also notice the bodily reactions to anger both in the stomach and in the head:

(7) "Suggoku okota toki, kimitachi wa donna kimochi ni naru? Shinintai wa donna fuu ni naru ka ni ni?"

SUCHUWASO Buubas kyoooyu ga shitsumon-suru to, hachinintei (chiguakku ninensui) tachi ga, taishojuju to te o agete katoseta.

"I ga hen na kaaiii?"

"Atamasu ga isaku naru."

[Kinuyo Hagiwara “Shoonen no ikari o osaeru kurous” pp. 57-59 in Shukan Bunshun 1999 June 24th: 57]

(MT: "When you get very angry, what kind of feeling do you have? What happens to your body?"

When their teacher, Stewart Hoover, asked this question, the students in 8th grade (second year junior high school students) put their hands up one after another.

"I feel strange in my stomach."

"I have a pain in my head..."

While Japanese feel something like 'strange' in their stomach (e.g. MUKAQ), they would not usually feel they have pains in their heads when they get angry.

9.6. KUYASHII

KUYASHII is also an emotion term which is hard to translate into English. *KNJED* (1993: 1000) gives words like 'vexious', 'vexing', 'mortifying', or 'regrettable' for its gloss. Doi (1981: 112) also says that KUYASHII mean "something like 'annoying', 'vexious,' or 'mortifying'. However, 'mortifying' or 'regrettable' is also given for the gloss of the different Japanese emotion word "kuchioshi", and 'vexious' or 'vexing' is
given for the gloss of another emotion term "imaimashii". Therefore, we cannot capture the meaning of KUYASHII with a specific English word such as those listed above.

Morita (1993: 389) says that this adjective KUYASHII derived from the verb "kuyamu". As illustrated in the example below, the verb "kuyamu" means something like regret in the sense of "to regret something that has happened over which one has no control, or about which it is too late to do anything" (Doi 1981: 112).

(1) (Harui no kuruma o) Sanshashiite moru nante, Neruson ni shite wa ki ga kite iru. Omoyari made aru. Ima made Neruson o kirite ita loto o kuyamu kimochi ga gyakuryusumari-yoo ni dot o waite kite, Menoto Jakku ni karete kita to in koroshukuan o shijimi ni ajiwau.

[Updike 1992 Vol.1: 216]

(I <= E: It was cute of the Kid (Nelson) to have had it (Harry's car) washed. Loving, even. A surge of remorse [feeling of kuyamu] for all the ill will he has been hearing. Nelson gives a quickening countercurrent to the happiness he feels at being back in Mt. Judge.)

Doi (p. 112) further says about 'kuyamu' that:

"Kuyamu" is an expression of regret at having permitted a cause for regret to remain. In other words, in the case of kuyamu, simple regret is not enough: one must harp on the feeling of 'if only I hadn't... indefinately in one's own mind. Or one might define kuyamu as regret for allowing oneself to fall into a situation where one is obliged to feel regret. Kuyamu, in short, represents a far more involved and complex state of mind than hira. And it seems to me extremely interesting that Japanese should have a simple everyday word to express such a complex state of mind.

Morita (1993: 389) points out that a person feels KUYASHII when he/she feels frustrated about having get a negative result in spite of his/her desire to improve him/herself. The speaker does not feel KUYASHII when the negative result does not affect him/herself.

(2) Chikagoro no kokoosuri no enjo-kosai no fuuchoo wa *KUYASHII.

(I feel *KUYASHII about the recent spate of high school girls prostituting themselves.)

In a sentence like the above, a more objective emotion word such as "haradashii (roughly 'irritating')" should be used. When the subject him/herself gets hurt, however, one could use KUYASHII.

(3) Kore made tsukushite kita ni mo kakawaranu, shujin ga kooosuie no onnanoko enjo-koosai shite itsu nante KUYASHII.

(I feel KUYASHII about my husband since I found that he paid for sex with a high school girl, in spite of all the devotion I have given him so far.)

The person who feels KUYASHII wants to do something in order to change the negative result into a positive one, but he/she cannot think what he/she should do.

Sometimes one takes an action for revenge, however, sometimes the frustration derived from the KUYASHII feeling is turned inward. Therefore, as seen in the following example, the person who feels KUYASHII bites his/her fingernails.

(4) Kishinjia wa yoonshoo no kore, hitori de tanme o kaede, KUYASHII-ga ita mono da. Kare wa esu kuru saikooetki na ningen datta na da.

[Matsumoto 1978: 17]

(5) [I => E]: Kissinger, as a boy, used to be seen biting his fingernails (when he felt KUYASHII). He was such an introvert.

We will further examine the usage of this emotion term KUYASHII. Firstly, a person often feels KUYASHII when he/she gets unfairly treated or is humiliated by others.

Examples of this usage follow.


[Sakuru: "Nyuuyakashiki ga owatte, kyoooshitsu ni haitte, sorezore no seki ni taitte ne. Sensu ga hitori hitori no nannse o yoyageru desho. (...) Sore de Mitsu no toko o ni kitara ne, sensu ga, "Suwa Mitsu no kuni" tsu itte, Mitsu no kano o chotto mise "Ara, kimi, Toru-san no ogo san ne" te soo ittara, minna ga doo tte waratta no." [Yamada 1977: 41-43]

(B: Auntie: "What's wrong now? You look sort of depressed." Sakuru: "Brother! I'm ashamed [KUYASHII]!"

Tsuue: "What happened?"

(...)

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Sakura: "Ah, after the ceremony we went into the classroom and we all sat at the desks and the teacher began to call out the names of the students." (...) And then, when it came to Mitomo's turn, the teacher said, 'Buuwa Mitomo!' and looked at Mitsu and said... 'AH! you're the nephew of that man Tora, aren't you?... and they all burst out laughing."

(6) Watashi wa chōkan no yome de, shujin no ryōchōhin to wa zutto dookyūshite imasu. Shujin no inomoto wa watashishachi no kekkō process torugeshimashita ga, uchi ni ita kōro kara, uchi no tetsudai wa nani mo shimasendeshita. Pays no aa, watashii ga tsuenaitai miru de zoōinkage o shite ite mo, shōtome wa inomoto ni wa "Te ga arenu" to itte, tenjūwasurenai no desu. Watashii wa KUYASHIKUte yokosaitte imashita. [Shōkō 1996: 148]

(mt: I am a wife of an eldest son, and have been living with his parents. My husband's sister married after our marriage, but from the time she lived with us, she never did any housework. One winter morning, I was scrubbing the floor with cold water, but my mother-in-law stopped my sister-in-law from helping me, saying "your hands will become rough." I often cried feeling KUYASHIKU)

(7) Boku ga KUYASHIKI no wo, tsunami mo naku ken'etsuaretta koto de wa nakute, jibun ga tsunami ni atsurasu nanjō mo shite inakatta to izu koto na n desu. [Kazumi Takahashi "Hi no sutora" in A. Nakamura 1993: 290]

(mt: What I feel KUYASHIKU about is not that I was censured even though I hadn't committed a crime, but that I had done nothing like a crime.)

(8) "Omoa mo kore dake wa kokorokotokanaka naran zo. Ore ga omoa ni nanaka shiro te itara, sono toot ni shinkasya naranai te i koto de. Saa, kono sen no n ee ni namase o kaki na." Kanojo wa pen o to ni shita ga, sugi wa shōmeishihyo o sezoji, kano o tsunashite tsuttate ori, sono te ni nigeresu pen wa futesu ita. Masashiku ofakuro sokkuri da. "KUYASHIKU" to kanojo wa ita. "KUYASHIKU." [Fusae Inoue 1972: 367-368]

(I ← E: "You've got to learn one thing, and that is that when I tell you to do something, you've got to do it. You sign your name on that line." She took the pen, but instead of signing it she just stood there with her head bent and the pen shaking in her hand. Just like her mother. "Oh, God [KUYASHIKU]," she said, "oh, God. KUYASHIKU.")

Fusae Inoue 1972: 267-268

(9) "Watashi, sono wa natta nante kangaese da de zutto su ru wa. Soshite Misu Maachii nante menu no nai to iro kimono o kota, ezo-gikuro mitai ni tsunoo sumashittsu nante sa. Tonikaku onarokoro da te isu no ga ikasen no yo, watashii wa asobi date shigoto date, taido date, onarokoro no yoo no nai yoroi mosu o. Otokonomi de nakatta no ga KUYASHIKU no tumaranai wa." [Aizawa 1995 Vol.1: 11]

(I ← E: "I hate to think I've got to grow up, and be Miss March, and wear long gowns, and look at prim as a Chinsen-ater! It's bad enough to be a girl, anyway, when I like boys' games and work and manner! I can't get over my disappointment (feeling of KUYASHIKU) in not being a boy;...."

Aizawa 1995: 6-7)

In example (5), Sakura feels KUYASHIKU because her child is laughed at by her teachers and classmates just because he is a nephew of Sakura's elder brother. In example (6) the woman feels KUYASHIKU since she is treated unfairly when compared with her sister-in-law. The subject in example (7) feels KUYASHIKU about being accused even though he did not commit any crime. In example (8) the subject feels KUYASHIKU since she has to do what her younger brother tells her to do although she does not want to. The subject in (9) feels KUYASHIKU because she cannot do what men can do since she is a woman.

Secondly, a person feels KUYASHIKU when he/she recognises that he/she is powerless or inferior when he/she competes or compares himself/herself with others.

(10) KUYASHIKU koto ni wa ga chihuru wa gyakutenmakkake shita. [Yamada & Inada 1986: 240]

(B J→E: How frustrating [KUYASHIKU]! Our team blew the lead and lost the game.)

(11) Azo shitsu ni maketa toki wa KUYASHIKATsu nna. [Nakagawa & Beers 1997: 146]

(B J→E: It was really frustrating [KUYASHIKU] to lose that game.)

(12) "...(tsuma wa) no oto ko ni tsuite ieba, a to yume to bokeen ni michi futera hii ni megaariatu to shinjiite, boku kara nigeatashimasita. (...)"

"Jo, snas wa... KUYASHIKU-soo ni, kuchiburu no kumishimeru oto ko nukate, okasan wa ikakemaasu. "So doru yo. Boku wa, nyooobu no nigeretsua oto de." [Tachibana 1985: 53-54]

(I → E: "She (My wife) went off with him, believing her days would be full of love and dreams and adventures. She ran away from me...."

"Then she..."

"That's right -- she left me for another man." He put his thoughts into words (in his lips, with the appearance of feeling KUYASHIKU.)

[Tachibana 1989: 52-53]

(13) Jidai wa shoowa shoki, Nakaheara Chuya wa, shi no roodojōku de, kare no yogiushadi shi kandoobite namida nage no fukusaku o obutsuryasute kureta bijo, Hasegawa Yasuko to ko ni ochiru. (...) Nochi ni, kushin, Hasegawa Yasuko wa Chuya o soto, kindai Nihon no chisai, Kobayashi Hideo no moto e atate shimasu. Chuya wa mizukara o, "Boku wa KUYASHIKU otoko desu" to uitate iru. [Saimon 1990: 45-46]

(mt: It was at the beginning of the Showa era. Chuya Nakahara fell in love with a beautiful woman, Yasuko Hasegawa, who was impressed with Chuya's reading of poetry and clapped on and on, tears welling in her eyes. (...) Later, Yasuko left Chuya for a major intellectual of modern Japan, Hideo Kobayashi. Chuya describes himself in a poem: "I am a KUYASHIKU man (man who feels KUYASHIKU).")
The subjects in (10) and (11) feel KUYASHII since they lost the games. The subjects in (12) and (13) feel KUYASHII since their wife/lover was taken away by another man.

The subject in (14) feels KUYASHII since he had the truth pointed out to him that he wasn’t a true customer who really intended to buy something. The woman in (15) feels KUYASHII since she recognises that she is less attractive than she was when she was young.

Thirdly, a person feels KUYASHII when he/she recognises his/her own imperfectionness when he/she could not accomplish something, or when he/she has failed to do something.

'Kusashi aldo' no inmi-te karu Fujiwara-san ga ooku kawatta no ga, 2-nen mae no eiga 'Kyuusetsu.'

(FT: Kuriro: “He was one person who must have felt KUYASHII (at the Atlanta Olympics). A shot-putter. I don’t know which country he was from. You can throw three times in the shot-put. He was so great that he could win a gold medal with a good third throw. When he was throwing for the third time, he was trying to psyche himself up, saying “Hooa, hooa, hooa.” But then the sirens sounded, and he was disqualified for going over time. I felt sorry for him. He held his head with both hands. He had practiced for four years for that moment and he got disqualified for giving over the time-limit while he was saying ‘oooh’.”)

KARIYA: Saisho ni tobimasu no ga Dominkio Door. Kojinsogo de wa nishinouga ga owatta tokoro de toppa datta n desu ga, yaka de shippai shite saishushite ni wa kojinsogo 17-ni ni owarimashita. Mas, ano toki no namida te no wa honto ni KUYASHISA de ipai deshita kara no. [Fujio Kariya announcer] in TV programme “Atlanta Olympic: Apparatus women — valet” on July 30th, 1996]

(FT: Kariya: ‘The first to come out is Dominique Dawes from the United States. She was placed first in the individual after two events. But she made a mistake in her floor exercise and ended up in 17th position in the individual event. Well, at that time she was full of tears and the feeling of KUYASHISHA. Now, wasn’t she?’)

-Ni-i to isu koto wa, yuuusouosu na no ni nanika ga tarinkatta to iu koro——KUYASHII——... Jushinshichi, jampa no noesarehi de ginnemedaru ni kagayaita Funaki Kaneyoshi no hayojo wa tsubamesu datta.  "Supoosu wa ichi o mezu mono.  Ichii de sakerera, ni-1 demo gojuuichi demo oni koto. [Shunsuke Ashii 1998 February 27th: 12]

(FT: ‘Coming second means I lacked something necessary to win…… I feel KUYASHII……’

On the 11th, Kanshi Fusa, who had won a silver medal in the regular hill jump had a complicated expression on his face.

“As an athlete, I aim for the top. If I cannot be first, second or fifth both are the same.”)

The subjects in all the examples above feel KUYASHII that they failed to win a gold medal although they had a high possibility of winning.

Having observed all the examples and discussion above, we could posit the meaning of KUYASHII as follows:

KUYASHII — the subjective use

((Watashi wa) KUYASHII ((I) feel KUYASHII))

(a) I felt something because I thought something
(b) sometimes a person thinks:
(c) “something bad happened to me
(d) I didn’t want something like this to happen
(e) because of this I want to do something if I can
(f) because I know; I cannot do anything now
(g) I cannot think about it
(h) why when this person feels this, this person feels something very bad
(i) I felt something like this
(j) because I thought something like this

Components (c) “something bad happened to me” and (d) “I didn’t want something like this to happen” represent that something bad and unwanted for the subject happened. As we have seen in examples (1) and (2), the subject feels KUYASHII only when the negative result affects the subject himself (”to me” in component (c)). Components (e) “because of this I want to do something if I can” and (f) “because I know; I cannot do anything now” shows that the subject feels frustrated about being unable to do something about it although he/she wants to do so. Component (h) “I cannot think about it” represents the subject’s lingering, disconsolate feeling. Component (i) shows the resulting feeling “something very bad”.

KUYASHII does not have the attributive use. This is because when one says KUYASHII, it is always the individual subjective feeling.

10 When the speaker attaches ‘the past tense suffix’ or ‘some formal evidential markers’ to KUYASHII, this describes an emotion feeling experienced by other people. Otherwise, the subject (experiencer) of the feeling is always ‘I’ in Japanese.
10.(I). "THINKING ABOUT OURSELVES":
(Other people may think something about me)

Haji, Hazukashii, Terekusai, Hanikamu / ...ya /
Terewarai, Atama o kaku

In this chapter, we will examine the emotion words/expressions which include the connotation of 'thinking about ourselves'. In the first part of this chapter, I deal with Japanese emotion words which include the components "other people may think something about me" and their related concepts. The meanings of the adjectives HAZUKASHII and TEREKUSAI are the focus of the discussion. Before we discuss the usage and meaning of HAZUKASHII, however, we will examine the Japanese word HAJI, which is often translated into English as 'shame', and is closely related with the feeling of HAZUKASHII. In the last two sections we also examine the nonverbal behaviours which derive from the TEREKUSAI feeling.

10.(I).1. HAJI

There is an abundant literature discussing 'shame' as though the meaning of 'shame' was equal to the meaning of HAJI. For example, Cousins (1990: 195) says that "shame is a joy emotion resulting from a violation of norms or expectation of what is situationally appropriate...the 'deviant' behaviour is judged...to reflect one's weakness, inferiority, or immaturity" and that "shame in Japanese is tied to a concern for others and the need to accommodate oneself" (p. 197). It is also well known that Benedict (1946) claimed that 'shame' is pervasive and important in Japanese culture; an act of bringing shame upon the self, or more importantly, upon one's family and the Japanese society was perhaps the highest of crimes (cf. Izard 1979: 42-43). Benedict (1946: 222-223) claims that the Japanese sense of morality is 'shame' oriented while the Western counterpart is 'guilt' oriented.ł

However, it is important to recognise that the Japanese word HAJI and the English word 'shame', which is often considered as a translation of HAJI, have different meanings. Kaneuchi (1980) introduced the following episode where a Japanese student mistook the teacher's English word 'shame' for the Japanese HAJI.

Watashi no isuma ga eigo o osōte iru galosei ga, saikin, nanika no shiken o ukete shippaihina. Sokote, kasoojo ga "Oh, what a shame!" to itara, sono galosei wa uanarete, "Yes, I feel very ashamed." to kotetsa. Golai saeta to kanji kanojo o wa awase, "What a shame!" to isu no wa "What a pity!" toka "I'm sorry!" to isu no to onaji do, sore ijoo no imi wa nai to isu koto o setsumei shiwa to isu.

(MT: A student learning English from my wife failed an examination. Then when my wife said "Oh, what a shame!" to the student, he hung his head and said, "Yes, I feel very ashamed." Feeling that he misunderstood the meaning of what she said, she hurriedly explained to him that "What a shame!" was roughly equal to "what a pity!" or "I'm sorry!" in English.)

The student in this example understood an English word 'shame' as equal to HAJI,2 therefore, he said, "I'm ashamed" to the teacher when she said "What a shame!" to him. In fact, many commentators on HAJI fail to distinguish between the meaning of HAJI and that of 'shame'.

There are many proverbs in Japanese using this word: "Iki-HAJI kaku yori shini ga masini (Better die with honour than live with HAJI);"3 "Inochi nagakereba HAJI ooshi (The longer you live, the more HAJI you will suffer)"; or "Kiku wa itokui no HAJI, kikun wā matsudai no HAJI (To ask may bring momentary HAJI, but not to ask and

1 In the Japanese translation (Benedict 1967) of her original English text (Benedict 1946), the word 'shame' is translated as HAJI.

2 In English, "what a shame" is an idiom. Unlike the single English word 'shame', 'shame' in this idiom cannot used in the sense of 'ashamed as I am/feel ashamed' in above example.

3 De Mente (1994: 112) comments on HAJI as follows:

When a person failed to behave according to expectations, his own highly honed sense of correct behavior and responsibility, and the knowledge that he had let other people down, brought on feeling of HAJI. In an extreme case, the only way one could redeem himself was by committing suicide.
remain ignorant brings everlasting HAJI)" (Tokona 1982: 135, 138, 191). Also consider the following examples:


(MT: We had no money to buy a kimono for the kid. If my wife consulted me I would have felt annoyed. She always fixed her kimono and made our kid wear them. (...) She said a long time later, "At that time I often thought about dying. But I could not die when I thought that you would suffer HAJI if I did.

Here the wife says she chose not to commit suicide because she did not want her husband to feel HAJI if she did so. In the following example (2) the subject thinks it is HAJI to blame Japanese parents or the educational system for the practice of the high school girls engaging in prostitution with foreigners, since the foreigners will think there is a problem with the Japanese family and the educational system.

(2) Ninna-mae ni Amerika bijinshikingen to Kyuusha de eiga o torioue kara, Niibi ni iru jikan ga nagaku natta. Sono aida ni Amerika ya Furansu ya Ajia de shognetsu ga nansaku ka hou'yaku sama koto de, gaikoku no media no intaburyo o ukera koto ga furta. Kaeru wa kanzansu, Ossu ya joshikoosu no koto o kiku. "Kono yutaka na kuni de dooshite joshikoosu ga baihun o suru no ka?" Oya ga warui, kyoikoo ga natte inai, to wa kotenai. Sono i kotae wa Nihojin-ooashi ga waredatsu tereri no tooren-hangen de wa yonkoku da ga, gaikokujin ni taishite wa jikousu no HAJI ni natte shinmu. Anata no kuni no kozoku de anata no kuni no kyoikoo de wa nai no la, to gaikokujin ni iwaseru, kaeru koto o ga nai. [Murakami 1996: 62]

(B I — E): After I finished shooting a film on the East Coast of the U.S. and in Cuba three years ago, I was able to spend more time in Japan. During that time some of my novels were translated in America, France, and Asia and other places, and requests for interviews from foreign media increased. Without fail, interviewers would ask about Asim Shintekyo and high school girls. "In such a rich country as this, why do high school girls prostitute themselves?" I never answered that it was because the parents were bad or the educational system was lacking. Those kind of answers would be appropriate for those clamousous television talk shows among fellow Japanese, but to foreigners they would be an embarrassment [HAJI] to one's own country. Whenever a foreigner said, "Isn't it because of your country's family- and educational system?" I would never have an answer.

Misawa (n.d.: 121) suggests that HAJI derives from the Japanese concern about how they are perceived by other people, and the need to conform to the social context. For the Japanese, being looked upon with contempt by others is equivalent to being found in a shameful condition or situation.

Sakuta (1967: 23) and Yamano (1990: 193) point out that the Japanese try to control their actions so that they avoid feeling HAJI not only because they are concerned about external society, but also because Japanese feel an internal moral concern, or sense of conscience, which makes one somehow feel guilty about one's actions. Franz Alexander comments on HAJI, comparing it with TSUMI, and says that "TSUMI (roughly 'guilt') is closely related with the feeling of "I am not good", and HAJI (roughly 'shame') is related with the feeling of "I am weak" (also Morita 1963).4

I will describe the meaning of Japanese concept of HAJI as follows:

HAJI
(a) X feels something
(b) sometime a person thinks:
(c) "I/one of us did something
d) if other people know about this, they can think something bad about me"
(e) this person feels something bad because of this
(f) X feels something like this
g) because X thinks something like this

As for component (c) "I/one of us did something", as examples (2) shows, it is not necessarily "I" but it could be "one of us" which refers to anyone who is connected to the subject. Component (d) illustrates that HAJI derives from the Japanese concern with being looked at negatively by other people about what they did. The resultant feeling is "something bad" (component (e)).

10.(I).2. HAZUKASHII

"Ashamed" and "embarrassed" are two entirely different adjectives in English, but in Japanese, the meaning of HAZUKASHII covers part of the meaning of both words.\(^5\) Obviously, in the Japanese speaker's mind, being ashamed and being embarrassed are not distinguished. This distinction is thoroughly Anglo-centric. Instead Japanese distinguishes lexically between HAZUKASHII and TEREKUSAI. Although Tokugawa and Miyajima (1980) simply say that in all the sentences where TEREKUSAI are used, HAZUKASHII can be used, too, in the example below one cannot substitute TEREKUSAI with HAZUKASHII. Here a father experiences TEREKUSAI when he is thanked by his daughter for his efforts in raising her to adulthood before her marriage.

(1) Chichi no hattogen: Tetsugu musume ni "Otonasan, ima made sodate kurete, arigatoo to iwarete TEREKUSAI wa HAZUKASHIKATte.

(Father's utterance) I felt TEREKUSAI (* HAZUKASHII when my daughter said to me before marriage, 'Father, thank you very much for bringing me up."

This is because the two words HAZUKASHII and TEREKUSAI have different connotations. As discussed in more detail in the next section, the father does not feel HAZUKASHII, since he does not feel anxious about other people's negative view of him on receiving formal appreciation from his daughter. In this situation, where the father feels TEREKUSAI, he feels glad to hear his daughter’s words, but he also feels uncomfortable because he does not know how to respond appropriately to them.

In this section we will begin to examine the meaning of HAZUKASHII, a word which appears to be related to the concept of HAJI. HAZUKASHII can be used both subjectively and attributively.

\(^5\) Wierzbicka (1992c: 131) points out that many languages of the world (for example, Korean, Even in West Africa, Kuman in Papua) don't lexically distinguish shame and embarrassment. Japanese also do not distinguish these words. The example sentences ← for the English translation of Japanese HAZUKASHII, 'ashamed' is used in (2) (18), of(?)[16]; the analysis of TEREKUSAI used in (1). Wierzbicka (1999b) points out the difference of the two words, saying that the Anglo concept of 'shame' links social concerns with moral concerns, whereas the modern Anglo concept of 'embarrassment' explicitly dissociates the two. Kelly, Kelly & Kelly (1990: 163) mention that while 'ashamed' is used for the feeling when one thinks one has taken an insincere attitude as in 'I stole it, I really am ashamed of myself', 'embarrassed' is used when one feels so just because one is introverted as in 'I was embarrassed when they made me sing'. (For further arguments about the difference between 'ashamed' and 'embarrassed' (See e.g. Hawkins 1990b, Wierzbicka 1992c).

The Subjective Use of HAZUKASHII

Firstly, we will deal with the subjective use of HAZUKASHII. Hida and Asada (1996: 456) describe HAZUKASHII as a rather negative word which refers to the unbearable feeling a person has who finds that his/her defects or mistakes have been seen by others. In their view, it is not an introspective observation of the defects, rather it is a feeling of anxiety which is caused by the fear that those defects have been seen by others. They say it is a very characteristic word in Japanese culture, since this feeling is caused by a person’s concern about what other people think about him/her.\(^6\)

I basically agree with their views. Japanese people indeed feel HAZUKASHII when they feel concerned about the perceptions of others. There are various occasions where Japanese people feel HAZUKASHII. For instance, when they think they have done (said) something deviant from the norms of their society or from other people's opinions. For example, someone might say:

(2) Hito to chigatta koto o suru (i-e) no ga HAZUKASHII.

(I feel HAZUKASHII to do (say) something other people would not do (say).)

It is generally agreed that concern about others' responses to them is a relatively important matter to Japanese people. Frequent examples can be found in written and oral literature of where a Japanese person thinks along the lines of: 'Others may think what I am doing is strange'; 'I may be the only person who does this'; 'I may be laughed at by other people if I do this', and so on. This is because the Japanese are trained to conform to Japanese norms of speech and behaviour by their parents when they are children.

\(^6\) Donald Keene (1979: 140) finds it awkward that Japanese people say "Nihonjin to shite HAZUKASHII (I feel HAZUKASHII as a Japanese)" when they find that Keene has a deep knowledge about Japanese language and literature. Keene thinks it is natural for a specialist like him to know more about Japanese literature than Japanese people who are not interested in it at all. Japanese people say they feel HAZUKASHII to Keene to express their modesty and feeling of inferiority about not having enough knowledge of Japanese literature.
Clancy (1986: 237) says that if a mother disapproves of her child's behaviour, she might say the behaviour was 'strange' ("okashii") or even 'fearsome/scary' ("kowai") to others. Thus, the mother makes it clear that behaviour falling outside the range of normal expectations is strange, and even repulsive. Marks and Kitayama (1994: 115) also put a similar comment:

When a child is misbehaving, a caretaker might say "Katsuko, you are acting very strange; your friends may laugh at you if they see it." Attention is drawn to how the child is not behaving as expected, and the punishment involves being made to stand out, which poses a threat to the relationship between the child and group.

As a result the Japanese child becomes very sensitive to others' eyes or opinions.

Japanese people commonly think of behaviour which deviates from the Japanese cultural norm as HAZUKASHII. Japanese may feel HAZUKASHII about a person who talks a lot because they have an unfavourable cultural stereotype of talkative behaviour. Therefore, people will sometimes say something like the following to a good-looking woman who is very talkative: "Anata, damatte ita hoo ga ii wa yo. Ja nai to imejei ga warui wa yo (You had better be quiet. Otherwise, you will ruin your [good] image)". This negative stereotyping of talkativeness applies especially to men in Japan. For example, someone might say:

(3) Watashi no ototo wa otoko no kuse ni oshaberi de HAZUKASHII.
(I feel HAZUKASHII about my brother who is talkative in spite of being a man.)

Generally, Japanese boys become rather taciturn when they grow up. This change in boys is connected to the Japanese social norm which expects a male to occupy a certain place as a man. In Japan non-talkativeness is one of the characteristics of a masculine image. Lebra (1976: 58) says "it is the mother who constantly indoctrinates the child to be a boyish boy...". My own personal experience suggests that this observation is right. My cousin Masashi, for example, was a very talkative boy when he was an elementary school student, however, because of his mother's indoctrination, he became a rather taciturn boy in the space of five years. Masashi used to be the type of boy who reported what he had experienced each day and expressed in detail his opinions about things familiar to him. His mother was always complaining in front of Masashi to other relatives, "Moo, kono ko tiara, otoko no kuse ni, oshaberi de komacchau wa (Oh, this child. He's male, but he talks far too much)". She often scolded Masashi for his talkativeness, saying:

(4) Maa-kun, otoko no kuse ni sono ni takusan shabersu to hito ni warawaru yo. An, HAZUKASHII.
(Masashi, despite the fact that you are male, you talk too much. You're going to get laughed by other people. Oh, I feel HAZUKASHII.)

Here Masashi's mother was indulging in what Clancy (1986) calls "conformity training". In such 'training', the mother teaches her son to anticipate other people's criticism and disapproval by appealing to the imagined reactions of "hito (other people)", who are supposed to watch and evaluate the child's behaviour. The mother expects the child to feel HAZUKASHII when he is faced with the disapproval of other people, and she repeatedly tells him she is HAZUKASHII so that he will feel HAZUKASHII, too. As a result, when I met Masashi after he had become a high school student, he was already quite a taciturn boy.

Thus, the strong emphasis on external scrutiny, 'people who are outside the family circle') are watching', and its connection with the feeling of HAZUKASHII is established from early childhood.

People may also feel HAZUKASHII about themselves when they fail to do something.

For example, people might say:

(5) Gakko kugo ga jocu ni hanasakute, HAZUKASHII.
(I feel HAZUKASHII, because I cannot speak foreign languages well.)

(6) Hitomes de machigatta koto o itte, HAZUKASHII.
(I feel HAZUKASHII, because I said something wrong in front of some people.)
The following examples further show that a person could feel such grave
HAKUKASHI about his/her blunders that he/she feels one could almost die.

(7) Aa, maa iya. HAKUKASHI. Shinjirai te kono koto da wa. Aso ee, daishippai o shihatta no. Tochittari, genkou toshiibitori tu ru miso wa shokushu shite kedo, kine no wa teriitshashi ga tsukimai wo yu. Datte, kasihoyo no pin o tsuketa muma, teriib shi dechatta n deus mono.
[Hayashi 1990: 201]

(MT: Oh, no. I feel HAKUKASHI. I’d like to die. I made a big mistake. I often make mistakes like miffing my line or skipping part of the script, but what I did yesterday was something that I cannot make up for, because I appeared on TV with a make-up hairpin in my hair.)

(8) Shiharaku, Nyan Ootani de jin-tonoki o soudo ato, sensei wa ginza e rurere ite kudassatu. Tottome tasohakute monoawara, Nokaku Sensei ni dakitshita, to ru koto wo mochiron naku, sore dokoro watashii sakuya no nasuoku no tame hanaya no naka de Sensei o makun ni shite kuchi o akete nete shittaka. Aa, HAKUKASHI, shiri-soot!!
[Yamada 1991: 123]

(MT: After we drank gin and tonics at the New Ootani hotel, Nokaku Sensei took me to the Ginza district. I was so happy that I embraced him—no, I’m joking, of course I didn’t do that. In fact, because I hadn’t slept the night before, I slept in the hire car with my mouth open and used Sensei as my pillow. Oh, I feel so HAKUKASHI, I could almost die!!)

Other examples where this word HAKUKASHI appears are where one feels
HAKUKASHI when one thinks about oneself as seen in (9), (10), (11), and (13), about
‘one’s former thoughts’ as seen in (14), or about ‘one’s bad appearance’ as seen in (12).

Examples (9) to (11) are from original Japanese texts. In examples (12) to (14),
HAKUKASHI is given in the translation of original English texts.

(9) HAKUKASHI banashi da ga, boku wa kore made naakita o zuru tsuzukemonoo, to ru koto ga marude dekina jinsei o yonde kita no de aru. Shoojikou no koto soroban wa rookugaketo shihka tsuzukaranakatta. Yobikou wa gekagaketo de yometta. Maaase wa nikketsuu, aroo kenshuukou o watarikukan shihka tsuzukaranakatta.
[Shinla 1986: 126]

(MT: It is a story which makes me feel HAKUKASHI, but I have had a life where I could never continue to do anything until the end. I learnt the Japanese course for only six months at elementary school. I quit prep school after five months. I ran for two months, and did the Aesop health method for only two weeks.)

(10) Demo, yappari, oyaji ga shinde shittama kare kagyou wo rokottsuban kiisseh 50%ki hajimeteta n da na. Otoko no boka ga, besikyou naaka shiteru basi ja sai to ru koto o shitta no wa, Donoshiba

(11) Watashi wa jiben no koto o hito ni is no ga sugoku sligata de su. "Tsuiru n de," "Kurashi n de," sonna koto itarsh HAKUKASHI, zo osometa jiben de su.
[Mainshi-shimbuusha 1991: 107]

(MT: I am not good at telling people about myself. I used to think, if I said "I feel it is hard" “I am suffering”, it was HAKUKASHI.)

(12) "Sorekara, maa, nante zarazara shita to o shiteru n daroo! Maa, nante atrui dotogatsu na no yo!
Watashi wa, sore mado jiben no te o HAKUKASHI to omousu koto nazo, tsuzou ichido no mokuraka. Tekketsou, soe irarento miru to, jiben no te ga ikarimio tsukanaranai te no yoo ni omowaretai. Watashi ni tasaku kanjo [Essentia] no tsukuru wa amari ni mo hageshikatuka node, sore ga watashi ni mo umareru shittama no da.
[Dickens 1966 Vol. 1: 99]

(J <- E: And what course hands he had! And what thick boots! I had never thought of being ashamed (HAKUKASHI) of my hands before, but I began to consider them a very indifferent pair. Her [Essentia’s] contempt for me was so strong that it became infectious, and I caught it.)

(13) Nera no koto wa, kare no, konogoro yoku kagaeta ima. Minunordito no atuserta teki, mazu ichiban ni kageta no wa, kanjo no koto datia. Ato onna nara, koihiite konna koto wa shinshikataro. Ite, ate mitsukita. Ato onna nara, troischohitte kureru daroo. Daga, kagenu to, sore mo HAKUKASHI. Mekko de wa, shijuu yasakaitaka nani, kare no hoo de, hidoi shihaku o shite no dakara de aru.
[Maughan 1959a: Vol. 3: 154]

(J <- E: Philip had thought of Norah often. When Mildred let him first thought was of her, and he told himself bitterly that she would never have treated him so. His impulse was to go to her; he could depend on her pity; but he was ashamed (HAKUKASHI); she had been good to him always, and he had treated her obnamfully.)
[Maughan 1963b: 386-387]

(14) Katsure isukijin ni naraito omotesu ita nante, ima de wa HAKUKASHI ki ga shimaatu.
[Morgan 1992 Vol. 2: 222]

(J <- E: I feel embarrassed (HAKUKASHI) now, to think that, once, I wanted to be white.)
[Morgan 1987: 306]

Prototypically, the feeling of HAKUKASHI involves being seen by other people. All
the HAKUKASHI feelings illustrated above are tied to concern with "other people's
eyes". We usually don't feel HAKUKASHI if there is no possibility that other people
will perceive negative aspects of ourselves. This is illustrated in the following minimal pair:

(15) Teshohei de shodana ni atama o butsukete HAZUKASHII.
    (I feel HAZUKASHII because I hit my head on the bookshelf in the library.)

(16) ? Jibun no haya de shodana ni atama o butsukete HAZUKASHII.
    (? I feel HAZUKASHII because I hit my head on the bookshelf in my room.)

While in the library there is the high possibility of other people seeing the person’s ‘blunder’, there is no such possibility alone in a room. Therefore, in sentence (20) a person would not usually feel HAZUKASHII in spite of having made such a blunder. It seems that external scrutiny is a crucial precondition for the Japanese feeling of HAZUKASHII. In all examples this feeling is tightly connected to the concept of HAIJI, which arises when the subject is concerned about the views of others.

It is possible for a person to feel HAZUKASHII even when others are not around them. In the following examples the subject feels HAZUKASHII about her writing, because she finds naïve elements in it. Although she is by herself when she is reading her own writing, she says that she feels HAZUKASHII when she reads it again. She is strongly conscious of her defects or mistakes and feels inferior to the extent that she imagines an assumed audience and an audience response.

(17) “Ee, furin nikki o mira no wa tanoshimi densen wa. Nandemo kakusatsu sono toori ni kaite aru kara. Hitori de yonde ite mo HAZUKASHII wa.”
    [Kawabata 1970: 35]

(18) Dai-izaku mo no ‘Beddi Taimu Atsu’ no hankoyo ga yosoo-ijyo ni okikata node, watashi wa odorete hishishibiri ni jibun no sekushin o yomikasu to is HAZUKASHII koto o yatte shikinatta.
    [Yamada 1991: 13]

(MT: Because the reaction to my first work ‘Bed Time Eyes’ was greater than I expected, I was surprised and I did something I feel HAZUKASHII about. I re-read my own work after a long time.)

Originally the word HAZUKASHII was used to describe an admiring feeling for a superior person. In that situation the inferior person feels like avoiding eye-contact and hiding (Morita 1993: 953). The following examples illustrate that people often avoid eye-contact when they feel HAZUKASHII.

(19) Sobu de Temsii ga yosoette kureta uden o tabenagara, Noriko wa chi ga dokuitoko to oto o tate nagare-hajimeta no o kanjira. Hoo mo atsuku natta. Sore o kizukaremashita to, shita o mutte
    [Hayashi 1993: 179]

(19) E: Noriko felt the blood pounding in her ears as she ate the noodles her mother had set before her. She could feel her cheeks getting hot as well. Hopping her parents would not notice, she lowered her head over the bowl as she stuffed her mouth full of noodles. Her cousin was exactly the same age as she was and they were talking about being in love and getting married! Noriko was terribly embarrassed.
    [Hayashi 1996: 170]

(20) Gossai no Kayako to, Doi wa kigara ni mononori ni natora, jiru o hakonde tooreta, benjo ni tsurete itte tooreta shita. Kayako wa hushigi, sono Kayako o mitte, Takako mo ureshihabita.
    Keredemo, Koko wa soo shita kikai ni Doi o seikishuru koto ga dekita ni ita. Jirunfukin no amari ni mo tsuyoi yorokobi ni nomado, HAZUKASHII, reikate, seishita
    jibun no houso ni urashazai ni wa irannikata.
    [Tatsuhisa 1980: 23]

(20) E: Doi would cheerfully take five-year-old Kayako for monorail rides, fetch her bottles of pop, take her to the toilet. Seeing Kayako’s excitement, Koko would be happy too. But on such occasions, she wouldn’t look Doi squarely in the face. The very depth of her pleasure bewildered and ashamed her (made her feel HAZUKASHII, and finally left her helpless and annoyed at her own reaction.)
    [Tatsuhisa 1983: 10-11]

It is said that a person who feels HAZUKASHII often thinks “I have something to do with the kind of thing I think as HAJI”. However, it should be noted that, what is really closely related to the concept of HAZUKASHII is not the whole concept of HAJI, but the component “other people can think something bad about me” which is included in the meaning of HAJI. Therefore, as seen in the examples below, people can feel HAZUKASHII about something which has nothing to do with their conscience or HAJI.
In the first example, Japanese people feel HAZUKASHII when they have personal interaction with people who they don't know well.

(21) Yoku shiranai hito to hanasu no ga HAZUKASHII.
(I feel HAZUKASHII when I talk with people I don't know well.)

(22) Gaikokujin to hanashi o suru no ga HAZUKASHII.
(I feel HAZUKASHII when I talk with foreigners.)

In these situations where Japanese have personal interactions with people they do not know well, they often lose their presence of mind, and behave in an awkward manner; they do not know what to do, or how to behave in such an awkward situation. They think that ideally they should not feel awkward, even when they are with somebody whom they do not know; In recognising that one cannot achieve this ideal, one may feel something negative about oneself, and begin to fear that a third person looking on may also have a negative image of one.

The following example shows Japanese feel HAZUKASHII when they feel they are getting attention from others.

(23) Toku ni gaman dekinai no wa, (eigo ni) kyoo kassha o yomu koto de, jibun ga shimeisaseremono, hito ga yonde itemo itsume HAZUKASHISA ga tsukirattono.
[Hayashi 1993: 58]

(J -> E: Noriko especially hated reading the (English) textbook out loud in class. Not only did she dread being called on, she found it excruciating to have to listen to someone else sounding out the unfamiliar syllables.)
[Hayashi 1996: 60]

Lebra (1983: 196) claims that “It appears that the Japanese individual makes himself (sic; or herself) vulnerable to embarrassment/shame by disclosing himself (e.g. his opinion), whereas the American does so through his inability to disclose himself”. Whereas Japanese people expect others to guess and know their wants or feelings without any explicit sign, on the other hand they do not like others to disturb their inner selves too much. Barnlund (1975b: 429) says that the Japanese permit only a relatively small proportion of inner experience to be made accessible to others.

The feeling of HAZUKASHII can occur even when Japanese people are with somebody whom they know very well, such as parents:

(24) Chichi/Oto to sarutatte hanashi o suru no ga HAZUKASHII.
(I feel HAZUKASHII when I talk with my father/husband in a formal manner.)

Here the feeling HAZUKASHII occurs because of self-consciousness. Often when Japanese people try to talk with familiar people formally or on a serious topic, which they usually would not do in their relationships, they feel awkward, and do not know how to behave properly. They fear that other people may think something bad about them when they see that they are feeling perplexed (“people can think something bad about me”), and they feel HAZUKASHII. Thus, the concept of HAZUKASHII is very closely oriented to concern with what other people may think. Most people, when they feel HAZUKASHII, lose their presence of mind.

From the above discussion, we could posit the following explication for the rather negative feeling of HAZUKASHII (the subjective use).

HAZUKASHII — the subjective use

[(Watashi wa) 7 [Y ga] HAZUKASHII
((I feel HAZUKASHII [about Y])]

(a) I felt something because I thought something [about someone/something Y]
(b) sometimes a person thinks something [about someone/something Y]:
(c) “other people may think something bad about me if people know this about Y
(d) I don't want this
(e) I think: it would be good if people did not know about this
(f) I don’t know what to do now
(g) when this person thinks this, this person feels something bad
(h) I felt something like this
(i) because I thought something like this [about Y]

7 When the speaker attaches ‘the past tense suffix’ or ‘some formal evidential markers’ to HAZUKASHII, this describes an emotion feeling experienced by other people. Otherwise, the subject (experimenter) of the feeling is always ‘I’ in Japanese.
In component (a) I put "about someone/something Y" instead of "about another person/thing Y", since one could feel HAZUKASHII not simply about another person/other people; it could be about oneself or someone/something which belongs to oneself. Component (c) "other people may think something bad about me if people know this about Y" exemplifies the subject's concern about the possible negative view of other people towards the subject because of something/someone which belongs to the subject, or something about them. The subject does not want this (component (d) "I don't want this"). Component (e) "I think it would be good if people did not know this" shows the subject's desire that others should not know others' something this about Y. The subject does not know what to do at that time (component (f) "I don't know what to do now"). The resultant feeling is "something bad" (component (g)).

A person can also say that he/she feels HAZUKASHII when complimented by others, as seen in the following example:

8 It would be worthwhile to compare the meaning of HAZUKASHII with the meaning of English 'ashamed' or 'embarrassed', which is often used as the rough gloss of HAZUKASHII (cf. Wierzbicka 1999b: 110, 115).

Shame (X was ashamed)
(a) X felt something because X thought something.
(b) sometimes a person thinks:
(c) "people can know something bad about me"
(d) I don't want people to know this
(e) if people know this they can't not think something bad about me
(f) when I think about it, I can't not think the same"
(g) X felt something like this
(h) because X thought something like this

Embarrassment (X was embarrassed)
(a) X felt something because X thought something
(b) sometimes a person thinks:
(c) "something is happening to me not because I want it
(d) someone knows about it
(e) this person is thinking about me
(f) I don't want people to think about me like this"
(g) when this person thinks this, this person feels something bad
(h) X felt something like this
(i) because X thought something like this

In comparison with 'ashamed', where the subject does not want other people to 'know' something about the subject, the subject of the HAZUKASHII feeling does not even want other people to 'think' about him/her. The person feeling HAZUKASHII does not want to be seen by others. This connotation is not included in the meaning of either 'ashamed' nor 'embarrassed.'
The Attributive Use of HAZUKASHII

HAZUKASHII has the attributive use "Y wa HAZUKASHII ((People in general feel)
Y is HAZUKASHII)". Examples of this use are as follows. The examples below (31)
and (32) suggests that people should usually feel HAZUKASHII when they display
condescending attitudes towards somebody disabled or someone weaker than
him/herself.

(31) Kazada ga fujyuu na dake de, lasshoo jiyuu no nai ninkasuu nante, kawaisoo da to onomaison ka?
Sore o ono wo, mezurashii oco ni jirojirō miru no wa hidei koto da shi, sore to doogi ni
HAZUKASHII koto da to onomaison ka?
[Maimichi-shimbunsha 1991: 60]

(MT: Don't you think people who can never live freely because of physical disabilities are
pitiful? To think of it, don't you think that staring at them is terrible, and something you
should feel HAZUKASHII about?)

(32) ...jibun yori chisai hito ya yowai hito o oshinkoo koto ya, ramboo o suru no wa,
HAZUKASHII koto da...
[Kuroyanagi 1981: 102]

(I -> E: ...they mustn't push people smaller or weaker than themselves; that unruly behaviour
was something to be ashamed [HAZUKASHII] of.)
[Kuroyanagi 1992: 72]

This is because Japanese culture emphasizes the importance of putting oneself into
another's place; people often feel HAZUKASHII when they cannot "sasuru (guess)"
other people's feelings, and then hurt their feelings because of this. Japanese people
often say "Ki ga kikunakute (Sasashi ga warukute) HAZUKASHII (I feel
HAZUKASHII since I was not considerate (quick witted))". Munakata (1986: 376)
says that it is necessary for the Japanese to exercise their ability to guess ("sasuru") what
the other person really means:

To sasuru is to understand the other's feelings without relying on verbal communication or
understanding. Parents train their children in the art of sasuru. They tell their children, "You
should understand what other people are thinking before they say anything by merely looking at
their faces. You have to be able to easily sasuru such a manner."
Therefore, people think of acts which fail to "sasuru" other people's feelings as 
HAZUKASHII.

Unlike TEREKUSAI, HAZUKASHII is not used only for feelings about the subject's 
own action/attitude/thinking, but also for a third person's action/attitude/thinking, that is, 
to translate the English word 'shameful' rather than 'ashamed' as seen in the following 
examples. In this case also, HAZUKASHII is used in the attributive use. Here, the 
examples are taken from Japanese translations of originally English texts:

(33) "Shinda hoo ga matsu da wa. Watashi no otto ga shinai denu no unteru shi ni kozami ni 
chaa shinai dore to o sanin ni shiraeru kurai dattara, atashi, itazoo Kanzan Shiito o 
misanote mo ii wa. Sono otto wa maishuu nanaa ga noru kodo no yuumeijin na no yo. 
HAZUKASHII koto da wa! 
[Shaw 1979: 125]

(f) E: "I would rather die," Arliss said. "I would rather never see Kansas City again for the 
rest of my life than let them know my husband has to watch pennies like a streetcar conductor. 
A man with his name in the papers every week. It would be shamefull [HAZUKASHII]!"
[Shaw 1988: 98]

(34) "Papa wa shibirutantai o yattota no." (...) 
"Nan no tame ni?" 
"Asata no koto o shibaremu tame ni yo." (...) "Papa ga somu kitanaai koto o suru nante, 
HAZUKASHII..." Kondo wa kahi o sayuu ni furi, kotobu o togiraaseta. 
[Comoney 1994 Vol. 2: 152]

(f) E: "You see, what he did was, he hired a firm of private investigators." (...) "What for?" 
be asked. 
"To find out about you." (...) "How he could do something so sneaky and shamefull. 
HAZUKASHII..." She shook her head, words failing.)
[Comoney 1993: 377]

The explication of the meaning of half-emotion, half-attributive use of HAZUKASHII 
can be posited as follows:

HAZUKASHII --- the attributive use 
[Y wa HAZUKASHII ((People in general feel) Y is HAZUKASHII)]

(a) I want to say something about some person/thing Y 
(b) sometimes a person thinks about something (about someone/something Y) 
(c) "other people may think something bad about me if people know

10.(I).3. TEREKUSAI

Unlike HAZUKASHII, TEREKUSAI has only the subjective use. This is because 
TEREKUSAI is an individual, subjective feeling.

Luo (1984/5: 11) says that TEREKUSAI came to be used rather recently (since the 
Edo period (1603-1867 A.D.) (Yamaguchi 1982:216)), especially in the spoken 
language. This is in contrast to HAZUKASHII, which has been used since ancient 
times. Luo (p. 12) points out that the word TEREKUSAI refers to both something like 
embarrassment on getting attention from others and something like a pleased but 
embarrassed feeling. Morita (1993: 956) observes that a person would feel 
TEREKUSAI at an amateur singing contest when he/she has confidence in his/her 
singing, but would not feel TEREKUSAI when he/she is not confident about having to 
sing at all.

The word TEREKUSAI evokes a rather positive, not negative, image of a person who 
feels TEREKUSAI, or who TERERU [Verb] as seen in the following example:

(1) *Takagi-san wa, watashi ni, owarai da to itte suteki na buresuerto o kurasamu. Sono kurekata ga, 
mata kawari no. TERERU za. 
[Yamada 1991: 146-147]

(MT: Mr. Takagi gave me a nice bracelet in order to offer his congratulations. The way he gave 
it to me was cute. He ended up TERERU (verb).)

9 Because the part of speech of TEREKUSAI (adj) and TERERU (V) is different, there is a difference 
in meaning between these two words. However, this issue is beyond the scope of this thesis and will not 
be further discussed here.
Also, the following example shows TERERU is used in a way which does not connote one's negative feeling. The subject tries to tell her secret to others voluntarily.  

(2) Watashi no (otto no) naresune nee. Chotto TERERU kedo, hanashishimashoo ka.   
[Usami 1996: 13]  
(MT: The beginning of the love affair between me and my husband... Although I TERERU a little, shall I talk about it anyway?)  

Iguchi (1988: 118) says that the origin of the feeling of the verb TERERU is that one feels something like embarrassment when one's face or body is lighted up (which is called "terasareru (passive form of TERASU light up)"). Mukoozaka (1982: 70) also observes that the feeling of TERERU is derived from the feeling experienced when one believes that one's face is lit up by other people's attention. He says because the face represents one's personality and internal feelings in Japanese culture, one feels as if one's internal state is being looked at when one's face is looked at by other people. Morita (1993: 95) further points out that the TEREKUSAI feeling occurs when one is conscious of other people's eyes. So, the same situation causes some people to feel TEREKUSAI but does not cause TEREKUSAI in others.  

The adjective form of the verb TERERU is TEREKUSAI. "-kusai" usually means 'something smells bad', but TEREKUSAI does not have this connotation of "-kusai". (Yamashita 1993: 202). Similar to HAZUKASHII, the feeling of TEREKUSAI also assumes an audience (other people's eyes) and presupposes the response or reactions of the audience; "other people know what is happening to me", "they are thinking about me because of this". The following are examples of where one feels TEREKUSAI or one TERERU [Verb] when one is conscious of other people's attentions towards one.  

(3) "Ee, satsuei to TEREKUSAI nee. Warane to iwarete warasu no ga taishen da nara."   
[Location bus driver 23 years old in Kotocho 1987 No. 42: 15]  
(MT: "Well, picture-taking makes me TERERU [Verb]. It's hard to laugh when you are being focused on.)  

(4) "Dewa mata ashita oshishashoo. Yuru Yuru hiru no jokkii, osite wa Okazaki deshita." Teema ongaku ga nagarete keta. Garasu no mukou de isou kun ga OK sain o daisite iru. Hobe jikan pitari ni osanmata no da. "Doo data." "Um, yokatta ya. Dakedo ssu, Okazaki no ta, toidokki wa sora o mimasho yo!" "Ii to, monoosugite boosami na s da ya na. K arena TEREERU ni?" "Un, TEREERU."   
[Hayashi 1993: 111-2]  
(I -> E: "Well, we're running out of time. Until tomorrow, this has been Okazaki Noriko here with you on Yuru-Yuru Lunchtime Jockey." Cut to the theme song. On the other side of the glass he held up his thumb and forefinger in an OK sign. They had hit the twenty minute right on the dot. "How was that?" "Good. But your Let's look at the sky part was awfully flat. Were you embarrassed [TERERU]?" "Yes, kinda [TERERU]."")  
[Hayashi 1996: 113]  

(5) Kocchi mitte waratte TEREKUSAI Smile, Smile, Smile  
Watashi de shite iru ni kao de  
Eye to me  
(MT: Look this way and smile, don't TERERU, Smile, Smile, Smile  
Eye my way with the nice/good face which only I know)  

(6) Shoojo no taio wa socchaku sono mono to ita kanji data. Manzugu na shisen ni mitamerarete, Kuracchuu wa sukoshi TEREKUSAI-yye ni kimochi ni natte.   
[Conroy 1994 Vol.1: 443]  
(I <-> E: The girl had a straightforward air, a kind of candor in her gaze that made him self-conscious (feel TEREKUSAI)  
[Conroy 1993: 264]  

The following are examples where the Japanese gloss TEREERU is given for the English verb 'get embarrassed'. Example (7) is a Japanese translation of an original English text, and (8) is a Japanese translation of some lines in an English language movie (in (8)).  

(7) Kujisai no goku ni, sensen wa Sutsan ni ashoo Ahasusoru no yaku o furi, sono toojittsu made Sutsan no koto o, "Watashi no hana su na Ahasusorozu-ku" to yonde kureta mon no da. Sore wa yokatta ga, aru hi ni hokkugo, doroguguso no me ni tamururosyo yozatta renshuu no aida ni iru Sutsan o mimasho sensen, mamashikiki ni nante te o fute misa, "Ahasusorouzu-ku," Kore ni wa sukoshi TEREERU shimattsu Sutsan data.   
[Friedman 1971: 75]  
(I <-> E: She cast him as the wicked Egyptian king, Ahasuerus, in a Purim play and, until the date of the play, called him "my handsome Ahasuerus." One day, after school, she caught Stern in a crowd in front of a drugstore and embarrassed him (made him TEREERU) by standing on tiptoe and waving, "Ahasuerus!"")  
[Friedman 1962: 55]  

10 'TERERU' is the contracted form of 'TERE-te iru'. For the meaning of 'te iru' form, see footnote 2, Chapter (1).
Like HAZUKASHII, one would feel TEREKUSAI or one TEREKU when one feels pleased but embarrassed at being told something good about oneself or about somebody who belongs to one. The following are examples:

(9) Sonna ni homareru to TEREKU naa.
[Yamada & Inbu 1986: 547]

(B [J—E]: It's embarrassing [TERESU] to be praised so much.)

(10) "Seiseki-kankai ga aru hoo ga koi wa fukumari shi, ingen no sashibitsa mo, soko de sukawaramo to omou yoo. Datte onnanohito wa iu ja nai. "Anata no ude ni dakarete iru toki ga ikishiten shimasu yo 'tten." "Anata no ude ni naka wa, yobono igokochi ga ii mitai nee." "Iya, sonna koto nani kedo, a ha ha" Kare wa hihi de TEREKU iru nade, watashii wa hanaashi o tsuneketa.
[Musumoto 1993: 16-17]

(MT: "I think love will become deeper, and human loneliness be assuaged if there is a physical relationship. As women say, 'I feel happier when I am being held in your arms.'"

"It seems that being held in your arms is very comfortable."

"No, it's not like that, ha ha (laugh)" He was TEREKU in by himself, so I continued the conversation.

(11) Akko: "Anshii ninshu tsuzukeru koto ni shinbashi. (...) Buchoo ga gatto hatte kudasaita kara denu. Arigatoo gozaimashita. (...) Kebato yori mo maa yori mo anpin to hatto gatto ga asahi o bu ni hikikometa n desu. Sore wa sugoi kikimo datta n desu."
Buchoo: "TERERU na, soko made iwaseru to..."
[Inuzuka 1992: 95-5]

(MT: Akko: "I have decided not to quit the tennis club. (...) Because you strung my tennis racquet with catgut for me. Thank you very much. (...) The lovely job you did on the stringing, rather than words or anything, kept me in the club. That was very effective."
Captain: "TERERU if you compliment me like that.")

11. Script from the movie "SHINING THROUGH" (Japanese title: Anshii no naka de kagayuite). Presented by 20th Century Fox, written for the screen and directed by David Seltzer. Translator from English into Japanese is unknown.
Bikurushichattwa wa. Sono hito mo se ga takai kata na n dakido, 172 senchi nante intai donna onna no hito na no kashira ne. Watashi no odoroi na go wa kakata mathikute, sono hito, chotto TEREku wa, "Nyoobo, izen wa moderu o yatte itsa kara." [Hayashi 1990: 24]

(MT: "Excuse me, but could you make the clothes a bit longer? My wife is tall."
"OK. How tall is she?"
"172 cm."
I was surprised. Although the man was rather tall, I wondered what kind of woman could be 172 cm? It seemed he saw that I was surprised, and he TEREku and said, "My wife used to be a model.")

In the following example, someone TERERU when he calls his girlfriend "omae" since this word is used by a husband talking to his wife; he TERERU because he is conscious of how she thinks about being called "omae".

(17) Hen na otoke ni ikinari "omae" to iwaretan gekidosuru kedo, suki na kare kara ikinari no "omae" wa, tokimori o kariite shimasu. Kare to no kyori ga gun to chikazusite-yoo de ureshii no yo na. Kare mo myoo ni TEREku shimasu koreto fune ni naka o Fukamusa sayoo no aru kotoba.
[Chudou-Joshi-tankidaigaku 1990: 46]

(MT: Although I would get angry if I strange man called me "omae (you)", I would get excited if I was called "omae" by a man I liked. I am happy because the distance between me and him seems to have been shortened by that word. Although he TEREku quite a lot when he uses this word, this word deepens the relationship between me and him.)

What is characteristic to Japanese people is that they often TERERU or feel TEREKUSAI towards the person they feel affection for. This is because Japanese people are not good at expressing their affectionate feelings explicitly. The following two examples, (18) and (19) show how one TERERU when one cannot express true affectionate feeling towards a loved person.

Momoko: "Aa, TERERU no (to warasu)."
[Shinaro-sakk-kyoozai 1991: 224]

(MT: Momoko: "(Because you came to see me at my work place), I felt very SHIWAWE (Happy)."
Sukegawa: "...The sunset is very beautiful."
Momoko: "Oh, are you TEREku? (laugh!)"

Here, Sukegawa is TEREku iru as a result of his wife’s overt pleased feeling towards him, so he switches the conversation from that topic to the sunset. The following example also illustrates Japanese husbands’ clumsiness about expressing their affection towards their wives. They say they feel hesitant about having a date with their wives or giving presents to them after marriage since they TERERU or feel TEREKUSAI if they do that.

(19) Nakamura...Tateba, kekkonshita nyooobo to wa deeto shitsai toka, soo la 0-Loro un ja naa, Nihon no otoke to. Dormo, TEREku dume na no yo. Fukuda: ...Domo, yasamari bokura no toki no deemo TEREkuShimasu. Kekkonshite kara wa nanka TEREKUSAI de purezeno dekinaite to ka tokoro, arimasu yo ne.
[Hayaru Fukuda & Kantoo Nakamura "Ai de yo ne, Hidoyori wa" in Fujin Zosen 1996 April: 216]

(MT: Nakamura: ... For example, Japanese men don’t go on dates with their wives after they get married. But they should not TERERU.
Fukuda: ... But men of our age cannot help TERERU. After we’re married to them we cannot give presents to our wives anywhere since we feel TEREKUSAI.)

Endoo (1976: 190-191, 314) comments that Japanese males feel TEREKUSAI more than women when they get into a romantic situation after marriage. In such a situation Japanese men often exhibit behaviour which gives the opposite impression of their real affection towards their wives. Shiraiishi (1967: 44) explains that this phenomenon occurs because men tend to observe themselves like other people do when they are feeling some emotions objectively, and also because Japanese men are not good at expressing their emotions straightforwardly.

Japanese people in general are not good at expressing their loving feelings towards their family members, for example, towards a mother or child. In the following two examples, the subject feels TEREKUSAI towards a family member when he sees this person after not having had contact with her for a while.

(20) Hotondo 1asho ni kurumahe sa. Doka TERERU de unu wo, ryoooha ga, su to no. Musoo (fukuuro) mo TEREKUSAI shi, buku no TEREKUSAI.
[Seichiro Kuroda (Illustrator) in Shina 1989: 137]
Japanese people may even TERE or feel TEREKUSA towards a family member whom they see each day as seen in the following examples.

**23)** Hidari ni moto yasashiku shite agetaite o onotteta shi, "bunoo wa daikii na n de yo" tte oogoe de sakaitai kuri de shita. Tada sono kimoshi o doo yatte yuutsutura ii no ka ga wakarinmasendeshita. Selkaku ga chichi ni nita watashi wa, kazoku ni taisuru TERE de sunu ni naru koto ga dekina ni, yasashiku shitsui nan umaku deki nai jiben ga mozokashikate iraimashite, taa tumetai taido o sota n desu. [Mainichi-shimbunsha 1991: 52]

**MT:** I was thinking that I wanted to be more kind to my mother and I felt like yelling out loudly "In fact, I like you very much." I just did not know how to convey that feeling. I could not bear to be in trouble with my family. Because of TERE [Noun], I felt irritated with myself for not being good at being kind and for unintentionally adopting a distant attitude toward my mother.

Japanese fathers, especially, feel quite awkward about expressing their affection towards children, since men do not usually express their feelings outwardly in everyday life.

**23) Honda: Uchi no oya ja, kodomo o no sesshikata ga sugoku bota de, hanashi ga yoku kushigata n desu ne. Kocchi ga nani mo onottetsuketa, sugo yakujoohite bocoryoku o furutsu suru....
Andoco: Ozoran ga TERE ni, moo sukoshi kodomo to no sesshikata ga umakataeru, roochoo te kare de su. [Mainichi-shimbunsha 1991: 12]

**MT:** Honda: My father is not good at interacting with children, and conversations with him go often badly. Although I don't feel or think anything particular, he gets mad and becomes violent....
Andoco: It would be an ideal family if your father did not TERE and he became good at making contact.

**24) Haakushkai hanashi desu ga, boku wa chichioya ni ichido mo dakashimerarea:. ioco ga arimasen. Meiji umare no sei datta no ka, TERE mo ato no da to omominari kero. ichido mo dakashimerarea ioco ga nai. [Tamimura 1996: 84]

**25)** (Nihon no otto wa) Kaisa de wa, koe o no mendoome ga yoku, jochoteki na komyaikaiken no dekitemo, katei de wa, "HAZUKASHI, TEREKUSA" to nigeru. Kaisa no genjo wa shite iru ga, saisho to no genjo wa motani. [Kiyomi Kawasaki (psychotherapist) in AURA 1998 April 20th: 18]

**MT:** Although (Japanese husbands) are able to take care of their subordinates and engage in intimate communication at their company, they avoid close communication with family, saying HAZUKASHI or TEREKUSA. They know the language of the company, but not the language to communicate with their wives or children.

Furthermore, the following examples show that Japanese people may TERE or feel TEREKUSA when they say something which they feel too embarrassed to say in normal circumstances.


**MT:** Since you will TERE if I say this to you in words, I will say it by letter here. I like you more than anyone in the world. I want to be with you forever and ever.

**27)** Shojin e: Men to mukatte oshi sante TEREKUSAKU tte ienai kedo, watashi no chichi ga soki de ite karete arigato. Kyosen no 11 gatsu ni chichi ga rakusan toki, jitsu no naran no watashi yori mo takusan naite kurete arigato. Kono hito to koko koke shite yutsuitsuke tsukosu kara omoinashita. [Namami Yamanashi (30 years old) in Fukuoka] in RKB Mainichi-hoo no-ri no-teishoku 1995: 101]

**MT:** To my husband: Although I feel too TEREKUSA to thank you face to face, thank you for liking my father. Thank you for crying a lot, more than I, his real daughter, did when he died. Last November. I am glad from the bottom of my heart that I married you.

The following examples show that Japanese feel TEREKUSA even when they apologise to their mothers, as in (28), or when they express their appreciation towards their friends, as seen in (29).

The above phenomena appear to result from Japanese people's reticence towards expressing their feelings instantly as Western people often do. Here we posit an explication of the meaning of TEREKUSAI/TERERU. The common components embedded in TEREKUSAI/TERERU in all the examples above are: 'other people can see what is happening to me' (complement (d)) 'people may think something about me because of this' (complement (e)), 'I don't want this' (complement (f)), and 'I don't know what to do now' (complement (g)).

**TEREKUSAI --- the subjective use**

[(Watashi wa) **Y ga TEREKUSAI**
(I feel TEREKUSAI about Y)]

(a) I feel something because I think something about Y
(b) sometimes a person thinks:
(c) "something is happening to me now"
(d) other people can see this
(e) people may think something about me because of this
(f) I don't want this
(g) I don't know what to do now"
(h) when this person thinks this, this person feels something bad
(i) I feel something like this
(j) because I think something like this about Y

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Components (c) "something is happening to me now" and (d) "other people can see this" indicate that one feels TEREKUSAI when one is conscious of the possibility of the other person's/other people's attention being turned to one. Components (e) "people may think something about me because of this" and (f) "I don't want this" show the Japanese negative attitude towards attention to or concern about them from other people. Unlike HAZUKASHII ("something bad" in component (e)), component (g) "I don't know what to do now" represents the subject's perplexed feeling about not knowing what to do. The resultant feeling is "something bad" (component (h)).

HAZUKASHII or TEREKUSAI/TERERU is a temporary phenomenon that can be experienced by anyone. When the suffix "-YA" is attached to these words, the word refers to a person who often has those feelings, as a dispositional attribute. When "-YA" is attached to TEREKUSAI/TERERU, it becomes "TERE-YA"; and when "-YA" is attached to HAZUKASHII, it becomes "HAZUKASHIGARI-YA." Examples follow.

Examples (30) and (31) are from original Japanese texts, while (32) and (33) are examples taken from Japanese translations of originally English texts:

(30) Iico: (Aru halyuu wo) kuchibeta de, me o sashenai desu yo ne.
Naitoo: TERE-YA soo de, sugoku shii de suteki na katu ne.
[Communication 1998 April: 33]

(MT: Iico: (A certain actor) is not good at talking and he doesn't make eye contact with others.
Naitoo: He is very TERE-YA and very shy and wonderful.)

(31) Shoojo wa ha o misete, niko no waritiss ga, HAZUKASHIGARI-YA de, shaberoo to wa shinakatta.
[Snowden & Doi 1982: 220]

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12 When the speaker attaches the past tense suffix or 'some formal evidential markers' to TEREKUSAI, this describes an emotion feeling experienced by other people. Otherwise, the subject (experiencer) of the feeling is always "I" in Japanese.
It is worth noting here that HAZUKASHIGARI-YA would not be used to refer to a superior, such as a parent, boss, or teacher, although it can be used for an inferior or friend. On the other hand, TERE-YA can be used for both cases.

Watashi no ootoko/kodomo/tomodachi wa TERE-YA/HAZUKASHIGARI-YA da.

(My younger brother/child/friend is TERE-YA/ HAZUKASHIGARI-YA.)

Watashi no chichi/joshi/sensei wa TERE-YA/ HAZUKASHIGARI-YA da.

(My father/superior/teacher is TERE-YA/ HAZUKASHIGARI-YA.)

Japanese people usually hesitate to call a person who is superior to them in age or status 'HAZUKASHIGARI-YA', although they can call this person TERE-YA. I think this is because HAZUKASHIGARI-YA connotes the possibility that others will have negative views of the state of the person who feels HAZUKASHII.
The original meaning of HANIKAMU was 'to threaten others by showing anger or to show anger by barring one's teeth' (Morizui, Imaizumi, and Matsuruma 1975). Given this, although the typical Japanese facial expression of HANIKAMU, which is to smile inscrutably while showing one's teeth, appears to be very feminine and representative of one's gentleness, in fact this might be an attitude of self-defence, a refusal to let others interfere with one's inner self (cf. also Endoo 1983: 223).

10.(I).4. Body Actions When One Feels 'TEREKUSAI'

There are two main body actions Japanese people may take when they feel TEREKUSAI. One is to laugh or grin, and the other is to scratch part of one's head. The general discussion of nonverbal communication of Japanese people will be extensively treated in Chapter 12 in this thesis.

10.(I).4.1. TEREWARAI

One of the Japanese actions which Western people find difficult to interpret is a Japanese person's grin at times when he/she misses a train, or when they cannot answer a question, or when they make a mistake, such as in giving the wrong amount of change at a store (Nomura 1984: 245; Fukasaku 1977: 424). Japanese people grin on these occasions in order to conceal their TEREKUSAI feelings. Japanese people also laugh often in their conversations because they are overtly concerned and want to hide their TERE [Noun] or "kizumai (embarrassment)" which may occur in conversation (Takao Sobue 1979 qut. in Nomura 1980: 340; also Haga 1979: 26), or when a person is complimented as in example (2), when one is pleased as in example (3), or when one says something that one feels TEREKUSAI about as in example (4).

14 "Kizumai" literally means "EI is choked". Many Japanese-English dictionaries usually give the gloss 'embarrassment' as they do also for both TEREKUSAI or HAZUKASHII. However, of course, these three words have different meanings.
In the above examples smiling is used to disguise the fact that the subject feels TEREKUSAI. Although the subject has an uncomfortable feeling, such as embarrassment, he/she will laugh or smile in front of other people in order to avoid being disturbed by others by showing embarrassment. At the same time, the subject wants to send a non-verbal message to his/her audience, "You can see I feel TEREKUSAI, so please leave me alone and change the subject". The ambiguous smile is a device used by the Japanese to keep the appropriate distance between their inner self and other people.

The cultural script attached to this grin or laugh accompanying the TEREKUSAI feeling is described as follows:

**TERE-WARAI [Grin or laugh to conceal TERE]**

something (X) is happening to me
when people see me they can know this is happening to me
I don't want this
because other people may think something about me
I do something because of this (grin, laugh)
other people will not think about X if I do this
because they will know what I feel when I do this

10.(I).4.2. TERE & ATAMA O KAKU

Ishii (1988: 9) mentions that scratching the side or back of the head loosely is "a very common gesture that most Japanese show unintentionally and reflectively. The head-scratching sign, sometimes accompanied by a little smile, a showing of the tongue, or a
sucking in of the breath, is a gesture of embarrassment. You will see a number
of Japanese scratch their heads automatically on various occasions, such as when they make
a mistake, feel embarrassed, or apologise".

When Japanese people read the phrase "atama o kaita (scratched one's head)", they
naturally understand that the person who is performing this action is feeling
TEREKUSAI and wants to conceal it by scratching his/her head. In Anglo culture, the
same action is interpreted in a different way. Nakano (1996: 2) points out that Anglo and
Japanese people have different interpretations of the following passage:

(1) "You cannot solve this problem, can you, Mr. Akechi?"  
Akechi scratched his head.

Nakano says that Anglo people will interpret from the underlined phrase that Akechi is
considering how to answer the question, whereas Japanese people will interpret the
phrase to mean that Akechi is scratching his head because he feels TERE about not being
able to answer the question. Nakano (1996: 7) gives another example which illustrates
the differing interpretations of the action of scratching one's head in English and in
Japanese, below:

(2) "Right," the CID man said. "What's bothering you?"  
[Underlined] Sheriff Munster scratched his head. "Mister, have you ever seen an accident report where
even two eyewitnesses said the same thing?"  
[Sydney Sheldon, Windmills of the Gods]

He comments that Anglo people will interpret the underlined phrase as "He scratched his
head in puzzlement", while Japanese people will take the phrase to mean "He scratched
his head as a sign of apology" or "He scratched his head, admitting his mistake". This is
because, as Kanayama (1983: 63) observes, Japanese people take the action to be an
expression of TERERU/TEREKUSAI feeling or apologetic feeling, while in an English-
speaking country, such as the United States or Australia, it signals one's feeling of
puzzlement (cf. also Nakano 1994: 231).

Kobayashi (1975: 106; 1991: 471) explains that the Japanese gesture of scratching
one's head occurs when someone feels insecure because they have made mistakes, or
because they are very self-conscious when complimented by others. By taking this
action, they try to calm themselves down and expect others to act with generosity and
indulge them with regard to the revealed insecurity (Hakugaku-kodowari-kurabu 1994:
15-16). This is possible in Japanese society because a display of TEREKUSAI or
embarrassment in public is generally accepted by others. Morris (1967: 148-149) calls
this kind of displacement such as scratching one's head a "grooming action" which
occurs in moments of high aggressive tension and he says apes, too, take the same
actions in similar circumstances.

This meaning of the Japanese action of scratching one's head is often misunderstood,
not only in English-speaking countries, but also in other places. Horie (1991: 192), for
example, reports that it is rude to scratch one's head in front of other people in Thailand
and Thai people often feel confused when Japanese are scratching their heads, saying
"Well..." and "Oh...". Mukozooka (1982: 6) says that a German teacher did not
understand why his male Japanese student scratched the back of his head in a cute way
when he could not answer a question, as this is a feminine action in German culture.15
Monahan (1983: 24) further says that in Russian culture to scratch the back of the neck
means "I don't know. I can't decide. It's a puzzle".

When Japanese scratch their head, they signify that they feel TEREKUSAI, they
often laugh at the same time, as seen in the following examples (3) (4):

(3) "Densho no, onichan, (tabeyoo de moo sukoshi de ichii ni narenakute) housu ni oshikata na"  
Haha ga yaesshina ito. "Oshikata, oshikata" to Manora. Suruto, Shiiichi ga atama o
kakinagara "E he he he" to TEREwarai o shita.  
[Ben-Takeshi 1987: 32]

(4) [MT: "But, it was really a pity [that you almost won first prize in a running race but then
missed out]"], Mother said in a soft way. "It was a pity. You could have almost done it", said
Manora. Then Shiiichi scratched his head and gave a TEREwarai "E he he he."

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15 Tooyama (1993: 127) says results she get from a questionnaire showed that in Japan, males (60. 3%) take this action more often than females (35. 0%).
I suggest that the action of scratching one's head when one TERERU/feel TEREKUSA! conveys the following meaning:

**TEREtE ATAMA O KAKU** [Scratch one's head to conceal TERE]

- something (X) is happening to me when people see me they can know this is happening to me
- I don't want this because other people may think something about me
- I do something because of this [atama o kaku]
- other people will not think something about X if I do this because they will know what I feel when I do this.

Japanese people often expect others to understand their feelings by laughing or scratching their heads when they feel TEREKUSA!. In Japan, people tend to expect others to have an 'empathetic' attitude towards those who are expressing a TEREKUSA! feeling. This is because empathising with others' feelings is highly appreciated in Japan. Japanese get "empathy training" from their mothers when they are children. These are "lessons which show how to guess what others are thinking and feeling even though they haven't spoken" (Clancy 1986: 235). This underlying philosophy of expecting others to perceive one's emotion and respond appropriately without explicit verbal expression is characteristic of Japanese people as a whole. The mode of communication among Japanese is markedly nonverbal and indirect. Japanese culture values non-verbal expression of one's emotions, such as the so-called 'ambiguous' smile or the scratching of one's head. This is because Japanese people expect to understand and to be understood by others, despite the vague nature of Japanese non-verbal cues. Japanese people have high expectations of receiving the empathy or consideration of others.

These attitudes, in which people both expect and depend on the benevolence of others, can be explained by Doi's (1962) term "amae", the key concept for understanding Japanese personality structure. Japanese society is structured as a communal emotional society. Japanese people have a generous attitude towards the concept of "amae": They expect others to understand them despite the range of vague, ambiguous emotional expressions that are first supposed to be deciphered. Doi (1974b) proposes that the pervasive nature of the concept "amae" shapes the Japanese communication patterns. He makes the very interesting remark that:

...for the Japanese, verbal contribution is something that accompanies non-verbal communication and not the other way around. In other words, they are very sensitive to the atmosphere pervading human relationships. (p. 20)

Doi also mentions the tendency on the part of the Japanese to empathise with partners by stating "Empathic communication is more important to the Japanese. We can feel without touching" (p. 21). A more detailed discussion about nonverbal communication will be given in Chapter 12.

A society which allows for this empathic communication without explicit verbalisation makes it possible for people to be shy about expressing their emotions outwardly and to express them by ambiguous representations such as the ambiguous smile or scratching one's head. Therefore, although the Japanese are quite strict about avoiding the feeling...
10. (II). "THINKING ABOUT OURSELVES":
(Bad things and bad feelings)

Nasakenai, Kanashii, Tsurai,
Sabishii, Wabishii

In this second part of Chapter 10, we will deal with emotion words which refer to
one's concern about oneself and have the components "I feel something bad" as a result.
They are NASAKENAI, KANASHII, TSURAI, SABISHII, and WABISHII.

10.(II).1. NASAKENAI

Hirose and Shooji (1994: 519) say NASAKENAI "describes a situation or condition
as embarrassing, regrettable or miserable". However, unlike HAZUKASHII, which is
the feeling caused by one's concern for other people's views towards one's self,
NASAKENAI feeling is caused by the perception of one's inferiority upon comparison
with one's ideal or aim (cf. Arimoto 1981: 131).

Obo (1996: 141-143), a psychiatrist, suggests that words like NASAKENAI are
closely related to the Japanese way of thinking. He says that one of the characteristic
features of Japanese culture is that Japanese people emphasise self-denial, thinking "I am
no good if I am like this". Therefore, even when Japanese have the desire to improve
themselves, they always start from a position of self-criticism; I should not be weak like
this; I should not be so small; I should be in better circumstances; I should grow stronger;
more considerate, etc. Thinking thus, they seek to improve themselves and reach a high
ideal or goal. Once they come up against a wall, they feel NASAKENAI about
themselves.

NASAKENAI has both the subjective use and the attributive use.
The Subjective Use of NASAKENAI

The following are examples of the subjective use of this word for oneself. They are all from original Japanese texts.

(1) "Chausetsu no hiyo ga nakute an, haha ni karita koto ga aru no. NASAKENAKATDA.
Jibun-tachi no sekissu no atoshimatsu to dekinai to koto ni." [Madoka 1991: 55]

(MT: "Once I did not have money for an abortion, and I borrowed some from my mother. I felt NASAKENAI, for we could not even deal with the aftermath of our own sex.

(2) Saigon wa sho-Fari da itawaru hodo Pari-teki no maschi da to hitte, Yukiko wa Shinoi.
Hokkai ga iryuyashikatta. Jibun wa sono uramukashi maschi e poro to no meishikata.

Kimatte mono wa shikata ga nai keredomodo, soo shita meirei ga, onna ni totte wa, koo-katsuse no hitte no aru koto mo, Yukiko wa yoku shitte iru. Darattoto ni ita, kikita koto no mite koto mo nai, kogom g na okoshikai tokore de, heibon za inotome ni tsuku umemi ga Yukiko ni wa nanonakku NASAKENAI kimochi datta. Waka onna ni totte, heibon to itu koto hodo katsukhu mono wa nai.

[Hayashi 1962: 45]

(R[→E]: Saigon is often called a 'little Paris,' having so much of the Parisian atmosphere.
Yukiko envied Shinoi who was assigned there. She knew that the difference in their lots was due to the difference in their features. She knew it only too well and had misgivings on her sorry fate which was to send her to an unknown, unheard-of town -- Dalat, where a common place job was waiting for her. For a young woman, indeed, being just commonplace is a condition unendurably painful [NASAKENAI].)

(3) Ga, suppun ga urarete ita no ni wa maita. Watsuki wa tsuaraitote naita. Haha wa baiyoyu no hito ga chi o nomo to itta ga, watsuki ni wa sooo omonnakatta. Giri gina abura o ukabare hara ga tsukudeta kamomeki ga, jaobin ni kane no niko o tsusande, poi to kuchi ni hooikobu hanten ga me ni suendo shikata ga nakatta. Koro ga bimbo no n da, higoro wa minai-yoo ni furainai -yo ni shite iru ga, kore ga bimbo no n da. Watsuki wa minami ni gisshu no suhada ni ferite shimatte node aru. Tomodonomono shoburiage, ikite iru no ga NASAKENAKATDA.

[Haata 1974e: 84]

(MT: I was upset that my snapping turtle was sold. I cried because it was painful. My mother said that people who have lung disease would drink its blood, but I didn't think so. I could not help imagining a picture of a rich person, fat with a protruding stomach, elegantly picking at the meat of the turtle and putting it into his mouth. This is poverty, although usually I avoided seeing or touching it, this is poverty. I had touched the rough skin of reality. I could not stop sobbing convulsively and I felt NASAKENAI that I was alive.)

(4) Daisuke: Ware nagara NASAKENAI to omotesumase yo. Otooto no koibito ni no dakara akiramero, akiramakucha ikensai...umobawa hodo suki ni natake ita n desu.

[Miyazaki 1982: 19]

(MT: Daisuke: I admit that I feel NASAKENAI about myself. I have to give her up because she is my younger brother's girlfriend...the more I think I have to give her up, the more I like her.)

(5) Kakeru kotoba wa mitsekaramu
Shite ageru koto ga nani me nai
Tomodachi na nani NASAKENAI ne
[Miyako Shinohara 1997 "Always" by M. Shinohara]

(MT: I cannot find the words to give to you.
There is nothing I could do for you
as a friend of yours. I feel NASAKENAI

(6) Demo, jibun de uguenai kanja-san ga hotondo de aru tame, (jishashuu no watashi wa omuwa no kooran ga) nakasaka umaku ikimasen. Jikan o kakeze, muri na shite de, kore ga kanjusan no koozen de aru koto ga watakute inagura dekinai. Sonna jibun ga honoo ni NASAKENAKU naranimasu.

[Maizuru-shibusawa 1984: 70]

(MT: Since almost all of the patients cannot move by themselves, I as a trainee cannot change their diapers easily. It takes time for me, and I know that I make them maintain a forced posture, which must be painful for them, but I cannot do it quicker. I really feel NASAKENAI about myself.)

(7) Jibun (ni) no ittai dare kara, watashi wa nasagane ga eraeru desu ko. Nanihiko, nasagane ga hitoyoo ni naru no wa masido no koto, sono tabi ni jibun no yowasa o tsukushikari, jibun ga NASAKENAKU naru tachi na n desu.

[Furuk 1994: 116-112]

(MT: From whom except myself can I get comfort? At any rate, I need to have comfort frequently, as I fully realize my weakness each time, I come to feel NASAKENAI about myself.)

(8) Kuroyanagi: (Okusama ga isshukan no ryokou kara) okasi ni nai toki wa honto ni urashikakata desu ka?
Yamashita: Ureshikakata desu no. In e naka no gachagachu ni natteru shi, NASAKENAKU mono desu no. Dakara, sakaitenya ni nai tokei ni shikai ni ittenai to omotesumase.
[Comment by Tetsuko Kuroyanagi and Shinji Yamashita (actor) in TV programme "Tetsuko no Heya" on February 21st, 1997]

(MT: Kuroyanagi: Were you happy when your wife came back home after a one week trip?
Yamashita: I was delighted. It had gotten messy inside the house, and I felt NASAKENAI. Therefore, I think that I must take good care of her so that she will not die before me.)

(9) Watsuki jishin, bekkyoyuwa toku wa tozen, rikon o netaite to shite iru no da ga, haruete kurusa to kare ga toten no yoku mite, saisho no ketsu wa doko e yara. Soko e kare ga dawa de aru koto no hata sasui kara, koo minshiyukan de, yappari wakaretanai to nate shinai.

[Ware-nagara, NASAKENAI ga, doochingu shunshitekko niki ni tsukakeru koto no dekide tashi rashii.

[Shoichiro Koizumi 1996 September: 414]

(MT: Whenever we separate, of course, and I assume that I will divorce him, but as soon as we live separately, he suddenly appears good/desirable and my determination disappears. If he calls me then and whispers sweet words to me, all is forgotten. I come to feel that I cannot separate from him! I admit that I feel NASAKENAI about myself, but I seem to have the kind of character which cannot continue to tenaciously hate somebody.)
In the following two examples NASAKENAI represents words translated from the original English texts.

(11) "Ashinachichi ga koko ni kita no wa, anata no konkyou no tame datta to omou na da dakedo", soo ite Nooma wa, Itaru-ryuugaku no hanashi nado uketsukanakereba yokatta, to onotta. "Sono hanashi wa moo yosoo", to Kaoru wa itta. Kare wa NASAKENAI kimi ni nari, kono kuni ni kita koto de -- sono tame ni Nooma ya kodomo nochi made makoto ni shita koto de, jibun o omotta. Naze subete ga koko waraku bakari yaku no ka, rikai dekeikatta.

[Maenasou 1971: 88-89]


[I<-> E: Time to take a hike, Jane wanted to tell her [Paula], feeling embarrassed by the woman's efficiency. God, is that the kind of person I am? she wondered jealous even of the housekeeper? Scornful of her dedication and concern? "No wonder I'm depressed," she said. "I am a miserable [NASAKENAI] rotten person." [Fielding 1991: 119]

In the above examples NASAKENAI is used when one recognises one's lack of something; such as money as in (1) and (3), sexual attraction as in (2), inability to do something as in (4), (5), (6), (7), (8), (9) and (11), or confidence in one's country or oneself as in (10) and (12) respectively.

The following four are examples where one feels NASAKENAI because one failed to recognise something important.

(13) Reihei ni nante kare kangaemasita. Watashi wa koo yatte chikara datte nan datte tsuitte, dondon seichoushiteiku m onto, watashi no omo ni yasan na ekasen wa dondon otorote iku n da na te bajimete ni mi shikite 'tanjita n deusu. Dooshite motto hayaku kinkashakata n daroo, sooo toki hontoo ni jibun ga NASAKENAI, HAZUKASHIKU narimashita.

[Makihito-shimabukuro 1991: 20]

[MT: I thought about it after I calmed down. I really felt from my heart that, although I am growing up, becoming stronger and so on, my father and mother are becoming weaker and weaker. Why didn't I recognise unit earlier? At that time I really felt NASAKENAI and HAZUKASHII about myself.]

(14) Toshi o toru ni iiare, tascho so kekkon wa kasanaru ni tsuite watashi ni mo jinai ya ningen ni tuite wazoku nagara kirisuru mono ga mo. Waaredo no jinai de ichijiteki ni wa mainasu ni miru Mono (zaasetsu, byoeki, shippai) ni mo kasanaru poresu to naru kanojo ni ari, sono kanojoo o miokuteki gogenkakuro koko no mainasu no ittsuka wa porasu ni tezuru to in koto datu. Naze, sonoo koto ka to owanai ni naru kano sumirenai ga, NASAKENAI ka na, watashi ga kore o jikkan o motsu shita na wo gojusshi ni nante kara datte.

[Endoo 1994: 15-16]

[MT: As I grew older and became more experienced, I understood something about life or human beings, even though it was only a little thing. This was that something which seems to be a minus in our lives (collapses, illnesses, mistakes) always has the potential to become a plus, and if we find and realise that possibility, the minus in the past changes into a plus in the future. "Well, it is 0", some people may laugh. I felt NASAKENAI because I realised this only after I turned fifty.]


[MT: My husband, who runs a bottle shop, is very busy at the end of the year. He often stays overnight at the shop. On that day, too, he said "Tomorrow it seems that I have to stay overnight at the shop", I smiled inside my heart. Thus I don't have to prepare dinner..... "Is that all we do?" I asked. "Why?" I asked. "I thought you would feel lonely...... Involuntarily that word came home to me. I felt NASAKENAI about myself and turned red.]

(16) "Koren no jiken (Sakamoto-san ittka to Taguchi-san no koroshita koto) wa, Ashara no meirei ni moto ni, watashi o toka no deshitche ga yatta koto de su. Benkai no yochi wa animai. Sakamoto-san ittka to Taguchi-san ni wa, shiisanaihiiyo ni mo, monto owasaihii to ka wakarimase. Hontoo ni monshihanenku, sumanai kimiichi de su. Ashara no toku, subete no tamashii no gusai, hirua na seibi o yame mite, shiisanaihiihii. Nido mo shio o faiite made Aashara ni usui itta jibun ga NASAKENAI comimatsu."

[Comment by Okazaki (a member of the Asun religion) in Ewaga "Omu-shiriikyoo" saiban bookan-ka pp. 232-242 in Saki 1998: 236]

1 In Japan people take off their shoes before they enter tatami rooms.
The subject in (13) feels NASAKENAI about herself for not having recognised the ageing of her parents sooner. The subject in (14) describes herself feeling NASAKENAI since he could not recognise an important fact about life for a long time. In (15) the wife feels NASAKENAI about herself in comparison with her husband who really considers her feelings. In (16) a former member of the Aum Cult feels NASAKENAI about himself because he believed and followed a person who ordered him to murder other people.

There are cases where the subject feels NASAKENAI about other people. The following examples connote the subject’s criticism of others’ attitudes, behaviour, or actions.

(17) "Mochihiwake nai. Tsuu no mimi ni haireba, watashi wa taichinashi ite is kara tatakidasu." to Uezuma ga ita, "Taansu, dojji ni koiha kara mo oikosu ko no da." "NASAKENAI wa n de, matsuwa," to Nagomi Yukiko ga tamekoi o tsuku. "Kacho na n desho, chitto wa kaimo shinarai yo." [Akagava 1982: 160]

(MT: “I’m sorry, but if my wife heard about this I’d be driven out of the house,” Uezuma said, “which means I’d be out of the company, too.” “I feel so NASAKENAI about you”, Nagomi Yukiko said. "You’re the section chief, so try and behave like one.”) [Akagawa 1982: 149]

(18) "Kono ko mo, dandan yaku ni tatu-yoo no marishamai yo" to, okasan, watashi no kannabi kimochi, chanto wakatte irassharu toise ni, Imaida-san no kimochi o mukaeru tame ni, sono kudaranai koto o itte, ho ho to wamari. Okasan, sono ni madi shite, konosu Imaida nanka no gojigen toru koto wa, nai n da. Onnakusan to taishite iru toki no okasan wa, okasan ja nai. Tada so yowai ose da. Otosan ga, inakumata kara te, konna ni mo hiiku ni naru mono ka. NASAKENAI nante, nani mo ienakatu. [Dazai 1967: 99]

(J — E: “This child is really getting to be a help around here.” Though she knows perfectly well how awful I feel, she chooses to go along with the Imaidas by saying something silly like that and chuckling away. Mother, there’s no need to go out of your way to stay on the good side of people like this. Mother isn’t Mother when she has guests. She’s just this weak woman.

In example (17), Yukiko says NASAKENAI to the man who cannot do anything without the accord of his wife. In example (18) a schoolgirl describes her mother’s obsequious attitude towards her guests as NASAKENAI. A father in (19) feels NASAKENAI about his own son’s misconduct. The subject in (20) feels NASAKENAI about her female friend who cannot cook.

The explication for the meaning of the subjective use of NASAKENAI can be described as follows:

NASAKENAI — the subjective use

[[Watsashi wa] Y ga NASAKENAI

(I feel NASAKENAI about Y)]

(a) I felt something because I thought something about me/another person Y
(b) sometimes a person thinks about someone

2 When the speaker attaches ‘the past tense suffix’ or ‘some formal evidential markers’ to NASAKENAI, this describes an emotion feeling experienced by other people. Otherwise, the subject (experiencer) of the feeling is always ‘I’ in Japanese.
The subject feels NASAKENAI about him/herself (e.g. examples (1)-(16)) or other people (e.g. examples (17)-(20)) (component (a) "I felt something because I thought something about me/another person Y"). Components (c) "I/Y cannot do something" and (d) "this is bad" imply the subjects' criticism towards the object's inability to do something, being unable to do something important for him/herself or the other person (e.g. having more power, ability, or recognizing of something important). Component (e) "I/Y is not good if I/Y is like this" suggests that the criticism about that unsatisfactory situation. Component (f) "now I cannot think what I can do about this" represent the frustrated feeling when one cannot change the current good state. The resultant feeling is "something bad" (component (g)).

The Attributive Use of NASAKENAI

The examples of the attributive use of NASAKENAI are as follows. Examples (21)-(26) are from original Japanese texts. Example (27) is a Japanese translation from an original English text.

(21) "A national, hotaru-dai no taru ni, Rui Viton da toka Seriini no baggu o katte, sore o hangaku karu sanjukko no ichi kuni de, ko ni uta gokou o tsukute iu o deshou?" Shusute wa soko de fukabuka to tenshi o tsuku. "NASAKENAI hanashi da wa nai, sono jirou ni hikakakaru nante. Douse nara onna to asobu okaze karu motte iroku shi masu ni otoro o erabeba ii ne." [Mori 1989: 28]

(22) Kaitai dango ga kuenai no wa NASAKENAI. Shikashii, jibun no iiwarzake ga tanin ni kokoro o utasiisa no wa, nai NASAKENAI dare. [Natsu 1978: 80]

(J → E: To be unable to eat dango is tragic [NASAKENAI]. But to have one's betrothed change her love to another, would be more tragic [NASAKENAI].) [Natsu 1918: 65]

(23) Ningen, nani ga NASAKENAI te, jibun no shinjitsu ga aite ni tsutawaranai koto hodo NASAKENAI koto wa arimasen. [Miura 1992: 127]

(MT: What is most NASAKENAI for human beings is that we cannot convey the truth about ourselves to others.)

(24) Daiichi, ko tama mono ga oya no onkyuu o aite ni sunyoo dewa, amari ni NASAKENAI de wa nai ka? [Iizaka 1966b: 151]

(B J → E: Isn't it really going too far [NASAKENAI] when a son sets his eye on his own father's pension?)

(25) Mochiron natsu no koto desu kara, sono fujikunshi ya reijouochi mo soo gogoteto to kikazuse itsu hato wa arimasen, ga, koushite kareera to Naomi to o kumibete miru to, shakai no jonsou ni umase na mono to soo de nai mono to no aida ni wa, annowarenai hinkaku no soo ga arun-yoo na ki ga shita no desu. Naomi no kanojo ni lita koto to wa betsuji no yoo ni nari wa shita mono no, uji ya sodachi no warui mono wa yahari doushinsho dama na no ja na ka to, watashi mo soo emo, kanojo jishin no issou sore o kazu ni oshite gai hajime arimasen. Soobite itsumo wa kanjo o hikarai ni misets tokoro no, ano mosurin no budo no moyoo no tanegomoo ga, maan somotoki wa donna ni NASAKENAI mieta koto deshoo. [Tanizaki 1947: 53]


(J → E: The dog barked fiercely at Dr. N. Alarmed, the doctor turned and fled, but the robot made no attempt to come to his rescue. In fact, far from helping, it simply ran away with him. The friend watched all this from a concealed spot. "What a wretched [NASAKENAI] thing! It's really useless.") [Hoshii 1986: 72-73]

3 Japanese sweets.
The mother-in-law in sentence (21) criticises her son's wife as NASAKENAI saying she cannot have an affair with a man who cannot even pay for their dates. In example (22) the author states his colleague's inability to stop his fiancée's change of heart as NASAKENAI. In example (23) the subject's inability to convey the truth about themselves to others is stated as most NASAKENAI for human beings. In example (24) the subject criticises a son who cannot live unless he depends on his own father's pension as NASAKENAI. In (25) the author describes his girlfriend's lack of grace in her dressing as NASAKENAI compared to the fashionable dress of people born to the higher classes of society. In (26) the subject feels NASAKENAI about a useless robot.

In the example (27) the subject describes the state where she could not conduct her love affair openly because of the concern of her husband as NASAKENAI.

The meaning of the attributive use of NASAKENAI (1) can be explicated as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{NASAKENAI} & \quad \text{the attributive use} \quad \mathbf{(Y_{\text{Wa}} \text{NASAKENAI}}) \quad \text{('Y_{\text{people in general feel}} Y \text{is NASAKENAI}}) \\
(1) & \quad \text{I want to say something about me/another person } Y \\
(2) & \quad \text{a person thinks about someone:} \\
(3) & \quad \text{Y/} Y \text{not good if } Y/ Y \text{ is like this} \\
(4) & \quad \text{when this person thinks this, this person feels something bad} \\
(5) & \quad \text{I say: other people can feel like this when they think about me/} Y
\end{align*}
\]

10.11.2. KANASHII

There are two Chinese characters which are used for the single word KANASHII; (1) 悲しい and (2) 落しこ. Each word has different connotation. Therefore, I will posit the polysemy for KANASHII: KANASHII 悲しい<1> and KANASHII 落しこ<2>.

KANASHII <2> is a more bookish, rather than conversational, expression. Also, KANASHII <2> has a more objective connotation than KANASHII <1>. The following example demonstrates that KANASHII <1> is used for describing something's instantaneous subjective feeling.

Oida: Kyookchu na no wa funagi na mom da to onou a da kurerodo, tonikaku tokkoo no meirei ga deta to desu. Shinasuji shite kamutakuenoto misaka inai ni wa shi isake desu yo. Kangasete miru to shusgrayokumitei to itta toki ni, dokit to mo shinakatta. Kore wa yappari kyoochu deshou ne. Jibun ga nijusai, ni juusai made ikiraren to wa omotenai desu kara, zen'in ga.

Sawa: Wat, KANASHII.....

[Toshio Oida (jazz singer) & Tamaki Sawa (actor) "Talking Party" in Mfin 1994 March: 35]

MT: Oida: I think that education has a strange power, but that thought came after I was given the order to go on a suicide attack. You will die within at least three days. If I think about it, I didn't even feel shocked when I was given the order. That was the effect of education after all. Nobody thought that they could live to 20 or 21 years of age.

Sawa: Oh, KANASHII<1> 悲しい<1> is used for describing instantaneous subjective feeling.

The subject in the above example expresses her own subjective feeling by using word KANASHII <1>. Education in Japan during World War I & II made the Japanese people believe they could not live to 20 or 21 years of age. KANASHII <2> cannot be used for the instantaneous emotion word, uttered by the subject when she is told about this fact, as seen in the context of the example above, since KANASHII <2> refers to a relatively objective feeling.

Minami (1971: 49) claims that the Japanese have a rich vocabulary for expressing the absence of happiness: "fukoo (unhappiness)", "kuroo (hardship)", and "nangii (difficulty)", and modifiers such as "KANASHII (sorrowful)", "aware na (pitiful)", and
"sabishii (lonely)". Minami further says that when the words used in Japanese popular songs are analysed, the most frequently used even in the post-war period, is the noun "namida (tears)", the verb form "naku (cry)", and the adjective form "KANASHII (sorrowful)", "setsunai (distressing)", "natsukashii (dear)", and "sabishii (lonesome)" (cf. Minami 1974: 59). Minami (1971: 49) concludes that "Popular songs, appealing to the taste of Japan's masses, in many cases express a state of unhappiness rather than happiness" (cf also Nakano 1982: 300).

Misawa (n.d.: 229) also says that 70 or 80 percent of Japanese popular songs include 'crying' or 'shedding tears'. Mita's (1992: 95) comments are worth considering: "It is a truism among the Japanese that songs about sadness or lingering attachment or homesickness or impermanence are not sung in order to divert the mind or to fortify. Their larger function is to deepen the feelings all the more by purifying, intensifying and objectifying them, and thus plumb the depth of the abyss and stay the trembling of the soul". Yoshihara (1992: 8) says that 'Enka (Japanese ballad)' are the songs of KANASHII feelings. Japanese people favour plaintive songs. Indeed, the words KANASHII in 'enka' are more often described with 薄しい rather than 悲しい.

10.(II.2.1). KANASHII <1> 悲しい

Firstly, we will deal with KANASHII <1>. KANASHII <1> occurs in two syntactic frames: as the subjective use "(Watashi wa) [Y ga] KANASHII <1> (O feel KANASHII <1> [about Y])" and as the attributive use "Y wa KANASHII <1> (people in general feel) Y is KANASHII <1>". Kurosawa (1994: 23) points out that this word KANASHII <1> originally meant a feeling so keen that it produces a physical sensation which squeezes one's chest. This was used not only for the feeling of sorrow, but also for feelings of affection towards a lover or children (also Iwabuchi 1985: 64-65; Satoo 1976: 113; Sugimoto 1963: 69). Kawashima and Amamoto (1993: 45) say that KANASHII <1> came to be used in a more limited way to express the feeling of sorrow only from the Middle Ages (1192-1603 A.D.).

The Subjective Use of KANASHII <1> 悲しい

Hirose and Shooji (1994: 213) say that KANASHII <1> is used to "show sadness or sorrow due to a disappointing or regrettable situation" as seen in examples (1) to (4) below, or used "to indicate feelings of depression or heartbreak" as seen in examples (5) to (7) below.

The following (1)-(4) are examples where the subjective use of KANASHII <1> appeared in the original Japanese text:

(1) "Atashi wa una naka tsumetemosan wa. Tsuchiroo san ga atashi o wakatte kudesaremasai deke desu wa. Honshin ga dokoro ni aru no ka, toke o kakehiro irasshara wa wa, Tsuchiroo san ja arimasen no? KANASHII wa." [Kawahara 1961: 180-1]
(J->E: "I'm not lying -- you simply refuse to understand me! Aren't you the one who's hiding your thoughts? That's why I'm unhappy."
[Kawahara 1975: 157]

(J->E: He (Mr. Kobayashi) looked as if he had been crying. "Yasukichi-chan's dead," he said slowly. "We're all going to his funeral today." Then he went on, "You all liked Yasukichi-chan, I know. It's a great shame. I feel terribly sad."
[Kuroyanagi 1992: 169]

(3) Kobayashi sensei no shite mo, kono Tomoe gaken no hajimeru ma ni, min na no nannen no koto n desu. Kehi-yōshi, kezen na mono to shite gakkou o hajimeru no ga showara, 12 nen. Yaketa no ga, 20 nen desu kara hontou ni mijikai kikan desu. Demo, watashi no to kono wa, sensei no tote, monomo joonetu ga tsureyaka, sensei no yuraito koto ga karahara shukan data-yoo de, tomo ren, kofusui da to omninisu. Demo, sensoo sae sakareba, donna ni takusan no seiro ga, Kobayashi sensei no to naka kara yo no naka ni deite ita ka, to nomou to, momtani, to KANASHII kimocho de igai desu. [Kuroyanagi 1981: 207-208]
(J->E: It took Mr. Kobayashi years and years of study before starting Tomoe in 1937 and it turned out in 1945, so it's existence was very brief. I like to believe that the period I was there was when Mr. Kobayashi's enthusiasm was at its height and his schemes in full flower, but when I think how many children could have come under his care had there been no war, I am saddened [have KANASHII feelings] at the waste.
[Kuroyanagi 1992: 191]
In example (1) the woman feels KANASHII because of a communication gap. The school master in example (2) expresses his feeling of KANASHII on the death of his student. The subject in (3) says she feels KANASHII about the loss of an excellent elementary school she had attended. Keiko in example (4) says that she feels KANASHII to think that she will no longer be complimented when she gets older.

The following three are examples where the Japanese word KANASHII <1> is given in Japanese translations of English texts.

(5) KANASHII: Ue doo shiramii ka wakaranai
Ichinichi kimi no koto kari omote iru yo
Kimi o ikashite shimatta no wa mitsukai datte ne
Datte ima ka hiru mo yoru mo
kimi no koto de hitan ni korete iru o dake
[Henry Creamer & James P. Johnson “If I could be with you” in Murao 1991 Vol. 3: 137]

(6) "...(.) Nannen no me, mada zuibun waikai koto no koto, nojoo kara Ryusuke no maschi yoko de ga, Sairestu eiga no “Fausato” o mita koto ga aara. Eiga no naka de Gueeken yoku o shita josei ga shihenzenai hodo utusukushiku, washi ni foki kanaani ni nita. (....) Washi wa sono e o ga o jumanai koto to mita. Kanojo ga toshou wakakute kanaattara. -- Haisetsu dattes omen ya, soso kita toki hikoku KANASHII kimochi ni natte shimate ne."
[Stryon 1983: 42-43]

(7) Omoeba KANASHII wa yo ne
Watashinshi ga moe dame nante
Soshite taizai ni gomaku koto sura
Deinai no toko made kate shimatta
[James D. Weatherly “Neither of us” 1971 by BIBO MUSIC PUBLISHERS in Kawasaki 1995: 69]

(B (杰<-E): It’s sad [KANASHII] to think
We’re not gonna make it
And it’s gotten to the point
Where we just can’t fake it)

The subject in (5) cannot help feeling KANASHII after parting from a girl he liked. In example (6) the subject felt KANASHII when he heard the news about the death of his favourite actress. The subject in (7) feels KANASHII about the break-up of a relationship.

I propose the following explication of the subjective use of KANASHII <1>:

KANASHII <1> 悲しい--- the subjective use
[(Watashi wa) [Y ga] KANASHII <1>
(1) feel KANASHII <1> [about Y]]

(a) I felt something [because I the... hit something Y (about something/someone)]
(b) sometimes a person thinks:
(c) “something bad happened”
(d) I don’t want this
(e) because of this, I would want to do something if I could
(f) I cannot do anything"
(g) when this person thinks this, this person feels something bad
(h) I felt something like this
(i) [because I thought something like this about Y]

Like TANOSHII in Chapter 7, KANASHII <1> does not always require a thought (component (a) "I felt something [because I thought something Y (about something/someone)]") and component (b) "I felt something like this" followed by an optional component (i) "[because I thought something like this about Y]". For instance, it would be natural to say "Watashi wa kyoo naze KANASHII <1> [I feel KANASHII (1)], this describes an emotion feeling experienced by other people. Otherwise, the subject (experiences) of the feeling is always "I" in Japanese.

4 When the speaker attaches the past tense suffix or ‘some formal evidential markers’ to KANASHII (1), this describes an emotion feeling experienced by other people. Otherwise, the subject (experiences) of the feeling is always "I" in Japanese.
(8) Akiyama: Ma, Nihon no modoru nashi to ia, soo ita KANASHII nyanusu dake wa kihakushu urimasesa kara, nan to shite mo kore Hatakeya ni gambatte morawanakereba narimasen. Gushiken: Soo desu nee.

KANASHII <1> in its subject use cannot be "someone". For example, we could not say ""(Wataishi wa) an ga KANASHII <1> (* I feel KANASHII <1> about my elder brother)", while we could say "(Wataishi wa) an no shi ga KANASHII <1> ((I) feel KANASHII <1> about the death of my elder brother)". Thus, the object of the 'thinking' complement in component (a) cannot be human, "I felt something [because I thought about "someone Y"]", but should be "something" ((a) "I felt something [because I thought something Y (about something/someone)"").

The happening of some bad thing does not necessarily occur to the subject him/herself. For instance, in example (2) in this section, something bad happened to the subject's student, who passed away. Therefore, the object of the bad happening in KANASHII <1> is impersonal (component (c) "something bad happened "TO ME") (c.f. also example (3) and (6) in this section).

The component (d) "I don't want this" signals one's desire that the cause of the KANASHII <1> feeling not happen. The imaginary impulse to do something (component (e) "because of this, I would want to do something if I could"). combined with a feeling of helplessness (component (f) "I cannot do anything") implies something like acceptance and resignation. The resultant feeling is "something bad" (component (g)).

The Attributive Use of KANASHII <1> さしい

The following (8)-(11) are examples where KANASHII <1> is used attributively. Example (8) is from an original Japanese text, and examples (9) to (11) are Japanese translations of English texts in which KANASHII <1> is used.

(8) [Akiyama and Y. Gushiken on the TV programme "Atlanta Olympic: gymnastics: -Men's Final" July 29th, 1996]

(MT: Akiyama: Well, since we don't want to hear only KANASHII news, like that Japan hasn't won any medals, we want Mr Hatakeya to do his best no matter what.
Gushiken: Yes, that's true.)

(9) Kuchi ni iwareta ni seyo kami ni kakareta ni seyo, subete no KANASHII kotoba no uchi de, mo tomo KANASHII mono wa sugi no kotoba da. - "...data kamo shirenai sono."

(J.G. Whiteir, 1986: 234)

(B) (E): For all of all and [KANASHII] words of tongue or pen, The saddest [What is most KANASHII] are these: 'It might have been'!

In the above example (8) the TV producer Akiyama says he wanted an Olympic athlete to do his best so that the Japanese audience will not feel KANASHII. The subject in (9) says the phrase "It might have been" is what makes the people in general feel KANASHII <1>.

In two examples below, the pictures in (10), and the country in (11) are something which make people in general feel KANASHII <1>.

(10) [Morgan 1992 Vol.: 60]

(J < E: One day, Mum asked me why I always drew sad [KANASHII] things. I hadn't realised until then that my drawings are sad [KANASHII].)

(11) "Tokorode, sakuya, Panama unga o kaeshita no." 
"Es, shittetsu. Wataishi wa syussei ni unzuresu yo. Komori kuni wa KANASHII kuni desu yo. Minna ga, wataishitchi o konkimawasi n desu kara ne." 
"Kimi wa Seirinma kara to o hiku koto o nozonde ina." 
"Ame no KANASHII koto deshita yo."

[Udpike 1992 Vol. 2: 85]

(J < E: "And they gave the old Canal back last night." "Yeah, I got sick of the news. This country is sad [KANASHII], everybody can push us around." "You were the guy wanted to get out of Vietnam." "That was sad [KANASHII], too.")

[Udpike: 1981: 251]

The meaning of the attributive use of KANASHII <1> is explicated as follows:
We should note, unlike the complement Y "something" in the subjective use of KANASHII <1> (I feel KANASHII <1> [about Y]), Y in the attributive use of KANASHII <1> (People in general feel) Y is KANASHII <1> is not restricted to "something", but it could be also "someone". For example, we could say "jibun no kazoku de sae shinjirarenai ano otoko wa KAWAISO da ((People in general feel) that man, who cannot trust even his own family, is KAWAISO). In this case the object Y of the attributive use KANASHII <1> sentence is "someone". Therefore, the component (a) in the attributive use of KANASHII should be "I want to say something about something/someone Y". When KANASHII <1> is used attributively, it often functions as a noun modifier (e.g. "Kare wa KANASHII <1> otoko da (lit. He is a KANASHII <1> man [He is a man who makes people in general feel KANASHII <1> about him])."

It may be worth examining, in passing, the usage of MONO-GANASHII, which is derived from KANASHII <1> by the addition of 'mono-' prefix. Akatsuka (1974: 44) says this 'mono-' refers to one's 'soul', while Kawashima and Amamori (1993:132) also say 'mono-' refers to one's 'heart'. Kurosawa (1994: 127-128) mentions that this prefix 'mono-' adds the meaning of 'somehow' or 'without reason'; MONO-GANASHII can be used for referring to a 'sad' feeling "without specific reason" as in "MONO-GANASHII merodii (a melody which somehow makes us feel MONO-

GANASHII)" or "Aki ni nande nantotaku MONO-GANASHII (I feel somehow MONO-GANASHII in autumn, I don't know why)".

Other examples of where MONO-GANASHII is used as follow. Examples (12) and (13) are from original Japanese texts. Example (14) is a Japanese translation of an English text where 'sad' is translated as MONO-GANASHII.

(12) | Ima ni mo sabitsuki-oo na MONO-GANASHII niiryo-hensei no kooga-denasha o oriru to, man ni saiko ni natsukashii kosa no niio ga hana o tsuita. Zutto mukashi no pikuniku no niio da. |
| [Murakami 1990b: 123] |
| (-> E: Stepping down from the rony MONO-GANASHII two-car local train that seemed ready to mut up any minute, the very first thing to hit me was the familiar smell of open Grassy spaces. The smell of panties way back when.) |
| [Murakami 1985: 110-111] |

(13) | Rippa na hana o motte iku wake de wa nai ga, watashi wa niio ni kokoro o ugokasareru koto ga ooi. Osanai koro no onoi de mo, niio ni musubitsuita mono da ga, ibochan kanazoe teki de, MONO-GANASHII. |
| (MT: Although I don't have a superb nose, my heart is often moved by scents. Among my childhood memories, those that are connected with smell are the most voluptuous and MONO-GANASHII.) |

(14) | Boku ga shizen de matome na kanjoo o (daku hi) ga yatteki shimatta to shitara shokoku no amatari buka wa kitto umi ni tebikonde shimasu koto daroo. Sohitte resha ga tonotsugiu aku toki ni tateru kibiki wa nanto nezu MONO-GANASHII. |
| (B [-> E]: And if the day came when I felt a natural emotion I'd get a such a shock I'd probably jump in the ocean. |
| And when a train goes by |
| It's such a sad MONO-GANASHII thing) |

This word MONO-GANASHII cannot be used to describe deep emotion, such as in "Oya ga shinde KANASHII*MONO-GANASHII (I feel KANASHII*MONO-GANASHII since my parent passed away)" or "Shin'yuu ni uragariete KANASHII*MONO-GANASHII (I feel KANASHII*MONO-GANASHII since I was..."
betrayed by my best friend), because of the meaning of MONO- (somehow/without reason).

10.(II).2.2. KANASHII <2> 哀しい

The following are examples of where KANASHII <2> 哀しい is used. Unlike KANASHII <1> 悲しい, KANASHII <2> has only the attributive use.

In all examples (1)-(7) below, KANASHII <2> is used attributively. The subject in example (1) thinks it is a KANASHII <2> fact [a fact that makes people in general feel KANASHII <2>] that a couple who marry for the second time make an enormous effort so that they won't repeat the same mistakes of their previous marriages. She feels that this is unnatural.

(1) Yuijin kaede kanashi da ga, saikōshita fuufu ga maa no kekkon no shippai o kurikaesanai yoo ni, kondo wa kawa no jikan mo tanpuri totte, eiga nado ni mo shitsoto ni mimo utu-yoo ni dorokyokushite iru to iu. Nani demo karede de, mata KANASHII <2> to iu koto o kanji ni wa irarenai. Ittena da na na wa omou ga, karaette hontou ni sore de umakou iku no ka doko wa gimon da. Mushiko so no kankei de tsukkata, koibito dooshi no mama de betsubetsu ni karaeta, aizai to omou kinoschi o tsaietu ni nhite iro ga ni no de wa nai no darou ka.

[Tokuda 1996: 154]

(MT: It is a story I heard from a friend, but I heard that a couple who married for the second time made an effort not to repeat the mistakes of their previous marriages, by taking plenty of time for conversation, or going to see movies together. It is quite praiseworthy, but I also cannot help feeling that is a KANASHII <2> thing. Although I think it is a good story, it is questionable whether things will go well like that in reality. Rather than that, is it not better that they live separately as lovers and value their feelings of wanting to meet each other if they want to keep a good relationship?)

In example (2) Hayashi describes the death of a very talented person as a KANASHII (2) thing [a thing which makes people in general feel KANASHII (2)].

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5 The Russian word ‘tezka’ is also an emotion word which arises without reason, but it can be very deep (Anita Wenzlicka: personal communication).
We should note that this KANASHI <2> emotion, as illustrated in all examples (1) - (7) in this section, is a more objective feeling than that of KANASHI <1>. The subjects in these examples put some psychological distance between themselves and the objects towards which they feel KANASHI <2>. Example (8) below also illustrates this point. Here, KANASHI <2>, not KANASHI <1>, should be used, because in this context the subject is describing a fact objectively; a certain innate disposition of human beings is a KANASHI <2> thing (a certain innate disposition of human being is a thing which makes people in general feel KANASHI <2>).

I will tentatively explicate the meaning of KANASHI <2> as follows:

KANASHI <2> 侘しい---the attributive use
[Y wa KANASHI <2> (people in general feel Y) is KANASHI<2>]

(a) I want to say something about something/someone Y
(b) sometimes a person thinks for some time:
(c) "something bad has been happening"
(d) I don't want this
(e) because of this, I would do something if I could
(f) I cannot do anything
(g) I think other people will think the same"
(h) when this person thinks this, this person feels something bad
(i) I say: other people can feel like this when they think about Y

We will summarise here exactly how KANASHI <2> 侘しい is different from KANASHI <1> 侘しい. Firstly, whereas KANASHI <1> has two uses (the subjective use, the attributive use), KANASHI <2> has only the attributive use. Secondly, the attributive use of KANASHI <2> has its roots in the past, and the bad situation has been continuously on-going for a certain time (cf. comparison between component (b) "sometimes a person thinks for some time" in KANASHI <2> and (b) "sometimes a person thinks" in KANASHI <1>); as well as comparison between component (c) "something bad has been happening" in KANASHI <2> and (b) "something bad happened" in KANASHI <1>). The subject of both KANASHI <1>
and KANASHII <2> wants the bad thing not to happen (component (d) "I don't want this"). The imaginary impulse to do something in order to change the situation (component (e) "because of this, I would want to do something if I could do") in KANASHII <2> is weaker than that of KANASHII <1> ("because of this, I would want to do something if I could"). Both KANASHII <1> and KANASHII <2> imply a feeling of helplessness (component (f) "I cannot do anything"). Lastly, KANASHII <2> can never be used to describe an instantaneous or spontaneous subjective teary feeling as seen in the phrase "Wat, *KANASHII <2>! (Oh, I feel * KANASHII <2>!)". For such a subjective feeling, KANASHII <1> should be used instead. Because of the objective character of KANASHII <2>, the component (g) "I think other people will think the same" will be required for its meaning. This objective connotation is linked to the connotation of 'something like acceptance or resignation of the fact' in KANASHII <2> feeling. Moreover, KANASHII <2> is more bookish, and carries the connotation of something along the lines of 'pathos'.

10.(II).3. TSURAI

Hida and Asada (1996: 154) say that while both KANASHII and TSURAI refer to mental suffering, TSURAI covers a wider range of usage than KANASHII. TSURAI is used to refer to intolerable psychological pain (Morita 1993: 749).6 As seen in the following examples (1) - (3), the psychologically painful TSURAI feeling can be caused by physical pain.7 Examples (1) and (2) are from original Japanese texts. Example (3) is the Japanese translation of an original English text where physically 'hard' work is translated as work which made the subject feel TSURAI.

(1) Goho ghoto. Seiki ga tomaranai. TSURAI yoo. [Yoshida 1991: 60]
(B [J--E]: Cough--cough! I can't stop coughing. This is terrible!)

(2) Demo, nanette TSURAI no wa sa hayaku okiru koto da na. TSURAI nas. ... Okine, fuku o kigara teki... Hontoo ni are, deo shiyoo mo nai yo ne... Nemukute, samukute... [Abe 1970: 641]
(J --E: There's no two ways about it--getting up early is a pain in the neck! TSURAI. I mean it... (...) It's getting up, putting on my clothes... There's nothing worse than this...Sleeping and cold...)

(3) Kookoku ni detari, fuujin-fuku-ten o mawatte kore wa otsu tomari. Ichinin ni rokka kara hakai no shoo o komi no wa, hontoo ni TSURAI shigoto desita. Watashi wa sare o ichin tenbo tsukui no dosu. [Gross 1995: 196]
(J --E: I'd go around to all the fashion houses and do their collections. Commercial, the low end of the market. Really hard TSURAI work, six or eight shows a day. I did that for about a year.)

(1) TOP TSURAI quot. to feel /TOP TSURAI feel SUB do
(lit. I feel TSURAI)

[English] I feel * HARD. / I have a * HARD feeling.

6 Izumi (1963: 282) mentions that the meaning of TSURAI has changed historically. In the Heian era (792-1192 A.D.) the use of TSURAI (an archaic form of TSURAI) was restricted to referring to one's feeling of suffering caused by the cruel attitude of the person whom one loves.

7 Hida and Asada (1996: 368) mention that TSURAI is not used to describe physically painful feelings such as:
Take sugite i ga * TSURAI. (I feel *TSURAI in my arm since I ate too much.)
Although one can say he/she feels TSURAI or "has a TSURAI feeling" in Japanese, in English one would not say one "feels HARD" or "has a HARD feeling".

Sometime, however, an emotion word is used for the translation for TSURAI. For instance, in the following example, the emotion word 'exercising' is given for the translation of TSURAI:

(4) Tada, hoka wa nessem ni, bokku ga sono hito no okusan ni kogarete, uroroshite, TSURAKATA so to koto dake o shitte itadaita ii no desu. Dakara, nessem wa sore o shite mo, benrudan, dveka ni sono koto o uttate, otsukimono no seimon no onoi o togeresante yara to ka nann to ka, sonna Lya no okeki no naoru hinozyo wa zettai ni nai no desu shi, nessem otoori dake ga shitte, sosshite, kouzori, asa, soo ka, to omotte fusashi sain ni sore de ii n desu. Nao mata yoku o ieba, konna tokei o hanzashii kokedaku ni yotte, semete nesan dake demo, bokku no kore made no iito ni no hurushita o, sara ni fukaku wakatte kodastara, toteme bokku wa urushiku omoinas a.
[Daai 1979: 111]
(1) - E: I only would like you to know how exercising [TSURAI] it was for me to spend my time in fruitless yearning for his wife. That is all. But now that you know, there is absolutely no necessity for you to play the busybody by informing anyone in the hopes of "winning recognition" of the love your brother bore when he was alive, or any such thing. It is quite sufficient if just you know it and are kind enough to murmur to yourself, "Was that what happened?" And, to voice one more hope, I should be very happy if this shameless confession of mine made at least you, if no one else, understand better the sufferings I have gone through.
[Daai 1956: 178-179]

And the emotion English word 'sorry' is translated as TSURAI in Japanese in the following example:

(5) "Jenni san wa" shi ga chikai n desu. 
"Misaka." Boku wa ima. 
Ima no wa warari jookun desu ga, to isha ga soo su no o bokku wa mame ita. 
"Hontoo desu, Oribasan." Kure wa ima. "Konna koto o hanashii shikanereba naranai to isu no wa, toteme TSURAI n desu ga." 
[Segal 1994: 160]
(1) - E: "She (Jenny) is dying." 
"That's impossible," I said. And I waited for the doctor to tell me that it was all a grim joke. 
"She is, Oliver," he said. "I am very sorry [TSURAI] to have to tell you this." 
[Segal 1977: 107] 

However, as seen in the numerous examples below, non-emotion words, such as 'hard', are usually used for the English word corresponding to the Japanese emotion word TSURAI.

(6) Takusan no Abojiinaru ga kubi ya te ni kusaari o makakette, kiekiu no stto o moito iku no o mita koto ga aru. (...) Aa, mattaku sono koto wa, nashita kirombo no wa TSURAI koto bakkari datta na. 

(1) - E: I remember seeing native people all chained up around the neck and hands, walkin' behind a policeman. (...) Aah, things was hard [TSURAI] for the black fellas in those days.
[Morgan 1987: 181]

(7) "Sanjuki ni nara so wa, nani yori TSURAI tanen dshita. Moderu to shite no saisaiki de, hoka no koto o suru jumbi wa nawi mo shite imasendeshita shi, nakorri no jissei wa ima no yoo na waake ni ikami ni totsizen kizuita no desu. Mono no mitsukar gakakari kawarinashita yo. Yoyaku, jushita moderu o yomemakereba naranai to asotemashita." 

(1) - E: Turning thirty, that was the hardest [more TSURAI than anything] part. I was really at the peak of my career. I was not really prepared to do something else. Suddenly I realized it's not going to be like this the rest of my life. My whole way of seeing things changed. Finally I knew I had to quit one day.)

(8) "Tsurai daroo na, Dadoo...ono...Mama ga inokunata kara..." Orivas ga unukku. Mamako ni tobiki kotocha mo amari nakatta. Dare ni totte mo TSURAI no da. 
[Steel 1994: 113]

(1) - E: "It must be hard [TSURAI] on you, Dad... I mean... with Mom gone." Oliver nodded. There wasn't much he could say to him. It was hard [TSURAI] on all of them.
[Steel 1989: 80]

The literal meaning of the expression 'TSURAI omoi o suru' as seen in the following examples is 'to have a TSURAI feeling'. In all examples below, this phrase is given for the Japanese translation of original English texts. Here, too, non-emotion words, such as 'hard', 'bad', or 'bitter' are translated into TSURAI.

(9) "Demos, nesan wa watashi ni hanbun mo TSURAI omoi o shite ya shinai yo, arochaa yooji o hitakete doma koto shitsu ki ni irikesshi so yokamashita no uraui obasana to nanjikan mo isso ni iran, asta doma ki ga suru daroo, mado kare nigotssu ka, yokotssuru demo harisakereba yaritori kunsu funi nara yo." 
[Alcott 1995 Vol. 1: 9]

(1) - E: "You don't have half such a hard time [TSURAI feeling] as I do," said Jo. "How would you like to be shut up for hours with a nervous, fussy old lady, who keeps you trotting,
is never satisfied, and worries you till you're really ready to fly out of the window or cry?"
[Alcott 1967: 4]

(10) "Anata wa Rasshi ni zuibun TSURAI omen o sasete kita wa" to Sarari wa iu.
"Kimino tama ni shita koto de yo." 
"Iie, watashi wa soo wa omotte imai. Anata wa gojitsu de shinkatsu kara, soo nasatta made yo. Datte, anata no tame ni, watashi mo zuibun TSURAI omen o shite kita wa." 
[Updike 1988: 446]

(10) "You've given her a pretty bad [TSURAI] time," Sally said.
"I did for you."
"No, I don't think so. You did it because you like doing it. You've given me a pretty bad [TSURAI] time, too." 
[Updike 1977: 331]

(11) Purinuton e hairo made, omae wa Yudayain da toka, hoka no ningen to wa chigau no da to
kanjirassareta koto wa izaihi mo nakatta. Tokoroga daigaku de wa, chomushio, hokoku
saschi na seiren dasshi node, Yudayain to zu koto de, zuibun TSURAI omen o shita.
[Hemingway 1972: 6]

(11) E: No one had even made him feel he was a Jew, and hence any different from anybody
else, until he went to Princeton. He was a nice boy, a friendly boy, and very shy, and it made
him bitter [TSURAI].
[Hemingway 1961: 11-2]

(12) Biru ga shinda ato, inashii wa medatsuri-yoo ni shita. Gunisii wa nanjiin demo tooru kara
ne. Atashi wa doo mite no Aboririinu sa. Dakura ki to tonakiaiya nanakata.
"Kodomotochi ni wa irudjin tee o yo." Atashi wa ito yo.
"Ano koi ni wa TSURAI omen o sasetsukai daro." 
[Morgan 1992 Vol. 7: 296]

(12) E: I tried to stay out the way after Bill died. Gladiee could pass for anything. You
only had to look at me to see I was a native. We had to be careful. "Tell them they're Indian," I
told her. "You didn't want them feeling bad at our eating."
[Morgan 1987: 348]

(13) Otsara, kareji de atashi ga TSURAI omen o shimasu no wa, gakka de wa arimasen no.
Atashi wa asobi-jikan ga TSURAI no yo. Mina no ohanashihitotena koto ga, nan no koto yara,
suppuri atashi ni wakaranai o desu mono. Ano hitotsu no in jodan wa, atashi yori hoka no
sute wa dare demo shitteru kake no deko tomo no numa ga aru-rashii de desu. Atashi wa marude
koto sekai ni okeru ii osho ni mirai desu. Mina no itteru kotoha ga, wakaranai o desu mono.
Nassatori kimochi ga shimasu wa. Mae kara koo ni kimochi wa shihou arimasu. Atashi ga
mada jogakkou no in koto wa, ito no mina ga achi kochii ni katanai, atashi o koto no itto
nagameta mono desu. Atashi wa, henchiribi no yosou o shite, mina to chigatteimashita shi,
imina no sore ni wa ki ga tsuite imashita. Atashi wa, jibun no koo ni, 'Sou Gwair kocchi' no
kakurete aru no o, hokku kajiri koto ga dokimashita.
[Webster 1950: 38-39]

(13) E: You know, Daddy, it isn't the work that is going to be hard [TSURAI] in college.
It's the play. Half the time I don't know what the girls are talking about; their jokes seem to
relate to a past that every one but me has shared. I am a foreigner in the world and I don't
understand the language. It's a miserable feeling. I've had it all my life. At the high school
the girls would stand in groups and just look at me. I was queer and different and everybody
knew it. I could feel "John Grier Home" written on my face.
[Webster 1915: 36]

Why is a Japanese emotion word TSURAI translated into a non-emotion word in English, and why is a non-emotion English word such as 'hard' or 'bad' translated into
the emotion word TSURAI in Japanese? Does that mean that English-speaking people
feel more resistance to expressing their feelings of psychosocial suffering with an
emotion word than Japanese people do? Or may English-speaking people not be aware of
emotional links in the concept? 'Hard' in English means 'difficult to cope with' in
colloquial use. It is an admission that the sufferer is having a tough time, but does not
provide any detail, or show weakness by adding the connotation that the person won't be
able to meet that challenge.

At present I am not totally competent to discuss this question . Compared with
Western countries, in Japan, people need not hesitate to openly express their painful
feeling with the emotion word TSURAI. As we can see in the following example (14),
when the speaker says TSURAI, he means not the physical 'hardness' but more an
emotional sense of 'hardness'. In Japan, situations often occur like the one below,
where another person tries to share the other person's TSURAI emotion, often occurs.

(14) Masuzo:... (Haha ga) danan otoroeru na to iu no o mite iku no wa, hijoo ni miteru desu no.
Hashimoto: TSURAI desu ne.
Masuzo: TSURAI desu.
Hashimoto: Tairyoku-teki ni ochite iku no ga wakaranai kara na.
[Yooshibi Masuzo (international student)] & Ryoataro Hashimoto (previous Prime Minister)
"Itashi hha no kaigo o katare" pp. 32-43 in Chusso Koaron 1994 April: 34-35

(MT: Masuzo: ... It is really hard to see that (my mother) is becoming weak.
Hashimoto: It is a thing which makes you feel TSURAI, isn't it?
Masuzo: Yes, I feel TSURAI.
Hashimoto: Especially because you can see the strength of her body is declining...

However, this issue if of interest and calls for the future consideration.

Other examples of the subjective use of TSURAI are as follows:

(15) Mutoo: Nishi-Doitsu, tanshikata? Yumi: Ima omoeba tanshiketa. Iya, tanshiketa to omoeba-yoo ni natu. Tooji wa... yahari TSURAKATA. Soo da yo, yappuri TSURAKATA.
[Mutoo 1994: 188]

(MT: Mutoo: Did you enjoy West Germany?

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Yumi: When I think of it now, I did. No, I am able to think I did. Of course at the
time, I felt TSURAL. Yes, I felt TSURAL.

(16) Choodo ichinen me, watashi wa shufu no furin no shusai o shite, KOI de kodoku kan irobo no tsuna ni ate ita. Shikasho KOI wa ate ga ate dekira koto. Sonna ate ga mita koto, mi o yoseta toki wa ii. Keredo, sono hanaco mo susumajikute, onyoo ni zenai to, "SABISHIKUN TSURAL".
[Hiroko Nohara (free-lance writer) in AER 1998 May 7: 41]

(MT: Exactly one year ago, when I was collecting data on housewives' adultery, I saw a lot of wives who had affairs in order to heal their loneliness with KOI. But they could have KOI only when they had a partner. It is good when they find such a partner to be with. However, the reaction is dreadful; when they cannot see their partners as they wish they feel "SABISHIKUN TSURAL").

(17) Naitoo: Ko no wa tazohitai mono ka?
Hayashi: Hitot de yastere kara, TSURAL desu yo. Urenakattairisu to ochikominasu shi....
[Takeshi Naitoo (actor) & Mariko Hayashi (writer) in Shukan Asahi 1998 Feb. 20th: 46]

(MT: Naitoo: Don't you enjoy writing?
Hayashi: I feel TSURAL because I do it on my own. I get depressed when the book does not sell.

(18) Sonseo de utarete shina magiwa no an a no kotoba o anu no sen'yuu ga tsutaete kureta.
"...Shinde yuki ibuna wa il keredono, ryooishin ya ootou, imooto-tachi no nagake kanashima youso o eno o sono koto ga ichiban TSURAL.
Ningen ga nokoki o ero toki no kotoba ni uro wa nai o omoimasu.
[Aida 1998: 108]

(MT: (One of my elder comrade's war friends told us what he said just before he died after he got shot):
"...I'm dying, but I don't mind. But when I think of my parents, my younger brothers and sisters who will lament my death, I feel TSURAL.
I don't think the words human beings utter when they are dying contain lies.

The girl in example (15) recalls that her life in West Germany made her feel TSURAL. The woman in example (16) reports that housewives who have love affairs often feel TSURAL but not being able to meet their partners as they wish. The subject in example (17) confesses the work of writing makes her feel TSURAL. Example (18) tells how a soldier felt TSURAL when he imagined his family's sorrows upon hearing of his death.

The following is my explication for the subjective meaning of TSURAL

TSURAL --- the subjective use
[(Watashi wa)¹ Y ga TSURAL ((I feel TSURAL about Y)]

¹ When the speaker attaches the past tense suffix ' to ' or 'some formal evidential markers to TSURAL, this describes an emotion feeling experienced by other people. Otherwise, the subject (experiences) of the feeling is always 'I' in Japanese.

Component (o) "something bad is happening to me because of this thing" and (d) "I don't want this bad thing to be happening" imply something bad which the subject does not want is happening to him/her because of something. Components (o) "if I could do something because of this I would do it" and (f) "I cannot do anything" show that the situation is an unchangeable one although the subject wants to improve it. The resultant feeling is "something very bad" (component (g)).

The Attributive Use of TSURAL

In the case of TSURAL, its subjective use is more frequent than its attributive use. However, TSURAL also has an attributive use. For example, people might say:

(19) Entenka no mikkuiruudo wa TSURAL.
(Physical work under a burning sun is TSURAL.)

(20) Bimboonetsukatsu wa TSURAL.
(Living in poverty is TSURAL.)

(21) Sukii na hito no wakare wa TSURAL.
(Separating from the person you love is TSURAL.)

The explication of the meaning of the attributive use of TSURAL is as follows:
TSURAI — the attributive use
[Y wa TSURAI ((people in general feel) Y is TSURAI)]

(a) I want to say something about something Y
(b) sometimes a person thinks about something:
(c) "something bad is happening because of this something
(d) I don't want this bad thing to be happening
(e) if I could do something because of this I would do it
(f) I cannot do anything"
(g) when this person thinks this, this person feels something very bad
(h) I say: other people can feel like this when they think about Y

10.(II).4. SABISHII

Watanabe, Muraishi & Kabe (1989: 523) say that historically SABISHII was originally "Sabushii" in ancient times, and changed into "Sabishii" in the Heian era (792-1192 A.D.). Later, the alternative term "Samishii" also began to be used. Bunkachoo (1993: 45) says that in the present time, "Sabishii" is considered to be a more standard form than "Samishii".

SABISHII also has both the subjective use and the attributive use. In order to clarify this, observe the following examples:

(1) Futuri ga kaera saru no michi no kogurakata.
   "SABISHII wa ne," to hana wa itta. "Otoko wa SABISHIKU na no?" Haha wa
   SABISHII to is koto o nido tuikata ga, mae to ato de wa nakam ga chigau-yoo de atta.
   [Kawabata 1961: 134-135]

(2) E: It was dark as they walked back together along a country road.
   "My, but it's lonely [SABISHII (attributive use)]," her mother said.
   "Don't you feel lonely [SABISHII (subjective use)], Otoko?" This time the word
   "lonely [SABISHII] seemed to have a different meaning.
   [Kawabata 1973: 119-120]

Hirose and Shooji (1994: 214) say that SABISHII has two different uses: 'the subjective use' of SABISHII which arises "when speaking of emotions of solitude or loneliness, as well as helplessness due to uncertainty" such as seen in the second utterance in example (1); and 'the attributive use' of SABISHII which means "something is missing, lacking in liveliness or is unsatisfactory in some way," as seen in the first utterance of the mother in example (1).

When SABISHII is used as the modifier of a noun, as seen in examples (2) and (3) below, this SABISHII is the attributive use, and the modified noun in such a sentence construction is something which makes people in general feel SABISHII about it.

(2) "Otoko wa naitte no kikaku jibun te is sonni ga aru nani jibun no hoo ni kimochi ga
   mushatte konai, maa, chotto SABISHII musuko datta to omoimasu ne.
   [Toomori Muramatsu (writer) in TV programme "Tetsuko no Heya" July 10th, 1996]
   (MT: I was a SABISHII son, who didn't pay attention to her in spite of her existence as a mother.)

(3) Seiji no to wa makoto ni SABISHII kotoba da
   Dare mo ga amari ni no fujigetsu da kara
   Seiji no to wa kotoba o mimi ni suru koto wa suzunai ga,
   Shikishi sore koto nanka hoshii mono na no da
   [Billy Joel "Honesty" 1978 in 52nd Street by CBS Inc. Translated by Akira Arii]

(B: Honesty is such a lonely [SABISHII] word
Everyone is so untrue
Honesty is hardly ever heard
And mostly what I need from you)

In the above examples, "SABISHII musuko" means 'a son who makes people around him feel SABISHII, and "SABISHII kotoba" means 'a word which makes people in general feel SABISHII'. These are examples of the attributive use of SABISHII.

The Subjective Use of SABISHII

We shall now start to examine the subjective use of SABISHII in detail.

Prototypically, one feels SABISHII when a person finds "someone" is not physically

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9 Mitsu-giinokyo-gyozencho-kochou (1970: 71) says SABISHII was used for referring to the scenery which looks deserted until the middle of the Heian era (around the 11th century), but at the end of the era (12th century) it was used for describing the state of aristocratic people. The 'losing' or 'lacking' connotation inherent in old days seems to remain in the meaning of the present-day SABISHII.
close to one as seen in the following examples (4) - (9). Examples (4) to (6) below are
taken from original Japanese texts:


"Greg no soko made yaru?" in Jiji-Eigo: 1997 May: 34

(B (J→E): Irwin: Well, I read once that Akebono was lonely [SABISHII] when he first came to Japan. You must know a lot about the private side of these superstars. So in a word or two, how would you describe these S恭喜 giants?)

Matsuoaka: Can't say! Those are two words! No, really, actually, Akebono wasn't that lonely [SABISHII] because he had Konishiki before him. Konishiki, I think, or maybe Jessie was the loneliest [most SABISHIII] because Jessie Takanoyama came first.)

(5) "...Koko mo zuiban kawatta wa. Kishoo so swam hito ga furu bakari na no. Kikuyuu nesaa ga ikanakara to, watsahi wa SABISHII n deu. Usamono no hito ga chushin da tabi kara."

[Kawabata: 1973: 82]

(J→E: "The place has changed. New geisha came in and no one gets along with anyone else. I'll be alone [SABISHII], without Kikuyuu. She was at the center of everything.")

[Kawabata: 1957: 91]

(6) "SABISHII yooo. Otoko hoshii yooo."

[Hayami: 1987: 130]

(B [J→E]: "I'm lonely [SABISHII]! I want a man.")

The following (7) - (9) are examples where the gloss 'SABISHII' is given in the Japanese translation of originally English texts:

(7) "Sorede kyoo shusuyooji e modoru a da ne. Sofii, aata ga inai to SABISHIKU naru na."

"Atashi mo SABISHII wa."[Styron: 1991: 216]

(Sorede kyoo shusuyooji e modoru a da ne. Sofii, aata ga inai to SABISHIKU naru na."

"Atashi mo SABISHII wa."[Styron: 1991: 216]

All examples (4) to (9) above Describe SABISHII as the feeling which was caused by a
dynamic change between the subject and the object. However, even in the context where
the subject is in a close dynamic relationship with the object, the subject possibly feels
SABISHII if the subject discovers "something" important is lacking or missing
psychologically. For instance, in examples (10) - (12) below, the subject feels
SABISHII, since he/she finds some important aspect in the relationship with the object is
missing, even though the subject is physically close to the object.

(10) Osoruku shiuru iin ten to isho ni ino to, aishiteru to omotte iru no ni, amari ni sono iin ten to

[Styron: 1991: 216]

"SABISHII is a form of "sabishii" which is often used in the colloquial style (Bunkacho 1993: 45)."

10 Akebono, Konishiki, and Takumiya are non-Japanese sumo wrestlers who came to Japan from Hawaii.

11 "Sashimi" is a form of "sabishii" which is often used in the colloquial style (Bunkacho 1993: 45)."
The trigger for SABISHII could be losing one's youth, as illustrated in the following two examples (14) and (15):

(14) "Kane no ne ga naru to, mata hitosu toshi o toru n desu mono ne. SABISHII desu wa."  [Kawanishi 1961: 32]

(MT: "I feel SABISHII, when the bell tolls and you're another year older.")  [Kawanishi 1975: 31]

(15) Ishcho no yuugare ni tadoritsuku to moyanaka nado kazoku ni mo wakarani futakutsu na kanjo o aijumu-yo ni natta.

Nantomo iru SABISHII na osoware no to iichido tsuna ni boyaituru, seinciyoku ooset na kanjo wa sezerawaratte, "Kodazanii koto kangaeru wa ne. Ningen, shino toki wa shiin n dakara jibunshitsu ni shikatanai ja nai no. Doose shiin nara sora made oojii tanoshinda hoo ga ii ja nai no" to iru.

Tashikani kanjo no kangaekata no hoo ga kenkoo de ari kanzen de aru ga, shiikashi, sui ni komigate kuro kono o ni no SABISHII wa Hori Hidemiko-shi no iwareru toori no nantomo ienu mono de ari iken tomo shiigata.  [Endo 1994: 48-49]

(MT: Reaching the latter stage of my life, I came to feel complex feelings at around midnight, which even other family members would not understand.

"I was overwhelmed by SABISHII (Sorrow) which I cannot express in words," when I grumbled this to my wife, she, who is full of zest for life, laughed mockingly, and said, "You think silly things. When human beings die, they die anyway, so it is worthless struggling. If we have to die, isn't it better that we enjoy life before we die?"

Certainly her way of thinking is healthier and more wholesome but as Mr. Hidemiko Hori says, the suddenly arising SABISHII of aging is something I cannot either explain nor control.

The feeling of SABISHII can also be prompted by a lack of freedom of decision in a person's life, as in the following example:

(16) Yamashita Nagai desho, kansi no ka ga.

Kuroyanagi: Ee, (gihoo ni suutomete ita toki) sore o kiri naru tte iwareta no? (...). Demo sono toki ni kore de kansi no ke o kiirete iwarete kore de kuri to, matsu tsugi ni nanaka iwarete toki ni mo mato nusho koto yasanaka shirenai tte iiru ka ni oowarewa n desu to?

Yamashita: Ee, soo yoo nante in n desu ka nee. Zuuto koo i jinsei ni n ka na to omotenn chotto SABISHIKATU deusu ne. (...). Naka shiin no yamashii made kinenarai mitii de SABISHIKATU deusu ne.

[Tetsuko Kuroyanagi and Shinni Yamashita (actor) on the TV programme "Tetsuko no Heya" February 21st, 1997]

(MT: Yamashita: My hair is long, isn't it?

Kuroyanagi: Yes, when you were working for a bank, were you told by them that you should eat your hair? (...). I heard that you thought you would always have to accept their direction once you eat your hair as you were told.

Yamashita: Yes, well, I don't know how to put it, but I felt SABISHII thinking that I had to lead a life like that all the time. (...) I felt SABISHII since I felt even my soul was controlled by their directions.)
In Japanese culture, we often may observe another person's SABISHII/SAMISHII feeling as if it were physically displayed on his/her back, as seen in the following:12

(17) Kureoyunagi: Ja, anata no (Haga Kenji-san to kokkoseururu to is) okimochi wa kawattarimashita.
Umemiya: Hai.
Kureoyunagi: Otosama, sore ni suite wa naze osabutenai?
Umemiya: Yappuri uma ke senaka ga SAMISHIIKU, nanwa kamo shirenai desu kedo...
[Tetsuko Kuroyanagi and Anna Umemiya (model) on the TV programme "Tetsuko no Heya" June 25th, 1996]

(MT: Kureoyunagi: So, your feelings (that you will get married to Kenji Haga) have not changed.
Umemiya: No.
Kureoyunagi: What does your father say about that?
Umemiya: Well, his back may become (to express what he feels) SAMISHII-)

A Japanese informant, a personal friend, reported this type of recognition of a display of SABISHII. She said that she recognised her father's SABISHII feeling from the state of his back after she told him that she would marry her boyfriend:

12 Japanese people often guess another person's KANASHII or SABISHII feeling from the state of their back:


(MT: Around the third year at university when job hunting becomes active, A" confessed to his parents when they were watching TV in the living room, "I'm thinking of giving up looking for a job. I want to become a beggar" (...) his father was silent, and watched TV. However, his father's back looked sad.

"My father is the type of person whose back tells you something. Because he did not say anything, it struck home in me.

Japanese often link some emotion other than SABISHII with their 'back' body part.

"...Ono no owari no mae ni goshiro ughidashita to lu no ga yo. (...)" | "Nii no dare ga ughidashita no to kare wa sulago no mita e tamemake akira. | "Mii no oto no kiiro no kedoke." | "Una kokurii. Chiisai kiiro o oke ni, soo SENAKA no kiiro no." | [Mori 1992: 58-59]

(MT: "(...) I can sense that you are becoming unfaithful." (...) | "Did you say something?" He asked his wife with stopping a water jug. | "I could not hear because of the noise of the water." | "You are lying. You heard what I said. It is shame on your back." )

(18) Mayumi: Kokken suru te ittara, otosan no senaka ga chiiuaka macchatte....
Rie: SABISHII o da yo, sugokku, sore.
Mayumi: Soo mitai.
[Mayumi Baba and author: personal communication]

(MT: Mayumi: After I told my father I would get married, his back looked so small....
Rie: I think he feels SABISHII a lot.
Mayumi: I think so, too.)

The fathers in both the examples above feel SAMISHII/SABISHII when they think they will become separated from their daughters.

What is lacking or missing for the subject who feels SABISHII is "someone" or "something".

SABISHII — the subjective use
[Watashi wa]13 [Y ga] SABISHII ((I feel SABISHII [about Y])]

(a) I felt something [because I thought something Y];
(b) sometimes a person thinks;
(c) "I want to be with someone"[14] have something now
(d) If I could be with someone have something, I will feel good
(e) now I know: I cannot be with someone have something;
(f) when this person thinks this, this person feels something bad
(g) I felt something like this
(h) [because I thought something Y]

Like TANOSHI or KANASHII, SABISHII doesn't always require a thought
(component a) "I felt something [because I thought something Y];" (g) "I felt something like this" (h) "[because I thought something Y]", since one can say "Watashi wa naze ka SABISHII (I feel SABISHII, I don't know why)". The above explications tell that, while the subject feels good when he/she can be with someone or have something (component c) "I want to be with someone[or'I want to have something'') and (d) "If I could be with someone (or 'if I could have something'), I will feel good", the subject

13 When the speaker attaches 'the past tense suffix' or 'some formal evidential markers' to SABISHII, this describes an emotion feeling experienced by other people. Otherwise, the subject (experiencers) of the feeling is always "I" in Japanese.

14 The disjunction is not really NSM. However, it is used as a device for obviating the posing of two explications.
knows that he/she cannot be with someone nor have something (component e) "now I know: I cannot be with someone (or 'I cannot have something')." The subject feels "something bad" as a result (component f).

A person who often feels SABISHII/SAMISHII is called a SABISHIGARI-YA/SAMISHIGARI-YA in Japanese. As Misawa (n.d.: 218) points out, people who are SABISHIGARI-YAs are accepted positively in Japanese culture. Therefore, although the sentence "Ano hito wa kireuru hito da ga, ne wa SABISHIGARI-YA da yo (He is very smart, but he is in fact a SABISHIGARI-YA)" can be regarded as a compliment for the person, Misawa says that he has never heard a compliment like "Ano hito wa kireuru hito de, zenzen SABISHIGARI-garanai yo (He is very smart, and he seems to never feel SABISHII at all)". Japanese people can sympathise with other people's SABISHII feelings, but people regard people who never feel SABISHII as inhuman. This might reflect the characteristic of Japanese culture in which dependence on others is more positively valued than the carrying through of one's individuality.

The Attributive Use of SABISHII

The following are examples where the attributive use of SABISHII appears. Firstly, the following four examples (19) - (22) are from texts written originally in Japanese.


(J -> E: No sooner had twenty passengers boarded the bus than we departed, heading up along Kamo River through Kyoto. The farther north we went, the emptier [SABISHII] the town became, the more fields and vacant lots met the eye. Black-tiled roofs and plastic greenhouses glinted in the early autumn sun.) [Murakami 1989 Vol. 1:173]

(20) "Kono michi, SABISHII ni daksara, ki o tsumekakochu." [Akagawa 1985:223]


(MT: Yukie Hatsuki: "This road is so deserted [SABISHII]. You must be more careful.") [Akagawa 1985: 179]

(MT: In a word, human beings think that it is okay if things are good while they are alive, however, a life made up of just 'I lived and I died' is too SABISHII.)

(22) Yoosuru ni ningen nante, jibunsho no ishikun shunken dake yokoreba ii to kangaete ii wako desu. Tadeshi, "Iwashita, shinitamashita" to is dake no jinsei de wa, amari ni mo SABISHII. [Takefumi Masui (a doctor of science) in Beat-Takeshi 1996:9]

(MT: In the two examples (23) and (24) below, SABISHII is used in the Japanese translations of originally English texts.

(23) "Ningenshiki wa, doko ni iru no ga, oojisama wa, yatto mata iwashimashita. "Sabaku te nakashii SABISHII no." "Ningenshiki to tokoro ni ittae, yappari SABISHII sa" to hebi ga imashita. [De Saint Exupery 1966:94]

(J -> E: "Where are the men?" the little prince at last took up the conversation again. "It is a little lonely [SABISHII] in the desert..."

"It is also lonely [SABISHII] among men," the snake said. [De Saint Exupery 1971:70-71]

(24) Sore ni, amari ni SABISHII Amerika no tochi de wa naku, koobii no ki no haeta oda de shineru koto o omou to, kare wa hidoku shishawase de urami ya ikari mo ichijikan to wa motanai no data. [Morrison 1985:145]

(J -> E: Also the thought of being able to die in those coffee-growing hills rather than those lonely [SABISHII] Stateside places gave him so much happiness he could not hold a grudge or sustain anger for more than an hour.) [Morrison 1982:110]

I will posit the following "double prototype" explications for the meaning of the subjective use of SABISHII. The two explications below show the two prototypical situations of SABISHII.

In the two examples (23) and (24) below, SABISHII is used in the Japanese translations of originally English texts.

(23) "Ningenshiki wa, doko ni iru no ga, oojisama wa, yatto mata iwashimashita. "Sabaku te nakashii SABISHII no." "Ningenshiki to tokoro ni ittae, yappari SABISHII sa" to hebi ga imashita. [De Saint Exupery 1966:94]

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(J -> E: Also the thought of being able to die in those coffee-growing hills rather than those lonely [SABISHII] Stateside places gave him so much happiness he could not hold a grudge or sustain anger for more than an hour.) [Morrison 1982:110]
The first explication of the attributive use of SABISHII [1] describes the feeling which makes people in general feel SABISHII when someone/something is not in a certain place.

SABISHII — the attributive use [1]

[1] Y (place) wa SABISHII
   ((people in general feel) Y (some place) is SABISHII)
   
   (a) I want to say something about some place Y
   (b) sometimes a person thinks:
   (c) "I want to be with someone/have something at this place
   (d) if I could be with someone/have something at this place, I will feel good
   (e) now I know: I cannot be with someone/have something at this place"
   (f) when this person thinks this, this person feels something bad
   (g) I say: other people can feel like this when they think about Y

This explication of the first attributive use of SABISHII [1] was illustrated in examples (19), (20), (23), and (24). People in general feel "something bad" when they find that at a certain place there is no-one, nor do they have anything, although they wanted to be with someone or have something at the place. For instance, in example (19) one describes a place as SABISHII since there are not enough people or houses there. In example (20), too, one describes a road as a SABISHII place, where not many people or things can be found. In the first sentence of example (23), the little prince describes the desert as a SABISHII place without any people. In the second sentence of example (23), the snake suggests that the same place could still be a SABISHII place even if there were human beings there when "something" important is still lacking there. In example (24) the subject describes the United States of America as a SABISHII place since it does not hills where coffee is grown.

The following is the explication of the meaning of the second attributive use of SABISHII [2]. This second explication describes the meaning of the SABISHII feeling which occurs where people in general feel "something bad" because they cannot be with someone nor have something which is necessary for them. For instance, in example (21) above, one describes the fact that there is a lack of time for being together happily as a family as a SABISHII thing. In another example (22), the speaker describes life without colourful experiences as SABISHII. Moreover, we can also say "Ikura chi yu meiyo o etemo, aisihite kuremu hito no inai jinsei wa SABISHII (However much high status or honour one might have, one's life is SABISHII, if one does not have anybody who loves one)."

The meaning of these SABISHII feelings can be explicated as follows:

SABISHII — the attributive use [2]

[2] Y (something) wa SABISHII
   ((people in general feel) Y (something) is SABISHII)

   (a) I want to say something about something Y
   (b) sometimes a person thinks:
   (c) "I want to be with someone/have something
   (d) if I could be with someone/have something, I will feel good
   (e) now I know: I cannot be with someone/have something"
   (f) when this person thinks this, this person feels something bad
   (g) I say: other people can feel like this when they think about Y

10.(II).5. WABISHII

WABISHII also occurs in the two syntactic frames: as the subjective use and as the attributive use. Firstly, we will discuss the subjective use of WABISHII.

The Subjective Use of WABISHII

WABISHII is considered to be a synonym for SABI.15 However, as Hida and Asada (1996: 262-263) say, rightly, WABISHII is not accompanied by any connotation.

15 The concept of WABI, which was valued in the Muromachi era (1338-1597 A.D.) came from WABISHII. Simplicity without excess was ideal for WABI (Miinui-ginkoo-gyoomeshu-koohoku 1970: 99). The connotation of "lack of something" is linked to the meaning of the current usage of WABISHII.
of sadness or sorrow. Therefore, in the following example, one can not express a negative feeling about a lack of friends as WABISHII.

(1) Tomodachi ga saikin kite kurenakute SABISHII/WABISHII.
(I feel SABISHII/WABISHII since my friends haven't visited me recently.)

(2) Kono okane nochi no shujin wa mono ni wa megumorete iru ga, kawaku ga inai node, SABISHII/WABISHII no da.
(This rich man feels SABISHII/WABISHII since he does not have a family, although he is very wealthy.)

In the following example WABISHISA [Noun] is even viewed rather positively.

(3) "Papa wa kushikoi to emou kedo, erakunai ne. Datte, kanojo ni tsuite hontoo ni yoku shitte iru kedo, Papa jishin wa chitomo kanso ja nai mono." (...) "Papa, hontoo no kanojo wa se, chimmoku yo. So shite ne, WABISHISA o shiru koto yo. Boku to Yuka, zuu to chimmoku kurete, WABISHIKAtu mono. Papa, enzentsushi, hasaithe bakari de, chitomo kanso ja nai mono. Naa, Yuka."

(MT: Papa, I think you are smart, but you are not great. Because although you really know about simplicity, you yourself are not simple at all. Don't you also think so, Yuka? (...) Papa, real simplicity lies in silence. And in knowing WABISHISA [Noun]. I and Yuka have both kept silent and felt WABISHII all this time. Papa, you were making a speech, in a rollicking mood, and you are not simple, at all. Don't you think so, Yuka?"

The WABISHII feeling can occur when a person does not have enough material things. Examine the following sentence:

(4) Kono okanemochi no shujin wa kinowo wa otetsudai ga inakatta node, "Yuube no gohan wa okayu de WABISHIKAtu "SABISHIKAtu yo" to itta.
(This rich man did not have a servant last night, so he said, "I felt WABISHII/SABISHII about dinner last night since I ate only rice gruel.)

The WABISHII feeling is less acute and weaker than that of SABISHII. In order to examine this point, let us look at the following example sentence. Although the clearly negative word SABISHII can co-occur with the negative word "ki ga kurui soo da (I feel like I'm going crazy)", a person cannot experience the feeling of WABISHII to that extent.

(5) Watashi wa SABISHIkuke/WABISHIIkute ki ga kurui-soo da.
(I feel so SABISHII but I might go crazy.)

Examine also the following examples to grasp the meaning of WABISHII.

(6) "Mamam, anata wa dochihite iru made mo Nihonjin na no?" to WABISHII-ge ni toitsumuru wa ga ko no 'yoochin no iru kase' to umare suzettu 'jiben no koto' to o (iremu no sei de) dojiri ni ushinawashimeta, lvo to watashi no tsumi wa fuku.
[Kitish 1983: 146]

(MT: "Mama, why are you always so Japanese?" my daughter questioned me closely, showing her WABISHII feeling. The crime of divorce by which my ex-husband Yves and I deprived my daughter of 'a family with two parents' and her 'own house' is heavy.)

(7) Hachijuu-ki ni naru hana wa tulu saikin chotto shita danna ni tsumanu koreenda no kikkake ni, ashi ga sukoshi fujyuu ni nari, gaihutsu ga manaranemadesu matte kare, nanaka ni tsukete, "nnoo shinda hoo ga mashi?" to idashite kousai no omonu. (...) Watashi daite soma ni wakaku arimase shi, hana no nakigoto o kiite iru to, watashi mo koo naru no to ka to WABISHIKU marimashu.
[Shikita 1996: 76-77]

(MT: My brother, who will be 82 years old soon, recently fell after stumbling on a step. Since then she has become slightly disabled, and she can not go out as she wants. She says "It would be better for me to die" every time something happens to her. I have been distressed by that. (...) I am also not that young, and when I listen to her complaints, I feel WABISHII, thinking that I might become like her.)

(8) Byocin de tsuma to issho ni its mo kokoro ga omoku, de ni kante kitemo WABISHII no ga, boku no genzai ni kyougai da.
[Akira Kamabayashi "Soe-Yohane byocin ni te" in A. Nakamura 1993: 211]

(MT: In my present circumstances my heart is heavy when I am with my wife in the hospital and I feel WABISHII when I go back home.)

(9) "Wakai hiro nanka ga, shigoto de nankotsu ga kousouu ni kare dehoo. Ooasan no inakute kawaiso da to emou kare, ishokoumei shokujii no mendoo mitei, sashite sutoru suru no yo ne. (...) Sorede keshoukkikan ga owatte kikokosuru to, hagaki no ichinai mo kureresshittai suru wake... Nani mo eri o kihanata yata wato ja nai keredo, mando mo onaji koto ga tsunoku to, nanka koo, WABISHIKU naceha wa ne..."
[Mutoo 1994: 19]

(MT: "Young people come (to Australia) for business training for several months. Because I feel pity for those who don't have wives, I look after their meals or deliver things to them. (...) Then once they go back to Japan after the training is over, they don't even send me a postcard. Although I don't do that expecting to get thanks, I come to feel WABISHII if the same thing happens many times.)
(10) Demo, (past tense) kara sugu kaeru tte ina no mo, nandaka WABISHII ki ga shita. To itte, kabe ni motarenai bo'yari suitaatte iro no wa, motto WABISHII.
[Adagawa 1997: 8]

(MT: I felt it would be WABISHII to leave the party so soon. Yet, I feel more WABISHII standing about maddelly, leaning on a wall.)

(11) Annai saretai haya wa tondemari shironomono datta. Ikus nudipari 3500 en de yasui to ittemo, chuugakusei no jibun demo wakaru-oyo na kitanai heya de, chisana mado ga hitotsu to, furusii kara no tembi to chisana taku ga potame to aru daake. (....) Furuisi koto wa furuisi ga, koizumi da to wa totemo sen, hajime no Kyoto no yose o sugosu ni wa annai ni mae WABISHII.
[Beat-Takeshi 1987: 102]

(MT: The room to which I was shown was outrageous. Although the room was cheap at 3500 yen, even I as a junior high school student realised that it was dirty, with only one small window, an old TV and a small ironing table. (....) It was old, but not at all antique, and I felt WABISHII to stay in such a hotel on my first night in Kyoto.)

In example (6) the actress Kishi, who divorced a French movie director, describes her daughter's feeling as WABISHII since her daughter thinks her mother lacks French character after so many years in France. In example (7) the subject feels WABISHII when she sees the lack of vitality in her mother. The subject in example (8) states he feels WABISHII when he goes back home while his wife is hospitalised. The subject in example (9) confesses that she feels WABISHII since she did not receive a sign of thanks even though she has done many kind things for others. The subject in example (10) feels WABISHII either if she stays at a party without a partner or if she leaves the party early and alone. In example (11) the subject feels WABISHII staying at a cheap and dirty hotel in Kyoto.

I will posit the following explication for the meaning of the subjective use of WABISHII.

WABISHII -- the subjective use
[(Watashi wa)\(^{15}\) [Y ga] WABISHII [(I feel WABISHII about Y)]

\(^{15}\) When the speaker attaches 'the past tense suffix' or 'some formal evidential markers' to WABISHII, this describes an emotion feeling experienced by other people. Otherwise, the subject (experience) of the feeling is always 'I' in Japanese.

Like the subjective use of SABISHII, WABISHII doesn't always require a thought, since one can say "Watashi wa nazeka WABISHII (I feel WABISHII, I don't know why)" (component (a) "I felt something [because I thought something Y]"); (b) "I felt something like this" and (i) "[because I thought something Y]"). Component (c) "something is not at this place" describes that something is lacking in the place where the subject is. In example (8), what is lacking seems to be "som-e oshi" (his wife) at a glance, but he feels WABISHII because he finds "something" important is lacking at home when his wife is absent. Therefore, what makes the subject feel WABISHII is not "someone", but "something" (component (c) "something/someone is not at this place").

When what is lacking is a human being, one would usually say SABISHII, but not WABISHII. SABISHII can alternate with WABISHII in examples like (8) and (10), since what is lacking could be interpreted as human beings whom the subject wants to be with in order to feel good. However, in example (11) where WABISHII is used, what the subject wants to have is just material things. If one uses SABISHII instead of WABISHII in this same context, it could mean that the subject wants somebody to be with him.

It should be noted that while the subject of the SABISHII feeling feels 'something bad' as a consequence, the subject of WABISHII feels a milder 'something not good' as a result (component (f) "when this person thinks this, this person feels something" and (g) "this person does not feel something good"). The negative connotation of the resultant feeling of WABISHII is weaker than that of SABISHII, because the person who feels WABISHII is more accepting of the fact that something/someone is lacking (components (d) "this is not good" (e) "this is not very bad" are included in WABISHII).
The Attributive Use of WABISHII

Like SABISHII, WABISHII has an attributive use, as seen in the following examples:

(12) Nanto ni WABISHII machimachi da! Recogawa wa dokko made mo, i-ro atsumari de wa nai -you no kuro-inshoku no tsunami, soke koko ni aferu rosozua no atari wa, habaka de ugoite iru tomoshibi no yoo da. Shumatsu no yoru no imi jibun wa, machi no koto atari wa, mattaku hitoke ga nakusate iru koto ga waikata.
[Melville 1977 Vol.1: 45]

[Oota 1984: 190]

(MT: On Christmas Eve last year, I walked through the Ginza after leaving work. I was surprised by the darkness there. While, on the one hand, I thought the oil crisis must be serious, on the other hand, I felt WABISHII about the Ginza, which had lost its splendour. The Christmas cakes that were piled up in the shops did not seem to be selling very well. I wanted to go home, where my mum was waiting for me until I returned with a cake. After running home, I said to my mum while munching on a cake, "It was dark and WABISHII in the Ginza. There was no sign of the splendour of the Ginza which I have been so impressed with since I was a child.")

(14) Shouwa shonen no koro wa miru no koto, juunenai ni haitome no asato to ia mono wo kazu ga sukukanu, ato o sono hotondo wo mokuzo to oshigake no mono dama. Yasushi ga sono uchi no ishitsu ni sante tei-to no sei-katsu o naritami shudan ni shite iru to itta tei no mono de, WABISHII kange ga tsekimosan no sute.
[Umihiko Ito "Amakusa nico heya" pp. 60-63 in Tsukakusa 1986: 61]

(MT: There were not so many apartments, and those that there were, they were wooden, and small not only at the beginning of the Shouwa era but also ten years later. The owner of the building would live in one of the rooms, living on the rest, and the house was surrounded in a WABISHII atmosphere.)

In the above three examples, a place is described as something which makes people in general feel WABISHII, because something is lacking. This WABISHII is an attributive emotion adjective. In example (12) the streets which look deserted are described as

WABISHII. In example (13) the Ginza looks WABISHII and without cheer because of the economic depression resulting from the oil crisis. In example (14) apartments are described as surrounded by an atmosphere which make people WABISHII because of the shoddy way they were built.

The meaning of the attributive use of WABISHII can be described as follows:

WABISHII --- the attributive use
[Y (place/something) wa WABISHII
((people in general feel) Y is WABISHII)]

(a) I want to say something about some place/something Y
(b) sometimes a person thinks:
(c) "something is not at this place/in this something
(d) this is not good
(e) that is not very bad"
(f) when this person thinks this, this person feels something
(g) this person does not feel something good
(h) I say: other people can feel like this when they think about Y

Component (c) shows that when some place or something makes people feel WABISHII, people think there is something lacking there or in it. Unlike SABISHII, since people feeling WABISHII are somehow accepting the lack, the two components "I want to have something" and "if I could have something, I will feel good", which are included in the meaning of the attributive use of SABISHII [2], are not included in the definition of the attributive use of WABISHII. Unlike SABISHII, whose resultant feeling is "something bad", the resultant feeling of WABISHII is a milder 'something not good' (component (f) "when this person thinks this, this person feels something" (g) "this person does not feel something good").
11. "THINKING ABOUT SOMEONE ELSE":
(I want something good to happen to other people)

Nasake (Joo), Jihi, Omoiyari
Kawaisoo, Aware, Ki-no-doku

11.(I).1. NASAKE / JOO

NASAKE/JOO is a very important concept in Japanese society. NASAKE is the Japanese way of reading the Chinese character JOO. Anada (1982: 83) says that these words refer to one's consideration or compassion for others, or love between a man and a woman, or the ability to understand the artistic effect of things. Anada claims that NASAKE/JOO symbolically renders the Japanese way of approaching emotions.

The existence of the saying "Hito wa NASAKE (In this world human beings exist under the protection of humanity [NASAKE])" (Tokona 1952: 117), is evidence for the proposition that NASAKE is highly valued in Japanese society. Sagara (1984: 8-9) suggests that in the Muromachi era (1336-1603 A.D.) the phrase "Tada hito wa NASAKE are (Usually human beings should have NASAKE)" was a phrase in common use. It was considered that because the world was viewed as filled with uncertainty, as transient as dew on a flower, NASAKE was necessary to balance uncertainty with warm-hearted consideration. Anada (1982: 84) also says that it used to be believed that the true samurai (Japanese warrior) should know the concept of NASAKE.

The fact that the concept of NASAKE/JOO is still highly valued in present day Japanese society is shown in the following examples.

(1) Hito wa NASAKE de ikite iru to isu no ga, watashi no jitor na n desu ne. Chie toka, chibibi toka, sakiniku wa nandaka atama no koto bokkuri ittemasu toko, inshokuzenmei benkyo shite, atama o migakigeta kasuyo ni nattemo, oshoku de shimbun ni notte shima n ya shikata ga nai. [Usumi 1996: 203]

(MT: My theory is that human beings live through NASAKE. Recently people talk only about matters to do with the mind, such as wisdom or knowledge, but even if you study hard, improve yourself, and become an elite bureaucrat, all that will come to nothing if you appear in the newspapers in relation to corruption.)

(2) Oya no me kara mitte, shimpan ni wakamonotachi ga chika no musuko no heya ni gashaku no yoo ni ittsukute ira jooji wa doome okashii. Shishii, kainyuu shiyo to suru to, jinji kara hageshii kyozezu sarette. "Ningen o sugata-katashi de hanran shite wa ikenai. Yoku tsukinete miru to, nitsure, JOO ga atte, minna ii ningen bakari na n da kara." [Yoshiko Mita (actress) in Fujin Kooro 1998 March 22: 52-53]

(MT: As parents, we felt uncomfortable about young worrisome people coming out in our son's room in the basement. But when I tried to intervene, my second son reacted furiously. "You should not judge people by their appearances. When you know them better, you will find they are all very good people and have JOO.")

(3) NASAKE no michi, to isu no wa, enamida choosii mono no kaiketsu sho o toru te koto de wa nakuno, ningen no shiri ni shiagata iikata o shimasu, to isu koto na n desu. (....) Atama na sai yo, hanto da yo, te isu no ka. Taumari, niigai o toro to, hidari o toro to, ningen wa kakkosuke wa atama ja sai, NASAKE de ikie iku mono na n da yo, to isu imi no koto de na n desu ne. [Usumi 1996: 206-207]

(MT: The way of NASAKE does not imply that we go for the tear-jerking solution, but it implies that we should live deferring to human psychology. (....) It implies that what is important is not the mind, but the heart. I mean, whether one chooses one thing or another, in the end humans are not just a mind, but they live with NASAKE, as you have said.)

(4) Danna no hoo wa, nandemo kichihito yaru soshibe tottemo yasashii JOO no hito na no. Dakara, itsumo warui yo no. [Fujin Kooro 1992 January: 102]

(MT: My husband is a person with JOO, he does everything properly and is very kind. Therefore, he is always smiling.)

(5) (Sadao-san wa) kotoha wa kibishii ga, soko ni wa hontoo ni JOO no atsui, Edokko no chi ga nagameru iru n desu. [Masahiko Tsagawa (actor) in Fujin Kooro 1996 November: 172]

(MT: Although my elder sister Sadao's words are harsh, in her flows the blood of the people of Edo, who have deepJOO.)

(5) Taumari o moteraba Sai tatote Mune urawashiku NASAKE aru [Tekkon Yasuno "Hito o koure uta" in Kindaiichi & Anzai 1977: 238]

(MT: If you take a woman in marriage, she should be talented, beautiful, and have NASAKE)

(7) Ginza no onna wa NASAKE ga atte Il ja sai no [Jun Hashimoto "Ginza Bururi Nafo" 1974 by Victor Onagawa Shuppan]

(MT: Women in the Ginza are good because they have NASAKE)
Kaneko (1961: 166) says that in a relationship such as that between parents and children, what parents usually give to their children is not ON, but NASAKE/JOO. Kaneko (p. 168) says further that what human beings are most impressed by, or appreciative of, is NASAKE, and not ON. This is because NASAKE has no relation to one’s merits or demerits. Misawa (n.d.: 242) says the word "ai-jo (lit. love-JOO; roughly ‘love/affection’) is only part of JOO/NASAKE. Similarly “on-jo (lit. warm-JOO)” in the word “on-jo-shugi (lit. warm-JOO-principle; roughly ‘paternalism’) is also only just a part of JOO/NASAKE (cf. Nakane 1970: 65).

There are many idiomatic expressions using NASAKE/JOO. For example, the phrase “JOO ni moroi (sensitive to JOO)” means that a person’s emotions, especially affectionate feelings, are susceptible to other people, as seen in the following examples.

(9)  Alisu nara shimpai nii. Otozoku kimi wa sukii nii naru yo. Tada hittsuu dake komaru no wa da no, alisu toridoko shoppiri aijoo o kawasugi koto ga aru n da na. To eemo JOO ni moroi o da.
[Salinger 1984: 108]

(10) "Demo, wazashii ga jibun no atsuru kasatechi no koto o shinpei shiramagare kangaeru toki ni wa, nani de iki ga tsunamatteri, keren de hikitsukuri suru koto wo wa, nani mo ima hajimatta koto de wa arimassen. Wazashii ga koma ni JOO ni moroi o da, onesho ni kawasugi koto ga aru to, kore to iu to ni iru to. Demo, yoru naa no koto o onowaran nante—maa, nante koto deshoo?" Koko de nani da ga de to shi. [Dickens 1966 Vol.1: 141]

The person who is “JOO ni moroi” is considered positively in Japanese society, since as Misawa (n.d.: 242) mentions, the person who is “JOO ni moroi” can sympathise with...
the sorrows of other human beings and show consideration to others, as seen in the following example:

(11) ---Raisahu ishushukan, ryoëko ni Ikari n dakedo, namika ni koojitsu wa nai ka na.
---Oya ga byooksu da toka ieba, JOO ni moroi kachoo no koto dakara, yurushite moroea to omou yo.
[Araiso & Moore 1989: 331]
(B J --> E: I want to go away next week for a week, but I can't think of a good excuse.
---If you say your parent is sick the section chief will give you the time off; he's pretty sentimental [JOO ni moroi lit. sensitive/flexible to JOO].)

There are other idiomatic expressions like "JOO ni atsui/usui (having thick/thin feelings of affection)", "haku-JOO (lit. thin-JOO)", "JOO ga fukai (having deep affection)" "NASAKE-bukai (lit. NASAKE-deep)" as seen in the following examples:

(12) ---Kimi no tokoro no jōshi wa donna hito da?
---Soo da na, kibishii tokoro mo aru keredo, JOO no atsui hito da yo. Zangyōshita toki nanka, isumo takushi de ite mada okute kureru yo. Kimi no JOO wa doo na no?
---Zamen nagara, seihatsui da ne. Anna JOO no usui hito wa inai ne.
[Araiso & Moore 1989: 331]
(B J --> E: What kind of boss do you have where you work?
---Well, he can be strict, but he's a warm-hearted [JOO no atsui lit. having thick JOO] person. When I work overseas he always sends me home by taxi. What about you?
---Unfortunately, he's just the opposite. I've never known a more cold-hearted [JOO ni usui lit. having thin JOO] person.)

(13) Rochestavan: Ee-jojo, koi to wa hana no mada da ne. Haku-JOO de, zazoku de, maseesoo de, kachii ga nai ningen da to shirinagara mo, sute uragiraretsu to naru to, nisukkiseru hodo, hana no tate mono da.
[Kita 1954: 144]
(B J --> E: Love's a strange thing, Miss Eye. You can know that a person's worthless, without heart (haku-JOO: thin-JOO), or mind, or scruple... and yet suffer to the point of torture when s/he betrays you.)

(14) Kanojo wa dare no mendoo mo yoku miru ne. JOO ga fukai n da ne.
[Murakami 1997: 17]
(B J --> E: She's always looking out for everybody. She's really generous [JOO ga fukai lit. having deep JOO] person.)

As seen in the above examples, people who are "JOO ga atsui/fukai (having thick/deep JOO) or "NASAKE-bukai (having deep NASAKE)" are considered positively, and people who are "JOO ga usui (having thin JOO)" or "haku-JOO (thin-JOO)" are perceived negatively, as being too cold.

Another idiomatic expression is "JOO ga usuru (being soaked in JOO)" or "JOO ga waku (JOO flows out)". These occur in the following examples:

(17) "Kotori o juunai wa kaitete ne, sono uchi no dereka ni JOO ga usuru-yoo ni naru to, otsuoo to okasaru wa, karanaa sono tori o chibashoku ni hichaku no yo. Ee ni kaitte miru to, sono tori ga itai. (...) Sekkaku kattee, choodo JOO ga usuru kore ni naru to, kago kara dete kite, yaku no wa ni osoro o suru desu. Suruto, otsuoo tara, kitanai yozu de nante iru, jibun no onna-tomodechi ni aegisshi no yo."
[Friedman 1971: 51]
(I <= E: "I had twelve birds, and each time I got to love [JOO ga usururu] one, my parents would get rid of it. (...) They'd just give me enough time to lose [JOO ga usururu] is, and then it would get out of the cage and mess on the floor and my father would say, 'It's a filthy animal,' and give it to a girl friend.")
[Friedman 1962: 40]

(18) "Denoo, (jibun no kanojo ga moto-kare ni) tegami ya TEL de no kontakuto wa totte hoshikumi. Datte, tegami ya TEL de, kooryu shinjinta, makushii no koto o onsdaihite, JOO ga usururu shinawo kara."
[Can Cam 1994 January: 247]

1 "Hako-" in "haku-JOO" is a Chinese way of reading the word "usui (thin)".
Harada & Koo (1987: 95) and Iguchi (1988: 48) say "hodasaru" in "JOO ni hodasaru" means that one's freedom, including one's feelings or actions, is restricted because of JOO.

No single English word corresponds to the meaning of NASAKE/JOO. Consider, in the examples both above and below, how NASAKE/JOO is translated into English, as well as which English words are translated as NASAKE/JOO in Japanese.

NASAKE/JOO is translated into English words like "sympathy" as in (21), "pity" as in (22), "request" as in (23). On the other hand, English words such as "love" (in (17), "compassion", "heart" (in (24), (27)), "sympathy" (in (26)) are translated as NASAKE/JOO in the Japanese translation.

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Once one's "JOO ga tsuru" or "JOO ga waku" one feels emotionally attached to something/someone.

There is one negative usage of JOO which appears in the phrase "JOO ni hodasareru (lit. be overcome with JOO)", as seen in the following examples:

(21) ---Yoko anna binbaan na otoko to kekkonsuru ki ni natta mono ne. 
---Kare no kawasaimo o itashi toka kate, tsui JOO ni hodasarete shimatta no yo ne. 
[Anso & Moore 1989: 331]

(B [J->E]:) ---You sure want to marry that poor guy, don't you? 
---Yes, ever since I heard about his terrible childhood I've felt a deep sympathy [JOO ni hodasareta] for him.

(22) A: Byoiko no hana o kakae, shigeto mo yamete tsukiki kiri da kambyocoshitu te i kara, tsui JOO ni hodasarete nakashii no horokuru o yutaru shihama.
B: Izumo, "JOO ni saosaseba nagasarewa" te i yo. Hodokedo ni shibara? 
[Murakami 1997: 18]

(B [J->E]): A: He says his mother is sick and he's had to quit his job to take care of her. I couldn't help feeling sorry [JOO ni hodasareta] for him, and gave him what little savings I had.

B: Well, you know what they say — pity [JOO] can be like quicksand. Don't go jumping in too deep.

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(19) "Demo ne, shimo no sewa o ikkai demo suru to, donna shiwashwa no oba 'tan demo JOO ga wakue kichua mono na no yo. Yappari genki ni natte tainuru toki ga ichiban ureshii mon." 
[Sakai 1996: 18]

(MT: "But if I take care of the lower part of the body (nipples/baths etc.) even if it's only one, however weakly an old woman it may be, JOO will come up [JOO ga waku]. After all, I am happiest when they leave the hospital.

(20) Kono 6 gatsu 12 nichii yoru, kokyoo no Ishikawa-ken Nanao-shi ni hita Wajima Hiroshi wa, yoku 13 nichii, booku Nanao-shiritsu-Kashima-chuugakko de sumo-buin to tomo ni ipaku funasuka no gashuku o hatta. (....)
Mijikai gashuku o otea Wajima wa imai.
"Sumao de i koi tachi da yo. JOO ga waite kuru no o hiihi-hiihi to kanjiru ne."
[AKKA 1998 July 20th: 61]

(MT: On the night of June 12th this year, (sumo wrestler) Hiroshi Wajima returned to his hometown of Nanao, Ishiyama prefecture. The following day, he went on a training camp with the members of the sumo club at his old school, Nanao City Kashima Middle School. (....)
After the camp Wajima said, "They are good honest children. I strongly felt my own JOO coming up [JOO ga waku] towards them."

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(23) "Tada, wazhai ni JOO o kakeai tuumori nara, shoki made ni mikkakan no nichiigen o atate kudasai. Tatta bito to immoto to, teishu o motsue yarai to no desu. Mikka no uchi ni, watsahi wa mura de kekkonshiki o ageta, kanazoo, koko e kaete kimase." 
[Daizai 1987: 136-137]

(J -> E: "But if you would grant me one request [JOO], I ask that you delay the execution for three days. I wish to see my only sister wed. Grant me three days to go back to my village and attend to the wedding festivities. I shall, without fail, return here before the third day is ended.

[Daizai 1988: 117-118]

(24) Pippu: Boku no nakashita koto o oboete inai tte?
Estella: Anaa nazo ashii ni tote nan no imi mo nakatta n desu mono, oboeru banwa wa nai ja nai no. Nan, Pippu, asahi ni wa JOO nante i mono wa nai n desu no yo. Dakara koko na datte nai wakeyo.
[Kita 1954: 7]

(B: Pip: Not remember you made me cry.
Estella: You meant nothing to me, why should I remember? You must know Pip, that I have no heart [JOO], perhaps that's why I have no memory.

(25) "O-NASAKE—desu kara—ippukan tomite—iki o tsugashite kudasai to Arius wa mata sukoshi hashitta ato, seginagara imashita. "Watasahi wa hento ni NASAKE-bukai no ja" to osogaa ga imashita. "Shikashi, chikara ga taraande nooo. Yoi ka, ippukan to ite mo, monosoushi hayasaa de sugite iku no ja. Sore o tomyoo nado to wa, bandasanwanchi o tomyoo to siri-yoo na mono ja." Arius wa moo iki ga kirete, kuchi ga kikemasen.
[Carroll 1976: 102]

(I -> E: "Will you—be good enough [give me NASAKE]." Alice punted out, after running a little further, "to stop a minute—just to get—one's breath again?" "I'm good enough [have deep NASAKE]." the King said, "only I'm not strong enough. You see, a minute goes by so fearfully quick. You might as well try to stop Bandensmatch?" Alice had no more breath for talking.

[Carroll 1976: 107]
JOO/NASAKE is often used to describe an emotional state of an importance equal to or greater than "love". In these circumstances it may be seen to derive from an emotional attachment or relationship to another person, as illustrated in the following examples.

(28)  
Aru li, Ryoko ga kikimashita. "Watachi to okasan to dochi ga suki? Watachi o suki nara okasan to rikorsuru" to. "Ryoko ga suki da yo. Shikashii rikon wa shiinai." "Doushitte?"  
"Nenjutsu ga mauryoshitai JOO to ka mono ga ane shi, gimu kamo shihanai. Ore wa issho kake te shiinaewa ni suru to yakuksukasita koto o hoge no wa shinai."  
["Otto no rikon-sooan" in Kari Gakou 1994 July: 297]  
(MT: One day Ryoko asked: "Who do you like better, your wife or me? If you like me better, will you divorce her?" "I like you better, but I won't divorce her." "Why not?" I have JOO, which the months and years have created, maybe as well as duty. I won't break my promise, that I would make her happy for the rest of her life.")

(29)  
...Otoko no naka ni wa bajin mlke toozoci ni ai ga nakutemo, issho ni kurashte iuru uchi ni JOO mo unare, aishuku mo fikarunu no de wa nai ka to kitashte iru bunen mo arinai.  
[Fujin Kooran 1995 May: 298]  
(MT: Men expect that JOO will be born and affection will deepen between them and women as they live together, even if they do not have an overwhelming sense of love at the beginning.)

(30)  
Watachi wa hiteigusshi no totemo heta na onna da. De to shitaara, moo ichido setai o motte shikoshikho kurasu naka de, otoko ga doo kawase iku ka, sco me hiki saisai toshibire naka de, ai kara JOO e, JOO kara awaremi o to utasuiyo jinsei no owari made mitodokete miru no mo likyoo de wo nai ka to omotta no de atsu.  
[Tokijane 1995: 98]  
(MT: I am a woman who is really hopeless at living by herself. This being so, I thought it would be interesting if I had a household again, to see how a man would change my life, and to observe over a life time how love changes into JOO, and JOO changes into compassion as we get older.)

(31)  
Tokoroaga, saikin ni nani, futatsui kare (otto) ga okashiku satta. Issu ni naku omi hyoujoo ga ni marajimeta yasai, tonure mukekattai no guikasho. (...) Koushite sandoome no bekkyo wo amari ni mo kantsu ni yatte kire no datta. Aru kara ikagusa ami, otto wa hataa to "Modoritai. Kimi to iru toki ga ichiban koko isu ii" to nei yotte abanai kotosu o sayaayite iku. Konna no ni damasurere.nara mono to ka tere ou no da, maai mo watashii JOO ga yurehajimeru. 'A wa, JOO o tachikiran to mae ni wa susumennai yo, to iku. Dema, gerne ga muuukashikote, nakasaka dekikai no da.  
[A company employee, 45 years old, in Kanagawa prefecture in Fujin Kooran 1996 September: 414]  
(MT: Recently, however, my husband began behaving strangely again. After I began to notice the gloomy expressions on his face, he stayed away from home for three days. (...) In this way, our third separation loosed very easily. Now, one month later, he is whispering vulnerable words to me as usual, "I want to come back home. I feel most comfortable when I am with you." Although I think that I should not be deceived by such words, my JOO begins to get in a flutter again. A person "A" says that I cannot move forward unless I cut off this JOO, but that is difficult and I cannot do it.)

In the above examples (28) and (31), the subject says he/she cannot separate from a partner because JOO, which has been created over many years, exists between them. Example (29) shows that JOO may arise between a couple while they are living together, even if they don't love each other. Example (30) tells us that JOO grows from AI (love), and AWAREMI (sympathy) grows from JOO.

The word "nin-JOO" is derived from the word "nin (Chinese reading of 'hito'; human being)" and JOO. The following are examples of contexts where this word is used:

(32)  
Boku wa shinseki-doushi wa moto yori, genni no Nibon no ararui ningenakusei o kangereru  
ue de kiwako ni naru no ga, 'nin-JOO', NASAKE daro to omoimasu. (...) Motomoto NASAKE to sa no wa, dansei dekinai shima no bunen, asobi no bunen ga itte oisho, hajimete kooonma mono datta haaen desu. Kibon wa 'koku' da ga, onna no fujin o kibito to, omo wa kawasico da, ii yo, 'maru ni shiyoo to ii no ga, NASAKE no harasukaketa desu yo na.  
[Munenot Hara (writer) in Fujin Kooran 1998 March: 56]  
(MT: 'Nin-JOO' (human-JOO) and NASAKE are two key concepts in considering not just family relations, but all human relations in contemporary Japan. (...) By nature, NASAKE functions, primarily, when there is ambiguity, or excess play. Although I could say something is fundamentally 'no good', after considering your circumstances, you merit pity, so okay, I 'will judge it good'; this is how NASAKE functions.)

(33)  
Saru mono kibi ni utsho to wa, nakami ni nin-JOO no kibi o ii ateru to. Tokiko wa kochito o wa yuru shikata-yoo ni mita.  
[Niwa 1995: 112-5]
From all the discussion above, the meaning of NASAKE/JOJO can be explicated as in the following form:

NASAKE/JOJO [X wa NASAKE/JOJO ga aru (X has NASAKE/JOJO)]

(a) X often thinks something like this about another person:
(b) "I don't want bad things to happen to this person"
(c) because I don't want this person to feel bad
(d) if I can do something good for this person
(e) I want to do it"
(f) when this person thinks this, this person feels something
(g) because X thinks this, X does something

NASAKE is given to another individual person (component (a) "X often thinks something like this about another person"). Components (b) and (c) show that the subject has internal motivations as a result of which one wishes bad things not to happen to that person so that the person will not feel bad. This we have seen in examples like (28) or (30) above which illustrate that NASAKE is something which can exceed something like 'love'. As for component (b) "I don't want bad things to happen to this person", this is better than the component which implies a more active connotation such "I want good things to happen to this person". This is because as example (28) shows, NASAKE has a rather passive connotation (not...bad) in "I don't want bad things to happen to this person" more than an active connotation (good) as in "I want good things to happen to this person". Components (d) and (e) "if I can do something good for this person", "I want to do it" suggest that the person who has NASAKE is ready to do something good for another particular person. The resultant feeling is neutral "something" (component (f)). The person who gives NASAKE to another person does not expect this other person to do something good to him/her in return. If the person is doing something good for another person out of self-satisfaction, he/she might feel 'something good' as a result, but in such a case, we would say the person was not acting out of NASAKE. A person who has NASAKE wants to do something for another person genuinely for the benefit of the person. A person who has 'thick' or 'deep'

Araso and Moore (1989: 212) suggest that "Japanese personal relations are determined by girl and ninjou", and that "Ninjou is the natural affection that one feels for people, such as friendship, sympathy, and parental love". Lebra (1976) defines ninjou as "human feeling" (p.46) or "an indulgence in sentimental desires" (p. 161). Doi (1981: 38) further says ninjou exists as "spontaneous arising feelings".

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11.1.2. JIHI

In this section, we will consider the meaning of the word JIHI. Sagara (1984: 10) points out that the word JIHI has often been used as a complement of JOO as in "Aware JOO mo JIHI mo fukafuku to iku ya to tanososhiku zo oobekera (Ah! I feel secure with the person who has deep JOO and JIHI)" (in Yoshitsune-kii, 13th century) Vol. 7.

Sagara says that while JIHI is the affection that one constantly feels towards people in general, JOO is the affection which is unexpectedly given to an individual person (cf. Hiro 1988: 19-20).

It is well known that in the Christian religion "love" is the most important concept, while in Buddhism "JIHI (roughly 'compassion')" is the most important key concept. Consider the following comment by Peccei and Ikeda (1984: 62):

The human mind is capable of love and compassion—probably the most beautiful attitudes in the animal kingdom. Christ emphasized love and elevated it to the level of religious psychology. European philosophers have pondered and argued the nature of love, which secularization has reduced to an ordinary relation between man and woman. I believe that, though he certainly used it to imply the bond between man and God, Christ meant the word love to stand for the most beautiful and powerful tie possible between and among human beings.

Buddhists employ the concept of compassion to mean something like the Christian idea of love. The Japanese word signifying this concept, jiki, is found in Chinese characters of two ancient Indian terms: maitri, the giving of pleasure; and karuna, the elimination of suffering. (...)

According to religious doxastics, such things as love and compassion are attributes of the divine, of God and the Buddha. But, as I see it, they are innate in human beings as well. Men have been known to abandon happiness or sacrifice their lives for the sake of others.

From ancient times Japanese have been very sensitive to foreign thought. Foreign thought has always influenced Japanese thought and action quickly, and of these it is Buddhism that has exerted an influence over the longest period of time in the broadest scope. A famous Japanese scholar of Buddhism, Hajime Nakamura (1959b: 1) says that

"Japanese thought in general has been greatly influenced by Buddhism", and "some features of the Japanese way of thinking relate to Buddhist thinking".

Buddhism was originally an Indian religion, but it was transmitted to the Korean peninsula by way of some of the North Chinese countries, such as the Former Chin and Eastern Chin, from about the end of the fourth century. Buddhism came to Japan through Korea in the latter half of the 6th century. According to Nakamura (1961: 1), the royal gifts of a statue of Buddha, the Sutras (Scriptures) and banners were presented to the Japanese Emperor in 552 A. D. through the agency of the King of Pekche (Kudara), in Southern Korea.

Although Japan is far away from India geographically, the two countries have close relations with each other in cultural and other aspects. Without Indian influence, Japanese culture would not be what it is today. Nakamura (1959b: 14) says that in India today, there is no extant Buddhist tradition. In China uniformity was established in Buddhism. In Japan, on the contrary, there still exist many traditional sects which can no longer be found in China or India. Another Buddhist scholar, Watanabe (1974: 11) states that Japanese Buddhists read the sutras in Chinese and came to understand Buddhist thought in Chinese translation. Consequently, it is common to interpret Buddhist doctrine and faith within a framework of Chinese characters. JIHI is one of the examples where Chinese characters are used to express Japanese ideas.

Buddhist ideas greatly influenced Japanese ways of thinking. Nakamura (1959b: 2) says that in pre-Buddhist Japan, cruel or barbarian deeds were not lacking. Subjects were killed arbitrarily by emperors. After the introduction of Buddhism, the Japanese came to highly esteem man's natural disposition. The tendency to esteem man's nature gave rise in reality to the love of human being. The love of others in its purified form is named "benevolence" (Skt. matri karuna), and this idea was introduced into Japan with the advent of Buddhism (Nakamura 1959b: 3). While the Japanese originally did possess the spirit of tolerance and forgiveness to some extent, it was much strengthened by the introduction of Buddhism.
Although examples where JIHI is used are not shown in this section, as Nara (in Nakamura and Nara 1974: 324) remarks, the word "JIHI" is often used in daily life in Japan: e.g. "mu-JIHI na hito (a person who has no JIHI)", "o JIHI de (Please give me JIHI)", or "JIHI-bukai hito (a person who has deep JIHI).

Although Hanayama (1989: 378) mentions that JIHI could be interpreted as OMOIYARI, which roughly means that one considers the feelings of others by putting oneself in another's place (the exact meaning of OMOIYARI will be discussed in the following section), Ikeda (in Ikeda & Derbolov 1989: 231) claims that JIHI is a more internal concept than OMOIYARI, since JIHI eliminates the suffering of others and gives them pleasure. As already suggested in the above passage, "ji" in JIHI refers to the giving of pleasure, and "hi" in JIHI refers to the elimination of sufferings (Seikyoo-Shimunsha-Kyoogaku-Kaisetsubu 1994: 87; Umehara 1980: 63). Nakamura and Nara (1978: 374) further says that "hi" (karuna) refers to the feeling of sympathizing with another person, and the action of assimilating oneself to another's sadness or suffering. This kind of action is linked to the concept of "jita-funi (lit. oneself and others are same)". In Buddhist thought, this "others" does not have to refer to human beings. It could be any animetive thing (e.g. animals, birds, insects), other living things (e.g. plants, trees), or even inanimate things in nature (e.g. mountains, rivers) when one considers them as something alive. Therefore, in Japan, a mother may say to her child who tries to pluck a flower, "Oh, don't do that. If you do such a thing, flowers will cry 'ouch, ouch" (Nakamura and Nara 1974: 342).

In considering the meaning of JIHI, the following citation from Ikeda (1997a: 154-155) gives us an illuminating comment:

The Japanese word for compassion, jikiki, includes the meaning of suffering together or crying out in sympathy with others. The Buddha first of all shares other's sufferings. Take the case of a mother whose child has died, who is sitting in a daze on the roadside. Probably no words can heal her heart. And passers-by, unable to do anything, will have no choice but to walk briskly past. Occasionally, a cleric may stop before her and try to instruct her with a look of affected enlightenment. But no one can truly share her grief. No matter how science advances, even though it can send a human being into outer space, it cannot assuage a mother's sorrow. Maybe only the words of a woman who has been in the same situation can reach her.

What would the Buddha do in such an instance? He would probably sit down at the mother's side. And he might simply continue sitting there, not saying a word. Even if no words were exchanged, the mother would sense the warm reverberations of the Buddha's concern. She would lift up her face, and before her eyes would be the face of the Buddha who understands all her sorrows. The Buddha would nod and the mother would nod in reply. Even without words, there is no greater encouragement than heart-to-heart exchange. On the other hand, even if a million words are spoken, nothing will be communicated in the absence of heartfelt exchange. At length the Buddha would stand up, and the mother, as though following his example, would probably also rise. Then, together, they would move forward one step, then another— their way gently illuminated by the light of the moon. The Buddha would tenderly offer encouragement, until the mother could lift her head high, until she could determine to lead a life of great value for the sake of her deceased child.

Itskui's (1994: 211-214) comment supports the meaning of JIHI as observed in the above passage; "HI" in JIHI refers to the attitude whereby one just sits beside a person who is suffering and gives one's hand to him/her and sheds tears together with him/her. One is feeling the person's suffering as one's own. A person who has JIHI thinks if others' suffering does not disappear, he/she will not be happy: one regards another's suffering as his/her own, and another's pleasure as his/her own, too (Nakamura and Nara: 1978: 342). Even though one would not say anything to the suffering person, the person can understand that he/she has tried to share the suffering through shedding tears together. Itskui (p. 206-7) says that crying is a way of expressing one's sympathy and empathy, feeling the suffering of another as if it were one's own, and that what human beings can do for a deeply depressed person is to try to share the pain which the suffering person is holding alone, and shed tears without saying any words.

Itskui (p. 214) claims that simply encouraging a person, who is crying and in keen pain, to fight their suffering is not humane. He explains that telling the person who is in such a situation to be patient and to get up immediately is abrupt and cruel. Similarly, an article in Asahi Shimbun Weekly AERA (1998 January 19th: 9) reports that one should not say words like "Gambatte kudasai (Bear up!)", "Kuyokuyo shinaide (Don't feel blue and sad)" or "Subete o wasurete shima纳斯ai (Forget everything)" to a person who is crying. Itskui (p. 214) further comments: "It is reported that the mothers who lost their children in the Hanshin earthquake in 1995 thought the worst word they received from others and which made them depressed was the encouragement "Gambatte, hayo ga, ni nante (Cheer up! Be cheerful as soon as possible)". (Hanshin daishinsha kansa 4-nen pp. 36-40 in Shukan Jotai 1999 February 23rd: 40)."
had the misfortune of suffering a miscarriage. It is reported that phrases like "Wataashi ni nanika dekiru koto wa arimasen ka (Is there anything I could do to help you?)", "Honto ni taihen deshita ne (It was a really tough experience, wasn’t it?)", which acknowledge suffering and suggest empathy for a person, would be helpful in such situations. Furthermore, as far as mothers who commit child abuse are concerned, Tomoko Hirooka, a professional Japanese counsellor, advises: "Firstly, you should not blame nor advise, nor give educational guidance to those mothers. What is important is giving them ‘empathy’ and ‘praise’. We should accept their mental state, saying ‘It is very hard, isn’t it? But you have been doing very well by yourself’. Just by simply saying so, the suffering mothers feel relieved and their voices become more cheerful" ("Kyaria-mama ni wa-ga-ko-ijime-shoogun kyuuzoo" pp. 149-151 in Shukan Asahi 1999 Feb. 19th: 151). Eguchi (in Kawai 1995: 187) also states that giving encouragement to the suffering person without accompanying indications of sympathy or empathy like "Gambatte (Bear up! Cheer up!)" could lead to a worsening of the suffering. She says that what is essential for a person who suffers and is depressed to the extent that he/she could be suicidal, is to know that others share his/her sorrow and will stay near by and continue to understand. If a person listens to another’s story of suffering with utmost effort and says "Soo na no ne (I understand it)", thereby showing signs of understanding his/her feelings or thinking, the person’s suffering would be greatly reduced.

An additional connotation of JIHI is that the person who feels it toward other people wants those people to be free from their suffering. The person acting on JIHI may seek to relieve the suffering by helping a sufferer to recover from his/her emotional distress, and to behave normally once again. The aim of JIHI is not only the giving of comfort but taking action to help people draw out their inner power and ‘stand up by themselves’. I think it is worthwhile in this section to discuss briefly the difference between Christian concept of ‘LOVE’ and the Buddhist concept of ‘JIHI’. As already mentioned above, while the object of LOVE is mainly human beings (Tokoro 1977: 76; Nakamura and Nara 1978: 330), the object of JIHI is not restricted to human beings; it could be any animate thing, or even physical objects such as mountains, rivers, or trees.3 Nakamura (1975: 27) and Masutani (1963: 268) also mention that AI, which is the Japanese translation of the Christian concept "love", is firstly given to people closest to the subject; the farther the person is from the subject in the subject, the lighter the AI that is given.4 On the other hand, apart from the issue of whether it’s actually possible or not, JIHI is considered to be given to any object equally.

The second major difference between English LOVE and Japanese JIHI is the attitude towards the feeling of ‘anger’ or ‘hate’. "Love" and "hate" face in opposite directions (Nakamura 1975: 27). Sigmund Freud explained that "love" and "hate" are basically dualistic, and they formulate ‘ambivalence’ (in Shiraishi 1974: 89). "Love" can easily change into "hate", when, for example, one is betrayed by someone. In such a case, the deeper the "love" was, the bigger the "hate" becomes. Japanese also has the proverb "Kawainai amare nikusa kyoukubai (lit. (Excessive) love turns into hundred-fold hatred)" which implies that the greatest hate springs from the greatest love (Tokoro 1982: 183; also Kaneko 1961: 116; Takashima 1981: 173).

English "love" can coexist with "hatred". The following extracts also suggest the close connection between the feeling of love and hate in English.

(1) "My Darling Betty, I hate you. Love, George." I don't think anybody would laugh at the contradiction in this short note left by a man who committed suicide. Contradictions do not bring out the poverty of words, the limits of words; rather they make clear the richness and the vast potential of words. In order to approach truth we may even abuse words, but they can, I feel, withstand the rough handling. [Pullman 1983: 63]

3 Tokoro (1977: 76) notes, however, although one could have the feeling of JIHI towards limitless objects (e.g. when one sees pure people, one could think “I feel sorry for them. I want to do something for them!”), the actual possibility of whether he/she can really help them through action cannot always be limitless. Although our desire to help is limitless, actual, helpful actions cannot be without limit.

4 However, Carol Priestly (personal communication) says that this phenomenon is that of the Japanese culture-specific word AI, which is a Japanese translation of English "love", and not that of the original concept of LOVE in Christianity.
2. I love you without knowing if I can respect you. I love you because you please me, and perhaps some day I shall hate you.... Let us remain thus, do not learn my language, and I shall not look for in yours, words to express my doubts and fears. [George Sand (July 16th, 1934) in Rubinstejn 1996: 62-63]

3. "You love Papa more than you love anybody else in the whole world, and you know it." "Maybe I do, but there's nobody I hate more, either." "You don't mean! You just love him." "I hate him." "And he loves you." "And he hates me." "How can you love one another and hate each other?"
   "It's easy for us." [Saroyan 1995: 22]

4. He said it was natural for a son to hate his father sometimes, and his mother, too, and sometimes everybody else in the world.
   "If you can love," he said, "you can hate, too. Most of the time you love, of course, but it's impossible not to hate, too. Hate is a very useful emotion if a fellow understands it."
   [Saroyan 1992: 24]

5. 'They always fight,' says Burlington. 'And always have.' It's love-hate. Not even love, just me, me, me, me. They're like stiners.[...
   [Gross 1995: 311]

6. She paused for a minute or two, looking at him. Philip forced himself to look at her in a friendly way. He hated her, he despised her, he loved her with all his heart.
   [Maugham 1959: 376]

Consider also the example below which illustrates that the opposite emotions of AI(SURU) (roughly 'love') and NIKUMU (verb)/NIKUSHIMI (noun) (roughly 'hate') can co-exist as ambivalence in Japanese.5

The following examples show that one would sometimes use an ironic expression when one wants to express one's affectionate feeling:

(1) KIRAI -- "SUKI" to ku koto no moo hito no hayougo-hoocho.
   Chubun-joshi-teikokusha 1990:65
   (MT: KIRAI(hata) — another way of expressing the meaning of the word "SUKI (like)"

(2) Okazasa / Noobuketsu de majiante / Baka (...)
   Okazasa no yuki zu / omochi ga uceda no yo
   Okazasa wa / enomi o kiru no ga / tomojo juoosu data
   Okazasa no baka
   [Sachi Yoshida (elementary student) 1994 in Mikuniya 1996: 18-19]
   (MT: Mother / You did because of cerebral hemorrhage / baka (fool)
   Your favourite rice cake has come home
   You were good at cutting rice cake
   Mother, you baka (fool))

Mikuniya (1996: 18) comments that the word "baka" in the above phrase is a reversely stated expression of affection.

7 Shinitai kuriu skogareta
   Han no miyukio "dai-Tookyo" (1)
   Koori-tsuuku you na yoru o kaze
   Dakedo ore wa kono machi o AISHI, suishito kono machi o NIKUNu.6
   [Tsayvori Nagashuchi "Tombo" 1998 by T. Nagashuchi]
   (MT: "Great Tokyo", which I admired to death (1)
   Counting the freezing nights,
   I AISHI (loved) and NIKUNu (hated), this town)

The cultural script which represents the change from the feeling of AI(SURU) into NIKUMU/NIKUSHIMI, or "love" into "hate", can be stated as follows:

(a) I know Y
(b) I thought many good things about Y
(c) I know something bad happened to me because of Y
(d) I feel something bad towards Y because of this
(e) at the same time I feel something good towards Y

6 "Nikumi" is the verb and its adjective form is "nikui". We should note Murakami (1997: 147) on another usage of "nikui":
   "Nikui is even stronger than kirai as an expression of displeasure or malice, yet it can sometimes have a positive connotation. The word can be used to call someone's behaviour 'terrible' in a coy, flirtatious way"

The following sentences serve as examples of this:

(1) Watachi o konna ni machu ni sareru nante, anata tara NIKUI hito ne!
   [Murakami 1997: 147]
   (B: You've made me crazy about you, you naughty, [NIKU] man.)

(2) Hasazono: "Demo, genzoki natto (wakarete otto no) semai o shite agase ima no. (.) Demo, inai teki da te ne.
   Emori: ' Sore mo NIKUI ne. Kante kuru, pantu ga semikubi hiru to izu wa wa."
   [Fujio Kozen 1991 July: 97]
   (MT: Hasazono: "But I had been doing laundry (for ex-husband) for five years. (.) But only when he was not at home.
   Emori: ' That's NIKUI, isn't it? When he comes home he would have found his pants washed already."

7 Nikusui: nikumi (verb) + -ta (ita) (past particle)
This script shows that a deep affectionate "love" feeling towards somebody could be changed into an intense bad feeling towards him/her if that affectionate feeling is not rewarded. These two intense feelings exist facing in opposite directions.

Umehara (1980: 12, 68) claims that European/English "love" is more or less accompanied by "hate" in a way, since Jesus is a child of Jehovah who has the character of 'anger', while Jesus's mother is Mary who has the character of 'love'. Umehara (p. 76) further says that Jesus tried to reconcile God and human beings, but Jesus's "love" involves some component of 'anger', since God's "anger" exists behind the "love" which is given to human beings. Nakamura (1975: 7, 27) remarks that JIHI is something which exceeds the opposition of "love" and "hate", since its concept does not include the desire for exclusive possession of something. What Buddhism most disowns is "desire" and "anger". The deepest sin in Buddhism is putting an end to the life of anything alive. The destruction of life is strictly prohibited. Therefore, in the history of the world so far, there have been no wars or killing under the name of Buddhism, or for the protection of any doctrine of Buddhism.

JIHI is different from NASAKE/JOO in the point that, while JOO is given to specific people, the object of JIHI is not limited (Tokoro 1977: 76, 90).

8 However, the original Christian LOVE is not compatible with the concept of "hate" nor "anger" (Atana Wierzbicka: personal communication). The word for the Christian concept "love" was originally written in Ancient Greek which had several different words for love; e.g, when referring to God's love the Greek word is 'agape' (Carol Priestly: personal communication). It should be noted that the "love" Umehara mentions here is the European/English concept of "love" which was derived from the original Christian concept of LOVE. Although European/English "love" may have been influenced by the original Christian concept of LOVE, its meaning has changed from that of the original.

9 As Nakamura (1959: 17) notes, Buddhism does not deny the existence of God, but it believes in native gods. The Japanese never considered it necessary to repudiate their religious faith in the native gods in order to become devoted followers of Buddhism. Buddhism has in its original object the enabling of man through his ability, to cause his Budhi mind to grow and to proceed toward an ideal state (Watanabe 1964: 73).

10 Although Umehara, a Japanese religious scholar, makes this comment, Carol Priestly (personal communication) claims that this is a misunderstanding of Jesus and God. For example, consider that there is a phrase 'Do not murder' (Exodus 20: 13) in the Bible (Barker 1985) in Christianity and Judaism people don't always live up to this and safely may go about under the name of Christianity or Judaism even when they don't really commit their lives to it (Carol Priestly: personal communication). However, it should be noted here that in Buddhist killing people could never be forgiven nor excused whatever reason or justification one might have.

From the above observations, we can see that although the Japanese concept of JIHI is often glossed as "love/sadness/compassion" like fago in Ifaluk or "sorrowful loving compassion" like zalost in Russian (cf. Wierzbicka 1999b), the exact meaning of JIHI cannot be described appropriately if we just rely on the list of English specific words.

We should use language-independent NSM. 11

JIHI [X wa JIHI ga aru (X has JIHI)]
(a) X often thinks something like this about other people:
(b) "something bad is happening to this person
(c) I want to know what this person feels/wants/thinks
(d) because I want this person/thing to feel something good
(e) I want to do something good for this person
(f) because I want something good to happen to this person
(g) I feel bad if something bad is happening to anybody
(h) when this person thinks this, this person feels something
(i) because of this, X does something
(j) X thinks about all living things like X thinks about people

Different from NASAKE/JOO, where affection is given to an individual person ("X often thinks something like this about another person" in NASAKE/JOO), the object of JIHI does not have such a limit and it concerns anybody who is alive, that is human beings in general (component (a) "X often thinks something like this about other people" in JIHI). Component (b) "something bad is happening to this person" indicates the existence of the object which is suffering because of some bad happening. Responding with both sympathy and empathy towards the suffering person is a very important factor for JIHI. Therefore, component (c) and (d) are required: (c) "I want to know what this person feels/wants/thinks", (d) "because I want this person to feel something good". Components (e) "I want to do something good for this person" and (f) "because I want something good to happen to this person" implies that the person who has JIHI wishes to do something to help the suffering person out of a bad situation. Component (g) "I feel
that, before the other person states his opinion or with clearly, we read his mind and adjust our behaviour to it. Common expressions such as ざっし ga yorù「good at guessing another's feeling」, き ga つる 'quick to read another's mind' and おもいやり ga ける 'considerate of others' feelings' are all words of praise difficult to translate literally into European languages, a further indication that self-assimilation with the other is a virtue among the Japanese. [Emphasis mine].

Sensitivity to other people's unspoken feelings is highly valued in Japan. Consider the following comment made by Prince Hironomiya before he got married.

(1) Kootisshi (Hironomiya) ga nazoruma, okissik ni tuite, yahonin wa kore made tsugi no koto o agete iru. (...)
"Hito no shinjoo, nasai ni ya kurushimi o oshihanatte yareru hito. Iiroo na keiken o tsudereba hito no kurushimi ya nasai ga rikai dekiru no de, sonna hito ga nazorumaishii." [Kawahara 1993: 333]

(MT: Prince (Hironomiya) comments on his ideal wife in the following way. (...)
"A person who is able to guess other people's feelings, problems, or suffering. If she has had a variety of experiences, she will be able to understand people's sufferings or problems. I would wish for a wife like that."

Clancy (1986: 217) says that an ideal interaction in Japan is one "in which each party understands and anticipates the needs of the other, even before anything is said". Clancy (p. 232-233) says that Japanese children receive "empathy training" from their mothers: when giving directions, Japanese mothers strongly emphasise sensitivity to the needs, wishes, and feelings of others. Mothers tell children what other people are thinking and

12 サツシ is the noun form of the verb ざっする. Observe the following Lebra & Lebra's (1986: 376) comment on ざっする:

ざっする is to understand the other's feelings without relying on verbal communication or understanding. Parents train their children in the art of ざっする. They tell their children, "You should understand what other people are thinking before they say anything by merely looking at their faces. You have to be able to easily ざっする such a matter."

Matsumoto (1988: 64) mentions another expression connected to the concept of おもいやり; Japanese has an off-used remark, "Hito no kokoro no ura o yome (Read the other side of another's mind)", which means that one should be sensitive and caring enough to read unspoken desires and be willing to help.

13 Sohn (1983: 130) says that Koreans also must always read the other person's feelings and choose their words carefully to avoid hurting the feelings of others.
feeling in various situations to make their children learn to "read the minds" of other people.

The clinical psychiatrist, Tomooaka (1997: 7), observes that Japanese mothers use words that reveal to their children that the mothers have empathy with their children's feelings. When the children hear these words, they know that they are understood and therefore feel stable. She says that three or four years of age is the most important stage in a child's mental development. She states that the method of the mother's interaction with her child decides how the child will develop after this important age. Tomooaka says that when a child says "milk" to its mother in order to express a desire for milk, it is ideal for the mother to perceive the child's feeling and reply with words like "You want to drink milk, don't you?", because this phrase shows the child that its mother responds sensitively to the request, and in doing so, the child will feel peace of mind, thinking his/her mother understand his/her needs. Thus, showing empathy towards another's feelings is considered very important in Japan from an early stage of life. Kanayama (1977: 66) also says that Japanese people value expressions of empathy. He says that when Japanese people object to something, they often say "Okimoto wa wakarimasu ga... (I understand your feeling, but...)" before voicing opposition to another person's opinion/reasoning.

Clancy (1986: 235) mentions that Japanese mothers appeal to the feelings of third parties and even of inanimate objects. As seen in the following extract from a Japanese junior high school text, Japanese people attempt to feel empathy even toward an inanimate object like an eraser. 

"Keshigumo no kanashimi" ni to iu hyogen o kangaete mimashoo. Hajime wa chotto ben no kanji ga soro kimo shihosan. (....) shihoshi, mattaku weke no wakaranai hyogen ka to to in, soo demo arimasen. (....) Keshigumo no mi ni naitie kangaete mimashoo. (Sanman sukawarare no, sanmanhi keshigumo ga awaseba) tsukiite [su] wa, soo i furikyaku ka nanka ni aterau ar himante, dokoka e kite ne... Sono toki no keshigumo no kimochi wa donna mono deshoo ka. Kito kanashii desho na. Omoeba, keshigumo wa kawamono ni mono desu. [Igami 1988: 14-15]

(MT: Let's think about the phrase "the sorrow of an eraser". You might feel awkward at first, (...). But it is not a totally incomprehensible expression. Let's put ourselves into the eraser's shoes. (After the eraser has worked hard for a long time, a new eraser will appear) and the eraser will be thrown into a garbage bin, and disappear... How do you think the eraser will feel on such an occasion? It certainly must feel sad. If we think about it, the eraser is a sad thing.)

English also has an expression "put oneself in my shoes" or "stand in another's shoes", which refers to the importance of imagining being in other people's positions:

(2) I work late every night, and you still want me to work in the yard on Sunday? Put your self in
my shoes!
[Nakagawa & Beens 1997: 145]

(3) (For the key ingredient in effective communication between different cultures) you have to
understand, try to understand people, stand in their shoes and try to respect them no matter how
different they are from you.
[Agnes Chang (singer, lecturer) in NHK TV Eigo-jooyuu-kaxius 1997 April: 69-70]

In order to OMOYARU [verb] another person, one has to put oneself in another's shoes
in Japan, too. The Japanese actor, Hiroshi Tachi, comments on OMOYARU as follows:

Kekkyoku aite no kimochi o kokoro ni egaku imajineshon koso ga OMOYARI de ari, soro se motte ireba, donna iro to demo sokosoko umaku yatte iru no de wa nai ka, nakuma wa sonoma fui ni omotte iru ki. (MT: After all, having an imagination with which we figure out the other person's emotions to
ourselves is OMOYARI. If we only have that, we can get along with anybody...I have been thinking this way recently.)

However, this kind of attitude of putting oneself in another's shoes is more deeply
integrated in Japanese culture than in English culture. Gibney (1975: 49) reports:

As one of the foremost interpreters of Japanese and English, the scholar and TV-radio
commentator, Kunihiko Matsu put it, "English is a language intended strictly for
communication. Japanese is primarily interested in feeling out the other person's mood, in order
to work out one's own course of action based on one's impression.

Also, Arima (1990: 45) remarks that in Japanese society, "it is polite to think and act not
from your own point of view but from the viewpoints of others" (cf. also Itasaki,
Makino & Yamashita 1974: 8). Arima continues, "this may be a possible reason why
Japanese people appear to take so much care of others even when not requested to do so,

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for they tend to put themselves in other people's places and take their points of view" (p. 45).

OMOYARIU has, however, further connotations in its meaning. To appreciate this, observe the following examples where OMOYARIU/OMOYARI is used in the original Japanese texts:

(4) "Omae ni kuroe lakete gomen na te itawase kareeiba sore da. himoo nasaka wasureraretu. Demo anata wa OMOYARIU no kore no motsu nasu sense wa wakar to wa." [Toshihara 1985: 21]

(5) "Aso koto wa tocin sa shinrei desho ne to koe o oto shite isobe wa kanojo ni asnasita. "Watashi no damasite iru n desu. Yoroshiku onegaishimasu." "Zunjite orimasu. Demo... to Naruse Mitsuiko wa shizuka na koe de, "demo okasama, oshitii kamo shiromasen yo. Makki-gan no kanje-san wa mawari ga sooto nose te iru ito ni joo ni, gojiben no shi o gozonai na desu." "Koina sonna koto, ikido mo kashi ni shita koto wa arimasen to isobe wa tsuna no nennori no fukasa o tashikamenagara kogoshita. Shikashasho, Mitsuiko wa akamade reiset na koe de, "Sore wa...OMOYARIU desho." [Endo 1996: 22]

(6) Tora: "Nanda, cense konna ooto soki na no." Botan: "Suketa yo, seijitsu de OMOYARI ga atte." [Yoshitaka Yamada 1977: 211]

(B [J--E]: Tora: You mean that... this man's your type? Botan: He's wondetful. Sincere and full of sympathy (OMOYARI))


(B [J--E]: If you'd been a little more thoughtful and a little more OMOYARI, you would have seen what a difficult position she was in.)

(8) Kimi wa rojin ni taishte mottu OMOYARI ga nakereba naranai. [Hiehina 1995: 39]

(B [J--E]: You should be more considerate (having OMOYARI) of the old.)

In example (4) the wife wants her husband to have the OMOYARIU with which he could be more concerned about her. In example (5) a woman tells a man that his wife had OMOYARIU by which she made an effort to keep from worrying her husband as much as possible. In example (6) Botan describes the Japanese prototypical ideal man as a person who has OMOYARIU. In example (7) the subject criticises the object's lack of OMOYARIU, which put a girl in a difficult position. In example (8) the subject emphasises the necessity of OMOYARI towards the old. As seen in the above examples, OMOYARIU is translated into various English words such as 'sympathy', 'consideration', 'thoughtfulness', 'kindness', or 'sensitiveness'. However, we cannot grasp the meaning of OMOYARIU from these English-specific words.

The following four are examples where OMOYARI is given as the Japanese translation of originally English texts.


(11) Waku ware, Sara o mizukashii ningens da to omou mono no ita ga, Oriba wa chigai wa. Sonna koto wa makkente ose naka, Sara no kaegekata ga suki ni ari, koto o to, ikkata mo, suki datta. Togari o toooki shi, OMOYARIU kimochi no wa ne ni fukumata kankei datta kann, beddo no naka demo suburashii hitotoko o sugata koto ga dekita. [Fielding 1991: 74]
In example (9) the subject claims that the boy should be old enough to have OMOIYARI for others who are in a weak position. In example (10) the subject states her husband is a good person who has OMOIYARI. In example (11) the author describes how a couple in a good relationship had OMOIYARI towards each other. In example (12) the subject wishes to have a partner who has OMOIYARI. In these Japanese translations of English texts, words like ‘kindness’, ‘sensitivity’, ‘caring’, or ‘compassion’ are translated as OMOIYARI. However, these English-specific words also do not help to reveal the core meaning of OMOIYARI.

Let us consider also the following three examples in order to clarify that OMOIYARI requires components (b) “I want to know what this person feels/wants/thinks, if this person doesn’t say it to me”, (c) “because I want to do something for this person” and (d) “because I want this person to feel good” for its meaning. These three components reveal that the concept OMOIYARI implies the subject’s desire to read the other person’s/people’s “feeling/thought/desire” to make him/her/them feel good.

In example (13) the subject wanted her mother-in-law to have OMOIYARI or *sasuru* her painful feeling about not being able to have a baby for a long time. In example (14) the actress Hitomi Kuroki emphasises the importance of having OMOIYARI between a couple, in order to keep a good relationship. Similarly, in example (15), the subject asserts the importance of having OMOIYARI as a key point for a good relationship between a couple.

Travis (1998: 68) gives the following explanation for OMOIYARI:

**OMOIYARI**

(a) I often think something like this of people:  
(b) I think I can know what this person feels/wants/thinks  
if this person doesn’t say it to me  
(c) I can do good things for this person because of this  
(d) because of this, X does something
Mostly I agree with Travis's analysis, but I will give my explication of OMOIYARI which has been derived from my observations as follows:

OMOIYARI
(a) X often thinks something like this about other people:
(b) I want to know what this person feels/wants/thinks
     if this person doesn't say it to me
(c) because I want this person to feel something good
(d) I want to do something good for this person because of this
(e) because of this, X does something

I have changed Travis's component (a) "X often thinks something like this of people" into my component (a) "X often thinks something like this about other people", since, firstly, "think of" is not NSM, and secondly, "about other people" is better than "of people" for referring to the fact that OMOIYARI is thinking 'about other people' excluding 'about X him/herself'. I have also changed Travis's component (b) "I think I can know what this person feels/wants/thinks" into my component (b) "I want to know what this person feels/wants/thinks" because a person who tries to read other people's minds cannot simply "think I can know" other people's minds as a matter of course, but needs to desire "I want to know" their mind with effort. It could be thought that OMOIYARI might create an impression of being 'forced' on the receiver of OMOIYARI, however, when one tries to have OMOIYARI, one always has a desire to do something good for the other person. Therefore, he/she tries to make an effort to assume the other person's mind. People who have OMOIYARI have to have a vigorous attitude towards reading other people's feelings/wants/thoughts even though they might not be expressed verbally. I posited components (c) "because I want this person to feel something good" and (d) "I want to do something good for this person because of this" instead of Travis's component (c) "I can do good things for this person because of this", since I think the Japanese people would do (including the action of saying) something as a sign of OMOIYARI for the benefit of other people (to make them feel good), but not because they think that is objectively a 'good thing'. Travis's description of component (c) does not include the connotation that the subject's ultimate aim of doing something for other people is to make them feel good.

People who have no OMOIYARI are regarded negatively as "tsurenai (unfeeling)" (Suzuki 1992: 170) or "tsunetai (cold-hearted, unmotivated)" (Matsumoto 1978: 267) or "dorai (lit. dry, businesslike)" (Fukao 1979: 222-223; Matsumoto 1978: 267). Fukao (p. 222) points out that a person in phrases like "dorai na hito (lit. a person who is dorai 'dry' )" is a person who is cold-hearted, or a person who has thin-JOQ, which is understood negatively, and "udeto na hito (lit. person who is udeto 'wet')" is a person who is warm-hearted, or a person who has deep/thick-JOQ, which is understood positively. Both expressions are unique Japanese ways of distinguishing people. Fukao suggests that Western people often misunderstand the exact meaning of these expressions since they don't describe the attributes of people as 'dry' or 'wet' in the same sense.16 Frost (1987: 85) comments on the words "wet" and "dry" as follows:

Many Japanese are fond of saying that they are a "wet" people, whereas Westerners are "dry". By "dry" they mean that Westerners attach more importance to abstract principles, logic, and rationality than to human feeling. Thus, Westerners are said to view all social relations, including marriage, as formal contracts which once they no longer satisfy individual needs, can be terminated. Their ideas of morality are generalised and absolute, with little regard for the particular human context. (...) They make casual friends then let them go, minimising or avoiding lifelong emotional obligations.

By contrast, the "wet" Japanese are said to attach great importance to the emotional realities of particular human circumstances. They avoid solitudes, rely on solidarity and intuition, and consider sensitivity to human feelings all-important. They notice small signs of insult or disfavour and take them deeply to heart.

15 This means that when one has OMOIYARI, one really wants the other person to feel good in the end. Therefore, one might do something soothing which may bother the other person for a time, since he/she may not always receive another person's OMOIYARI positively. For example, when one notices the other person's inappropriate behaviour, one sometimes says something, or takes an attitude which gives a harsh impression; but one does so since one has OMOIYARI for the other person so that he/she recognises something wrong about him/herself and becomes better.

16 The colloquial use of 'wet' in English (UK, Australia) means "weak and miserable" (Ingrid Sleigh; personal communication).
Also De Mente (1994: 79-80) remarks upon Japanese words "wetto (wet)" and "dorai (dry)" as follows:

_Dorai_ and _wetto_ are from the English words "wet" and "dry".

In its Japanese context, a _dorai_ person is one who automatically applies reason and logic to every situation he confronts, whether it be business or a private matter. To the Western mind, of course, is the ultimate goal of education and training—to make us reasonable-minded individuals who can think and behave rationally and logically. To the Japanese, especially to Japanese women, the reasonable, logical person is almost always too objective, too cold for their liking. Their point is that in life two plus two does not always equal four, and that feelings are far more important to a happy, satisfying life than is logic. (…)

The _wetto_ person is one who gives precedence to emotions and feelings. He may not be a good businessman at all from the Western viewpoint, but is frequently the most successful type of manager in Japan.

When words or expression are borrowed from another culture, their meanings often change over time.

11.(1).4. KAWAISOO; AWARE; KI NO DOKU

In this section, the meanings of three synonymous words, KAWAISOO, AWARE, and KI-NO-DOKU are examined. These words are often translated as 'pitiable' or 'pitiful' in English. Although they are often given the same gloss in translations into English, these three words each have their own different meaning.

Hida and Asada (1996: 167) try to explain the difference between KAWAISOO and AWARE by saying that; KAWAISOO refers to a more subjective feeling towards a situation than AWARE. According to their explanation, KI-NO-DOKU is only used to refer to a feeling towards human beings or something to do with human beings, while KAWAISOO and AWARE don't have that restriction. Also, while KI-NO-DOKU is used only with reference to a person who is of equal or higher status than, or who is not very close to, the speaker (Hirose & Shooji 1994: 251; Hida & Asada 1996: 167), both

KAWAISOO and AWARE are more likely to be used for a person who is in a weaker position.

11.(1).4.1. KAWAISOO

KAWAISOO has both a subjective use and an attributive use. First, we will look at various examples where KAWAISOO is used in its subjective use.

<Examples of Subjective Use of KAWAISOO>

(1) - (7) below are examples of the subjective use of KAWAISOO. (1), (2), (3), and (5)-(7) are examples where KAWAISOO is used in the Japanese translation of original English texts. Example (4) is taken from Japanese text:

(1) Aa ni sitte, Shirayukihime wa jibun no minoue o mokkari kare no katamaihika. Kare no kenjo o KAWAISOO ni emori, mooshi kanjo o sugobu no mono o kihin to shi, kare no tanoe ni yoiheta o shi, senta no o shi, amimono o shi, tuumide kare no nara, ima iru tokoro ni todottometeru kawasaimi shi, juubun ni mendoo no mite agemashoo, to imashita. [J. W. Grimm 1963: 39]

(B: In the morning Snow-drop told them all her story, and they pitied [felt KAWAISOO for her, and said if she would keep all things in order, and cook and wash and knit and spin for them, she might stay where she was, and they would take good care of her.)

(2) Minna ga KAWAISOO datte. To iu no mo, minna hahacaa ga hoshihata no desu. Haha to watashi ga shibabu ni suwatte iru to, kakeyote kito, toku ni chiiensu ko ga hana no seba ni ssewaaiti, sawantari shiitegoimashita. [Morgan 1992 Vol.2: 164]

(J: I felt sorry [KAWAISOO for them (other children), they all wanted mothers, too.
They'd rush over when we were sitting on the lawn and would want to sit near her and touch her, especially the little ones.) [Morgan 1987: 269]

(3) Rooin wa kyuu ni jibun no hakkatsu taigyo ga KAWAISOO ni natter kita. Yatsu wa subahusii, metta ni oni ni kakkuo shironimo ja nai. Itai dosu kurui toshi toto iru o daru. Ore no kyoo to i kyoo made, kouza tsuyoi sakana ni bunakatta koto wa nai. [Hemingway 1970: 42]

(J: Then he began to pity [feel KAWAISOO for] the great fish that he had hooked. He is wonderful and strange and who knows how old he is, he thought. Never have I had such a strong fish nor one who acted so strangely.)
law, example (8) which states disabled people are considered to be in a weak position by non-disabled people, and example (10) where women are regarded as being in a weaker position than men.

<Examples of the attributive Use of KAWAISOO>

(8) - (12) are examples of the attributive use of KAWAISOO. Examples (8) and (9) are taken from original Japanese texts. In examples (10)-(12) KAWAISOO is used in the Japanese translation of an original English text.

(8) "Shogashita te, KAWAISOO to is kotei kassen ga, madamada ura-yoo ni omou. Ookubo no gakko jingi mo, Takada-Baba no kowa ojisan mo, kitto (te to ashī no nai) boke no koto o KAWAISOO to kanjite, shinsetsu ni shite kurete no de aroo."
[Ootake 1998: 246]

MT: "I think there is still the fixed idea that disabled people are KAWAISOO. The foreign lady whom I met at Ookubo and the soryu-looking man whom I met at Takada-Baba were kind to me probably because they felt KAWAISOO for me (as I have neither hands nor legs.)."

(9) Sacchan wa no
Banan ga daisuki
Dakedo chocobon kara
Banan o hambun shita
KAWAISOO te

[Yano Sakara "Sacchan" in Saito Vol.4 1971: 8]

MT: Sacchan, you know,
She really likes bananas
But because she is small
She can eat only half a banana
That's KAWAISOO, isn't it? (Sacchan)

(10) "Sensei, onna no KAWAISOO na mono wa n deshoo ka. Wakai otoko wa, rojukai no obasan ni koi wa koto wa nai deshoo. Tokoroga, juudai no shojo o demo, gojuu, rojukai no otoko ni koi wa koto ga urimasho yo ne. Yokokubun de naku... Nec, sensei..."
[Kawabata 1961: 107]

MT: "Otoko, women are pitiful [KAWAISOO] creatures, aren't they? A young man would never love a sixty-year-old woman, but sometimes even teen-age girls fall in love with a man in his fifties or sixties. Not just because they want to get something out of it... Isn't that right?"
[Kawabata 1975: 95]

(11) Minasan wa konna fuu ni kangaete iru koto deshoo. Aa, KAWAISOO na onna da. Dansa mo kodomo mo inai. Kodomo no kawari ni douhatsu o kawagatte iru no daroo te. Demo, sore wa

Hirose and Shooji (1994: 252-253) say that KAWAISOO "indicates that the speaker deeply feels sorrow or pity for the misfortune, hardship, or sorrow of someone who is close to him/her" as in (4) 'friends' or (7) 'father'. They say that KAWAISOO may also refer to a person who "is in a weaker position", such as example (1) where the subject is considered to be in a weak position having been banished from a castle by her mother-in-
married to a half-Jewish man. One cannot alternate KAWAISOO with AWARE in these examples, because if one does, the sentences could convey a connotation of superiority from the speaker to the listener. This is especially obvious in direct speech to the object of the feeling as seen in example (4), where a friend tries to console a girl who is broken hearted. If one uses AWARE here, it would suggest the speaker's conceit, and would sound very condescending and rude. KAWAISOO suggests a feeling of sympathy, but not a feeling of superiority, towards the person who one thinks is in a weak position.

I would propose the following explication for the meaning of KAWAISOO in its subjective use (examples (1)-(7)).

KAWAISOO —- the subjective use

{(Watashi wa)17 Y ga KAWAISOO da
(I feel KAWAISOO about Y)}

(a) I felt something because I thought something about some person18 living thing Y
(b) sometimes a person thinks
(c) "something bad happened to this person/living thing
(d) I think this person/living thing cannot do anything about it
(e) if I can do something good for this person/living thing, I want to do it
(f) when this person thinks this, this person feels something bad
(g) I felt something like this
(h) because I thought something like this about Y

KAWAISOO is not only used for human beings but also for animate things (e.g. 'bird', 'horse') or other living things (e.g. "Kono hana wa fumarete KAWAISOO da (I feel KAWAISOO about these flowers since they have been trampled on) (component (a)

about some person/living thing"). It is not "about another person/living thing", since, as seen in example (11), the subject can feel KAWAISOO about him/herself.

Components from (c) "something bad happened to this person/living thing" and (d) "I

17 When the speaker attaches 'the past tense suffix' or 'some formal evidential markers' to KAWAISOO, this describes an emotion feeling experienced by other people. Otherwise, the subject (experienter) of the feeling is always 'I' in Japanese.

18 This kind of distinction is not included in NSM. However, it is used here as a device of an abbreviation for positing two explications.
think this person/living thing cannot do anything about it" indicate that something bad happened in the past to the object which is in a weak position/situation and cannot do anything to avoid it. The subject has a strong desire to help the object (component (e) "If I can do something good for this person/living thing, I want to do it") (cf. Compare with the less strong desire to help in the component of KI-NO-DOKU which will be discussed later in 11.(I).4.3. of this chapter). The resultant feeling of seeing/knowing the occurrence of something bad to a weak object is "something bad" (component (f)). Even after the subject utters this word, he/she still retains a desire to help the object.

The following is the explication of the meaning of the attributive use of KAWAISOO (example (8)-(12)).

KAWAISOO — the attributive use
[Y wa KAWAISOO da (people in general feel) Y is KAWAISOO]

(a) I want to say something about some person/living thing Y
(b) sometimes a person thinks:
(c) "something bad happened to this person/living thing
(d) I think this person/living thing cannot do anything about it
(e) if I can do something good for this person/living thing, I want to do it"
(f) when this person thinks this, this person feels something bad
(g) I say: other people can feel like this when they think about Y

11.(I).4.2. AWARE

Before considering the present meaning of AWARE, we should note the historical change in its meaning. Izumi (1963) says the word AWARE was used as an interjection and had an important role in Japanese literature from the Heian era (792-1192 A.D.) until the beginning of the Meiji era (1867-1912 A. D.). Kamei (1969: 181) states that the word AWARE was an interjection which covered a wide range of meaning; not only pitiful, but also pleased, interested, happy, and funny feelings. When Japanese people were impressed by something/someone, they used AWARE to express this. Kamei (p.

181) accurately points out that Japanese people often used this word AWARE which had a wide range of meaning, because they did not want to express their impressions with other words which referred to explicit and clear meanings. Speakers preferred to use AWARE and did not explain its meaning precisely. Japanese people often used this word AWARE for expressing a wide variety of deep impressive emotions.19

Although Kamei (1982: 155) suggests that AWARE has strong roots in Japanese emotional life, Sugimoto (1990: 39) also mentions that AWARE is no longer used as an interjection. When someone succeeds in entering university, for example, one would say "Omedetoo (Congratulations)!" or "Waa! Gookaku da (Wow! (You) succeeded)" but would not say "AWARE! Gookaku da (AWARE! (You) succeeded)". In current Japanese, AWARE is used as a nominal adjective, and its old meaning as an interjection has become obsolete.20

Let us examine the present meaning of AWARE. AWARE has both a subjective and attributive use.

The Subjective Use of AWARE

The following are three examples of the subjective use of AWARE. In examples (1) and (2) AWARE is used in the translation of original English texts. Example (3) is taken from the original Japanese text.

(1) "Genshun kara kiryuu made totokarecha samishii ja nai. Dakara dinko de shirintta otokon. ko to tokidoki hotaru e itaru so." (...) "Some koto wa shiranai (mashita no toki nani to kore wa hajmo) kara mo AWARE na to wa so." [Akaeawa 1985: 66]

19 Doi (1985: 21, 24) remarks that when there is something/some concept which is hard to express with words, Japanese people tend to think "it will be fittive if we try to express that with words". Although Japanese people do not of course treat words lightly, they often believe that words are not always competent to express everything.

20 Examining how the old meaning of AWARE is precisely linked to the present meaning of AWARE is a further important issue.
(1) "Yes, if I get lonely, left on my own from Monday to Friday, I just go to a hotel with one of the boys I meet at the disco." (...) "I suppose I should feel sorry [AWARE] for him (who comes back to you every week from his transferred place), but what he doesn't know won't hurt him." [Akagawa 1985: 51]

(2) AWARE ni mo kodemotachi wa ryooshin o kootsuujiku de ichido ni ushinatta. [Yamada & Inabu 1986: 37]

(3) Iya, Takako datte, jibun no musemu o "tokoshibi" de sado o motozukuri. Motozukuri shita no, Yuka to doonepai no musemu o motsu kyaku ga musemu no koko ni mishita no nante sono koto ga okure te jibun no musemu ga yaheri docoshiemo AWARE ni omote kuru. Sono iki nomichi ga hatazure shimasu no mo, haaoyoa to shiite wa dore ni mo naranai motto wa to omou no de aru. [Tango & Tanui 1996: 17]

(MT: No, Takako doesn't want to think that her daughter is "special". Although she doesn't want to think so, for example, talks about the marriage of her daughter who is of a similar age to Yuka at her work place, Takako cannot help feeling AWARE of her own daughter who is quite healthy except for her mental development. As a mother she thinks she cannot stop feeling that way.)

As we have already observed, AWARE refers to feelings which describe one's feeling/emotion from a distance towards the object. Therefore, while one would feel AWARE towards the children whose parents died in an accident as seen in the above example (2), people who are really concerned for the object, for example, the children's grandparents, would rather use KAWAISOO than AWARE. However, in example (3) a mother uses AWARE for her feelings towards her daughter who was born mentally handicapped. Why is this? I think this is because the mother is already convinced that her daughter has been mentally handicapped since she was born. Knowing that she herself cannot do anything about that, she could objectively describe her feeling towards her daughter with the rather objective feeling word AWARE. On the other hand, in a situation like the following, where a daughter became handicapped recently because of an accident, the mother would rather use KAWAISOO than AWARE.

(4) Sengatsu kootsuujiku de ashi ga fujuus ni nata musemu ga KAWAISOO?AWARE de shihata ga nai.

(I cannot help feeling KAWAISOO/AWARE towards my daughter who can no longer walk after a traffic accident last month.)

The explication for the meaning of the subjective use of AWARE can be described as follows:

AWARE — the subjective use

[(Watashi wa) raise Y ga AWARE da (I feel AWARE about Y)]

(a) I felt something because I thought something about another person/living thing Y

(b) sometimes a person thinks:

(c) "something bad happened to this person/living thing"

(d) this is bad

(e) something like this did not happen to me

(f) I know: this person/living thing cannot do anything"

(g) when this person thinks this, this person feels something

(h) I felt something like this

(i) because I thought something like this

Like KAWAISOO, AWARE is used not only for human beings but also for living things (component a) "I felt something because I thought something about another person/living thing Y"). For example, we may say "Shujin ni sutaretara AWARE na inu (The AWARE-na dog which was dumped by its owner)" or "500nen ijo ikiite kita kono taichu ga tochi-kaihatsu no tame taosarero nante AWARE da (I feel AWARE towards this big tree which has been alive for 500 years, since it is going to get cut down for land development). Components (c) "something bad happened to this person/living thing" and (d) "this is bad" imply that the subject observes detachedly that some objectively bad thing happened to the object. Component (e) "something like this did not happen to me"

21 When the speaker attaches the past tense suffix or 'some formal evidential markers' to AWARE, this describes an emotion feeling experienced by other people. Otherwise, the subject (experiencer) of the feeling is always "I" in Japanese.

22 Although the object of AWARE could be some inanimate thing, as in sentences like "Hanshin- daishisshi no ato no AWARE na yosoku no Kobe no meihi (Kobe which looks AWARE after the great Hanshin earthquake)", or "Kono biso wa amari ni funako AWARE na sanpyan da (This building is so old that it looks AWARE)", in such cases, the inanimate object is personalized.
suggests the subject's feeling when comparing the object to whom a bad thing happened. Depending on context, this can involve the subject's feeling of superiority to the object. Citation (1) above is an example of this point. Here the subject is talking disrespectfully about her boyfriend who does not recognize her love affair. Component (7) "I know: this person cannot do anything" implies the subject's detached feeling of resignation about the bad thing happening to the object. The resultant feeling is not sympathetic like that of KAWAIISOO ("something bad"), but neutral "something" (component (g)) in AWARE. Unlike KAWAIISOO and KI-NO-DOKU, there is no component of a desire to help such as "If there is something I can do for this person/living thing, I want to do it" but rather resignation about it. 23

The Attributive Use of AWARE

The following are examples of the attributive use of AWARE. Example (5) is from a Japanese text, and examples (6) and (7) are Japanese translations of originally English texts.


(B [I <-> E]: ... she [Umejo] raised a pitiful [AWARE na] cry: "Oh, I'm so hungry! For mercy's sake, good people, let me have something to eat! I haven't had a morsel since last night. Help! I'm starving!")


(I <= E: Dick and me had to shoot poor old Bass. She was a good horse, but there was nothing for her to eat. What stock was there was in bad condition... Poor [AWARE na] buggers. There was no food. Some of them were too far gone to be helped.) [Morgan 1987: 194]

23 In this sense, AWARE may not fit in this chapter since it does not have the component "I want something good to happen to other people". However, I have included this word here to compare its meaning with the synonymous words KAWAIISOO and KI-NO-DOKU.

11.II.4.3. KI-NO-DOKU

Unlike KAWAIISOO and AWARE, KI-NO-DOKU does not have the attributive use. When one says KI-NO-DOKU about someone, it always refers to the individual subjective feeling.

KI-NO-DOKU literally means "the poison of Ki". Kawashima and Amamori (1993: 52) note that this word was originally used for referring to the speaker's own feeling of unhappiness, but since the Edo era (from 1603 A.D.) it has been used for expressing the speaker's feeling towards other person/people. Hirose and Shoji (1994: 252) explain the meaning of KI-NO-DOKU as follows: "This expresses a feeling of sympathy or
comparison toward another person who has experienced misfortune” like KAWAISO. However, unlike KAWAISO, KI-NO-DOKU is used only with reference to human beings. Furthermore, KI-NO-DOKU is “used only toward a person who is of equal or higher status than, or who is not very close to the speaker” [24]. When one says KI-NO-DOKU, “one feels sympathetically that ‘this situation could have been much better if all had gone well’” [Hirose & Shooji 1994: 252; also Morita 1996: 143]. Examples (1), (2), and (3) illustrate this point especially well. Example (1) is from an original Japanese text, examples (2) and (3) are Japanese translations of original English texts.

1. “Shikashi sensei wa kensoo kara itte, betsu ni doko mo wani to kore wa nai yoo ja arimasen ka.”
   “Yoobo desu tomo. Numimono shiyou wa arimaren.”
   “Sore de naze ka kusccoo ga dekinarin da deshoo.”
   “Sore ga wakaranai no yo, mata. Sore ga wakaru kara nara wakasii deatte, konna ni shihai shita shiinneto. Wakarimari karu KI NO DOKU de tamamarari n desu.”
   “Okusan no goki ni wa hii no ni dojoo ga ataa.”
   [Natsume 1968: 36]
   (J -> E: “But he is in good health, is he not?”
   “Certainly. He is perfectly well.”
   “Well then, why doesn’t he do something?”
   “I wish I knew. Do you think that I would be worrying so much if I did? I feel so sorry [KI NO DOKU] for him.”
   Her tone of voice held a great deal of sympathy.)
   [Natsume 1992: 22]

2. “Oshii (Charli) Brown ga tegami o kaite iru; Boku no shokugyo no seishu e. Nigun ni okurete o-KI NO DOKU desu.
   "Gaman dekina yo! Kusun.”
   [Schultz 1978a: n.p.]
   (B [24-E]: [Charlie Brown is writing a letter]; TO MY BASEBALL HERO, I WAS SORRY [FEEL o-KI NO DOKU] TO READ ABOUT YOUR BEING SENT DOWN TO THE MINORS.
   I can’t stand it [Sob])

3. “Aru ikka wa susummesu na Nyuu Yooiku kara koshite kita n da. Ita to iu no wa danna to to kore wa no kono kuroi, sore ni yamano no ojiisan na da ga ne. KI NO DOKU na koto ni kyonen no aki ni danna ga detsu itte shiinneto.”
   [Fielding 1994: 93]

In example (1) the wife feels KI-NO-DOKU towards her husband, whom she respects, because he is wondering why he became powerless. In example (2) Charlie Brown is writing a letter saying he feels KI-NO-DOKU towards a baseball player he admires, feeling unconvinced about the reason the person was sent to the minors. In example (3) a man states he feels KI-NO-DOKU towards his neighbour whose husband left her family.

In saying KI-NO-DOKU, he implies that she does not deserve that unhappy fate.

The following are other examples of KI-NO-DOKU from Japanese texts.

4. Endo: Boku mo ne, makushii Pari de, hoten ni nekoron de uranai no hon o mite ita. Soko ni dene iru naka de iiban biin na uranashi ni no tokoro o tazanete itta wake. Soshinara dene kita no ga obata ni obasan de na. Sanjuun nen ka yoyosu no, mase no shashin o tsukite ita n desu.
   Hayashi: O-KI NO DOKU.
   [Endoo 1993: 63]
   (MT: Endo: A long time ago I was laying in a hotel in Paris and was looking at a book on fortune telling. I went to visit the most beautiful fortune teller featured in the book. But a really old woman appeared. In the book she was a picture taken thirty or forty years ago.
   Hayashi: O-KI NO DOKU.)

5. Gomi: Chotto kodomo tte itsumo KI NO DOKU na no ne. Docchittemo yoi ko te ka kanji de kitsurenai no. Kodomo wa itsumo so no no, de, itsumo kitsurenai koto yaroo to suru no yo.
   [Taro Gomi (Illustrator) on the TV program "Tetsuko no Heya" Feb. 7th, 1997]
   (MT: Gomi: Say, I always feel KI-NO-DOKU towards children. They are always expected to be good. They are always expected to be so, and they always try to do what is expected of them.)

6. "Zutto kono shigoto o shite iru no roo ka da." "Ha, masu wa eiga nashi o shite iru koto de hatsu ite imashita.
   "Soko o yanare koto ni natta wake ka.”
   Negai hitori no yoo ni to iinu to, kazoo no naushin hinrindo hyojoo o shita.
   "Yahay, onoko de tsurouchita masume ka” to, sono hotel kubi no atari ni me no mo raite to, fui ni KI NO DOKU na kibuns ni natta.
   [Yoshiyuki 1988: 111]
   (J -> E: “Been doing this work for long?”
   “No. I used to be on a film magazine.”
   “And you had to quit!”

24 In example (5) on page 441, the subject is mature and the objects of KI NO DOKU are children. The subject uses KI NO DOKU, instead of KAWAISO, since he keeps a psychological distance from them when he utters this comment.
I'd spoken half to myself, but the question seemed to make her shrink. Another girl who's had trouble with men, I thought. My gaze went to the slender neck, and unexpectedly I felt sorry [KI NO DOKU] for her.

[Yoshiyuki 1975: 73]

(7) (Pari no joreyuan-kaikyuu no fuji-nashi ga, Osutoria kara yatte kita, Marii Antowanette ni kansuru jououo o kookushinseite iru.)
“O-KI NO DOKU ni...Fareweno wa amari, odeli ni naranai-soo desu yo. Obenkyo no ho wo wa, ochiasai koro kora onjiku ni nakatta-yoo desu ne.”
[Endo 1985 Vol.1: 8]

(MT: Upper class women in Paris are exchanging information on Marie Antoinette who came from Austria.)
“[I feel o-KI NO DOKU about her. I hear that she is not good at French. It seems that since she was young, she has not liked studying.”]

In examples (4) and (5) the subject utters the phrase KI-NO-DOKU, which expresses rather detached sympathetic feeling towards the object in contrast to that of KAWAISOO. In example (6) the subject says KI-NO-DOKU towards a girl he meets for the first time since he guesses she has been through a lot of hardships in male-female relationships. In example (7) French aristocrats say o-KI-NO-DOKU towards the princess Marie Antoinette since they have heard that she cannot speak much French yet.

The following three examples are Japanese translations of original English texts.

(8) “Izum ni wa ii muusuki ga itu n da ga, sono koro hayata mimi no byoooki de shinjimatte ne.”
“O-KI NO DOKU ni.” Furaisu ga hana o kurreda. Yaashi o toko da, Morisu wa me ni nami u ukabote omotta.
[Malamud 1969: 40]

(J < Bought 1: “I was a wonderful boy but he died from an ear sickness that they had in those days.”
“Too bad [O-KI NO DOKU],” Frank blew his nose.
A gentleman, Morris thought with a wavery eye.)
[Malamud 1967: 40]

(9) Inoo to Sheira ga Raionou ni, anekii ni deuswando go o shienanai yo, to sosokoshita rashii. Raionou wa koko Dembou no jounai da shi, Inoo no tennaisou no eto to juushichi-son no nai wa Washington daigaku de bussuutetto o shite ita naka dekara, inoo wa kore no mato to nai yoren da to omotte iru. Dokushin no one ga kawaii de shikata ga nai rashii. Yonkkyoufura no chibun wa na nai, waaschi dahe imadani chapuru de “Hai, chikumashu” to ite inai koro o hidaku KI NO DOKU-gatte iru.
[MacMillan 1993 Vol. 1: 10]

(J < Sheela, my baby sister, insisted on giving me his phone number because he lives here in Denver and her simple-sas husband played basketball with him eleven years ago at the University of Washington, and since I’m still single (which is downright pitiful to her, considering I’m the oldest of four kids and the only one who has yet to say ‘I do’), she’s worried.

[MacMillan 1993: 1]

(10) “Ano onnansu no koto kilite?”
“Nan daite? Ninshin shiteru n daite?”
“Soo yoo. Demo, dare no ko ka wakare?” (…)
“Chichi? Ano onnansu no o yujisse no koto?”
“Soo?” (…) 
Watasihishia no o doroe wa, nagaku wa tsumekinaatta. To iu no wa, koto kanjoo wa nagi ni, mame de yaanakenkeba, to iu kinyoo na kutojojukun ni nite kawaveru kara da.
Watasihishia wa, Pikoos no tame ni konwakashi, kanjoo no tame ni kinzutsuki, owari ni wa tada kanjoo o KI NO DOKU da to omou-yoo ni natte.

(J < E: “Did you hear about that girl?”
“What? Pregnant?”
“Yes, but guess who?” (…) 
“Choky? Her daddy?”
“Ub-shabu” (…) 
Our astonishment was short-lived, for it gave way to a curious kind of defensive shame; we were embarrassed for pecola, hurt for her and finally we just felt sorry [KI NO DOKU] for her.

In example (8) Frank is very sympathetic to the man who has lost his son, and he shows this by blowing his nose, but at the same time he uses the rather objective emotion expression KI-NO-DOKU, in a formal sense, since he is not that close to the man and the accident happened quite a long time ago. In example (9) the subject describes her younger sister's feeling towards herself, who has not married yet, as KI-NO-DOKU. AWARE cannot be used here, since this word could possibly imply that her younger sister is looking down on her elder sister (cf. AWARE's component (f) “I know this person cannot do anything” and there is no implication of offering help in AWARE). In example (10) girls feel KI-NO-DOKU towards Pecola who was made pregnant by her father. They do not look down on Pecola, but they think that this unhappy event is unjust for her, knowing they cannot do anything for her. They just look at her from some distance.

In comparison with KAWAISOO, KI-NO-DOKU sounds more objective. Therefore, in the following example, KAWAISOO and KI-NO-DOKU cannot be interchanged.
The person who has a relatively detached feeling of KI-NO-DOKU would not be upset to the extent that his/her lips would tremble. On the other hand, a person who has the personal sympathetic feeling of KAWAISOO would not speak calmly. However, in comparison with AWARE, the person who has a feeling of KI-NO-DOKU has more sympathy with the other person. When we say one feels AWARE towards somebody, we can think that the person is conscious of being in a higher condition than the other person. The subject who feels KI-NO-DOKU about somebody has an impulse to do something, which is lacking in the meaning of AWARE. However, the intensity of this impulse to do something for the object is weaker in o-KI-NO-DOKU than in KAWAISOO.

For example, consider the following case. A veterinary surgeon Noboru tells his wife that a blind man Mr. Tanigawa, the owner of a guide dog (Lucy), has died. The wife, Kaori, knows that Lucy loved her owner, Mr. Tanigawa, so she uses the word "KAWAISOO" for Lucy, since she wants to do something to help the dog who is awfully depressed, missing her deceased owner, Mr. Tanigawa. On the other hand, Kaori uses the rather objective word "o-KI-NO-DOKU" for Mr. Tanigawa, since she knows she cannot do anything for a person who has already died.

The following example, (13), also illustrates that one uses KI-NO-DOKU when one's feeling towards the object is passionate. A boy anonymously called 'A', who brutally killed other children utter this word 'KI-NO-DOKU', as if he were not related to the murders, although it was he himself who committed those crimes.

The explication for the meaning of KI-NO-DOKU can be stated as follows:

KI-NO-DOKU ---- the subjective use

[(Watashi wa)²⁵ Y ga KI-NO-DOKU da
(D) feel KI-NO-DOKU about Y]

(a) I felt something because I thought something about another person Y
(b) sometimes a person thinks :
(c) "something bad happened to this person
(d) I think this is bad
(e) if I could something good for this person, I would want to do it
(f) I cannot do anything"
(g) when this person thinks this, this person feels something
(h) this person don't feel something good
(i) I felt something like this
(j) because I thought something like this about Y

²⁵ When the speaker attaches 'the past tense suffix' or 'some formal evidential markers' to KI-NO-DOKU, this describes an emotion feeling experienced by other people. Otherwise, the subject (experienter) of the feeling is always "I" in Japanese.
Unlike KAWAISOO or AWARE, the object of the KI-NO-DOKU feeling must be human. We should note that this object cannot be the subject him/herself. We could not say, for example, "Risutora sareta jibun ga KI-NO-DOKU da (I feel KI-NO-DOKU about myself, since I was restructured)". Therefore, the component (a) is "I felt something because I thought something about another person Y". Components (c) "something bad happened to this person" and (d) "I think this is bad" show that the person who feels KI-NO-DOKU towards the object thinks something bad happened to the object. Component (e) "if I could do something about this person, I would want to do it" shows the subject's impulse to do something for the object, but in comparison with KAWAISOO, the subject's concern for the object in the case of KI-NO-DOKU is less strong (compare with the component of KAWAISOO "if I can do something good for this person/thing, I want to do it"). However, in comparison with AWARE, the person who has a feeling of KI-NO-DOKU has more sympathy towards the object (AWARE has no component which implies that the subject has an impulse to do something for the object).\(^{26}\) Component (f) "I cannot do anything" shows that the person feeling KI-NO-DOKU knows he/she cannot do anything special for the object. The resultant feeling is less sympathetic (component (g) "when this person thinks this, this person feels something" and (h) "this person does not feel something good") than that of KAWAISOO ("something bad").

\(^{26}\) However, KAWAISOO has a more sympathetic connotation than KI-NO-DOKU does (component (e) in KAWAISOO vs. component (f) in KI-NO-DOKU).

12.(I). NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION IN JAPAN:
(Silence)

In this chapter 12, we will examine nonverbal communication forms which are concerned with the expression of emotions in Japanese culture. The first part of this chapter 12(I). deals with the importance of nonverbal communication in Japan, and then discusses silence and ocular expressions as nonverbal cues. In the second part of this chapter 12(II), we consider the nonverbal behaviour typical of Japanese people and culture. The focus of discussion in 12(II) will be those patterns which often appear incomprehensible or inscrutable to non-Japanese people. I will pay special attention to gestures of eye-movement, crying, and smiling. The study of these patterns will clarify important characteristics of Japanese people's psychology and socio-cultural norms/needs/values.

12.(I).1. The Importance of Non-verbal Communication in Japan

Communication between people involves both verbal and non-verbal messages. Since nonverbal messages are closely interwoven with verbal messages, as Knapp (1980: 11) observes, "verbal and nonverbal communication should be treated as a total and inseparable unit". There are even situations where messages are encoded by nonverbal methods alone (Poystos 1981: 116).

Moreover, when there is an inconsistency between the message conveyed by verbal and nonverbal behaviour, people tend to interpret the former in terms of the latter, "using nonverbal behaviour as a sort of check on the validity, dependability or sincerity of the verbal message" (Arndt & Janney 1987: 369). E. Hall (1977: 71) supports this view by saying: "the body's messages seldom lie, and come much closer to what the person's true but sometimes unconscious feelings are than does the spoken word".
The next passage is a good illustration of this point. The female narrator of this passage, thinks that her mother is laughing only for appearance's sake, judging by her plain facial expression rather than her screeching laughter.

(1) "Okaasan wa watashi to futari kiri no toki ni wa, koe ga donna ni wa: ... de mo, koe o tanai. Keredomo, okoyokasa to obasashi shite iru toki ni wa, koe wa chotto wo waratte nakute, koe bakari kudasaku warante iru." [Dazai 1967: 92]

(J -> E: When Mother and I are alone, no matter how big a smile she might have on her face, she never laughs out loud. But when she's with guests she'll screech with laughter, even though there won't be a trace of a smile on her face.)

[Dazai 1988: 74]

This is consistent with 

Velmurugan's (1972) observation that facial expressions carry more information about emotions, more than tone of voice and much more than the verbal contents of speech. Thus, nonverbal behaviour is an important indicator of one's feelings or thoughts.

The face is often claimed as "the primary site for communicating emotional states" (e.g. Knapp 1972: 68). It should be noted here that the face is still the most controllable part of the body, thus it can be used deceptively (Morris 1978: 106). Although people can successfully control their faces, they cannot easily control their hands, legs, or feet, and often are not even aware of what these parts are doing (cf. Morris 1978: 106; also Davis 1971: 8). The following extract illustrates this view:

(2) Po-to, kokoro ni mishizumu onna e no zo-o no honoo o akaku moyashite itashun bashi o motusu te o hiku-ki kura to furuwa saga Kikuko wa, kyumi ni koyou na hyougo o tsukite ott o nagame, yasashiku tanasu. "Monto oneyou o meshigarami?" (Koroshite yatasi wa.)

[Tsunui 1975:117]

(J -> E: Anger toward the unknown woman burned like a red flame in Kikuko's mind, and for a moment the hand holding her hypodermic shocked violently. But she immediately put on a smile, turned to her husband, and asked him recently if he wanted any more soup. I'll kill him.)

[Tsunui 1990:104-5]

Here, although Kikuko manages to control the vocal and facial manifestation of her feelings, she cannot prevent her anger from leaking out through her convulsive, shaking hand.

We may be able to say that nonverbal communication functions more importantly in Japanese culture than in Anglo culture. This is because the Japanese depend relatively less on verbal communication. The report by Caudill and Winstead (1969) suggests that this more limited dependence on verbal communication can be understood when we look at the Japanese way of rearing children. Caudill and Winstead conducted a comparative study of child-rearing methods in Japan and the United States, and observed that Japanese mothers emphasise physical contact over verbal interaction with their babies, while American mothers emphasised verbal interaction rather than physical contact. They found that, as a result of this early experience, Japanese people are more likely to rely on feelings and intuition, and will make more conscious use of many forms of nonverbal communication in human relations than Americans do.

A Japanese proverb "Iwanu wa ii ni masaru (Not saying anything is better than saying something)" (Noguchi 1980: 81-2) reflects the belief that people's intentions or feelings are more deeply and strongly conveyed nonverbally rather than verbally. In Japan, it is believed that explicit expression of one's thoughts and feelings goes against the Japanese sense of virtue. Ishii (1984: 53) explains the Japanese attitude towards language as follows:

Roy Miller, from his historical research of Japanese communication, concludes that the thought of Katoduma (language spirit) is one of the most important and unique clues to the general low value placed on verbal interaction in Japanese society (Miller 1977). (...) The outspoken and optimistic nori and Nori Japanese came to believe that spoken words possessed spirits and that careless utterance of such ominous words would bring misfortune. It is possible that the fear of such magical powers of language, internalised in Japanese culture, has established the common belief that silence is a virtue and speech is a vice.

With this kind of belief, Japanese people come to be less skilled than those of other cultures in expressing their thoughts or feelings verbally.
Despite this lesser degree of dependence on verbal communication, Japanese people can communicate quite well amongst themselves. This is because in Japanese society, people’s feelings and desires are likely to be sensed by others on the basis of minimal verbal or nonverbal clues. As Clancy (1986: 232-235) points out, the Japanese are trained to understand the minds of other people from childhood. Dale (1986: 108) says that “the Japanese read each other’s thoughts, and hone their sensibility to any ticks of behaviour or clipped nuances of speech that might enable them to read between the lines to uncover those traces of ulterior intent repressed by the abrupt, formal and ambiguous language of interpersonal discourse”. Thus, Japanese people tend to expect that their feelings can be sensed by other people without explicit expression.

In this kind of environment, people can encode a relatively wide range of gestures which differ only subtly, yet vary greatly in their meaning. Therefore, in Japan, it is the ‘modest and subtle’ *shigusa* (gesture) which is more appreciated than a ‘free and emphatic’ *mituri* (gesticulation), which is often considered as ostentatious display (Tada 1972: 98; cf. also Arima 1991: 42).

In Japanese society, where communication through empathy is possible, subtle nonverbal gestures can have a significant function as message indicators. Therefore, identifying and understanding these subtle gestures is essential when communicating with Japanese people.

12.(I-2). The Use of the Sign "......" to Imply Emotion in Japanese

The manner in which people’s attitudes become socially and culturally disposed toward silence is dramatically different in different cultural groups. Ishii and Brunae (1991: 314) contrast the points of view towards silence between European and North American cultures and other cultures as follows:

Northern European and North American societies, for example, are so involved in linear progression that even flashes of silence are filled with action and doing. In these cultures, silence is viewed as dark, negative, and full of “no things” —all of which are considered socially undesirable. In such cultures, silence is ritualized and ceremonialized by authoritative leadership in a wide variety of contexts. In other cultures, however, silence is often achieved. Here, breaking silence is a necessary evil, at best; speaking is a negative act.

Japanese people value silence quite highly. Morsbach (1987: 211) says that “In Japanese novels there would often be silence in response to somebody’s remark, this would be written ‘......’. This indicates that the partner was attentive, though silent”. Consider the following example:

(1)  Otoka wa 17 no toki, konzan, jissatsu mitai, sore kara futsutsuki hodo nochi, seishinka no mado ni tetsugou shi no aru byooin ni irareta. Ooki wa Otoka no haba ni shirasareta ga, su koto wa yurusarekata. (...) “Watashi to wa koto ga wakaru n desho ka.”

“Sore wa wakurimase tomo...... Anata no tane ni anata ni mata n ja arimasen ka.”

“......”

[Kawabata 1961: 30]

(I → E: About two months after her suicide attempt Ooki had been hospitalised in a psychiatric ward, behind barred windows. Ooki learned it from her mother, but was not allowed to see her. “Do you think she’d recognise me?” “Of course she would! Isn’t it all because of you?”

Ooki had no reply.)

[Kawabata 1975: 59]

Here, the expression "......" indicating Ooki’s silence in Japanese is translated into English as “Ooki had no reply”. Naruse (1979: 58) notes that the Japanese silent expression "......” refers to a person’s feelings which cannot be expressed in words, and that this silent expression is often translated into English as “she couldn’t speak” or “she said nothing”. Ishii (1988: 4) remarks that in Japan, moments of silence in communication settings "are not empty and not to be filled with words, but they should be regarded as important nonverbal means of communication”.

When Japanese people cannot find appropriate words to express their feelings, they often become silent, which would be indicated as "......" in writing. In film scripts, this silent "......" expression often appears in place of a character’s words. The actor who
gets this silent expression to perform in such a way that hidden feelings are revealed nonverbally as seen in the following examples:

(2) Mika: “A wakekata.”
Mako: “E.”
Mika: “Mako. Atashi ga okashiku natta to omotte n desho.”
Mako: “(dokko)........”
[Shinario-sakks-kyoikai 1991: 82]
(MT: Mika: “Oh, I see.”
Mako: “What?”
Mika: “Mako. You think I am crazy, don’t you?”
Mako: “(dokko: the sound of a heart beating).”)

Mika: “E.”
Mariko: “Mika no onenasan miite ni mo.”
Mika: “(teeshi) Sonnaa...”
Mariko: “Tada, tokidoki yume miru hito ni nascha na da wa.”
Mako: “teeta.”
Mika: “(kusuru)........”
[Shinario-sakks-kyoikai 1991: 82]
(MT: Mariko: “You are all right. You are clever.”
Mika: “E!”
Mariko: “Like your older sister.”
Mika: “(happily) I’m not like U. .......
Mariko: “It’s just that you sometimes daydream.”
Mako: “Yes, you do.”
Mika: “(discouraged).”)

In the following example, Hattori (1971: 57-58) quotes Junji Kinoshita’s script which depicts a Japanese couple’s love scene. This example illustrates that one’s affectionate feelings towards another person or people can be stated with the silent “......” expression in Japanese.

(4) Man: “.....”
Woman: “.....”
Man: “.....”
Woman: “.....”
Man: “.....”
Woman: “.....”
Man: “.....”
Woman: “.....”
Man: “.....”
Woman: “.....”

(He stares at the woman)
(She stares at the man)
(He tries to say something)
(She tries to say something)
(Deep emotion comes up)
(Deep emotion comes up)
(He decisively tries to open his mouth)
(She decisively tries to open her mouth)

This Japanese couple are just sitting down on the tatami (straw matting) facing each other, but both of them understand the partner’s feelings without any words. Kinoshita (1952: 19) notes that this “......” expression is used often in Japanese drama, saying that this is the result of Japanese education where people are told that it is more noble not to express various feelings outwardly. Kinoshita also says that most scripts for love scenes in Japanese plays were once expressed as “......”, but expressions like “I love you” began to appear after World War II.1 Higashida (1971: 28) states that an indirect expression of emotion such as “I could not sleep that night” connotes more deep affection than an overt expression such as “I like you”. He says that the ultimate expression of love is silence.

The following examples illustrate that Japanese often think that their feelings of love towards others cannot be expressed in words.2

(5) Kotoro in love
“Suki yo.” Let me kiss you now
[Katsue Kusam “Umi” 1986 by K. Kusama]
(MT: I cannot say it in words.
“I SUKI (Love) you.” Let me kiss you now)

(6) Kotoro na mono ni shikyubikute
Chiku sho ni kire do
Kimi no keki bakari ki ni naru
[Off Course “Yes, No” 1980 by P.M.P. & FAIRWAY Music]
(MT: Although I cannot say it properly since words are tantalizing.
Only you are on my mind.)

(7) Kotoro ni narazui
Mune no atai tsukiri (......)
Ai ga sube sa

1 Moesch (1987: 210) reports interesting findings in questionnaires concerning silence which were administered to Japanese couples in 1977. According to the questionnaires, only 6% affirmed that they sometimes whispered “I love you”. Hiroshi Wagonuma (qtd. in Moesch p.210) points out that in the U.S. lovers need to be told constantly by their partners that they are loved, whereas in Japan this would be overstating the case and be regarded as insincere.

2 As the following example shows, a similar idea is sometimes expressed by speakers of English, but this phenomenon is much more salient in Japanese culture:

1 I wish you know, that’s just how true
My love was
NO WORDS FOR MY LOVE
[Paul McCartney and Wings “No words” 1973 by MPL Communications, Inc.]
Ima koko shikau yo. Ai o komete
[Yukiko Matsuo "Little 1985 by CBS/SONY SONGS & Mother Music Pub.]

(MT: The hot feelings inside my heart which cannot be expressed in words (…) Love is everything, I will promise now, with love)

(8) Kimi o aishiteru. Sore to shika senai
Mime ni hitogaro omou. Kotoba wa tamashite mirai
[Soe Rinno "Sore to shika senai" 1996 by Yui Nishiwaki]

(MT: I AISHITEN (Love?) you. I can say only that feelings that fill my heart I cannot express fully in words.

However, problems occur between Japanese and non-Japanese partners in relationships because of their different attitudes towards the expression of feelings of love as seen in the following example:

(9) Otto to watashi wa kokusaikoko. Kotoba no fujiyuu wa nai no desu ga, sore demo bunke no shigai o nika shita no wa nai to koto de wa arimasen. "Ittai koto wa hakkai itta wa ga, wakamatteri ga nalante ito" to omou gaioku shoushinsha no watashi to, "ittai koto o gaman suru no ga OMOIYARI" to osoru Nihonjin no oito. "AISHITEN" ni to iro to kara wa hoshii watashi ni, "Kochi ni wa darazza, kokoro de tusagiini" to iiharu oto.
[Sarette Satoo 32 years old, housewife in "Fujin no Kocon 1996 April: 406"

(MT: My husband and I have an international marriage. Although I don't have a problem in communicating with him using words, it is not easy to understand our cultural differences. I am from abroad, and I think, "It will result in fewer ill feelings if I explicitly say what I want to say," and my Japanese husband thinks, "It is OMOIYARI (very considerate) to be patient and not to say what I want to say." I want to hear the words "I AISHITEN (Love?) you" from my husband, even if it is a lie, but my husband insists that "Love can be conveyed not by expressing it in words but by heart to heart communication.

Not only feelings of love, but other kinds of deep emotion are also considered as not necessarily needing to be expressed overtly in Japan. Often, other deep emotional states are expressed in wordless silence. Ozaki (1978: 230) says that "Latent in the Japanese mind is the conviction that the ultimate truth of life cannot be revealed or grasped by words":

At best, words may build a mimic of the thing to be grasped; yet they can only present an approximation of what is presumed to be the truth. The aesthetic of silence starts with a premise that in the beginning there were no words.

Kaneko (1961: 47-49) notes that the Japanese tend to think that deep extreme emotions can hardly be expressed by words. Therefore, they prefer to say nothing (cf. also Kashiwagi 1993: 83). This common Japanese attitude towards words as being unreliable in conveying emotions can be exemplified by the following examples:

(10) Kanita tokoroo o sono mama kotoba ni suru no wa mutsukashii mono desu.
[Snowden & Dool 1982: 162]

(B [I-, E]: It's hard to give mouth to how I really feel.)

(11) Ibun wa horitoo no kokoro mokochi - sono no nakasara tanin wa wa juubun ni hangeru mono de wa arimasen. Dore hodo joozu ni hanashite, dore hodo ookaa no koto o suiyashite, hanasu hodo son o shita-yoo na kimoji ni naru koto ga arimasu.
[Nace Ito "Seisho ga unda watashi no ren'ai-haten" pp. 138-135 in Watanabe 1986: 138]

(MT: My true feelings - I cannot speak of them properly to others. However much cleverly I speak, however, many words I use, sometimes, I feel that the more I talk, the more I lose.)

(12) "De, (eiga no 'Kuribf Hangei' o) nitoru, moo nani no senai gurui kankochite shinitte." (…) "Kotoba kando, kocho ni imada karute eiga de aiwata koto sakatta yo.
[ConvCam 1994 January: 259]

(MT: "Then, when I saw (the movie 'Cliff Hanger'), I was so impressed that I could not say anything." (…) "I had never experienced such awe and excitement when seeing a movie."

(13) Hito wa mina Dare mo ga mune ni datta
Kanashimi o namida ni koe
Bai koto nare
Kotoba ni narashikoto
Nakata hitotsumo
[Kishita Hisamatsu "Tenshi no yuuwaku" 1992 by YAMAHA Music Foundation]

(MT: Everybody becomes more beautiful when they change their sorrow into tears. Although I have so many things I want to say, I don't know why, but they cannot be expressed in words

(14) Juku no tenudesu o hajimete shite
Ishibookumetsu oshiemashita.
Oseu osoo "Wakatta!" te
Kotoba, "Un wakatta," te
Shoogaku no seito ga kotaete kureta n de su.
[So toki, kotoha de wa ittuki ittenai nanika, jin to kuru mono ga shita no desu.
[Matsushita-Shimbunsha Vol.12 1990: 38]

(MT: When I helped out working at a cram school), I taught earnestly. Fearfully I asked an elementary school student "Did you understand?". He answered "Yes, I did." At that time I felt something hit my heart which I could not express in words.)
(15) Tora-san no inocho Sakura yaku no Baischo Chiie-san no "Amari ni totozen no koto de nan to ite voi ka stama no saka ga masahiro de kotoba ga mitaijikimasu," to Ateum-san no shi o itaimashita.
[Mami Yamas (TV personality) on the TV program "TBS TV Brood Caster: Otocon no tame no waidoshoo kono" on August 10th, 1996]

(MT: Ms. Chiie Baischo, who performed the role of Tora-san's young sister, also mourned Mr. Ateum's death, saying "Because it was too sudden, my hand is blank, and I cannot find any words.

(16) "(...)
Tobashiri ka kara kita, Okinawa de no senso no hanashi, jibun no ninkushin ga, boku ni mo kunkii no aru shinseki no obusan ya ejisai na shinda banashi. Ima, boku ga tatte iru koto de, juusannammin to ita oozii no hito ga shinda, koroshi ga atta. Soo kajiita toki kara, sekai de okoru irona senso ga, boku ni makarekii de wa nukumini. (...)

'Inori' to ita no demo nai, 'KANASHI' to ita no demo nai, sonna kotoba de wa arawasenai.
[Kotoboko wa] haku ka kare no koroko e yasahita.

(MT: "(...)
A friend told me a story about the war in Okinawa, a story about the deaths of aunts and uncles of mine. Here, where I stand now, over one hundred thousand people died; there was a massacre. Realising that, the various wars happening in the world have become related to me.

(...)
It is not 'KARI' (anger) nor 'KANASHI' (sorrow), but some feeling which cannot be expressed by such words which touched his heart deep inside.

(17) Nakatari kimochi wa kotoba ni dekinai
Koriya no tsurui ame ga furu
[Kisuke Kawai's "Manatsu no kajitsu" 1990 by Publisher Hosei Amase]

(MT: I cannot express my desire to cry in words
Cold rain is falling tonight, too.

(18) Owari hana no nai ni ga todesu
Chigau, kitto chigau
Hiitor de wa urare yosensake
Kotoro kanbashite
[Kotoboko no koto ni dekinai
Hatazure ano kore no
Dare no sei de mo nai
Sore ga kawashiku

Anata ni ase
[Asahikawa Eri's "Kotoba no koto ni dekinai"
(Kakunshu 1981 by Fairway Music Co., Ltd. & P.M.P.)

(MT: Love which should not end has ended
Like life has ended
No, it has not, probably not
I ASHII itu ('love') somebody again
I feel so KANASHII (sad) in my heart
I cannot express it into words

The unfulfilled love that time has disappeared
It is not anyone's fault
I feel so KANASHII ('sorrows') about that
I cannot express it in words

It was really good
That I could meet you
I feel so URESHII (happy)
I cannot express it in words

Japanese people have many proverbs which indicate they value silence more than talkativeness; for example, "Kuchi wa wazawai no mon (The mouth is the gate of evil)"
(Tokona 1982: 216), "Kuchi wa wazawai no moto (The mouth is the root of misfortune)"
(Takaishima 1981: 150), "Iwanu ga hana (Silence seldom does harm)"
(Tokona 1982: 149), "Mono etsu kuchibiru samushii aki no kaze (It you talk ill of others, you will have a bad aftertaste and your lips will feel cold)"
(Tokona 1982: 243). The following example illustrates that the Japanese people do not necessarily have a negative impression of people who cannot express their feelings in words.

(20) Onnasoko ni wa
Shai ni ase
[Keisuke Kano in "Anata wa yoriwakun de da! itosete!"
(Kakunshu 1997 by Kono Music entertainment & Aoto y. co)

(MT: You are not used to being with girls
But I am attracted to you because of that.
You are not good at expressing your feelings in words
I like you very much because you are shy.

We should note here that English also has expressions which value silence: "Speech is silver, but silence is golden" (Sondes & Anderson 1987: 232), "There is a time to speak, and a time to be silent" (Gluski 1971: 8), "It is better to remain silent and be thought a fool than to open your mouth and remove all doubt" (Knapp & Enningen 1987: 275). However, Broomhan (1990: 128) remarks that "among the English, silence is golden, but only for children in the company of adults. It is better, though not good, to say I"
won't tell you' than to remain silent.3 Kajio (1991: 31) points out that "while Japanese believe that there are certain emotions which cannot be expressed in words, that kind of belief is not acceptable in places like Europe or the United States."

Why do the Japanese people not place as much value on words as people in Europe or the United States do? The following comment by Homma & Hoffer (1989: 164) stressed this noteworthy point:

Language plays a limited role in Japanese society. People generally believe that it is needless to speak precisely and explicitly with one another because they take it for granted that they share a lot of common assumptions. (...) Many Japanese would like to believe that if they are Japanese, they should be able to understand each other without words.

In a similar vein, Lebra (1976: 115) says:

The Japanese glorify silent communication, ishino-den Chin ("heart-to-heart-communication") and mutual "vibrations," implying the possibility of semi-telepathic communication. Words are powerless against the significance of reading subtle signs and signals and the intuitive grasp of each other's feelings.

Here we should note Morbach's (1987: 204) remark that "We should not go overboard and say, 'Japan is the country of silence'." Reingold (1992: 83), for example, thinks that "Japan is a nation awash in babble." Mizutani (1981: 57) suggests that "When deciding whether the Japanese as a whole talk a lot or a little, one must consider at what time and with what people they talk a lot, in what situation they are silent, and about what subjects they talk a lot or are quiet". For example, Japanese people may become very talkative when they are drinking with close friends after work.

Nonetheless, it is valid to say that they tend to think that they can expect others to understand their thoughts or feelings without explicit verbal expression. The following three examples illustrate this point:

3 Hall (1984: 99) remarks that "Silence means embarrassment for Americans; it is 'empty space in time'. But it shows the deepest feelings of an Arab."
order to understand the speaker's psychological state. In the following examples, other people's emotions are guessed by observation of facial expressions.


(MT: (After Yuri Chechi succeeded in his landing from the rings [gymnastics])  "Chechi from Italy! Oh, that look! That look saying "I did it!" He responds to the audience." (.....) "The mark. 9.887. 9.887. It's a great gold medal!")

(2)  "Aa, hoo ni yo kaishin ni ego de susu. Kono chakushu wa honto ni migoto deshita. Demashita. 9.862. Yonin owatte toppu ni demashita, Shano Mine. Kore made wa owata ato ni dochikara to ito to, miyari desu ne, chotto fukigen na kao ga okizaka Shano Mine desu ga, kyoo wa gomu no rasso desu."  

[Comment by Fujio Kariya in TV broadcast "Atlanta Olympic: Women (balance beam)"]  on July 30th, 1996]

(MT: "Oh, she finally has a delightful smile. This landing was truly great. The marks have appeared. 9.862. After four competitors Shannon Miller has taken the top position. Shannon Miller has often cried or showed an unsatisfied face after performances, but she has a delightful smile today as you can see.")

(3)  Akiyama: "Shinshin no nuenaruto desu."  
Gushiken: "Aa, kimasashita ne."  
Akiyama: "Kiree na chakushi desu."  
Gushiken: "Yaa, kore wa honto ni matsuzoku. Kore iijoo no kekka wa zozenmenai desu ne."  
Akiyama: "Onoiwaru hyoujo ga yurumimashita, Bokkae."  
Gushiken: "Yatta te ka kuni, soo no hyoujo shihen desu ne."  
[Koizo Gushiken & Hiroshi Akiyama in TV broadcast "Atlanta Olympic: Men (bar)"]  on July 30th, 1996]

(MT: Akiyama: "A new sensation."  
Gushiken: "Oh, perfectly executed."  
Akiyama: "It was a beautiful landing."  
Gushiken: "Yaa, this is really satisfying. We could not expect a better result."  
Akiyama: "All of a sudden his facial expression seems relaxed, Becker."  
Gushiken: "He has such a look on his face saying "I did it!""

One of the most subtle and meaningful forms of nonverbal behavior from which people try to grasp the other's true psychological state is gaze; The eyes have symbolic

4 The following example illustrates well that Japanese people cannot expect non-Japanese people to "read" their minds without words.

"Oshigo ni Nyu Yooka ni itta kore wa nihote ga nakatta. Nihon ni itara tanaka no jokushoku ga dekita nani to kagemete okishikonde ita. Nihon no oto o darake, itowametemo wasure dare to busuto shite ita. Soshite Furun wa, watashi wa kaishuu ja nai n da, naze okishikonde iro ka sekinobabiru kurenai to wakaranai. Setsunashite kuretara, naso de dekite kono sirenai to. Naze sirenai komyunikekesho ga dekita no ka to haradasashikatta ga, hana to kowadan koto de nayande ita no ga wakatta.  
[Katsusuke Kuni (movie producer)] in Shukan Asahi 1998 February 27th: 130]

(MT: "When we went to New York, we did not have a job at the beginning. I was depressed, thinking that I could be an assistant director of a masterpiece if I were in Japan. Since I am Japanese, I thought my wife would understand my feeling without my saying anything, and I remained silent. Then Fran said she was not God, so she would not understand why I was depressed unless I explained. She said she could then support me. Although I was upset, wondering why she could not understand silent communication, when I explained it to her, I realized that I was depressed only because of a tease.


As seen in the previous section, in Japanese culture, where tacit understanding is expected, people try to look for a variety of nonverbal cues, such as facial expressions, in
significance in many cultures. There are proverbs such as "Me wa kokoro no kagami (The eyes are the window/mirror of the soul)" (Ooshima 1988: 51; Takashima 1981: 161), or "Me wa kuchi hodo ni mono o itu (The eyes are as eloquent as the mouth)" (Okada 1960: 103), both in Japanese and English. In addition, there is a phrase by Chapman (in Kashima Vol. 1: 246) quoted from his work *The Gentleman Usher*: "Eyes can speak and eyes can understand". Webbink’s (qtd. in Leather 1992: 54) comment illustrates the power of eye expression for communication: "Writers, actors, visual artists, and advertisers have used eye expression and eye images throughout history as a primary mode of communication and presentation because of our beliefs in the eyes as windows of the soul". Thus, human eyes can often be a better communication device than words.

The following sentences serve to exemplify the common Japanese belief that eyes are one of the most efficient devices for communication.

4) Jensi no yo
Ittai koto nara dorokunai
Nar ka wa wakaranak a sufureteru
Watashi kokoro wa oshaberi da wa
Ittai koto nara ano ta ni wa ato kara to kara sufureteru
Watashi igai ni oshaberi da wa
Nanoni i za to naro to uchikii ni naru
Me to me de tsunji un
Kasanaka ni n i iroppoi
Me to me de tsunji un
So o yuru naka ni mitaitai wa

5) The following comment by Matsumoto (1996: 136) is a convincing statement that, in general, a person tries to display a false emotion with other parts of the face such as the mouth:

The smile is the expression most often used to conceal or mask one’s emotions in situations where the expression of one’s true feelings may be inappropriate. When a person smiles to conceal emotions and does not truly feel happiness or joy, the muscle around the eyes will not be tightened.

Thus, as the following example shows, one can control one’s mouth but not the eyes when one tries to smile to conceal emotions.

Hahayoi wa, mitsukara kangegata o shite inu susu ni mita.
Toki ni kuso ga koshimoto ni zoku go.
Sono kiihoo wa nii ni made wa soshinkakanga.
[Steinbeck 1966: 41]

(I <- E: His mother looked after him for a moment and then went quietly back to her work. Her eyes were brimming and kind. But then her mouth smiled a little but without changing her eyes at all.)

Ekman (1993: 390) mentions that false expressions can be distinguished from genuine expressions by the absence of certain facial muscular action such as that of the eyes, which Ekman & Rogers & Hager (1980) found most people cannot perform voluntarily.

[Miyuki Nakajima "Mugo n... iroppoi" 1988 by Poney Canion]

(MT: I cannot say. I cannot say
There are a lot of things I want to say
I am talkative in my heart
The things that I want to say to you are coming up one after another
I am unexpectedly talkative
But when I come to say it, I become shy
We could communicate with our eyes
It is slightly sexy
We could communicate with our eyes
I want to have just such a relationship with you"

(Kare wa hoo hoo ka tasotta no? Sorottomo Mari no hoo kara?"
"Kare wa tasotte, watashii wa sasowastu wa. Une, dochira kara tomoroku ne kanji kanata.
Kare wa, jitto watashi o mitsuketa. Watashi no koto o hoshi o datte, yokos wakatta wa.
Watashi no kara to nasu you ni ni me o tsukita na. E? Deo ku hata ni tte... hoshi mo ho kozen ni me no mae ni aru nomi, made te ni nari te ite ite ki kumochi o tsunayoo to shita no yo. Soshikata, namida ga uke de kita wa. Watashi, kare ni sore o shitte hoshikatta. (....)"
[Yamada 1989: 86]

(U -> E: Was he the one who made the first move? Or did you?
"It was him. No, I guess it was more like neither one of us made the first move. He looked hard at me for a long time. I knew that he wanted me. I looked at him in the same way.
What? How did I look at him? Well, I tried to express the feeling you get when there’s something you really, really want right in front of you, but you can’t have it. And then tears came to my eyes. I wanted him to know that. (....)"
[Yamada 1992: 70-80]

(Kotoba sukuma ni Me o umanasete
Oe o mitsukete
Narazukin o ma
Kimeta kimeta
Onese to midashite ni

(MT: With few words, with wet eyes
You stare at me and nod
I have decided, I have decided to have you as my partner"

(Kotoba ni dekihara
Sukoshi wa masah sa
Tagi no mune no maka wa
Te ni torera hodo na noni
Kasahara itto ni wa
Kanakabokoria
[Tozuyuki Kubota "Missing" 1986 by Kitty Music Corporation]

(MT: It would be better if I could express it in words
Although we can understand what we think inside about each other
Your quiying eyes were telling me
We should have met earlier"

Thus, so far we have discussed the importance of silence as nonverbal communication and ocular expressions as nonverbal cues in Japan. Although there are expressions which value silence in English also, this tendency, however, is much more salient in
Japanese culture. In Japan it is often regarded as noble not to express various feelings outwardly. Also, Japanese people often think that their feelings of love cannot be expressed in words and that the ultimate expression of love is silence. Japanese people believe that not only the feeling of love but also other deep feelings often cannot be expressed in words. We also have seen that Japanese people value silence since they tend to think that they can expect others to understand their feelings, thoughts, or wants, even if they do not express them verbally. We also have seen that eyes can often be used as the most efficient nonverbal device for communication.

The importance of communication with the eyes in Japan can be expressed in the following cultural script.

<3> when I cannot say with words what I think/feel
I can do something with my eyes
I think: my eyes can say what I think/feel
I think: people will know what I think/feel when they see this

12.(II). NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION IN JAPAN:
(Japanese cultural ethos embedded in nonverbal communicative behavior)

The second part of this chapter discusses some aspects of the Japanese cultural ethos embedded in nonverbal communicative behaviour. Today, many novels in one language are translated into other languages. A translator must be versed in cultural traits such as attitudes, values, beliefs, and social rules that are shared by a group of people in the culture of both source and target languages. This is because, without information on these cultural traits, the reader will find it extremely difficult to obtain a complete picture that a given novel in a foreign language intends to present. This also applies to the translation of nonverbal behaviour, because nonverbal communication patterns are, to a large extent, culturally determined. Although the actions of crying or smiling, for example, are universally performed, the situation, manners, purpose, and meaning for which people cry or smile are determined by their culture.

The primary purpose of this second part of Chapter 12 is to examine whether the psychological and socio-cultural aspects associated with Japanese nonverbal behaviour can be translated into some concise and explicable form which can be accurately comprehended by non-Japanese people. This is because simply using English terms for explaining Japanese concepts or norms will lead English readers to interpret Japanese behaviour through the prism of their own culture. Therefore, we will use NSM again to explicate cultural concepts attached to Japanese nonverbal behaviour in simple words and grammar which are understandable to anyone in a non-ethnically-biased way.¹

The scope of the discussion in this chapter can be outlined as follows. Section 1 presents how people in different cultures consider similar nonverbal gestures differently, with specific reference to certain types of eye movement. This section as well as sections

¹ In order to avoid a long and unwieldy exposition, I have used an expanded list of NSM, including words which, although not universal, recur widely in the languages of the world as separate lexical items.
2 and 3, which consider crying and smiling behaviour in Japanese culture respectively, deserve special attention, because they can reveal many important Japanese cultural traits.

12.(II).1. Different Views in Different Cultures: Examples from Eye Movement

Davis (1971: 4) says that "The person who is truly bilingual is also bilingual in a body language". In order to be able to communicate well with people of another culture, fluency in nonverbal behaviour is required in addition to linguistic fluency. This is because, as Morshbath (1973: 276) points out, many misunderstandings in cross-cultural communication, for example, between Westerners and Japanese are "not only due to linguistic problems, but also to mis- or non-comprehension of nonverbal cues".

The linguistic encoding of certain gestures and the meaning attributed to them is different in different cultures. An example is, the phrase in English "to lower one's gaze", which has very different connotations from those evoked in Japanese by the phrase "meiri o sageru (lit. draw down the edge of one's eyes)". The Japanese phrase refers to one's pleased or satisfied feeling, while in Anglo culture this gesture is the expression of something like a 'sad' feeling (Kobayashi 1975: 4; Kobayashi 1991: 159). This facial image can be used in the following situation:

(1) "Ero-jishiki de ma] Subayyan kara denwa o uke, tachinachi meiri o sageru kyaku bakari to wa kagiren."  
[Nosaka 1966: 20-21]

(J -> E: True, some customers had to only receive a call from Subayyan (a pimp) to begin salivating.)
[Nosaka 1969: 27]

Here the customers feel 'pleased' to get a call from Subayyan, who introduced girls to them. In English, the description of this Japanese facial expression would not be translated word-for-word as "drawing down the edge of one's eyes". This is because the equivalent English facial expression does not convey the intended meaning of the expression in the original text. It is translated as "salivating", which only partially corresponds to the original meaning, since it implies the customer's positive response, but expresses it through a different part of the body; the mouth.

In another example, the eye-movement "me o hosomoru (lit. narrow one's eyes)" is a facial expression which is specific to the Japanese language, including something like a "pleased" or "comfortable" feeling. Examine the following sentences:

(2) "Obachan, Fumiyasu niichan wa genki?"  
Yoko wa mugiwara booshi o kaburina, also yoku. Fumiyasu wa jimoto no kokuritsudaiikato o sotoyooch, Yokohama no gaishikei no kaisa ni tsutomete iru. Ine mitte Ichizou to Tanio no jiman no musuko na no do. Hinchito ga yorokobi-sou na koto o shame ni Yoko wa kuchi ni dekira. Jijitsu, Tanio wa me o ite hottomate, "As, renkyuu ni wa kettei koremada techo, to nando mo uwanai."  
[Hayashi 1993: 15]

(J -> E: "How's Fumiyasu doing, Auntie?" she asked, putting on a straw hat. Noriko's elder brother, Fumiyasu, had graduated from the local prefectural university and was now working for a foreign investment firm in Yokohama. He was, in a word, the apple of Ichizou and Tanio's eye. Yoko had a natural way of bringing up subjects people wanted to talk about. And indeed, Tanio's eyes crept with pleasure [lit. narrowed after eyes].

"Oh, Fumiyasu? He's so busy he couldn't even come back for the holidays," she said, nodding again and again.)
[Hayashi 1996: 15]

(3) Kere wa, otokonoko dooshi no aima ni, hitoru de soto o mitte iru koto ga atta. Sotsute, teikou, aki no keze ga fukkonde kiteru suru to, totemo kimocho yoo-sou ni me o hosomoru no datta.  
[Yamada 1989: 101]

(J -> E: Sometimes when the boys were talking among themselves, Seeki-kun would be gazing out the window. And sometimes when the autumn wind blew in, he would narrow his eyes; against it, he seemed to luxuriate in it.)
[Yamada 1992: 94]

(4) "Il minoro, savwameto kimocho no il ine da wa. Kyosen to wa taiken no chigai da wa," to ine no kanoshoku o tanoshimi-yoo ni me o hosomoru.  
[Kawabata 1973: 104]

(J -> E: "See how it's headed. And how nice it is to the touch. Entirely different from last year's rise." She half-closed her eyes from pleasure.)
[Kawabata 1973: 121]

In the above example (2), for the English translation of the Japanese expression "me o hosomoru", a phrase "with pleasure" is added to the description of crinkled eyes, since just the phrase "eyes crinkled" does not convey the "pleased" feeling connoted by the
12.(I).1.1. Eye-contact vs. Avoidance of Eye-contact

Comparison of ocular expressions between English and Japanese reveals some important points about the different emotions attributed to eye movements in both cultures. Mizutani (1979: 36) mentions that what Americans often find disagreeable about Japanese behavior is their avoidance of eye-contact during conversation.

Tooyama (1991: 208) explains that Japanese “feel uneasy when someone’s eyes are fixed on them”, because this is in conflict with the Japanese custom of ‘bowing’, where one lowers one’s head, so that the eyes cannot meet. According to Tooyama (p. 206), avoiding eye-contact is a sign “showing respect to the partner if he is a person of high standing”. In the old days in Japan, it was forbidden to narrow the distance between the two or to meet the eyes of a superior without the permission of the person of higher status.2

Although in Anglo culture there is also a strong social norm against staring (Werner and Reis 1974), there is also a rather high value placed on eye-contact. Eye-contact is important for the speaker in order to show ‘politeness’ to the other person/people (cf. Davis 1971: 7; Argyle 1990: 158). Davis (1971: 7), for example, examined a typical American conversation, and reports that: American people glance at the conversation partner from time to time for feedback; to make sure they are listening, to see how they are reacting or for permission to go on talking. When the partner is doing the talking,

2 Endoo describes the different effect of eye-contact between Japanese and non-Japanese as follows:

Messen no shite sore wa gaikokujin e no shite sore wa shisetsu to omowarete ii ga, Nihonjin ga okoku ni seki ni wa kekkushikin de doremasu. Mitigamasesu. Mayu no arari o, iwawato nagaimet ga shito so ga, wazashi hirai de wa ippai do. [Buitaka Endoo “Hannari-Jijouz” “Kiro-joz” in Michiru 1997: 172]

(MT: As for eye contact, looking at the eyes of your conversation partner is good, giving the impression that you are serious, when the person is non-Japanese, but when your guests are Japanese it makes them cautious. It makes them take a stance. From my experience it seems good if I talk to them with my eyes looking scarily at the area around their eyebrows.)

they glance often at him/her to show that they are paying attention: or that they are being "polite".

Thus, Japanese and Anglo cultures have different attitudes toward eye-contact. But differences of this kind cannot be satisfactorily explained by the use of any English labels such as 'respectfulness' or 'politeness', as if they were self-explanatory. Both the value of avoidance of eye-contact in Japanese culture and the value of eye-contact in English culture can be labelled as 'respectfulness' or 'politeness', if people judge these values in their own cultures. In fact totally different values are required to evidence politeness or respect. Therefore, as Bronsahan (1990: 115) suggests, Japanese people will interpret the Anglo 'polite' value of eye-contact as "intrusive", whereas from an Anglo perspective Japanese avoidance of eye-contact can be interpreted as "shy or devious".

As Wierzbicka (1991a: 71) argues, "If we want to compare different cultures in terms of their true basic values, and if we want to do it in a way that would help us to understand those cultures", we cannot count on English-specific labels like 'politeness' or 'respectfulness'. The exact meaning involved in values of each culture can be explicated only "if we translate it into culture-independent, universal or near-universal concepts such as want, say, good or bad" (Wierzbicka 1991a: 76).

I suggest that the Japanese cultural norm concerning avoiding eye-contact during conversation can be stated as follows:

<1a> if I don't know someone well
   when I talk to this person I cannot look at this person's eyes
   if I do this
     this person can think that I think something bad about this person
     this person can feel something bad because of this

whereas Anglo culture embodies the following cultural norm concerning eye-contact:

<1b> when I say something to another person
     it will be good if I look at this person's eyes from time to time

it will not be good if I look at this person's eyes all the time
when this person says something to me
it will be good if I look at this person's eyes all the time

12.(II).1.2. Japanese People's Wariness of Other People's Eyes

People's critical feelings toward somebody can be linguistically encoded by a description of their eyes in Japanese. As Clancy (1986: 235-237) remarks, when Japanese people teach their children proper behaviour or norms, strong emphasis is put on the imagined reactions of other people watching them; "Hito ga miteru 'other people are watching'". Parents appeal to people's (critical) watching eyes to make their children recognise what kind of behaviour is appropriate in order to conform to their society's expectations.

Since in Anglo culture people are not as wary of other people's watching eyes or of what other people will think of them as the Japanese are, they usually don't feel anxious and self-conscious to the same degree as Japanese do if a critical glance is cast upon them. Therefore, in the following example, the Japanese phrase "usankuasi me de mirareru (being looked at [by people] with suspicious eyes)" can be translated in English as "people get funny ideas", without mentioning 'people's watching eyes':

(?) "Sanjun ni nante mo mada hito ni da to, usankuasi me de mirareru mono!"
'Dare ni!'
'Dare ni te, yoonashika no hito-tachi ni..."'
[Yoshiyuki 1988:126-7]

(I --> E: 'People get funny ideas about a girl who's still single at thirty'.
'What people?'
'Ordinary people. The people round about, of course.')
[Yoshiyuki 1975: 82]

The Japanese people's wariness about another person's people's watching eyes can be portrayed as follows:
<2> when I want to do something I cannot not think:
other people are looking at me all the time
if I do bad things people will think something bad about me
because of this I cannot do bad things

12.(II).1.3. The Gesture of Widening the Eyes

The different attitudes towards other people's watching eyes in Japanese culture and in
Anglo culture are also reflected in the different meanings attached to the gesture of
widening one's eyes. The Japanese gesture of "akambee", where people pull down their
lower eyelid with a forefinger, is used for showing 'slight insult' or 'rejection' towards
another person/people. This is because this gesture of widening one's eyes implies
something like 'rudeness' in a culture like Japan, where avoiding eye-contact is
understood as being polite. In some Western cultures, the same gesture may imply: 'be
careful; I am not a fool; I don't believe it', because widening eyes in their cultures implies
'trying to see more information' (cf. Kiyota, Fukuta & Tanaka 1983: 47).

In order to show the whites of one's eyes, one has to widen one's eyes. Because
widening the eyes is connected to the negative 'watching' image in Japan, the expression
like "shiroi me de miru (lit. look at [someone] with the whites of one's eyes)", is used
for the description of the eyes which 'look at someone reproachfully or contemptuously',
as seen in the following passages: 4

(8) "Inma made no seikatsu o seken no hito wa kimo shiroi me de miru to omou to kanashika
narinamu."  
[Yomiuri Shimbunsha, Fujin-bu 1988: 47]
(MT: It makes me feel sad to think that other people will look at my past (lit.) with white
eyes.)

Since in Anglo culture widening one's eyes is considered to imply trying to see more, the
English expression to "see the whites of one's eyes" refers to the person's fear or
frightened feelings, and does not contain any critical connotations towards an other
person/people.

We can portray the Japanese cultural assumption concerning the gesture of widening
one's eyes as follows:

<3> when a person (X) sees another person (Y) with big eyes,
people can think:
this person (X) is thinking something bad about this other person (Y)
this person (X) knows
that this other person (Y) can feel something bad because of this
this person (X) wants this
this person (X) wants this other person (Y) to know
that this other person (Y) is doing/did something bad

12.(II).2. Japanese Crying

12.(II).2.1. Suppression of Crying

In Japan, learning to control the expression of emotions, particularly negative ones, is
regarded as an indispensable part of one's growth. The direct display of uncontrolled
emotions, especially on the face, is regarded as unrefined and graceless (Kanayama 1978:

4 This expression is not used for describing the speaker's own behaviour. This is used when
describing somebody's watching gesture towards somebody else (a third person) or the subject himself.
159), or as "sign of weakness and is always in extremely bad taste" (Zimmerman 1985: 57). 5  

An example of this may be seen in a Japanese woman who lived away from Japan and who stated that the reason she could not adapt herself to Japanese society was that she always expressed her emotions externally. She recollects that her unrestrained display of emotions threatened Japanese men (Yanagihara 1994: 183).  

Therefore, external expressions of strong emotions such as crying or showing tears in public places can cause disdain and embarrassment on the part of the onlookers. This especially applies to males; but even females cannot always resort to crying; they are also expected to try to suppress or hide their tears, if tears cannot be stopped at all.  

Tada (1972: 224-226) is correct when he mentions that when Japanese people see another person crying, they are more impressed by the person's attempt to suppress or hide their tears than by the tears themselves. The following extract from a Japanese traditional "jooruri" play, written by Chikamatsu Monzaemon in the Edo period, supports this view (qut. in Iizumi 1963: 240): 6  

(1) "...Namida tashinamu kaotoki wa nakinaketsu yori aware nite...."  

(MT: The sight of their faces, trying to stop from shedding tears, looked more pitiful than if they were desperately crying....)  

Therefore, when a man cries, suppression as seen in the following example is acceptable:  

(2) [Tomoko no chibiuys wa] nigirikobushi ni shita kate o me niitate, uno otonokoski to in kite no kotoba no yoo ni, te-he-te to iu yoo na koe o iitate, nakadashita no de aru...ka-ka-ku-ku to jakou s koe o nande naku no de aru.  

[Uno 1963: 123]  

(J -> E: [Tomoko's father] brought one clenched fist to his eye and then--just as they describe a man grieving -- his voice rose in a sharp, choking cry and he began to sob.)  

[Uno 1989: 140]  

However, the following unpressed crying is disgraced, even at the funeral of the subject's own mother:  

(3) Dokyo go owata toki, Shintaro no o setsu wa hitokiga okibika kasasoo-ichi no nijoo ni nagarete. (...) Taishan ga Shintaro no shusui o warante ita.  

[Tsuuzui 1975: 203]  

(J -> E: Once the chanting was over, Shintaro's hysterical sobbing could be heard throughout the room. (...) Most of [the guests] were laughing at Shintaro's ridiculous behaviour.)  

[Tsuuzui 1990: 172]  

Thus, a negative image is attached to the overt expression of emotions by means of crying. Therefore, when Japanese people mention their own crying, they describe it as a spontaneous occurrence of 'tears', and not as their own voluntary action. The following example, where the English phrase from a popular song is compared to the corresponding Japanese translation, illustrates this:  

(4) "Otonokos o osanaoko o kanashimasete iru tokoro ni zaru to,  

(J <- E: When they got to the part / Where he's breaking her heart)  

Namida ga deta kichau."  

(J <- E: It can really make me cry.)  


The gloss for the Japanese phrase 'namida ga deta kichau' as the translation of the English phrase ". . . me (I) cry..." is as follows:  

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5 Yasuoka Wanasabe (25 years old) who lived in Vietnam for a few years compares the expression of emotions between Japanese and Vietnamese people as follows:  

"Soo dace ac. Vietnamu jin ia ki-do-nai-ka ga egin ou e dace ac. (...) Nihon wa yokutsu narute ite na te omou koto wa aru. Kasen o osate iro so ka ka, soo lu kibun te no wa, Nihon ni iro toki wa itome ajiwatte imashita."  

[Keiayashi 1996: 27]  

(MT: "Well, yes, Vietnamese people express feelings of joy and anger [happiness and rage] clearly. (...) I sometimes think that people's emotions are suppressed in Japan. I always felt that I was controlling my emotions when I was in Japan.

6 Although this was written in the Edo period, this concept is still generally accepted in Japan.
Namida ga dete ki -chau

Tears SUB flow come end up coming

"-Chau" is the contracted spoken form of "-te + shimau". This means, in this context, "to end up doing -- contrary to one's original plan" (cf. Jorden 1988: 98). Here, the action of crying in English is rendered in Japanese as the experiencer's tears. The Japanese version implies that the person's crying wasn't caused by his/her internal emotional activity; it was something spontaneous.

On the other hand, when the Japanese phrase 'namida ga dersu (tears come out)' is translated into English, it is replaced with an expression like 'I cry' or 'I weep', which indicates that this is a personal emotional activity:

(5) "Teinen o iwatassetara... Aruki, futo jibun no tokoro e mawasarette kuru shorui ga shidaini hette kire ru koto ni ki ga suin toki no shogakari. (Ano toki wa namida ga deta.)"

[Tsunui 1975: 82-3]

(I --> E: After he had been told of his retirement, one day he was shocked to realize that the documents he had been asked to handle were gradually decreasing in number. I broke down and cried.)

[Tsunui 1990: 77]

(6) "Watashi wa konya wa, ii kimochi deshitara. Bunji-san to Eiji-san to anata to, rippa na kodomo ga nanin narande suwarte ru tokoro o miseta, namida ga deta hodo, ureshikatta."[

[Dazai 1967: 203]

(I --> E: 'I feel very good tonight. When I saw you and Bunji and Eiji sitting next to each another, I was so happy I almost wept.' )

[Dazai 1983: 172-3]

Further, in the following example from Japanese text, a wife denies that "she was crying" and only says, "tears came out".


"Namida n to kai?"

"Namida nai. Demo namida ga dechaa wa."

[Hebe 1999: 209]

(MT: When I entered the living room, my wife Maki had her face down on her arms on the table.

"I did not realize you were back. Welcome home."

"Are you crying?"

"No. I'm not crying. But tears came out.")

From these examples we can see that in Japanese culture a negative image is associated with a person's being the active agent of crying. This Japanese cultural attitude can be portrayed in the following semantic formula:

< 4 > when people see tears in my eyes
I don't want people to think:
this is happening to me because I want this to be happening
I want people to think:
I didn't know that this would happen to me

Thus, an external display of strong emotional expressions, such as crying or showing tears in public is likely to be seen by others with some disapproval and embarrassment.

As we have suggested before, this applies to men more than to women. The following sentence describes how men are trained not to cry from their childhood:

(8) Jossei no namida wa boku densyo yo na. Kaunjoo to chokketsushinritu shi, "konna toki naite, watsa to naite iru na chaa kai?" to omotenimo, otoko wa in koto o kiite shimasu yowasa ga arimasu. Jossei wa chiisai toki kara, naite ibiiyogikuru koto o yurusarete kita shi... Sone ni karabaru to, otoko wa "saito ni konsa, takko warai." to sodatemite kite naku otoko wa sowari to is kotobakken ga asu kara, Jossei no yoo ni wa nakemai a desu.

[Fusee 1996 July No. 37: 60]

(MT: Women's tears are a weapon. Their tears are directly connected to their emotions, and although men think "Aren't they crying now on purpose?" men cannot not listen to them when they cry. Women have been allowed to express their will by crying since they were little... In comparison, men were raised being told that "Men should not cry, that's not cool." and there is a fixed idea that men who cry are weak: that's why men cannot cry like women do.)

Henly (1977: 174) say this the training of children's facial expressions by adults is a primary avenue of sex stereotyping in English-speaking countries, too. Boys are told it's not manly to cry, and girls are admonished that groveling isn't pretty.

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Matsumoto (1987: 96) describes a scene in a public bath during which a father scolded his three or four year old son who was crying after falling over, "Don't cry! You are Japanese, aren't you?" Shiraiishi (1974: 113) also mentions that a mother may reproach her little son, who cries after tumbbling on the road, by saying "Men shouldn't cry. It's shameful. You will be laughed at by everybody". The following phrase from a song also illustrates the idea that men should suppress their feeling of crying:

(9)  
Seto wa higurete  
Yumами konami  
Anata no shima e  
Gyome ni iku no  
Uzumari oto o  
Ikena to nai  
Oroko dattara  
Naitari senza ni  
Tosan kasan  
Daji ni shite ne  
[*Seto no hayasome* 1972 by Watanabe Music Pub. Corp.]

(MT:  
It gets dark at Seta  
evening waves small waves  
I'm going to your island to marry you  
My young brother cried, saying 'don't go'  
If you are a man ... don't cry  
Take good care of our father and mother)

The following example shows that although there are some women who accept men crying in front of them, most women think that it is totally unacceptable:

(10)  
Onna no mae de no "Otoko-naki". Jitsu wa, taisai kinmade, watashi wa sore wa saritamae no koto da to omoikonde itsu. (....) Watashi wa, umishukishii "otoko-naki" no jittome o, mawari no doo o motomera tsunori de fusanai hajimeta. Are to nomore kaze kashi o tsugumi toton, onna-tachi ga lase ni wakenakette kita. "Namaste!" "Otoko ga naku nante, mitomonai!" "Doko ni sono ryou no hata ga nai no yeto. Yuriusenai." (....) "Shakai no kadeniku ga doku to ose, sono otoko-tachi wa, yappari aho yo. Koibito ni nante katarisanai."  
[Toodoo 1994c: 88-89]

(MT:  
"Men crying" in front of a woman. In fact, until recently I believed that it was natural.  
(....) I started to talk about real examples of beautiful stories of "men crying" in order to get my female friends' agreement. As soon as I stopped talking, they all started to let out a squeak at the same time. "What's that?" "It is very shameful for men to cry." "Where are those guys? Is it unforgivable?" (....) "How ever high up they have, men like that are stupid. I would never want a man like that for my boyfriend.")

Also, in the following example the subject confesses he changed his mind when he saw his grandfather crying:

These examples show clearly that it is rare for men to cry in Japanese culture in front of other people.

12.(II).2.2. Do Japanese Dislike Crying?

We should note, the reticence to shed tears in public doesn't mean that Japanese dislike crying or shedding tears as such. In fact, the opposite appears to be the case. Words like 'cry' or 'tears' frequently appear in *enka* (Japanese ballads), or in catch-phrases used for advertising movies such as "[(Kono elga wa) nakasemasu ([This movie] will make you cry)]" or "Elga 'Nodo Jiman' no sambai nakasemasu ([This movie] makes you cry three times more than when you see the movie 'An amateur singing contest']" (CM of the movie "Big Show!" in *Asahi Shimbun* 1999 May 7th: 16), which really appealed to Japanese people. Mita (1992: 31) reports that the word 'tears' is the most frequently used noun in Japanese songs. It occurs in 83 of the 451 songs mentioned here, or nearly twenty percent.

Indeed, on some occasions, people expect a person to show tears or cry. For example, in the following sentence, the audience expected the actress, whose son was arrested for drug use, to cry in order to show her "apologetic" feelings:

(12)  
Jinan (18) ga kakezainai-shiyo de taishoaretu joyuu, Mita Yoshiko-san ga kishakalkenshi. (....)
"Taking a calm attitude towards difficulties should be the prerequisite of a leader," commented non-Japanese reporters who were surprised to see the president's crying."

Although there may have been some Japanese people who thought the president's crying was disgraceful, I think many Japanese people accepted his attitude with sympathy. If the president talked calmly as expected by the non-Japanese reporters, he would have been blamed by the Japanese audience for not having shown sincere feelings of guilt and introspection.

However, we should be careful about who those critical 'non-Japanese reporters' are, in the above example. Culturally, for example, Latin people express their emotions more freely than Anglo-Saxon people, so they might take the above president's crying more generously than Anglo-Saxon people. Also, we should consider generation and age differences. Compared with the older generation, where men's crying was taken more negatively, crying is becoming more accepted even in Anglo-Saxon culture in the younger generation. Also, even in a culture where men's crying is strongly disdained, there are some people who would sympathise with men's crying on specific occasions. Thus, it is dangerous to simply generalise that Japanese people are more accepting of men's crying than non-Japanese people. However, we might say that Japanese people generally understand the feeling of men who end up crying at specific situations, and can accept this with empathetic feelings.

Watanabe (in Meiji-Shoin-Kyookabsu-Henshushu 1997: 8) also says that although Japanese men are expected not to cry on ordinary occasions, there are a few special occasions when a man can cry, where crying on such occasions can be accepted warmly by other people. At the wedding of his daughter, for example, a father often cries aloud.

Another example, in which after the final game of the national high school baseball
tourney at the Kooshien, the winning team’s players openly cry for joy, while the losing team’s players show tears of sadness. On these special occasions, crying is accepted by everybody as a sign that the weepers are human with warm emotions.

The following sentence also illustrates that Japanese people tend to think positively of men’s crying on special occasions. The reporter describes quite positively a ski jumper crying after the success of his jump at the Nagano Olympics:


"Ippon de ii kara jibun no jumpu o shiyou te omotta. Jma made jibun no dekia koto ga dekimakara koto ga kuyashii," to umekinigara.

Koko zo to fs toki ni shippanshita koko no kimi (1994 Rihhennamu de shisoku no tame kis ga torezu doo-meiru ni owaru). Sono tsurara o shiin hitsu wa ooi. Sore ni tsuchimukai kokanakunuru koto no muzukashi o koku no hito ga shite iru. **Takara jumpu ga seikoshirite** kokoneto yoo ni saho Hanbka o mito, koko kara yoseta o omos.

[AERa 1998 No.9, 13]

(MT: I wanted to jump to my own satisfaction, even if only once. 136 meters. That was the longest on record.

Hanbka cry.

"I wanted to jump to my own satisfaction, even if only once. I felt KUYASHII [Vexed] that I hadn’t been able to fulfill my potential.

His heart was scarred by his inability to succeed when most important (At the Lilhammer Olympics his team won bronze instead of gold due to his lack of speed). Many people knew that feeling of TSURASA (‘Pain’). They also know the difficulty of confronting that, and overcoming it. Therefore, looking at Hanbka dissolving into tears upon his success, many people in their hearts thought that it was good.

Also on the following occasion where a man cries at the death of his fiancee, the reader will sympathise with him:

(15) **Awo na awa na Natsuko!** Dochhite shinansukereba nanarankanu no da. Amari ni hdoousumu.

Jibun wa omoidarawari no sareba suru hodo, omoidarawari. Suttoo kawasiego de kawasiego de shikata ga edo, tsi umekihari no data. Mimosano otoko da to emco ga, shibuki togero no koto ga omoidarawari to, deo ni mo shibooka ga dekimaka.

[Mushaneqkoji 1967: 99]

9 Takano (1995: 66-67) remarks that crying/weping is not an expression of ‘sorrow’ but also of ‘anger’ or ‘joy’. It is also worthwhile noting here Frijda’s (1986: 53) observation that “Weeping and laughter have much in common. Their facial features resemble one another”; “weeping in happiness can be seen as the manifestation of powerlessness to absorb and integrate the new, overwhelming situation; that situation is too much to be grasped and adjusted to”; “They differ in vocalisation and in the tendency toward extrovert activity in laughing and introvert activity in weeping”.

In another example, Mr. Kiyotsugu Shitara at the Tokyo Management Union advises people who were fired from work because of the economic depression in Japan: “It is better to cry and apologise about the loss of employment in front of your family. If a father cries from the bottom of his heart, the family will certainly support him. (…)

There are many cases where the ties of family get stronger after that” ("Risotora de shiwase ni naru") pp. 25-28. in AERA 1999 March 15th: 26).

It is interesting to see that in ancient Japan men’s crying was regarded as evidence of being a warm-hearted person, and men used to cry more freely. Yamaguchi (1984: 372), for example, finds many noblemen crying outwardly in the writings of the Heian period (794-1192 A.D.). She says that the ethic of suppressing facial expressions of emotion began to be codified from the Middle Ages (1192-1609 A.D.), when the feudal-military code of Japanese behaviour became highly valued (cf. also Sakuraba 1978: 70).

Nomura (1995: 136) points out that although men are expected not to cry in public places, men who never show tears are regarded as “inhuman” or “cold-hearted”. These people are disdained as “Chi mo namido mo nai (lit. having neither blood nor tears”).

Although there are many occasions when Japanese men are supposed to suppress their crying, there are still a few occasions where it would be expected that they cry unreservedly. Stucki (1980: 45) argues that Japanese people make clear distinctions about how freely they can express their emotions according to place, situation, or human relationship. Even in the Middle Ages, there were formal occasions where they had “bureikko (a free and easy party)”, where people could express their emotions freely.

The fact is that Japanese people, although they understand the desire to cry or shed tears, are well aware of the cultural norm which inhibits its direct manifestation. Honna and Hoffer (1989: 88) remark that strong expression (verbal or nonverbal) of negative emotions could embarrass other people, and that direct expression of these emotions
could cause feelings of insecurity in other people. That is why, when the Japanese
cannot help expressing these emotions, they should do so "in a form that is neither
offensive nor aesthetically unrepresentative" (March 1988: 152).

The Japanese cultural norm which describes the disapproval of a public display of
crying (or negative emotions in general) as well as their relatively generous attitude
towards other people's feelings, such as that expressed by crying on some occasions, can
be portrayed as follows:

< 5 > when a person (X) feels something bad,
something happens to a part of this person's (X's) body
it is bad if other people can see this
other people can feel something bad because of this
because of this X does something
sometimes X cannot do anything
people don't feel something bad because of this
because they know: X cannot do anything


It is smiling which Japanese people usually employ to establish a warm climate in their
interpersonal interactions. Laughter can also sometimes be used as a means of facilitating
interaction. As Sobue (qut. in Nomura 1980: 340) points out, the Japanese use laughter
to fill uncomfortable pauses in their conversations. Haga (1979: 26) expresses a similar
view, observing that when Japanese people feel nervous, for example, when talking with
non-Japanese, they tend to overlap their utterances with laughter in order to relax. 10

As Fukasaku (1977: 18-19) observes, however, it is only children who are allowed to
laugh freely on any occasion in Japan. This is because laughter has the potential to hurt

other people's feelings. Fukasaku explains the reasons for controlling laughter in Japan
as follows: (1) Laughter is often used for insulting or punishing others; (2) When a third
person listens to somebody laughing, he/she tends to get worried, wondering if it might
be him/herself who is being laughed at, and may feel uncomfortable. Because of this,
laughter can be the cause of an upset in harmony among people who live in a relatively
small and closed community such as in Japan (Fukasaku 1977: 29-32).

Thus, in Japan the most agreeable face is the 'smiling' face rather than the 'laughing'
face in Japan. The smiling face is often described as 'niko-niko' (e.g. Critchley 1975:
39). 'Niko' originally indicated something soft and rich (Suzuki 1986: 344-345). The
Japanese greatly appreciate this 'smiling' face. Females are especially expected to have a
smiling face. 11 Japanese people's high regard of the "ekobo (lit. smile hollow: a
dimple)" on female babies faces corresponds to this view. It is believed that ekobo is a
symbol of smiling, and a girl with this smiling symbol will have a smooth life, and be
loved by other people (cf. Yanagita 1962: 229).

12.(II).3.1. Intentional Smiles Aimed at Promoting Harmony

Bonnet's (1982: 100) remark about smiling in Japan is worth mentioning here,
because it seems to contradict the other quoted observations. After living in Japan for ten
years, Bonnet felt that he hardly saw people smiling at all, and found that, for example,
people walking in the city, travelling on the bus, waiting at a cashier's window, for
example, always looked glum. According to him, French people, although they smile
less than Americans, smile much more than Japanese do.

I think Bonnet's comments highlight the fact that often Japanese people smile
intentionally because they feel it's necessary. According to Fukasaku (qut. in Kyoto
Shimbunsha 1974: 111), since Japanese dread having a grudge held against them by

10 A similar phenomenon can be seen among Canadian Inuit people, who employ laughter in their
greetings. They believe laughter is an important tool for having good personal interactions (Nomura
1984: 244).

11 The fact that females are expected to smile more than males seems to be a common phenomenon
somebody in a group they belong to, they always try to make themselves look agreeable to others in the group: the smile is the device employed in making this 'agreeable face'. Tada (1972: 86) shares this view, and remarks that Japanese people try to smile in order to maintain harmony with others, and to have good personal relationships, especially with their superiors.

Thus, smiling is an active display to keep a harmonious relationship with other people with whom there is an existing relationship. This is not inconsistent with Bonnet's observation. This kind of smile can be explained in the following formula for the Japanese way of thinking:

< 6 > when a person smiles often
other people feel something good about this person
because of this, when he is with other people a person smiles often

12.(II).3.2. The Smile Aimed at Masking Negative Feelings

The smile which is most often mentioned as being specifically characteristic to Japanese people is the smile displayed when they actually feel negative emotions, such as sorrow or displeasure (e.g. Morbach 1973: 269; Leathers 1992: 354; Matsumoto 1996: 108-9). Lafcadio Hearn's (1893) observation that Japanese people show smiles to others in public places when they are confronted with the death of family members is well-known. Hearn explains that Japanese peoples' smiles in this kind of situation imply something like the following:

This you might honourably think to be an unhappy event; pray do not suffer Your Superiority to feel concern about so inferior a matter, and pardon the necessity which causes us to outrage politeness by speaking about such an affair at all.
(Hearn 1893: 77)

This kind of complex thinking pattern can be clearly paraphrased in a more simple and clear way with a formula couched in the natural semantic metalanguage as follows:

< 7 > when I feel something bad
something happens to a part of my body
it is not good if people can see this
people can feel something bad because of this
I don't want this
because of this it is good if I do something (smile),
like people do when they feel something good

Hearn (1893) mentions that this kind of smile is the product of an elaborate and long-cultivated etiquette, and is a mark of politeness. He states the associated cultural rules as follows: "...it is a rule of life to turn constantly to the outer world a mien of happiness, to convey to others as far as possible a pleasant impression. Even though the heart is breaking, it is a social duty to smile bravely." (p. 76).12

This cultural norm reminds us of Japanese peoples' extreme concern for other people. Consideration towards others often outweighs one's own individual emotions. Lebra (1976: 2) says that "the Japanese are most sensitised to other human beings, hito". When the individual experiences certain emotions, he tends to be preoccupied with his relationship to some hito. With this "social preoccupation", as Lebra calls it, it is thought that "one's affect can and must be controlled, subdued, circumscribed, or diluted because it is the social relationship, not one's own emotions that counts" (Lebra 1976: 16).

This kind of culture-specific way of thinking can be translated into the following formula:

< 8 > when something happens to a part of my body
because I feel something bad
it is bad if other people can see this
when people can feel something bad because of this

12 Although this quotation from Hearn (1893) was written almost one century ago, this way of thinking still remains in Japanese culture.
12.(II).3.3. The Smile Accompanying a Request for a Favour

Another kind of smile which is often perceived by non-Japanese as 'inexplicable' is the one Japanese people use when they cannot say "no" to somebody (Miyamoto 1993: 236), or when they tell their superiors about their mistakes (e.g. Fukasaku 1977: 36), for example. Also, Japanese students often smile ambiguously at their teacher when they cannot answer his/her question, or when they give an excuse for having forgotten an assignment. This puzzles non-Japanese teachers.

Display of this kind of smile can be considered to show one's 'powerlessness' to others. Both Henley's (1977: 171) remark that "subordinate animals or men smile in appeasement to dominant ones", and the comment by Leathers (1992: 86-90) that excessive smiling is an indication of 'powerlessness' are consistent with this view. Morshbach (1973: 263) further mentions that a pleasant smile is used in Japan as a manifestation of the "proper degree of submission".

J. Hall (1984: 66) points out that smiling could conceivably make people "seem weak or too eager to please". By smiling, people can make themselves appear weak, or helpless in the eyes of other people, being unable to do anything but smile. By making themselves appear weak or humble with a smile, they show a sign of desperate need for help or care, expecting others to indulge them, and hopefully to forgive them for being/having been unable to do something.

This kind of implicit message attached to the smile for asking a favour of someone can be portrayed in the following semantic formula:

< 9 >  if I want another person to do something good (X) for me,
if I know that I cannot say to this person:
*I want you to do something good (X) for me*

I can do something (smile), like people do when they feel good
if I do this,
this other person can know that I want to say something like this:
"I cannot do much
you can do much
it will be good if you do this good thing (X) for me because of this"

We should notice here that Japanese society has a relatively positive attitude towards this kind of ingratiating behaviour towards superiors. In Japan people in an inferior position can "amaeru (presume upon one's love)" towards superiors, as long as they show politeness or respect towards them. Matsumoto (1988: 410) articulates this point in terms of 'interdependence':

In Japanese society, the acknowledgment of interdependence is encouraged. Juniors show respect to seniors by acknowledging their dependence; seniors, in return, feel their responsibility to take care of the juniors. Since this is what is expected in the society, it is an honour to be asked to take care of someone in that it indicates that one is regarded as holding a higher position in the society.

Thus, by "enhancing the addressee's face", as Matsumoto (p. 410) terms it, one could ask someone for something deferentially in Japanese society. The Japanese social norm which allows this kind of pattern of behaviour can be represented as follows:

< 10 >  it is good if someone can think about some other person:
I can think good things about this person
this person can do many good things for me
I can't do the same good things for this person
this person wants to do good things for me
this person will do good things for me because of this
13. EMOTION AND JAPANESE PEOPLE

This chapter discusses some features of general Japanese people's attitudes towards emotions.

13.1. Attitudes towards Emotions in Different Cultures

In her writings, Wierzbicka (e.g. 1994b, 1999b) discusses the differences between Anglo culture and Polish culture in their attitudes towards emotions. She (1994b: 178) says Anglo culture has a tendency to emphasize control over the expressions of emotions, noting that such control is not the same thing as suppression of emotional expression. She quotes Lutz's (1988: 9) statement: "...controlling them [emotions] is letting them out in the proper time, in the proper place". The ability to analyse one's feelings rationally and to verbalise them with self-control is important in Anglo culture (cf. also Smith 1995: 408). On the other hand, Wierzbicka states that Polish culture has a tendency to permit spontaneous expression of emotion: "There is need to express my feeling and to express it now without thinking about it and without trying to analyse it, shape it, or suppress it" (Wierzbicka 1994b: 173). Polish culture encourages people to show emotions (verbally or nonverbally) rather than to speak about them (p. 168-169). Wierzbicka then (p. 177) portrays the different attitudes towards emotion between the two cultures as follows:

Anglo: when I do something, I want to be able to think:
"I do this because I want to do it not because I feel something"

Polish: when I feel something, I want to do something because of this when I do it, people can know how I feel

Moreover, while self-analysis and self-control are particularly encouraged in the case of negative feelings in Anglo (Anglo-American) culture (p. 171), Polish culture places no special emphasis on the free expression of bad feelings (p. 168). These differences are described in cultural scripts as follows:

Anglo-American:
when I feel something bad, I want to think about it
when I think about, I cannot feel like this (any more)

Polish:
when I feel something bad (very bad)
I want someone to know about it

What happens in Japanese culture? How can we describe Japanese people's attitudes towards emotions?

Before we try to answer this question, it is worth mentioning here that we should be careful not to simply state that the way Polish people express emotions is 'direct', and the way American people do it is 'indirect'. This will be clarified if we compare the attitudes towards expressing emotion not only between Polish and American people, but also among Polish, American, Japanese, and Malay people. Although Polish people tend to express their emotions both verbally and nonverbally in a more 'direct' or 'clear' way than Americans, since Polish culture values "spontaneity" in expressing feelings and encourages people to "show" emotions both verbally and nonverbally (Wierzbicka 1999b: 253, 258), when we compare Americans with Japanese, the display of emotion of Americans is more 'direct' and 'apparent' than that of Japanese. On the other hand, although it is often considered that Japanese people express their emotions less openly than Anglo-American people do, in Malay culture, as Goddard (1998: 346) observes, people are also encouraged to express how they feel verbally. Yet, in contrast with situation in Japan, in Malay culture it is all right to express feelings through one's facial expressions and other actions, and there is underlying assumption that people can be relied upon to be sensitive to such nonverbal manifestation. Although Japanese people
are also expected to be sensitive to nonverbal signs of other people, this kind of apparent nonverbal (especially ‘facial’) expression of emotion observed in Malay culture is much less acceptable in Japanese culture.

In order to clarify Japanese people's attitudes towards emotions, we will discuss the difference of how emotions are dealt with for American and Japanese people. In countries like the United States, psychotherapy is very popular. Bellar, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipson (1985:128) point out that "practitioners [of psychotherapy] stress the primary importance of knowing how you're feeling". This cultural norm is represented as follows by Wierzbicka (1999b: 259):

Anglo-American

[people think:]
   it is good if I know what I feel
   it is good if K know why I feel like this
   it is good if I think about this

Wierzbicka (1994b: 170) shows this constant attention to one's feelings as well as the inclination to analyse and verbalise them in American culture in cultural scripts as follows:

Anglo-American (USA)

I want to know how I feel at this time
I want to know why I feel like this
I want to think about this
if I know why I feel like this, I can do something

Furthermore, Wierzbicka (1999b: 260) represents the American folk philosophy of stressing "control" over one's emotions by analyzing one's feeling rationally as follows:

Anglo-American

[people think:]
   when I feel something bad, it is good to think about it
   if I think about it, I don't have to feel like this any more

In Anglo-American culture it is considered that self analysis enables people to gain some self control, in the double sense of controlling emotional expression and of changing one's feeling (shaping them) and decreasing their intensity (Wierzbicka 1999b: 260).1

However, the same method of psychotherapy does not work for Japanese people. Yanagihara (1994: 105), for example, states that a Japanese woman who lived for thirty years in the United States observed that American psychotherapy, which encourages the patient to articulate their thoughts or feelings verbally to a psychologist, would not be suitable for Japanese patients. This is due to the fact, firstly, that the Japanese people feel resistance to talking about their feelings objectively to an unfamiliar psychotherapist or doctor.2 It is painful for many of them to confront their problems again by verbalising them to a stranger. Japanese people much prefer talking about their problem to familiar people who will listen and understand their feelings in private. For example, the Japanese counsellor Yooko Nohara advises that the way of avoiding mental illnesses which arise from stress in current Japanese society is as follows: "The best way to avoid mental illness is to talk of the true things or feelings in yourself to someone who would understand you. (...) There is no good in keeping your painful problems in yourself" (SPA/ 1998 Oct. 14th "Kokoro no yami shoogeki-fairu" pp. 36-42: 42).

A Japanese magazine SPA/ (1999 March 10th: 28) picks up the topic of counselling culture in American society. The article criticises the "over-dependence" of American

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1 In modern Western (especially Anglo-American) "therapeutic" discourse, the focus is more on introspection into one's subjective internal states, rather than on social and moral concerns (Wierzbicka 1999a: 300).

2 Of course, there are counselling systems in Japan, too. The psychiatrist Kawai (1992: 74) says the words which counsellors give to patients should take into the consideration the understanding of the patients' feelings as much as possible, and should support them in improving their lives. For example, when the counsellor says "My problem is that my child wets the bed at night", a counsellor should not say something like "Really? When did it start?" or "How old is your child?", but say sympathetically "I see, she's wets the bed at night" (Ooe & Kawai & Tanigawa 1996: 52).

However, although the counsellor should have sympathy with the patient, as Kawai (Ooe & Kawai & Tanigawa 1996: 21) points out the counsellor should try to grasp the patient's background objectively. For example, when a woman complains about her husband, the counsellor should try to imagine the husband's voice while listening to the woman's story. A similar technique (called "mirroring") is also common in Western therapy (Cliff Goddard: personal communication).
people on counselling, while recognising that their counselling system has wiped out negative images about people visiting psychiatrists. In the article, the question is risen: In a developed nation like the United States, where people might have mental illnesses because of excess stress, is not there anyone with whom they could consult about their mental problems among the people they know? The psychiatrist Takehiko Kasuga analyses this phenomenon in the United States as follows: "Since they are in a very severely competitive society, they may basically think that it is not good to show their weak points to others. Only in the counselling system can they talk about their inner feelings without anxiety, so they have developed the custom of relieving their problematic feelings by visiting counsellors. In this sense of not being able to trust people near them, we might think that their society is not really good".

Thus, American people would not usually reveal their psychological problems to their familiars. In order to confirm this point further, examine the following conversation between an interviewer for a magazine and the famous Japanese psychiatrist Hayato Kawai:

(1)  
Agawa: NIHONjin no basi, nanika mondai ga aru to manu tomodachi ya kazoku ni sodannshimasa keredo, watashi ga Amerika ni ita toki, Amerikanjin wa shitsuren shitsuri suru to, sugi sarpustu ni kara n desu ne. Koro wa ii koto na ni desu ka?
Kawai: Il koto ka wakaru koto ka wakazurasem kedo, kanashii jissen desu ne. Boku no shitsure ni NIHONjin ga, Amerika no daigaku de "konogoro no NIHONjin no seiri wa, jibun no taisetsu na nayami o uchikareru youjin ga itaku nante koto no doku da" to is hanashi o shita n desu. Sonshitsu, nukus de daigakusei wa seisan wakai desu. Nayanaka o tomobashii ni su ari ga aru ka to omotete inu a desu yo. "Kameri tomodachi wa, sorekara oka ni dore ga to son suru to.
Agawa: Son o suru?
Kawai: Son a sekai ni hiteru n da kara, semmokusa ni su yori shikata ga naa. Sore wa, boku wa hijou ni kanashii koto da to omoshimar."[Agawa Sawako no kono hito ni sitai No. 215 in Shinhan Bunshun 1997 Oct. 2nd: 54]

(MT: Agawa: In the case of the Japanese people, when they have problems, they consult their friends or families about the matters first. However, when I was in the United States, I found American people go to the psycho therapist immediately, for example, when they get disappointed in love. Is this a good thing?
Kawai: I cannot judge whether it is good or bad, but it is a fact. A Japanese student I know who is studying in the United States said to some American students that he feels sorry that Japanese young people today are not able to confess their important agonies to their friends. These American university students could not understand what he was talking about. They think it is foolish to tell their problems to their friends. They believe they will become losers, if they carelessly tell their problems to their friends or parents.
Agawa: Become a loser?
Kawai: Because they live in such a world, there is no other way than going to the specialist. I think that is a very sad thing.)

In a competitive society such as in the United States, showing one's weakness to other people could lead one into a disadvantaged situation. On the other hand, in Japanese culture, people think they can expect specific intimate people to listen to their painful feelings/thoughts with empathy, and to understand why and how they are suffering. However, in the United States, according to the article in SPAI (1999 March 10th: 28), it is generally only psychiatrists that people can expect to listen with empathy to their problems during their psychotherapy. Morsbach and Taylor (1986:303) remark that compared with Anglo-Americans, for instance, the Japanese seem to have a relatively greater need and ability to openly show their desire for dependence on others. They further say that the relative absence of dependence on others in the West may contribute to loneliness in a cold, harsh world where all have to fight basically on their own and where there are precious few, if any, shoulders to cry on.

Actually, according to many observers, being cheerful as well as being positive is considered to be a wonderful characteristic in the United States. For example, Smith (1995: 410) states that "Recently bereaved people in the United States often report that their friends avoid them and do not welcome their attempts to discuss their grief. Within a few days of the death, the bereaved begin to hear comments like the following: 'Isn't it about time that you got over this?' 'You have to stop feeling sorry for yourself and get on with your life.' " On the other hand, it is also a fact that there are 20 million habitual users of anti-depressants in the United States. Therefore, the article in SPAI (1999 March 10th) ends with the question, "Oh, American people, do you want to be cheerful and joyful even though you have to depend to such an extent on the counselling system and anti-depressant medicines?".

The criticism in this article might be biased, and sounds exaggerated. However, it is a fact that some American open public talk shows, such as the popular American TV program "Oprah", where people express their feelings or thoughts on various serious and private issues in a public forum, cannot be found on Japanese television. This is because Japanese people generally do not talk about their inner problems to unfamiliar people,
especially not in a public place. Barnlund (1975a: 88) comments that "among Japanese there is substantially less disclosure of inner experience while among Americans substantially greater disclosure on all topics and with all persons".

The second reason why Western psychotherapy would not be suitable for most Japanese people is because many Japanese people are generally not used to expressing their thoughts and feelings verbally. Moreover, while some Japanese people might manage to express their thoughts and feelings, they feel that the conflict in their hearts might not be solved. Many Japanese people do not accept that a psychological problem can be resolved just by talking about it and analysing it.

I propose the Japanese version of cultural scripts about dealing with emotions as follows;

<1>

[Japaneese]

when I feel something I can say something about this to someone if I know this person well if I think this person could feel the same I cannot say something about this to someone if I do not know this person well I don’t want to say something about it to someone if I don’t think this person can feel the same because I don’t think: I feel something good if I do so

13.2. Are Japanese People "Emotional"?

Wierzbicka (1992c: 395) states that one of the fundamental semantic themes of the Russian language is "emotionality", that is, "the tremendous stress on emotions and their free expression, the high emotional temperature of Russian discourse, the wealth of linguistic devices for signalling emotions and shades of emotions" (also cf. Wierzbicka 1999a: 3).

Can we say that Japanese people are also "emotional"? If so, how are they "emotional"? Halloran (1970: 219) regards the Japanese people as emotional as described in the following comment:

We Japanese are an emotional people and move more by our emotion than by our intellect. (...) We Japanese can be volatile and can become angry or even infuriated by insults that touch our emotions. Sometimes the insults are real, but other times I think maybe we are so sensitive that we are offended when there really wasn’t any offence even remotely intended.

Reischauer (1965: 117) also states "the Japanese are an emotional people".

What is characteristic of Japanese people is that it seems that they value emotionality over rationality (cf. Lebra 1976: 19). Nakane (1972: 84) says that:

The Japanese take greater pleasure in emotions than in logic and have an exceptional affection toward the former. (...) For the Japanese, logic exists in books and lectures, the scholar’s study and the lawyer’s work; it does not belong to the salon and the coffee shop or the dining table and the banquet. If someone brings logic to such an occasion, the topic will be dropped as being argumentative, and this type of person will be stumped.

Nakamura (1964: 551) says that the Japanese language is "unsuitable for logically precise expression", but "it is well adapted to the expression of intuition and of individual emotion". According to Taylor (1983: 125), "Many Japanese distrust eloquence and pure logic because they may not take proper account of feelings". He asserts that:

The Japanese word rikōn means "logic" or "reason". It has all the positive connotations that "logic" does in English, but it also has distasteful connotations of coldness, hairsplitting, and pointless dispute. The word rikōnō ("too reasonable") is used to criticise thinking that does not take human relations into account. The expression "to speak reason" means "to argue" or "find fault". Logic is useful, but it can be thrust aside when straightforward reasoning might bruise feelings. (P. 126)

The value placed upon irrationality by the Japanese is expressed in such phrases as "Things in this world do not always stand to reason" or "Man cannot always be understood through reason" (Minami 1971: 122-123; cf. also Mizutani & Mizutani 1980: 20). Misawa (n.d.: 240) also points out that the people who value reason or logic are regarded negatively as "cold" people in Japan (cf. also De Mente 1994: 298-299).
Similarly, De Mente (1994: 62) states that the use of objective reason in making decisions and settling matters is regarded as cold and often inhuman in Japanese culture.

Furthermore, Ishida (1974: 17) says that “the Japanese do not value rhetoric or oratory that appeals to people by persuasion based on logical argument or moving one’s opponent with a shadow of eloquence”.

Indeed, Japanese people do not assign as high a value to logic as many people in Western cultures do. As Machizawa (1989: 133) points out, although Japanese people can control their thinking, they cannot necessarily put their emotions under control. For Japanese, emotions can exceed reason. De Mente (1994: 181) clearly states “one factor that stands out in Japanese life is the role of emotion, which often takes precedence over reason”. The following examples (1) to (8) exemplify this point. Examples (1)-(6) below are all taken from original Japanese texts.

(1) Soshite iyojo Devito Boci no teojo.

“Kyaanaaannn!!!!”


[Kawazoe 1995: 197]

(MT: And finally David Bowie showed up.

“Kyaanaaannn!!!!”

At that moment I knew through my body why teen-agers shriek when confronted by pop stars. There was no longer any logic [reason] or reason [rikutsu]. The body utters a shriek. I cannot explain it with words such as excitement or enthusiasm. An emotion which gushes out from deep within my body, and makes me soar. It is just "Kyaanaaannn!!!!".)

(2) Eiko: Koizumii u desu, Koizumi Reiko ni. Ha, yappari ne. 3 nen mae ni wa nantome omotenakata ko na no ni.

Daisuke: Tototsumi nuki ni natta u desu.

Eiko: (...) Koe ju koto wa rikuttsu nuki no ka naa.

[Miyaizaki 1982: 19]

(MT: Eiko: You are in love with Reiko Koizumi, aren’t you? Ha, as I suspected. Even though she is someone who you had no special feelings for three years ago.

Daisuke: It suddenly came to like her.

Eiko: (...) I wonder whether this kind of thing happens without reason [rikutsu].)

(3) Yasashiku saretemo, tsunetakasu saretemo, isumo kokoroo wa yuregoiteru. Hitori omoinynandari, deo shita aii ka hito ni kiite mitari shita kedoo, kokkoreko koizumi kimochi wa rikuttsu no ma. Wakante iro no wa, nuki to is koto doke.

[Toko Furumichi Interview: How about you? in TAIEZAN 1996 No.246: 84]

The following examples (7) and (8) are taken from two different Japanese TV programs.

(7) Shoowa 20 sen 8 gatsu 15 nichii shuuen. Geshikusuki de gyoku-tohoo o Hanai Morii wa fukuzutsu na shirakyo de kiete iu.

Mori: Nanka scoo, rikuttsu wa nakare, nomia e poporo demashita ne. Toyotome: Doo no namida datta u deshou ka ne.

Mori: Watamari desu ne. Maa, kangeki no deshou ne. Fukuzutsu na kimochi desu ne.

Toyotome: Fusan desu ka, andokan desu ka, dochoh?

Mori: Nani ga okoro ka is kita to fuan ga gyoooho to.... Wakaatka karu desu ne.

[Morii Hanai (fashion designer) and Toyotome on the TV program "Itsu Miten Hanen-banjo" Chukyoo TV on July 7th, 1997]

(MT: War ended on August 15th, 1945. In her lodgings Hanai Morii was listening to the broadcast of the Emperor's voice with mixed feelings.

(4) Reiikai-kumekyo u tsusukete kita watashi da kara, tate tsuna no shi de arou to, sonna ni shokkii wa ukenai daroo, ooka no hito wa, soo emoi ni naru kamo shirenai. (...) Shinashi, kore wa reikai-kumekyusho no daremo ga kannzuru mujen de aru ga, rikuttsu rikuttsu de wa yokoo waakatte itemoo, geitusu no munashii ni wa inagetai. Tsurai. Hitasuru kannashi.

Kanjoo to wa mono wa, rikuttsu de wa kontoro no kikan, ituu ni yakki na shironmono de aru. Atama de kangaeru koto to wa yoiyamite kake ni hitoironakikai, watashi no kokoro wa suga ni kanashimi de ippei ni nite shiranoo no de aru.

[Tetsuro Tamba (actor / researcher of the world of spirit) in Fuin Kooren 1997 July: 205]

(MT: Because I have to control the spirit world, most people might think that, if, for example, my wife died, I would not be greatly shocked. But this is a contradiction all scholars of the spirit-world feel; although one understands, via theory or reason [rikutsu], it is hard to bear the emptiness of reality, it is hard. I really feel as if the bottom of my heart.

Emotion is a troublesome thing which cannot be controlled by the power of reason. [Rikutsu]. It separates from what we think in the mind and acts of its own will, and then my heart becomes immediately full of sorrow.)

(5) Byoooki no teki wa rikuttsu de wa konna mono wa sootai teki na mono da to kangaeyoo to shitemo, toojisha no byooin ni wa "Kurashikatte, kurashikatte" shiikata ga naa no de aru. Sore wa rikuttsu wa yoo de wa domo no shorireidaka baa daite aru no na.

[Endo 1994: 13-14]

(MT: When a person is ill, although he/she tries to keep the suffering in perspective, they cannot help feeling "painful and tormented". This is a situation where things cannot be dealt with only by reason [rikutsu] or moralising discourses.)

(6) Atama de rikai shite itemo, kanjooy ka karada ga nattobukashini koto o de, dare ni demos aru no de wa naideshoo ka.

[Shikin 1996: 19]

(MT: Surely there are things which can be understood by one's brain but can not be convincing to one's emotion or body.)
Mori: Somehow, well, without reason (rikatsu), tears came down one after another.
Toyotome: What kind of tears might they have been?
Mori: I don't know. Well, it was probably a deep emotion. It was a complicated feeling.
Toyotome: Was it a feeling of anxiety or relief? Which?
Mori: Both expectation and uncertainty regarding to what was to come.... Maybe because I was young.)

Kagawa: Kasooba de nee, haitte dete kite hone te no hajimete mita n dezu yo, nikushin ga. (...) Rikatsu no yo yata no ni kawara deki denai dezu yo nee. Nande ingen te koma ni hakusai no ka na te omotte.
[Teruyuki Kagawa on the TV programme "Tetsuko no Haya" on January 14th, 1999]
(MT: Kagawa: I went in and out of the crematorium, and for first time saw the bones of a relative. Without rikatsu (reason) tears came out, I wondered why human beings are so short-lived.)

Of course, a similar phenomenon also can be seen in English, as in the following sentences. The first one is from an English novel, and the second one is from an English song:

(9) She entered hesitantly, but to him she arrived in a rush, a sudden, vivid presence bursting upon him, alive to an almost painful degree. It was hard to look at her. She was perfectly familiar, and yet her exotic quickness added an element of strangeness, as if she'd come from outer space. Some part of his brain registered that she was normal and that it was he who had changed but it didn't feel that way.)
[Courty 1993: 422]

(10) My head is saying "Fool, forget him"
My heart is saying "Don't let go"
[Olivia Newton-John "Hopelessly devoted to you" in Olivia's Greatest Hits Vol. 2 by Toshiba EMI Records, Inc.]

Nevertheless, this phenomenon is much more apparent in Japanese culture than in Anglo culture.

The Japanese cultural script about putting more value on their emotions than reason can be described as follows:

<2>

[Japanese]
people sometimes think like this:
when I think something because I think something
I cannot know whether this something is true
when I think something because I feel something

I can know that this something is true

Thus, in comparison with people in the Western countries, Japanese people in general do not appreciate eloquence and put value on emotion.

13.3. Controlling One's Emotions

We have already seen Japanese people's efforts to suppress certain emotions such as sadness in 12.(II).2. in chapter 12. In this section, we will further discuss the suppression/control of some emotions.

The passage below is drawn from an article about a Japanese Olympic ski jump player's control of his emotion.

(1) Harada wa warasu. Jampu ga oikoku shitemo, shippai shitemo. Shippai jampu no ato, kuyashi-woo ni mite, to shiteisuru to, "Kore ga boku no kuyashi kao na n dezu," to Harada wa kotaeta. Yukiinuki de Harada o kochi suru Tao Katsushii-san wa, "Pureshii ni tsubu yoru to iu kimochi ga atte, dona toki demo egao de iyo to omotta n ja nai kana." (...) Shikashi hito ni wa iya na koto wa iya to ieru. Shikashi, terebi ya fan no mae ni dezu to eego o tsukuru.

(MT: Harada smiles. Whether his jump succeeds or fails. After a failed jump it is pointed out to him that he does not look anguished (feeling KUYASHII). This is my face when I'm feeling KUYASHII", he answered. Katsushii Tao, who coaches Harada at the Yukiinuki corporation, said, "I think he has decided to smile at any time, because he wants to be strong under pressure." (...) Harada can speak of any feeling including negative ones to people close to him. But he always smiles before the TV or his fans. (...) After he completed the jump which won him a bronze medal, Harada finally smiled. "That is his real smile," Harada's wife, Keiko, muttered to herself.)
In contrast with Anglo-American people who values controlling their emotions by changing their feeling and "decreasing the intensity of their emotions", Japanese people, as the anthropologist Kishimoto (1967: 118) describes, tend to think "the more subdued in emotion a man is, the more he is respected". Moreover, the psychologist Minami (1971: 85) says, "The longer a feeling is suppressed, the purer and firmer it becomes.... the more its potential energy increases".

What kind of emotions should be suppressed in Japanese society? Similar to the case in example (2), the following example (3) illustrates that Japanese often suppress 'negative emotions'. Their primary goal is not to disturb other people's feelings by showing their bad feelings, even if they themselves are in desperate conditions to the extent they cannot live a normal life.

Honna & Hoffer (1989: 88) say that "strong expression (verbal or nonverbal) of such negative emotions as anger, disgust, or contempt could embarrass other people". They explain this is because "strong expression (verbal or nonverbal) of such negative emotions as anger, disgust, or contempt could embarrass other people. Direct expression of sorrow or fear could cause feelings of insecurity in other people" (p. 88).
However, the following examples (4) and (5) show that Japanese people are taught to control or suppress, not only negative emotions such as 'anger' or 'sorrow', but also positive emotions such as 'pleasure'.

(4) Omiyage o itadaitte, urashikute urashikute tohimawaritai-yoo na kimochi da kedo, gato to sono kimochi o osasete, taishte urashikute mo nai-yoo sa kao o shita koto. Doko ka kara yakyuusu no booru ga torde kita, koo ni butusukute, itai to omou to, haara ga natu. Soremodo, mawari ni cori tomodachi ga mite itari suru to, terete shimate, waza to funeketa takkeko o shite waratte miseta koto. Yorokobi ya kanashimi o lasume, kiko ko no naka no hontoo no kimochi o, koo ni dasanai no wa "tokuryuukaihii" koto da. Oegana ni wanatari, hasaihumi, mainaitari suru no wa "hasuhasuu" koto do to, kodomo no toki kara oshiererete ita node, otona ni nuttome, soo in moco da to emotte iru no desu. [Okada 1962: 190]

(MT: When I was given a souvenir, I was so happy that I wanted to jump about, but I suppressed that feeling and showed on my face that I was not that happy. I got angry when a baseball flies from nowhere to hit me on the head. However, when there are others around me, I get embarrassed so I deliberately laugh playfully. Since I was a child, I have been taught that not showing on my face the true feelings in my heart such as joy or sorrow is "refined", and laughing loudly or being playful or crying is "immodest". As an adult, I still believe this.)

Example (4) below also illustrates the case where one person stopped expressing his pleasure in public:

(5) Hayashii: Osoomoo-san wa motomoto mukochi na kata ga oo n desu ka? Shikoroyama: Soo ja nai to omou n desu kedo. Kate itashuu saretu toki mo, aite no hito no koto o kangaete, attaari yorekonda aite ni warui to omotte, "gason desu" toku tanamata desu toka ite, aite o kubai toka. ["Mariko no iwasato gomen No. 44" Kazushiko Shikoroyama (former sumo-wrestler) in Shukan Ashii 1998 July 31st pp. 46-50:50]

(MT: Hayashi: Are most sumo-wrestlers taciturn? Shikoroyama: I don't think so, but... Even when I am interviewed after winning a match, if I think of the opponent's feelings, I feel guilty about showing my pleasure. Therefore, I just simply say "I was fortunate" or "it just happened by chance" in order not to annoy him.)

This kind of attitude of not expressing one's joy at success out of regard to another person's feeling is culturally required in Japanese society. Matsumoto (1996: 88) reports that "the Japanese need to display reserve in their expressions of joy and positive emotions in unfamiliar places, in order to maintain social distinctions among settings and situations". Bronsman (1990: 103) also reports that "In the face of sincere praise by another person, Japanese will predictably deny the justice of the praise by both word and gesture, including face gestures of 'disbelief', 'denial', 'non-acceptance', even 'sadness'.

Hall & Hall (1987: 59) report that Japanese people's behaviours when they are complimented or congratulated, such as looking abashed, or being embarrassed, confuse Americans, who expect them to smile and look happy in such a case. Bronsman (1990: 103), comparing Japanese attitudes towards compliments with that of the English, who "will normally smile, accept the praise and say, 'Thank you', to express their pleasure openly", points out that the Japanese behaviour is viewed by many English-speaking people as "too humble" or even "insincere" or "hypocritical".

We should note here that, as Ekman (1985) writes, 'controlling emotions' is also important in Anglo culture. However, different aspects of control of emotions are required in different cultures. For example, Ekman (p. 125) describes the American way of controlling of emotions as follows:

Within the first years of life children learn to control some of these facial expressions, concealing true feelings and falsifying expressions of emotions not felt. Parents teach their children to control their expressions by example and, more directly, with statements such as "Don't you give me that angry look"; "look happy now when our aunt gives you a present"; "Don't look so bored." As they grow up people learn display rules so well that they become deeply ingrained habits.

In the United States, emotions such as 'joy', 'anger', or 'disgust', whose overt expressions need to be suppressed in Japan, are largely involuntary and it is generally best to express them. On the other hand, only the expression of 'fear', which does not necessarily need to be suppressed in Japan, is to be strictly controlled in American society (cf. Oatley & Jenkins 1996: 44-45; Berry et al. 1992: 85).

Wierzbicka (1999a: 247) points out that Anglo-American culture appears to have gone further in the direction of positive scripts than the Anglo-British or Anglo-Australian varieties have, and has apparently developed some emotional scripts of its own, two of which could be called "the enthusiasm script" and the "cheerfulness script". Wierzbicka
says that speech routines such as words "Wow! Great! How nice! That's fantastic! etc." suggest a cultural script which can be formulated along the following lines:

[people think:]
  it is good to say often something like this:  
  "I feel something very good"

On the other hand, as Morbach (1973: 270) writes, the ideal in Japanese culture is to have an expressionless face when experiencing emotion:

'Self-control, thought of as highly desirable in Japan, demands that a man of virtue will not show a negative emotion in his face when shocked or upset by bad news. ... The ideal of an expressionless face in a situation of great anxiety was strongly emphasised in the bushido (way of the warrior) which was the guideline for samurai and the ideal of many others. ... In public settings, the poker-faced ideal is common in present day Japan.

Bushido was the moral code of the samurai classes. Based on Confucian ideas, it originated in the Kamakura Period (1192-1336 A.D.) and reached its peak in the Edo Period (1600-1867 A.D.) (Nippion Steel Corporation 1978: 226).

As discussed in detail in Chapter 12, it is well known that the Japanese people display a smiling face in situations where they feel 'sorrow' in their hearts (e.g. Hearn 1893). Before the concept of bushido was established, Japanese people were able to cry openly in public places. Sakakura (1972: 13) says that during the Heian Period (792-1336 A.D.) even men cried openly in front of other people. The Japanese attitude of suppressing sad feelings was learned later as a basic precept of the bushido concept.

Thus, even though one could say people in both Japanese and Anglo culture have to control some emotions, there is a difference in the kinds of emotions people are expected to control in each culture. Moreover, the reasons for control are different. Anglo people try to control their emotions in order to show they do not get agitated by their emotions. Wierzbicka (1999b) points out that for Anglo people "whatever the emotion, it should not be allowed to express itself in uncontrolled physical behaviour". Thus, in Anglo culture, people can express their emotions more freely than Japanese people as long as they are expressed in a controlled way. On the other hand, as seen in some discussion linked with some emotion terms in Chapter 6, 10, and 12, Japanese people cannot always display their emotions freely and apparently. They often have to suppress or hide certain emotions because they are usually very concerned with how people might think about them when they show those emotions.

Suzuki's (1975: 183) comment deserves attention here. He says that, in fact, Japanese people always want certain people to understand their true feelings, and that they act in a way such that those people would agree with and feel empathy towards them. Suzuki (p.184) explains that this is because Japanese people don't have a strong self in which they can conceal important issues. The point to observe here is that the person to whom Japanese people want to express their feelings is a specific person whom they can really expect to understand and sympathise with their feelings.

<3> [Japanese]
  I cannot always say what I feel to other people because they may think something bad about me if I do this
  I can not say what I feel to other people when I think these people will feel something bad if I say this
  I can say what I feel to other people when I think these people will not feel something bad if I say this
  when I think they will feel the same when I say this when I can do this, I feel very good towards these people because I wanted other people to know what I feel because I wanted other people to feel the same

What makes Japanese people suppress certain emotions is their awareness of social restriction, rather than a function of their reasoning power (Kushida 1979: 138). Lebra (1976: 16) comments that "one's affect can and must be controlled, subdued, circumscribed; or dilated because it is the social relationship, not one's own emotions that counts". Clancy (1986: 235-7) remarks that Japanese norms and behaviours are taught to Japanese children, so that they will conform to social expectation. This "conformity training" is usually given by their mothers, who often appeal to the imagined reactions of kito 'other people' watching and evaluating the child's behaviour, and teach them to fear
the criticism and disapproval of other people (cf. also Lebra 1976: 2). Therefore, when Japanese mothers discipline their children, they say some behaviour is bad because "Hitó ni warawaruru (You will be laughed at by other people)" , "okasishi (strange)", or "hazakasii (ashamed)" (Clancy 1986: 236, 240). Thus, a Japanese person, when deciding on a course of action (such as displaying some emotion), will be influenced by how others act or are likely to act.

Kuwayama (1992: 122) remarks that seken, a Japanese equivalent to "society", represents the biggest category of a group of people hito (person/people). Niike (qtn. in Kuwayama p.142) comments "We live in a ritual place, so we are sensitive to seken-tei (lit. society-body: what people in society think of us)". Japanese sensitivity to seken is also seen in the phrases like "Seken ni koo muke ga dekinai (unable to face the seken)" or "Seken ni awaseru koo ga nai (have no face to show to the seken)" (cf. Lebra 1992: 107). The following example sentences also illustrate Japanese people's attitude towards seken/seken-tei.

5 Damatte ite, okasani, wasshi ne Loochi o chanto wakate mashinshite inshilata, ichiban ii no da. Wasshi wa, donna ni, wagamanas demo, koshite SEKEN no mono nuri ni minu-yoo na koto wa shih ni no da shi, tanakutesu, shishikunetsu, dalji ni tsukara wa kichin to manaoto. [Dazai 1967: 95-96]

(J -> E: It would be best if I didn't have to do or say anything, if she would just understand me and trust me. However headstrong I may be, I'll never do anything to invite people's criticism. SEKEN is not important, and no matter how hard it may be at times, no matter how lonely I may get, I'll always be on my guard against making any of the really bad mistakes.] [Dazai 1988: 79]

6 Kyushuu no hito de, musuko-san ga seikou-un ni haine dokoto de hade na koto o shita. Shinshin ni kukitusate, sono ootoosan ga hizakashite iru dehia ga deta imashita. "SEKEN ni moshiwate nai" to ii, otoosan no okasana no juntas demo shikanzen hodo dehia. Otoosan dehia ga, sore kara SEKEN to i mono ga aru-ruhii. SEKEN to i koto wa, doku no Nihon do no koto ga aru-yoo dea. Kore wa bukkyoo no kotoha kara dea ina no dea ga, Nihongo no naka to kokuminsho ina.

[MT: The son of someone from Kyushu entered the Red Army Faction and did something outrageous somewhere. It was written in a newspaper, and the paper included a picture of the son's father prostate on the ground. I don't know how to apologize to SEKEN], he said, and the father and mother looked ready to almost commit suicide. I felt sorry for them, but it seems SEKEN has the power to make them act like that.

As Lebra (1976: 11) says, "For the Japanese, goodness or badness is a relative matter, relative to social situation and impact, whose complexity may often be beyond any judge's comprehension". Therefore, Japanese often consider "seken/seken-tei" when they judge whether they should do or shouldn't do something. Abe (1999: 16) explains that Japanese people need to be accepted by SEKEN in order to be considered as becoming mature.3

Japanese people's attitudes towards suppressing their emotions because of their concern about what other people or 'seken' think of them is linked to the important

3 Abe (1999: 62) further says that Europeans also had a concept similar to SEKEN until around the 12th century. At that time there was no concept like the one expressed by the current word 'individual'. People were embedded in a group. In Japan the word 'kokka' was introduced as a translation of this English word 'individual' in the Meiji era (A.D. 1867-1912). However, since its history is still short, this concept has not penetrated into Japanese people's minds.
Japanese concept "wa". In Japanese culture the concept "wa", which roughly means 'keeping harmony with other people' is indispensable for good human relationships.\(^4\) Japanese morality emphasizes group responsibility and the suppression of individuality.

Philosophy, ethics and etiquette are based on the fundamental principle that harmony take precedence over all other matters—even though the concept, when put into practice, is often at odds with logic and common sense. Everyone and everything must wait until the demands of "wa" are met (cf De Mente 1994: 3, 12). Therefore, as seen in the example below, keeping harmony is often considered more important than functionality in the Japanese working place:

\(^8\) Shigoto sae dekireba, sore de ii to ii mono de wa nai. Kore wa otoko, onna dochira ni mo aetamari. Yuusheiko no kanojo wa sono hen no kyoocho-sei ni kalete ina. Tsuno ni mai-penu da, enoki ni mo doyo to wa shinshakatu. Shihakari te, nishinka no enoki mo shigoto no ikkan na in da. Yoshi asi wa betsu ni shite, kore ga Nihon no kigyo no taishintsu. Sore o habanuru no wa tayasai. Tayasai ga, kore ga genjitsu da.

(Todoro 1994 Vol. 1: 234-235)

(MT: It is not the case that it's OK if you just do a good job. This applies both to men and women. That woman in the financing section lacks inability to keep harmony. She was always doing things in her own way and did not even join in convivial meetings. However, convivial meetings also form a part of our work. Apart from the discussion of whether this is good or bad, this is the predisposition of Japanese companies. It is easy to criticize it, but it is a fact.)

Kitayama, Markus & Liberman (1995: 539) further observe Japanese people who keep the concept of "wa" as follows:

It is likely, then, that the Japanese tendency of self-deprecation represents a form of adaptation to the cultural environment constructed with the core cultural idea of self as an interdependent entity. With fitting-in and interpersonal adjustment as an important cultural task, those socialized in the Japanese culture may be extensively socialized to be attentive to negative features of the self, not so much because they want to find them, but because they have to find them before they make appropriate corrections to them and, hence, increase the extent of fit of the self with situational expectations and social norms.

Wierzbicka (1997a: 253) explicates the meaning of this concept "wa" as following:

\(^4\) Kitayama, Markus & Lieberman (1995: 524) mention that in many Asian cultures, including Japan, people believe in the fundamental connectedness or interdependence among those within an in-group. According to this culturally held idea the self is made meaningful in reference to the relationship of which the self is part. The major cultural task is to fit in, adjust to the relationship, to become a member, while constraining, tuning, or otherwise conditioning internal desires or wishes so as to facilitate the ever-important interpersonal harmony and unity.
14. CONCLUSION

14.1. Research Findings

This thesis began as an exploration of the world of emotion words or expressions in Japanese culture. The study was an attempt to apply the Natural Semantic Metalanguage methodology in order to explicate the meaning of a subset of the everyday Japanese emotional lexicon or expressions that are commonly used by and are familiar to most native speakers of the Japanese language, as well as to clarify Japanese cultural scripts which describe the cultural norms relating to both verbal and nonverbal emotional expressions. In this thesis I mainly dealt with Yamato (i.e. native Japanese) emotion terms. While these original Japanese emotion words are small in number or have weaker connotations than those derived from Chinese, the examination of these words is crucial as they are words which emerge in the mind of Japanese people when something tugs at their heartstrings. Moreover, they reflect Japanese people’s tendency to prefer using words or expressions where the finer nuances are left to the imagination and merely hinted at, rather than words or expressions which clarify and explain their views fully.

Although there is a great amount of psychological literature on emotions which claim that there are “basic emotions” universally associated with distinctive facial expressions, we have seen that there are in fact no such “basic emotions”: in particular, putative “basic emotions” like those labelled as ‘anger’, ‘happiness’, ‘sadness’, ‘fear’, and ‘disgust’ are English cultural artefacts. As discussed, for example, by Harkins and Wierzbicka (2000), although there has been an explosion in the psychological literature on emotions in the last decade, most of this literature is oblivious to the problem of language. Furthermore, we have seen that current existing dictionaries have not succeeded in accounting for invariant meanings of emotion words or expressions. Thus non-Japanese people have not been shown the exact meaning and usage of emotion words or expressions in the Japanese language.

From the research I have conducted, it is clear that in order to define the exact meaning of Japanese emotion words or expressions, a rigorous conceptual framework is required — that is the maximally clear, maximally self-explanatory, maximally simple, and maximally universal Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) developed by Wierzbicka and her colleagues. NSM allows us to explore human emotions from a universal, language-independent perspective. The methodology of NSM makes it possible to define emotion words or expressions in such a way as to capture their semantic invariance.

As for the actual achievements of this study, I believe that I have been able to show that by using the Natural Semantic Metalanguage, based on lexical universals and near-universals, we can achieve a greater precision and a greater clarity in the description of the meaning of emotion words or expressions. For instance, in the first part of chapter 6 we explored the semantics of the important cultural word SETSUNAI. Despite wide usage of this word in Japanese culture, many people find it difficult to explain its meaning and find it very hard to translate this word into other languages. However, we have seen that the meaning of this word is explicated clearly by the NSM approach. It was observed that although a SETSUNAI feeling is often perceived as accompanied by some negative feeling represented by words like “sadness”, “tears”, “bitterness”, “crying” or “sleeplessness”, most Japanese informants had a rather positive image of this word. I proposed that this is because the meaning of SETSUNAI includes a component suggesting that the subject consequently has an affection-like positive feeling towards the object, in spite of the fact that the subject realises he/she cannot obtain the exclusive possession of the object, or some bad thing is happening to the object. We should note here that although it is difficult to find an equivalent English word which denotes the same feeling as the Japanese SETSUNAI, this does not mean that English people do not experience this feeling. Rather, the absence of the term shows that English culture does not value this feeling and conceptualise it through language in the same way as Japanese culture. This is a matter of a different focus of interest in different cultures.
In the second part of chapter 6, Japanese emotion words which are usually translated into English by verbs like "like" or "love" were examined. The Japanese language has three words, SUKI, KOI(SURU), and AI(SURU) for the English word 'love'. The NSM approach clearly showed the differences of meaning between these three words. Although it is said that it is especially difficult to describe the meaning of AI(SURU) or 'love', it was shown that the use of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage solves this problem. In examining this word in context, we have also seen that, although AI(SURU) is often used in popular songs, it sounds awkward and embarrassing when it is used in everyday conversation. This word is still not really integrated into Japanese life.

With regard to the group of adjectives which refer to affectionate feelings KOISHII, ITOSHII, ITOSHII, UJIRASHII, and KENAGE, as well as another set of quasi-synonymous adjectives which are often translated as 'happy' in English, such as URESHII and TANOSHII, we have seen that each word has distinctive components. Similarly, in the last section of the first part of Chapter 11, we have examined the meaning of three synonymous words KAWAISOO, AWARE, KI-NO-DOKU, which are often translated as 'pitiable' or 'pitiful' in English. It was shown that the three of them, although they are often given the same gloss in translations into English, have their own distinctive meanings, and the differences were clearly identified.

The most remarkable characteristic of the Japanese language of emotion is that, when the sentence is a simple clause and the adjectival predicate is in a definite conclusive affirmative form, emotional adjectival sentences cannot take a third or second person as their subject. The speaker needs to put the sentence in the past form (the sentence becomes a written or narrative style in this case) or show some formal evidential markers when describing feelings experienced by other people. Otherwise, the subject of an adjectival emotion sentence is always the first person 'I' in an affirmative form or the second person 'you' in an interrogative form. This structural characteristic of sentences with an emotion adjective in Japanese reflects a world-view expressed in and encouraged by the Japanese language and culture. In Japanese culture, where interpersonal involvement is restricted and the disclosure of self limited (compared with mainstream Anglo culture), people avoid describing the feeling of others in definite statements. Exceptions to this restriction such as those involving the emotional adjectives SHIAWASE, UCHOOTEN, or SUKI confirm this rule. SHIAWASE and UCHOOTEN can take a third person as the subject in sentences in a definite conclusive form, since these emotions appear as attitudes or behaviour that can be easily recognised by other people. SUKI also can take the third person subject since this expresses continuous emotional attitude towards something, so it can be objectively observed by other people.

We have seen that many adjectives occur in two syntactic frames. The first frame is the subjective use of the emotion adjective: "(Watachi wa) Y ga adjective (I feel adjective about Y)" where the subject is always the 1st person and the "stimulus object complement (Y)" is marked by the subject particle 'ga'. The 1st person subject in this frame can be omitted. The second syntactic frame is the attributive use of emotion adjective: "(Wa adjective (People in general feel) Y is adjective)" where the stimulus object complement is always marked by the topic particle 'wa'. Here, the emotional adjective is used attributively, and it defines the attribute of the focussed object with the emotional connotation: Y is someone/something which makes people in general feel in a certain way (as described by the adjective) about Y. We have observed that an adjective like KENAGE is likely to be found only in attributive use and not in subjective use. On the other hand, we also have seen that some adjectives such as KOISHII, ITOSHII, ITOSHII, URESHII, SHIAWASE, UCHOOTEN, NATSUOKASHII, KUYASHII, TEREKUSAI, KI-NO-DOKU, occur only in the subjective use, since these adjectives can be used to refer to individual subjective feelings, and not be used to refer to the attributive disposition of the stimulus object of the emotion.

An adjective like TSURAI has both subjective and attributive uses, but occurs mainly in the subjective use. This word is apparently regarded as an emotion word in Japanese, but the translation of this word into English does not usually rely upon on emotion words. Japanese TSURAI is usually glossed into a non-emotion word such as 'hard' or 'not easy' in English. Does this mean that compared with Western countries, in Japan,
people may need not hesitate to openly express their painful feeling with the emotion word TSURAI? This issue calls for further interest and consideration.

Emotion words discussed in Chapter 11 which are concerned with "thinking about someone else", are very important since "thinking about other people's feelings/wants/thoughts" is very highly esteemed in Japan.

Firstly, we have looked at the usage and meaning of NASAKE/JOO. NASAKE/JOO is a very important concept in Japanese society. NASAKE/JOO symbolically depict a characteristically Japanese way of thinking about emotions. NASAKE is highly valued in Japanese society. It was traditionally considered that since life is uncertain, short and sad like dewdrops on a flower, it is important to have NASAKE: warm-hearted consideration of other people. People who have NASAKE/JOO are valued as warm-hearted human beings.

We also have examined the meaning of JIHI. We tried to explicate the meaning of JIHI with NSM, and in doing so, we found that what is most necessary for people who are suffering and depressed to the extent they almost feel like dying is to have someone who will understand and share their sorrows or agony as his/her own. This attitude of trying to 'understand' and 'feel the same way' as other people who are suffering is a crucial factor for the concept of JIHI. We also found that the object of JIHI is not only human beings, but it could be anything if it can be considered alive. Having enough capacity to wish a good life for anyone or anything alive is a fundamental factor to become a person who has JIHI. Thus, according to this theory of JIHI, terminating the life of anyone or anything alive is totally out of question. In Buddhist thought, killing people is not forgiven no matter whatever reason or justification one might have.\footnote{During the World War I and II, the Japanese government coerced the Japanese people to participate in the war under the name of emperor, persuading Japanese people to believe that the emperor was a God. This way of thinking was based on Shintoism. During the World Wars, the government subjugated other religions including Buddhism which strictly prohibits killing people.}

OMOYARI is another Japanese word which represents this Japanese way of considering other person's/people's thinking. English also has expressions like "put oneself in someone else's shoes" which refer to the importance of thinking of other people's positions. However, OMOYARI has another component in its meaning. People who have OMOYARI have an attitude which makes them habitually eager to read other people's feelings/wants/thoughts and try to do something to make them feel good, even though those other people do not express their feelings/wants/thoughts verbally.

Although it is true that Japanese people value consideration towards others as stated above on the one hand, we should not overstate this aspect as representing the whole character of the Japanese people. This is because, on the other hand, on some occasions Japanese people can act violently without any consideration of other people's feelings. The Japanese did many cruel things in other countries in the context of World War II, where they believed they could do anything to the people with whom they did not need to have interpersonal harmony, under the justification of serving the Japanese nation and the emperor. This kind of apparently contradictory behaviour in the Japanese people, who value consideration of others on one hand and can sometimes act so cruelly on the other hand, was highlighted by Ruth Benedict in her book The Chrysanthemum and the Sword (1947) which depicted how Japanese people who have gentle hearts able to appreciate the chrysanthemum, can kill other people with the sword without any guilty feelings on certain occasions.

The second main goal of this thesis was to describe certain aspects of Japanese culture with cultural scripts. In order to explore the emotional world of Japanese people and their language, not only the meaning of emotion expressions, but also the cultural factors embedded in the usage and meaning of these expressions are important. Each society has a shared set of cultural norms, or culture-specific needs and values, such as how to think, how to feel, how to want, how to speak to others, things one can or cannot say, things that one can or cannot do, etc. These tacit cultural norms were stated in the form of explicit "cultural scripts" from a universal perspective, by using NSM.
We have found that when Japanese people feel certain emotions they often try to suppress them since they are concerned with what people will think about them. We have seen that they try to control their actions not only because they are concerned with society, but also because they have an internal moral concern or conscience. However, it is a fact that Japanese people pay great attention to what other human beings or the entire society (especially "soken") think of them rather than just to the individual's perspective about him/herself. Japanese people's strong concern about other people's views about them are reflected in concepts like HAJI, HAZUKASHII, or TEREKUSAI: All of these emotions occur because the subjects are very conscious of how other people perceive him/her.

As for controlling emotional expressions because of concern about other people's views, Ishii (1984: 51) says that in Japanese society people avoid the display of negative emotions and feign a positive emotion, or have a blank expression even when they feel quite negative "in order to preserve peace and harmony in groups". On the other hand, Matsumoto (1996: 91) says: "In American society it is easier to attribute the responsibility for one's emotions, especially negative ones; the lack of strong emphasis on interpersonal harmony implies a corresponding lack of concern for blaming others for one's negative emotions". In Japanese society, not only negative emotions, but also positive emotions are often suppressed in order to keep harmony in interpersonal relationships. For example, when complimented by another person, Japanese people will often act humbly and say they don't deserve such a compliment. However, we should really pay attention to the fact that in the situation where there is no possibility of a future relationship, Japanese people often do not display emotions that foster harmony. This fact can be related to the phenomenon that Japanese people sometimes act without any consideration towards other people when they travel in foreign countries, or in some situations where they do not feel the necessity of maintaining a harmonious interpersonal relationship in the future.

It was also observed that compared with Western people, Japanese are not good at expressing their emotions quickly. They are particularly inexpert in expressing their affectionate feelings to others instantly and explicitly. Although there is a word such as "AI(SURU)" in Japanese, the usage and concept of this word are not integrated in Japanese life. Rather, it is often assumed that 'silence' is the ultimate expression of affectionate feeling. A feeling like SETSUNAI or TEREKUSAI, for example, was also shown to be closely related with this hesitant attitude with respect to the explicit expression of affectionate feelings towards other people.

Japanese people appear to experience an acute SETSUNAI feeling more often than Western people do, since unlike Western people, who are more used to expressing their emotions outwardly, Japanese people are quite unskilful in expressing their affectionate feelings towards others. Thus, when one feels SETSUNAI, although one feels bad since one cannot obtain exclusive possession of the object, or because some bad thing is happening to a person for whom one feels affection, one feels an irresistible SETSUNAI feeling — not only because one cannot change the bad situation, but also because one cannot express what one feels towards this other person.

The feeling of TEREKUSAI assumes an audience (other people's views) and presupposes a response or reaction of the audience; "other people know what is happening to me", "people may think something about me because of this", "I don't want this". The experience of a TEREKUSAI feeling has an uneasy feeling about being paid attention. One would feel TEREKUSAI (adj.) or one would TERERU (verb) when one feels something embarrassed on being told something good about him/her or about somebody who "belongs" to him/her by others. Moreover, what is characteristic of Japanese people is that they often TERERU or feel TEREKUSAI when they cannot express their true feelings towards the person they feel affection for. This phenomenon is closely related to many Japanese people's clumsiness at expressing their feelings, (especially affectionate feelings), instantly and explicitly like many Western people appear to do.

There are two main kinds of bodily behaviour that Japanese people engage in when they feel TEREKUSAI. One is to laugh or grin, and the other is to scratch part of their head. Smiling is used to disguise their real feelings when they feel TEREKUSAI.
Although they have a kind of uncomfortable feeling, such as embarrassment, people laugh or smile in front of other people because they do not want other people's feelings to be disturbed by their embarrassment; they want to show others "You can see I feel TEREKUSAINTAI, so please leave me alone". The ambiguous smile or the gesture of scratching one's head is a device often used by Japanese people to keep the appropriate distance between their inner self and others. Unless non-Japanese people know the interpretation commonly attached to these gestures, they can be misunderstood, since, for example, in English speaking countries these gestures do not have the same meaning.

Furthermore, in investigating the usage and meaning of various emotion expressions, (such as NASAKE/JOO, JIJI, OMOTIYARI, laughing or scratching their heads when they feel TEREKUSAINTAI, and some other nonverbal behaviours such as silence or smiling), we have found that Japanese people often expect others to understand their feelings and to 'empathise' with them without having expressed their true feelings explicitly. Japanese people expect other people to act in such a way to some extent, because empathising with other people's feeling/thinking is highly encouraged in Japanese culture. Japanese people receive 'empathy training' from their mothers when they are children, which involves guessing (sasuwari) what others are thinking and feeling even when they haven't spoken. A person who is good at 'mind-reading' and perceiving another person's thoughts and feelings is highly appreciated. In Japanese society, where empathetic sensing communication is highly valued, subtle nonverbal gestures have an important function. Japanese people tend to expect others to understand their feelings only from subtle nonverbal cues or silence. In a society which allows for this kind of empathic communication, people are no necessarily expected to verbalise their emotions or thoughts explicitly.

The empathetic attitude has a very important function in Japanese interpersonal relationships. We have seen that, when encouraging a depressed or suffering person, showing some signs that one understands the suffering person's feelings is fundamental. Recognising the existence of another person who understands one's painful feelings lightens one's agony. In another case, even when one wants to oppose another's opinion, it is considered polite to indicate understanding of another person's feeling, saying something like "I really understand your feeling/thinking", and then start stating your own idea or way of thinking which is different from that of the other person.

When people come into contact with individuals from other cultures, they need to be able to put themselves in the shoes of people in other cultures and try to look at the world as those other people see it. But to do so we must know how they are different. I believe this study can help non-Japanese people to grasp how Japanese people deal with their emotions.

This thesis also examined the body part terms or quasi-body part terms which are related to Japanese emotions. In Japanese, KOKORO is seen as the seat of emotions. MUNE ('chest') is the place where KOKORO is considered to be located. Therefore, many emotions are experienced in this body part MUNE. Moreover, when one thinks in the head, one sometimes consults with one's emotions felt in the MUNE. It was also shown that while HARA ('belly') is sometimes used for the expression of some emotions, it is also often seen as the seat of people's thinking as well as the centre of the personality. Compared with the English word 'mind', which is located in the head, the organs of thinking in Japanese are not only ATAMA (head) but also KOKORO and HARA, which are located in the chest and belly respectively. It was mentioned that when HARA is used in reference to thinking, speakers go beyond mere rational, intellectual thought and focus on deeper, essential concepts. We have also seen that the term KI appears in a large number of Japanese expressions dealing with emotions, temperament, and behaviour. Among those expressions, KI is most frequently used for referring to the mental activity of human beings. KI-kubari (lit. distributing KI, roughly 'giving consideration') with which people communicate with other people in the way they consider other people's feelings is also seen as very important. MUSHI ('germ'), which is considered to be in the belly, is also related to Japanese emotions. Characteristically, people use MUSHI when they want to express certain emotions, such as 'angry' or
'unpleased' feelings, occurring not because they wish it, but because something in their bodies MUSHI, which is not under their control, causes these emotions.

Chapter 12 was devoted to the examination of nonverbal communication in Japan. In Japanese society, where empathetic communication is highly valued, subtle nonverbal gestures can have a significant function as message indicators. People depend on intuitive, emotional communication commonly recognised by subtle nonverbal behaviour rather than by explicit verbal expressions. Therefore, identifying and understanding these subtle gestures is essential when communicating with Japanese people.

When Japanese people cannot find appropriate words to express their feelings, they often become silent, which would be conveyed as a blank (i.e. "......") in writing. Japanese people can expect others to understand their thinking or feelings without explicit verbal expressions.

In Japanese culture, where (as discussed in chapter 12 (I)) tacit understanding is required and expected, people are supposed to look for a variety of nonverbal cues, such as facial expressions, in order to understand the speaker's psychological state. One of the most subtle and meaningful forms of nonverbal behaviour from which people try to grasp the other's true psychological state is 'gaze'. In everyday interaction we are likely to see facial blends in which the eyes may tell one story and other parts of the face may tell another story. Some clues as to the expression of one's true emotion are often derived from the eyes.

In order to successfully communicate with people in a country like Japan, where people rely relatively heavily on non-verbal clues as an expression of their intentions or feelings, the acquisition of fluency in these types of behaviour is indispensable. This can be achieved only after we really understand the cultural psychology and socio-cultural norms shared by people in a given culture, which motivate those nonverbal patterns of behaviour.

It has been one of the intentions of this thesis to explicate the thinking patterns or the socio-cultural norms attached to some typical patterns of Japanese behaviour and interaction as associated emotion expressions. The approach taken for this purpose was, again, to use the universally based "Natural Semantic Metalanguage". We have seen that this method allowed us to translate various aspects of a cultural ethos encoded in behaviour and thinking into semantic formulas which can be accurately understood by people in another culture.

In doing this, we have seen how cultural norms encourage or discourage certain kinds of behaviour in Japan. It was found that norms such as the necessity of being conscious of other people's gaze, having consideration not to offend other people's feelings and keep harmony with others, govern important aspects of behaviour in Japan. It was also found that Japanese people have a relatively "forgiving" attitude to men's crying on special occasions, despite the fact that generally they have a negative view toward any open display of negative emotions, especially men's crying. This relatively generous attitude towards crying may be related to the hidden Japanese fondness of sad-like feelings (e.g. SETSUAI, KANASHII<2>) which often appear in Japanese ballads whose theme is mainly sad-like feelings after a separation from one's lover or partner. In many cases, popular songs whose melodic theme is about a state of unhappiness rather than happiness appeal more to the taste of Japanese people.

We have also found in chapter 13 that although Japanese people are quite "emotional", and put more value on emotion than on reason, they can and also want to express their emotions clearly to people whom they know and who will listen to them with empathy, and understand their feelings. In Anglo culture, it is important to be able to analyse one's feelings rationally and to verbalise them with self-control. Therefore, psychotherapy or counselling is quite popular in Anglo culture, since people can analyse their emotions by verbalising them in that system. However, the same method does not work for Japanese people. Japanese people tend to feel resistance to talking objectively of their feelings to unfamiliar psychotherapists or doctors. Also, generally, Japanese people do not believe that a psychological problem can be resolved just by talking about it and analysing it. Moreover, often it is painful for many of them to confront their problems by verbalising them to a stranger. That is why they would rather talk their problems over
with a specific intimate person whom they believe will understand and sympathise with their feelings. For many Japanese people, it is incomprehensible that many people in Western countries choose to visit councillors in order to solve their emotional problems. They wonder why those people cannot solve their problems by talking intimately with someone whom they know well and who understands them well. Is it because those people are afraid to show their weakness to others in their competitive society? In order to answer to this question, further careful research is required.

14.2. Further Perspectives

This thesis does not claim to be a comprehensive and exhaustive survey of all Japanese emotion words or expressions. Since the whole domain of emotions was too large to be analysed in the thesis, I limited myself to discussing a selection of frequently used emotion words and expressions. As very little work has been done in this field of semantic analysis of emotions in Japanese, I feel that the results of my research are valuable as a reference point for further research. At the same time I believe a good deal has been covered; that the "NSM" semantic method of analysis has been demonstrated and shown to be very useful, and consequently that the links between lexi-con, semantics, and culture have been illustrated and elucidated.

Needless to say, this thesis could not cover all important issues concerning emotion words/expressions. One remaining issue concerns the differences in meaning communicated by the same emotion words used as different parts of speech. Wierzbicka (1999b: 302) states all languages draw some grammatical distinction in the area of emotion, which reflect different perspectives on feelings available to speakers within one culture. For example, in English the predominant way of describ-ing "emotions" is by means of adjectives (e.g. He was angry/sad/happy/afraid.) and quasi-particles (e.g. She was worried/dismayed/surprised/amazed/ashamed &). These adjectives and quasi particles present the experiencer's emotion as "a state". In the case of verbal mode of expression (e.g. She worried/grieved/rejoiced.), "a more active attitude on the part of the experience" is implied. Wierzbicka (p. 302) explains that what this "active" attitude means is that the experiencer is thinking certain thoughts for some time and thus is generating certain feeling in himself or herself, and she gives the following explication for the meaning of this form: "X was thinking something for some time" "because of this, X felt something (Y) for some time". Another grammatical construction, which is done by means of a noun with the preposition 'in' (e.g. She was in panic/in despair/in ecstasy/in agony) suggests a "container image".

One of Wierzbicka's colleagues, Ameka (1990) described the different morphosyntactic devices that are available in Ewe, a Kwa language of West Africa, for the presentation of the conceptualisations of an experiencer of an emotion in semantics. As for the Japanese language, for example, it would be interesting to study the difference in the meaning of different parts of speech of the same emotion: e.g. TERERU (verb), TEREKUSA (adjective), and TERE (noun). Although I have mentioned some differences between verbal emotion words and adjectival emotion words in Chapter 4, I did not further pursue this issue. I see this as a particularly worthwhile area for future investigation.

It would also be interesting to expand this analysis to other types of emotional expressions, including metaphorical emotional expressions, physiological symptoms attached to some emotions, and onomatopoeic emotion words (cf. Hasada 1994-a).

A study of the gender differences in the area of emotions (e.g. usage/lexicon/meaning) is also an interesting topic to pursue. Fischer (1995: 460) says "girls and boys are prepared for their feminine and masculine roles. From childhood onwards women have been socialised to value emotions and emotional interactions more than men...the relationship between girls and their parents are of a more emotional nature than the
relationships between boys and their parents. Similarly, from a sociological perspective, emotion study across age differences could be worth studying.

Furthermore, the study of the relationship between the language of emotions and the language of personality traits would be worthwhile, as has been done in a culture like that of the United States:

When observing other people expressing emotions, Americans often assume that the other's personality matches his or her emotions; e.g., "He lost his temper because he's an angry person." She's always the first one to laugh at a joke." By focusing on traits as explanations for emotional behavior in others, American overlook possible situational pressures to express the emotions. In explaining their own emotions, however, Americans tend to look to the situation. "I lost my temper because people were demanding too much from me." "I laughed because the movie was hilarious." This bias -- a tendency to explain others' behavior and emotions as an effect of personality, but one's own as an effect of the situation is so common in America that it has been called the fundamental attribution error (Ross, 1977).

In collectivistic cultures, people are more aware of pressures to conform to the situation, and that these pressures influence everyone. Independent persons more often than independents explain the emotions they see in others by referring to the situation. (Smith 1995: 407-408) [emphasis and underline mine]

There has not been a substantial study of the relationship between emotion and personality in the Japanese language so far, so an investigation into this subject matter would be profitable for cultivating a better understanding of emotions in Japanese culture.

We also need to pay attention to historical change in the use and meaning of emotion terms or expressions. In this thesis historical change of meaning was briefly observed in the history of some emotion terms, e.g. NASAKE, AWARE, KI-NO-DOKU. We have also seen other historical changes: For instance, the change in Japanese people's most frequent use of expression for anger-like feelings over time (HARA GA TATSU --> ATAMA NI KURU --> MUKA(TSUUKU)). The historical change in the part of speech function of the emotion word AWARE (interjection --> adjective) provides another kind of example. Over a long period of time, the meaning or use of emotion words will change (they will be limited or extended). We can pursue this point bearing in mind also the changes in the socio-cultural context at the same time.

Also, involuntary expressions of human feelings, such as interjections and exclamations need to be investigated. Some feelings can not be expressed in a logical way but could be expressed by interjections. While the use of an interjection such as "oh" in poetry sounds archaic or sentimental in contemporary English poetry, in Japanese literature, the use of interjection still has an important role. As argued by Wierzbicka (1991a: 286), "...interjections often show remarkable similarities across language and culture boundaries, but these similarities are unpredictable and have to be learnt just as much as the differences". She adds: "...interjections -- like any other linguistic elements -- have their meaning, and that this meaning can be identified and captured in rigorous semantic formulation" (p. 337).

There is also a great deal more to be explored in Japanese nonverbal communication. While I have limited myself to an examination of only a few gestures, the issues raised here deserve further investigation. For example, whereas we have examined the use, manner, purpose, or values associated with some gestures in Japan, we have paid little attention to the meaning of those gestures. An investigation of the meanings communicated by these gestures, or of the actual feelings which may cause these gestures, would yield further interesting and important results.

A systematic and comprehensive study of how the concepts, meanings, and use of Japanese emotion terms/expressions are similar to, and different from those of the emotion lexicon in different cultures is also indispensable for successful inter-cultural communication. In addressing this urgent task, it is particularly important to be careful to investigate not only the stereotypical images of each culture, but also individual variations in usage.

3 Solomon (1995: 250) states that "The word emotion shifts its meaning from age to age, culture to culture -- even when the language remains ostensibly the same. For example, in the English language, the word "melancholy", which was of such interest to medieval moral psychology and which played such a role in seventeenth century personality and clinical psychology, is no longer experienced by anyone. Though English speaking people understand what it is to be melancholy, they never confess to this feeling. Bored, depressed, nostalgic -- yes. Melancholy -- no. (Harre 1983: 129; Harré, Fineley and Jones 1986: 223).
Furthermore, since NSM is claimed to be found in all languages, the description of the meaning of Japanese emotion words/expressions formulated in NSM could be translated into other languages than English or Japanese. At the same time, the detailed and systematic study to establish an optimal Japanese version of NSM (from both a lexical and a grammatical point of view) is necessary. Individually, each study will yield important results.

In closing, I would like to reiterate that the various faces of "emotion" need to be studied systematically, methodically, and above all cross-culturally. A deeper understanding of the cultural issues discussed in this thesis can only be realised through further detailed study. This is urgently needed for better and more successful inter-cultural communication.

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INDEX OF SOURCES

IN JAPANESE


1 When examples are taken from literature, full details are given in the 'Index of Sources'. In this case, only the author's name and the year of publication are provided below each example which it appears in the thesis. However, when the example comes from magazines, TV or radio programs, popular songs, or advertisements, all the details are given in the brackets just below each example.


IN ENGLISH


