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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

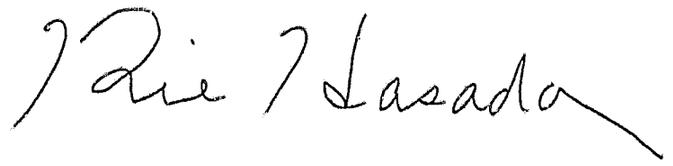
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Declaration

Except where otherwise indicated
this thesis is my own work

Rie Hasada

March 2000



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my most sincere thanks to Professor Anna Wierzbicka, for introducing me to the area of semantics, for her support and warm encouragement, and for having provided me with a strong motivation for linguistic research. I have been extremely fortunate to have Anna as my teacher and supervisor, since I have always been intellectually stimulated and encouraged by her passion and enthusiasm for semantics.

I wish to acknowledge Prof. Masayuki Oonishi and Dr. Cliff Goddard for their erudite reading of and comments on an earlier draft of this thesis. Dr. Cliff Goddard carefully read a draft of several chapters of this thesis and efficiently forwarded manuscripts which included valuable and insightful comments. I need to express my great gratitude to my second supervisor, Prof. Oonishi, who gave me a lot of emotional support and many other forms of help. He read all my preliminary chapters and kept giving me strict, but constructive comments. Timely encouragement and support from both Prof. Wierzbicka and Prof. Oonishi literally rescued me several times from the depth of despair during the course of research of this thesis. All of the comments provided by Prof. Wierzbicka, Prof. Oonishi, and Dr. Cliff Goddard have always helped to clarify my thoughts and lead me in the right direction.

I owe a great deal to a number of people for their friendship and support during my years in graduate accommodation. Special thanks go to Yuuko Kinoshita who provided invariable emotional support and encouragement with humour and patience at earlier stages of my work. I am also grateful for Yooko Nemoto for her unchangeable friendship; She has been always accepting and generous in many senses throughout my work on thesis. To my other colleagues and friends in Canberra, there are not enough ways to say thank you. I will confine myself to an alphabetical list of melodic names: Simon Baker, Mary Bethemeres, Nicolette Bramley, Elliot Gilbert, Helen O'Loghlin, Yuka Sakurai, Kumi de Silva, Nima Singarimbun, Carol Wolfgang, Judy Chienwei Yeh, and Kyung-Joo Yoon.

Sincere appreciation is also due to many fellow students whom I have had the opportunity to study with, especially, Ian Langford. Many of the ideas in the present study have been inspired and developed through conversations with him.

Special thanks are also due to my friends in Japan: Yukiko Nara, Tomoko Ichihashi, Megumi Harada, Dr. Mark Hudson among others. My deepest gratitude goes to my important friends as well as mentors, Mrs. Noriko Miura in North Carolina, the United States, and Mrs. Kaoru Ooshima in Japan, who have constantly sent me enormous power and encouragement across the miles to carry on with this thesis. Thanks also to my other friends: Dr. Kimie Hara in Calgary (Canada) who helped me through the most difficult time in my research, Naomi Verdigan in Chicago (the United States) for her long time friendship and considerations for me, and Andrew Pasek in New York (the United States).

Many people contributed to the correction and polishing of my English. Melissa Luxton helped me translate Japanese into English, and Ingrid Singh helped proofread the whole of my thesis. Noah McCormack read through the whole of my first drafts and helped with my translations from Japanese into English. Carol Priestly, Drs. Peter and Jennifer Hendriks also helped with proofreading in the later stage of my thesis. I also appreciate Ikeda sensei, Yuuko Asano, Misako Ishii who volunteered to proofread some parts of my Japanese descriptions.

Finally, special thanks go to Yukiko Nara, for her long-time constant friendship, her encouragement sent from many countries (Singapore, Japan, and finally Canberra, Australia), and her great help at the very last stage of my Ph. D thesis. I could never have completed this project without you.

This research has been supported by the Australian National University (ANU Ph.D Scholarship, including Fieldwork Grant). I wish to express my gratitude to the ANU and the Linguistics Department for their continued financial assistance throughout both my M.A. and Ph.D studies.

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 /ā, ī, ū, ē, ō/.

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) Tooku de omou to namida ga deru.
Chikaku de miru to hara ga tatsu.
Okaasan!! Aishite iru yo.
[Eri Nagai (female 43 years old) in Fukuiken-Maruokachoo 1995: 89]

(B [J-->E]: Tears come 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 not.[1] Chaimu ga natta no ga, kikoenakatta not."
Kyooshitsu ni hairu nari, Yokota sensei no donarigoe ga hibiita. Mayo wa kuchibiru o furuwasenagara, nantoka shite (dareka ni nusumare, kakusare, gomibako ni suterarete ita jibun no) suniikaa no koto o hanasoo to shita. Hazukashisa, Ikari, Kanashimi. Keredo, ninensei no Mayo ni wa, mada sonna koto o juubun ni seirishite setsumei suru koto ga dekinai.
[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 analyse 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 'tsu' 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) "Watashi, ima made **ATAMA** de koi shite ita kamo shirenai tte omou n desu. Kono hito to iru to, jibun mo shigoto ga shiyasui shi, odayaka de irareru toka. (....) Hontoo ni horechattara, subete o nagedashi-soo na jibun ga wakaru n desu. Sore ga kowai kara, dokoka de bureeki o kakeru no kamo shirenai. (....) Seken kara, "Naomi-chan, nande anna otoko ni horechatta no" to iwaretemo, jibun de kono hito tte omou **KIMOCHI** wa shinjitsu deshoo. Sono **KIMOCHI** ni shoojiki ni naretara, hontoo ni shiawase da to omou n desu yo."
[Naomi Kawashima "Koi o motome, 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 sense 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 contentment.)

(4) Katai oya ni sodaterareta sei de, furin nante rongai da to omotte ita noni..... Sore ga shiranai uchi ni furin shitete, aite no katei o kowashite ita nante! (....) Dakedo, kare ga kekkonshiteru to shittemo, "Yappari, yamerarenai" to omotta no. Ikura **ATAMA** de kangaeyoo to, **KOKORO** wa tomerarenai n da tte jikkan shita wa.
[Ayako Iida (30 years old) "Kanojo no sentaku No. 100" in *Shuukan Asahi* 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 **KANJOO** ga aru desho. **RIKUTSU** de wa, (watashi ga joyuu dakara) futsuu no okaasan ja nakatta tte koto wa, (watashi no musuko ni totte) suteki na koto datta n ja nai desu ka. Hokorashii koto da kedo, (shoogakkoo no toki issho ni sunde inakatta no wa) **KANJOO**-teki ni wa sabishikatta n ja nai desu ka. "
[Kumiko Akiyoshi (actress) "Maiku nante iranai!" pp. 52-56 *Shuukan Asahi* 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 Lenono Music]

(MT: "Human beings have both **RIKUTSU** ('reason') and **KANJOO** ('emotion'), don't they? Logically [in his **RIKUTSU**], it was fine [for my son] that I was not a normal mother (since I was an actress). He was proud of me. However, emotionally (in his **KANJOO**) he might have been lonely (because we were not living together when he was an elementary school student).")

In this thesis, I will explore the world of emotions of Japanese people as reflected in the Japanese lexicon/expression. 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 method developed by Anna Wierzbicka and her colleagues. The present study is an attempt to apply the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) framework to explicate 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 tacit 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 a mutual understanding from intercultural perspectives are of vital importance particularly in today's world. For successful cross-cultural communication, understanding the cultural differences in the systems of emotion words in foreign cultures is required for smooth intercourse. The study of the emotions of the Japanese people is quite important in order to prevent misunderstandings and to facilitate successful cross-cultural communication between non-Japanese and Japanese people.

Although many psychologists and anthropologists put little importance on language in their studies of emotion, studying the emotions of a culture via its language is particularly important and necessary to gain an understanding of people and their emotions in that cultural context. As Matsumoto (1996: 159) says, "cultures will differ in their vocabularies of emotion---in the number of words, and their uses and meanings. These differences can point to important differences in the ways in which people of different cultures construct their emotional worlds using their language." In order to explore the

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 & Wierzbicka 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" (Wierzbicka 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 Kawaijuku: 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 Kawaijuku: 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 (lit. hanging one's head down)" refers to a feeling of dejection, "chawan ga te kara suberiochiru (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 actions or behaviour.

The study of emotion expressions in both verbal and non-verbal contexts necessarily requires the study of certain '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 inter-cultural 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 purpose. 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.

[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".

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. Mizukami (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 Katsuichiroo (qut. 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 "hara ga tatsu" in a situation like the following:

(1) Kuroyanagi: (Chikyuu-kagakusha de aru) Sensei ga, ano, Hiroshima ya Nagasaki ni gembaku ga otosareta toki ni, mochiron moo **fungai-shite**, ma, **fungai** dokoro ja nai n desu ga, kagakusha to shite, honto ni kore wa yurusarenai tte soo iu fuu ni honto ni oomoi ni natta-soo desu kedo...
[TV programme "Tetsuko no Heya" August 6th, 1996]

(MT: Kuroyanagi: I heard that you, as an earth scientist, really felt **fungai**, maybe more than **fungai**, 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", "hara ga tatsu" are not really appropriate. A Chinese word such as "fungai (-suru))" should be used for that strong emotion.

[4] Kindaichi (1978: 40) says that Chinese character words represent sixty or seventy percent of the total vocabulary according to the *Dainihon 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 (nari)" 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 "tamamushi-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 introversively and yearning 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]

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5 The meaning of a few words or expressions which are derived from Chinese language, such as 'uchooten' or 'jihi' 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 feelings 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, situation, and adventures, pushing their sympathies now this way and now that, arousing in turn their fighting spirit, their tenderness, their sense of tragedy, their laughter, their superstitiousness, 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 Sussana 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".[6]

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 'hazukashii' and 'terekusai' [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:[7] 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. hazukashii, terekusai; nasakenai, kanashii) (Chapter 9); 6. "Thinking about 'someone else'" (e.g. nasake, kawaisoo)

(Chapter 10). Chapter 11 treats the aspects of nonverbal communication that are related to the expressions of Japanese emotions. The cultural background of Japanese people as a context for their expressions of emotion is discussed in Chapter 12. The final chapter sums up the findings of this thesis and proposes some directions for further research.

6. It could be said that the data could be different, in that emotional expressions are different depending on the speaker's 'status' or 'values'. Although these factors were not analyzed in this thesis, it would make the value of data more insightful if I do that. However, it is too involved a subject to be reacted here in detail.

7. In this thesis I picked up the emotion words which are often used in daily Japanese life and interesting to pursue their use and meaning. I have divided them into six groups, in terms of the common semantic element they share in the same group.

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 judgement 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 Aristotles' 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

[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).

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 overstated 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 1995: 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).

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 work 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.

Identification of the specifically cultural nature of emotion has led to a proliferation of anthropological studies. Emotion topics studied by psychological anthropologists include: "**cross cultural variations in the experience and expression of emotion**" (e.g. Briggs 1970, 1978, 1994; Levy 1973, 1974, 1984a, 1984b; Myers 1976, 1986; Myers and Diener 1996; Schieffelin 1986; Shweder 1985, 1990, 1991, 1994; Wikan 1990; Rosaldo 1980, 1984; Lutz 1983, 1985a, 1985b, 1986a, 1986b, 1987, 1988, 1995); "**the cultural constitution of the self**" (e.g. Howell 1941; Marsella, De Vos, & Hsu 1985; Shweder 1985; White 1985, 1992, 1993, 1994); "**the socialisation of emotion**" (e.g. Clancy 1982, 1986; LeVine 1974, 1984; Ochs 1986, 1988); "**anthropological linguistic studies of emotion**" (e.g. Russell 1989, 1991, 1994, 1995, 1997); "**cognitive studies of emotion**" (e.g. D'Andrade (1974, 1984, 1995). These studies have provided extensive ethnographic evidence that emotional experience and expression differ cross culturally.

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.[2] In his book The Social Construction of Emotions (1986a), he claims that the

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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

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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 recollected 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, socializaion parameters, or interactional and relational outcomes, is a key concern (Lazarus, Kanner & Folkman 1980: 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 bad judgements (Oatley and Jenkins 1996: 31-32).

studies of culture-specific emotions observed by Lutz (in the Ifaluk culture), Rosaldo (in the Illongot culture), Levy (in Samoan culture), Briggs (in the Utku 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 "what 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.[3] This concept make Ifaluk people renew their kin ties to an increasing number of people.

The Illongot "liget" : Michelle Rosaldo

The Illongot is a small group of some 3, 500 horticulturalist-hunters living barely 150 miles from Manila. It is considered that the closest Illongot 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 Illongot culture-specific emotions.

In the Illongot 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".

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)

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

> Illongot consider themselves dependent on a *liget* that energizes as it divides them; and though stimulated by *liget*, the individual requires 'knowledge' to give affective impulses intelligible, social form. 'If it were not for *liget*', Illongots say, 'we'd have no life, we'd never work.' But at the same time, they say, 'We don't do everything because of *liget*; sometimes our hearts are quiet and we speak with knowledge in our breath. (p. 44)
>
> *Liget* points in human life to a readiness to be 'different' or to take offence...to stubborns and conviction, but also to the fact that one is quick-moving, youthful, active,...and 'tied up tight' or 'strong'. (....) ...*liget* as an adjective - 'Uliget 'imana tu'u, 'That is an angry person' -- describes a quality often admirable and desirable. (p.45-46)

Thus, for the Illongot, "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

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 Illongot 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. [5]

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 situation. (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 nor learned it yet. (....) *naklik-* was a mature, nurturant, highly valued emotion, which people grew". [6]

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

> [alofa]
> X thinks of person Y
> X thinks something like this:
> bad things can happen to this person
> if something bad happens to a person, I should do some thing 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 Javanese: "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 concepts of 'self-control' and 'respect' (cf. Geertz 1974: 256-257).

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 Peninsular Malaysia. It is reported by Howell (1982, 1981, 1982, 1989a, 1989b) that the Chewong has a very small number of

7 Myers (1976) also reports a culture specific 'shame'-like emotion concept "kunta" in the Pintupi. Myers, while giving the rough translation 'shame' for the meaning of "kunta", explains that the Pintupi concept of "kunta" includes within its range the English concept of 'shame', 'embarrassment', 'shyness', and 'respect' (p. 141).

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.

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 Canon 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 Bodily 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: 296) 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 those stimuli. Scherer's claim about the important role of vocal expression in the communication of emotions has also been discussed in Pitnam & Scherer (1993: 195) (cf. also Takano 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

emotion. The pervasiveness of vocal expression and the difficulty in suppressing it should not be surprising, given the physiological and neurological components present in emotions and the fact that not all facets of emotions are under conscious control.

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

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:

> when an individual is confronted with a stimulus event, and internal *analyzer* codes the event in terms of known events. A *comparator* then judges whether the event is relevant to the individual's interests. A *diagnose* then appraise the situation in terms of what the individual cannot do about it. An *evaluator* then judges the urgency or seriousness of the situation. This is followed by an *action proposer*, which generates a plan for action, or action tendency. (Frijda in Plutchik 1994: 97)

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 Tcherkassof (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 'innate, 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' (qut. 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.

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10 However, Darwin was not the originator of the universality thesis. Before Darwin's book appeared in 1872, facial expressions of emotion were a topic of great interest (Bain 1855, 1859; Belli 1806; Duchenne de Boulogne 1862; Piderit 1867; Spencer 1855) and were apparently assumed to be universal (qut. in Russell 1994: 103).

11 Plutchik (1994: 57) had published various articles or books on a theory of emotion based upon the idea that certain emotions are primary, or prototypical, and all others are derived. Plutchik (p. 98) claims that some emotions are primary and others are derivatives or blends, in the same sense that some colors are primary and others are mixed. Thus, Plutchik (1984) proposes a multi-dimensional model of emotions on the analogy with color. He orders basic emotions in an "emotion circle" with four primaries (joy, fear, sadness, and anger), four binaries (acceptance, surprise, disgust, anticipation), and eight intermediaries (including love and contempt). Plutchik defined eight primary emotions and indicated that these eight primary emotions form secondary emotions in much the same way as primary colors mix to form new colors: e.g. pride = anger + joy; modesty = fear + acceptance (in Izard 1991:54).

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; judgements 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).

The framework of this differential emotions theory has been presented in detail in publications by Izard (cf. Izard 1969, 1977, 1979, 1984, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1997).

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.

Wikan (1990: 10) reports that when Balinese people feel 'angry (benci)', 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 in a way we cannot and there are not bothered by repressed angers (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 Samoan 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.

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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 older 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 Illongot), Lutz (the Ifaluk), and Briggs (the Utku Eskimo).

"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)

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

> 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 ridding oneself of unpleasant or disruptive 'thoughts/emotions'.... (p. 51)

According to Lutz (1983: 253), the trait of 'calmness' arises not from an inner tranquillity, 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, "metagu", is the reciprocal emotion of "song". It is "metagu" 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 "metagu" of their own potential for wrongdoing, and hence behave in a calm, nonaggressive manner. "Metagu" is seen as something that the child should experience (cf. Lutz 1983: 252, 253; 1986b: 279).

'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. Objections against the Theory of Universal Basic Emotions

The theory of Universal Basic Emotions and the experiments finding universal facial expressions for identifying basic emotions have been criticised from various points of views. The idea of universal basic emotion theory, especially as claimed by Paul Ekman, is orthodox, but there are challenges now from within psychology too (as well as from anthropology), perhaps highlighting Russell as a major critic of Ekman. We will examine the opinions of the major opponents of this theory. Main arguments come from: (1) Problems with using the "forced-choice" method; (2) Problems with uncertainty of the number of universal basic emotions; (3) Problem with using English-specific language for labelling basic emotions.

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. Russel 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 observers' spontaneous categorization of the expression. It might be thought that such a situation would be immediately obvious because it would result in random or idiosyncratic responses. 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, to label a facial expression is to select the available label closet 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 conclude is the wrong answer. (p. 46)

In Ekman (1994b: 282), Ekman argues against Russell's arguments about the possible limitation in the use of a forced-choice response format (Russell argued that other emotions might have been recognised 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 evidenced 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).[16]

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). Plutchik (1994: 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: 566). On this issue, Ortony and Turner say that they differ from Ekman and Izard "only 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 1992: 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 the 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 Illongot; "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 feeling to others. One could expect other people to help them. This is possible in Japan where emotional inter-dependency 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 "ri'ari'a" fear as a present experience ("I am afraid now because the dog is biting me"), from "mata'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 "metagu" ('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; "iqhi" ('fear' of physical injury) and "ilira" ('fear' of being treated unkindly); "qiquq" ('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 inappropriate (Geertz 1973, 1974, 1984); "kunta", which covers English 'shame, embarrassment, shyness, respect' in Pintupi (Myers 1976); "arofa" 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 "watjilpa" 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:

'Happiness'	Missing in Chewong (Howell 1981)
'Surprise'	Missing in Fore, Dani (Ekman) and Ifaluk (Lutz 1982)
'Anger'	Missing in Illongot (Rosaldo 1984) and Ifaluk (Lutz 1980)
'Fear'	Missing in Ifaluk (Lutz 1980)
'Sadness'	Missing in Tahitian (Levy 1973) and Chewong (Howell 1981)
'Disgust'	Missing in Polish (Wierzbicka 1986), Ifalukan (Lutz 1980), Chewong (Howell 1981)

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'". Similarly, a word for 'guilt' is missing from the Illongot (Rosaldo 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 Utku 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 no either label or recognize 'sadness', '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.

Bellelli (1995: 500) states that "labelling 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 categorise 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.[1]

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

1 Lutz (1986b: 267) observes that in societies such as those of the Oceanic peoples including Samoans, Pintupi Aboriginals, and Ara speakers of the Solomon Islands, emotion words are used for statements about the relationship between a person and an event, rather than as statements about introspection on one's internal state .

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 Shweder 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).

Looking back at emotion studies over the last two decades, linguists have contributed to the cross-disciplinary study of emotions by describing and analysing data. Especially in recent years, a great deal has been done in the area of emotion study in the world's languages. The following are some examples of major linguistic studies on emotion: e.g. Athanasiadou & Tabakowska (1998); Apresjan (1997); Goddard (1990, 1991b, 1995b, 1996a, 1997a, To appear); Harkins (1990a, 1990b, 1995, 1996); Harkins & Wierzbicka (1997, 2000); Hasada (1994a, 1997b, 1998, 2000); Iordanskaja (1974, 1979, 1986); Iordanskaja & Mel'čuk (1990); Kolenda 1987; Kövecses (1986, 1988, 1990, 1994); Lakoff (1987); Lakoff & Kövecses (1987); Wierzbicka (1986b, 1991a,

1992a, 1992b, 1992c, 1993b, 1994b, 1995b, 1995c, 1998a, 1998b, 1999a, 1999b, 1999c).

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 writ 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 deify 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

'ethnocentricity' 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 "anglo-centricity" 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'.

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 closet 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 "Glück (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".[2]

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

2 As we have seen in section 2.4. of chapter 2, some psychologists such as Russell or Frijda are aware of the issues of language problems in emotion. For example, Russell (1991: 433) says that when emotion words in different languages are translated one-to-one, the translation criteria of success is insufficient because "it can only achieve the best translation, which might not be an exact translation". The following comment by Frijda et al. (1995: 22) also support Wierzbicka's position: "What is shared across languages or cultures, in fact, is not a set of emotions that each precisely matches any of the emotion words in any language. Rather, it is a set of general emotional structures or structural ranges that form the fabric of major emotional phenomena".

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,[3] 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.[4] 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 [5]

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) criticises 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: 258-259), 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 tunes 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 Illongot *liget* (cf. Rosaldo 1980), or Ifaluk *song* (cf. Lutz 1988) or Yankunytjatjara *pika* (cf. Goddard 1991) .... "Anger" is, then, no more a universal category of human experience than is 'liget' 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

> different languages'.... 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".

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, [6] 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, Diaz (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; Furuuchi 1996). The current biggest Japanese-

6 However, researchers in cultural psychology and ethnopsychology (e.g. White and Kirkpatrick 1985; Lutz 1988; Harré 1986) are usually highly sensitive to the difficulties of translation (Goddard, To appear).

English Dictionary, Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary (Masuda 1993; hereafter KNJED) 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.[7]

In Nakamura's dictionary of emotion terms, Kanjoo Hyoogen 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, 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 reputed 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]

7 Even though the English language may not have an equivalent for the Japanese word "setsunai", the English people still apparently feel and express this emotion in their everyday lives. Wierzbicka (1992c: 21, 123-4) argues that the *absence* of a word does not prove the absence of the corresponding concept, or indicate on inability to form the concept, while the *presence* proves the presence of the concept, and, moreover, its salience in a given culture.

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

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 LLCE) 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. These putative options 'angry' and 'bad-tempered' 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", LLCE gives 'to tease, worry, annoy, etc. (someone) especially again and again with questions, requests, small actions, etc.'. This is just enumerating 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', LLCE 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)[8]

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)

8 Wierzbicka (1996b: 10) maintains that Aristotle was right, and that despite all the interpersonal variation in the acquisition of meaning, there is also an "absolute order of understanding", based on inherent semantic relations among words.

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 for 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

9 Descartes, René (1701/1931) "The Search after Truth by the Light of Nature" In The Philosophical Works of Descartes. Trans. Elizabeth S. Haldane and G. R. T. Ross. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 305-327. (qut. in Wierzbicka 1996b: 12)

10 Pascal, Blaise (1667/1954) "De l'espirit géométrique et de l'art de persuader". In CÉuvres compl'etes. Ed. J. Chevalier. Paris: Gallimard. pp. 575-604. (qut. in Wierzbicka 1996b: 12)

11 Arnauld, Antoine (1662/1964) The Art of Thinking. Trans. James Dickoff and Patricia James. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill. (qut. in Wierzbicka 1996b: 11)

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)[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)[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.[14]

12 Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm (1903) Opuscules et Fragments Inédits de Leibniz. Ed. Louis Couturat. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. Repr. 1961. Hildesheim: Georg Olms. (qut. in Wierzbicka 1996b: 11)

13 Locke, John (1775) An Essay Concerning Human Understanding. London vol. 2, pp. 25-26 (qut. in Wierzbicka 1972: 607).

14 Sapir, Edward (1930) "Totality" in Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture and Personality. Ed. D. Mandelbaum. Berkeley: California University Press (qut. in Wierzbicka 1972: 8)

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 "componential analysis" became very popular in linguistic study. In 1963 Katz and Fodor[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".[16]

In the 1970s, when "componential semantic analysis" was still popular, the works of Jurij Apresjan in Moscow occupied a special place. Apresjan 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 Žolkovskij[17] and Mel'čuk[18] on "elementary particles of meaning" (Wierzbicka 1972: 11).

All the concepts presented by those scholars listed above (Sapir, Hjelmslev, Bierwisch, Mel'čuk and Žolkovskij, and Apresjan) are undoubtedly some kind of

15 J. Katz & J. Fodor (1963) "The Structure of a Semantic Theory" in *Language* 39: 170-210 (qut. in Wierzbicka 1972: 32)

16 Bierwisch, Manfred (1967) "Some semantic universals of German adjectivals" in *Foundations of Language* 3, p. 3 (qut. in Wierzbicka 1972: 9)

17 He was born in Moscow, and now lives in the U.S.A.

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 concrete and elaborated program for the search for universal semantic elements was Polish linguist Andrzej Bogusławski in the years 1965-6. The central proposition in Bogusławski'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 Bogusławski 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 realised, Bogusławski 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 Bogusławski. 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).

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).

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 OF CONCEPTUAL PRIMITIVES AND LEXICAL UNIVERSALS [ENGLISH VERSION]

Substantives	I, YOU, SOMEONE(PERSON), SOMETHING(THING) PEOPLE/PERSON, BODY
Determiners	THIS, THE SAME, OTHER/ELSE
Quantifiers	ONE, TWO, SOME, MANY/MUCH, ALL
Attributes	GOOD, BAD, BIG, SMALL
Mental Predicates	THINK, KNOW, WANT, FEEL, SEE, HEAR

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.

Speech	SAY, WORD, TRUE
Actions, event, movements	DO, HAPPEN, MOVE
Existence and possession	THERE IS, HAVE
Life and Death	LIVE, DIE
Logical concepts	NOT, MAYBE, CAN, BECAUSE, IF
Time	WHEN (TIME), NOW, AFTER, BEFORE, A LONG TIME A SHORT TIME, FOR SOME TIME, MOMENT
Space	WHERE (PLACE), HERE, ABOVE, BELOW, FAR, NEAR; ON (ONE) SIDE, INSIDE
Intensifier, Augmentor	VERY, MORE
Taxonomy, partonomy	KIND OF, PART OF
Similarity	LIKE

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

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.

The last section of chapter 4 in this thesis examines corresponding predicates for THINK and FEEL in Japanese as well as the combination of these primitive terms with two primitives for 'attributives' GOOD and BAD. This is because all of these primitives are relevant to the explication of the meaning of emotion words/expressions as well as the cultural scripts associated with them.

Although several studies of the Japanese version of a set of NSM have been done so far (e.g. Oonishi 1994 for a lexical universal Japanese set of NSM; Hasada 1994b for universal grammatical constructions available in Japanese NSM; Oonishi 1997 for mental predicates; Hasada 1997b for the conditional construction), further careful and insightful study will be required. This can be realized only when each Japanese primitive lexical and grammatical construction corresponding to those of the English version are investigated with careful experimentation.

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 (*ati*) 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, Harré (1983: 125) shows that the Maori vocabulary has 'heart-emotion',

22 For other similar phenomena where 'feeling' is associated with the "intestines", see: Goddard (1994: 239) about the Australian language Yankunytjatjara (*tjini* "belly"); Evans (1994: 212) about another Australian language, Kayardild (*bardaka* "stomach/feeling"); Hale (1994: 269) about the Misumalpan languages of Nicaragua; and Hill (1994: 317) about the Australian language Longgu.

'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 treated as metaphorical) 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

23 Zipf, G. K. (1949). Human Behavior and the Principle of Least Effort. Cambridge: Addison-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 '*nunuwan*' 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 '*nunuwan*' means "think" rather than "think or feel", and that its frequent emotive connotations are due to context rather than to the word itself. '*Nunuwan*' 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 Wikan (1990) for the Balinese word 'keneh', 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

[26] The claim of the impossibility of distinguishing between "think" and "feel" in other cultures are also reported in North Balinese: "..say Balinese, "everyone must *think with their feelings*" (Wikan 1990: 195) ; in the Samoan "The Samoan theory of the origin of emotions involves the operations of what is called the *loto*. (....) ...the loto is thought to be the repository of some of a person's thoughts and feelings" (Gerber 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).

word's sematic 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 Illongot 'liget', which is often glossed as "energy, anger, passion" in English (Rosaldo 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

[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 1995c: 228), by using NSM, we can explicate the definition of meaning of both English 'anger' and Illongot '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:

[Person X was + emotion words (e.g. angry/afraid, ashamed/worried, etc.]=>

person X **felt** something
because X **thought** something
sometimes a person **thinks**: [Y]

because of this person **feels** something
person X **felt** something like this
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 experiencer'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)", "kirai (nom.adj: 'dislike')", "hoshii (adj: 'want')", "urayamashii (adj.: 'be jealous of')", "nikui (adj.: 'hate')", "natsukashii (adj.: 'have a desire to go back/see again')", necessarily take the 'stimulus object' complement, as in:

Watashi wa **kare ga** suki/kirai/hoshii/urayamashii, etc.
I TOP he SUB 'like/dislike/want/feel jealous'
(I 'like/dislike/want/feel jealous of' **him.**)

adjectives like "sabishii ('lonely')", "yuuutsu da ('be depressed'), "tanoshii ('happy')", "iya da ('unpleasant')", do not necessarily require the 'stimulus/object' complement, as they can represent obscure feelings which are not caused by, nor directed toward any specific object. Thus, we could say:

Watashi wa **nazeka** sabishii/yuuutsu da/tanoshii/iya da.
I TOP somehow 'lonely/depressed/happy/unpleasant'
(I feel '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 underline 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. Koiwai (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, hot 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 of explicit "**cultural scripts**" using NSM (cf. Wierzbicka 1993a: 220; 1995a: 210). In 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 (attitudes) can be stated with a phrase involving the following component which starts each explication:

[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 it: 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 indigestion, 'How are you" is a greeting, not a question"(Arthur Guiteman, quoted in Leech 1983: 198[28]).

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.

---

28 Leech, Geoffery N. (1983) Principles of Pragmatics. London: Longman.

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 sat what one rally thinks and what one really feels. (p. 257)

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 in 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, so to speak, via any language whatsoever, ensures their universal and culture-independent character. (....) Natural semantic metalanguage provides us with a universal

system of notation for stating and comparing tacit cultural rules in terms of which different societies operate and in terms which we can understand and make sense of differential communicative behaviour.

Different cultural values evident from the comparison of different cultures can be accounted by the cultural scripts described by the NSM method.

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 ('keiyooshi') and Na-adjectives ('keiyoo-dooshi'). 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:

Itoshii hito
I-adj. (beloved) Noun (person)

Suki na hito
Na-adj. Cop (beloved) Noun (person)

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 "itoshii (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-kat-ta" of I-adjective, 'itoshi' is a root of the adjective, 'itoshi-kat' is a stem, and '-ta' is a past tense suffix. In case of "aish-i-ta", 'ais(h)' is the root of the verb, 'ais(h)-i' is an inflectional stem of the verb, and '-ta' is the past tense suffix.

Inflectional categories of I-adjective, Na-adjectives, and verbs

	I-adjective "itoshii"	Na-adjective "suki"	Verb "aisuru"
Non-past indicative	**itoshi-i**	**suki** da	**ais-uru**
Past indicative [2]	**itoshi-kat**-ta	**suki** dat-ta	**ais-hi**-ta
Infinitive	**itoshi-ku**		
Gerund	**itoshi-ku**-te	**suki** de	**ais-hi**-te
Gerund + auxiliary (progressive/stative)			**ais-hi**-te iru [3]

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

2 The noun is also followed by the copula. The difference between 'noun' and 'na-adjective' is that the noun, but not the na-adjective can take a particle after it. For example, when used as a modifier, a noun is followed by a genitive particle "no", but the na-adjective is followed by the inflected form of the copula "na":

Kare wa konomi da.	Kare ga suki da.
he TOP Noun (favourite) COP	he SUB na-adj(like) COP
(He is (my) favourite.)	((I) like him.)
Konomi **no** hito	suki **na** hito
Noun GEN person	na-adj COP person
((my) favourite person)	(person I like.)

3 Aish-i-TE IRU: The -TE IRU form of dynamic verbs can indicate an activity that has been completed. When -TE IRU is used, the implication is that SOMEBODY has finished doing the activity and IS in that state. (Alfonso 1974: 903) Ogihara (1998: 88) calls it as "a result state *kekka zanzon*, literally 'result remain'". Maynard (1990: 171) says that for active non-durative verbs, [V te + iru] refers to the continuation of a present state resulting from the already completed action. Sometimes, the fused form "aish-i-**teru**, where 'i' of auxiliary 'iru' is dropped, appears.

4 Both '-sa' and '-mi' are used for the derivation which makes an adjective into a noun. There is a different meaning attached to each form. A detailed discussion about the differences in meaning is beyond the scope of this thesis.

"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)", "kanashimu (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, Miura 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 *ureshii*, as in
> (3) Watashi wa yasumi ni naru to **ureshii**.

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 'iru'). 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 kiite 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 ureshii [adj.]. (I am glad.)

(4) Watashi wa sore o kiite ureshikatta. [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,

(3) Watashi wa ureshii [adj.]. (I am glad.)

(4) Watashi wa sore o kiite ureshikatta. [adj.] (I was glad to hear that.)

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(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.) / urayamu (v), 'urameshii (adj.) / uramu (v)', 'wazurawashii (adj.) / wazurau (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*/wazurat-*te iru* naa!!
(Oh, (I) **still** *have been feeling* vexed/envious/regrettable/annoying about him.)

However, we should note here the above sentence does no 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 "ureshii (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 I/the other. Traditional Japanese grammarians have long observed that Japanese adjectives of emotion, sensation, feeling, intension 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 "ii (feel pleasing)" and "iya da (feel unpleasant)" serve as further examples of a form which cannot take a third person 'experiencer' form.

* Kare wa Hanako ga ii/iya 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-gat-te iru.**
he TOP everyday OBJ happy-Verbaliser-Gerund PROG
(He shows signs of being happy everyday.)

(13) Kare wa mainichi ga **tanoshii no/n 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-soo da.**
he TOP everyday SUB happy-[they say] COP
(They say he is happy everyday.)

(15a) Kare wa mainichi ga **tanoshi-soo da.**
he TOP everyday SUB happy-[inferential] COP
(It looks like he is happy everyday.)

(15b) Kare wa mainichi ga **tanoshii-yoo 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]
(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 'experiencer' in a definite statement.

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

This is because, as Nishio (1972: 201) suggests, the emotion represented by "suki da" or "kirai da" is someone's continuous 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)[7]. 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

7 Asano (1998: 101-103) analyses the function of 'noda' and states "the core meaning of the 'noda/nodesu form' is that the speaker has a reason to assert something. Although the form itself does not clarify whether or not the conviction is based on hearing, seeing, feeling, or knowing something else, this form implies that the speaker can say why he/she knows it is true."
For example, giving the following example sentence:

Taroo wa sabishii **noda.**
Taroo TOP lonely be
"(It is that) Taroo feels lonely."

Asano says "if the speaker judged the information as true after hearing it from Taroo, or seeing Taroo's behaviour, *noda/nodesu* is selected, indicating that 'I know it is true. I can say why I know it is true'".

than the Japanese to describe the feeling of others in definite statement ('She is happy', 'He is sad', etc.)" (Jorden 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).

(16) {Watashi **wa (ni-wa)**}[8] ano sensei ga kowai.
I[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).

[8] As Uehara (1998: 234) 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 'I' ", of such predicates.

(17) Ano sensei ga kowai
that teacher [stimulus/object] SUB feel fear of
([I} am in fear of the teacher.)

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.

(18) Ano sensei wa kowai.
that teacher 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):

[Subjective use]		[Attributive (descriptive) use]
osoroshii (be in dread of)	--->	osoroshii (dreadful)
kowai (be scared)	--->	kowai (scary)
kanashii (be sad)	--->	kanashii (sad, sorrowful)
sabishii (be lonely)	--->	sabishii (deserted)
urayamashii (be jealous of)	--->	urayamashii (being something/something which one would desire to be in place)

It is worth noting here Kishimoto's (1967: 110) following comments:

> SUPPOSE A MAN is taking a walk in the countryside of Japan. He is surrounded by quiet autumnal scenery. Some sentiment comes to his mind. He feels it and wants to express the sentiment. He would say "samishii (lonesome)". [9] (....) It is not necessary in Japanese to specify the subject by explicitly stating analysis, one's sentiment can be projected there in its immediate form. Analytically, the sentiment is the result of the collaboration of the subject and the object. No doubt, both are taking part in it. But, what is actually coming up in his mind is the sentiment of lonesomeness, working in the domain of an immediate experience. It is in-between.

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)" "shiawase (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.

[Subjective use]		[Attributive (descriptive) use]
nikui (have a feeling of hate for)	--->	nikurashii (hateful)
iya da (feel bad of)	--->	iyarashii (unpleasant)
kawaii (love)	--->	kawairashii (lovely)
ureshii (feel happy)	--->	yorokobashii (happy, pleasant)

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 changes their meanings from that of their subjective use into that of

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

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.[10] 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 & Shooji (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

10 Wierzbicka (1999b) claims that no languages fail to distinguish between THINKING and FEELING. Although Lutz (1985: 47) suggested that Ifaluk does not distinguish lexically between feel and think, and that most relevant word in this area, nunuwan, "refers to mental events ranging from what we consider thoughts to what we consider emotion .... Thus, nunuwan may be translated ... as 'thought/emotion", Wierzbicka (1999b) says, what Lutz calls nunuwan 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 & Shooji (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 zenkoku kappuru hakusho
> Aite ni hitokoto

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).[12] 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; Meijishoin-kyookasho-henshuubu 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 ugoki da toka, kao no hyoojoo da toka ressun da toka itte kita ga, kore datte hyoozan no suimenjoo no ichibubun na no da.
Sono ue de, jibun ga hyoogen shitai risoo no ensoo o, hitasura '**OMOU**' no de aru.
Shiki to wa, kono '**OMOI**' dake da to itte ii-daroo. Jitsu wa, furikata nante, doo demo ii no da.
[Iwaki 1999:88]

Otoko: "Suki da to omou" no "omou" tte no yamete kurenai?
Onna: "Omou" to iu 'tere' o wakatte kudasai.
[*MORE* 1994 February: 164]

(MT: White paper on Japanese couples
(A word to your partner)
Man: Could you stop using "omou (think)" [when you say] "I think I like you"?
Woman: Please understand the shyness in 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*".

Moshikashitara, ano toki, ara, sore ja kono hito, ato itsu made mo watashi ni tsukimatou tsumori kashira tte, **KANGAEta/OMOT**ta n ja nai ka tte, iya **KANGAEta/OMOT**ta kamo shirenai tte **OMOTta/ *KANGAEta** n da. (....) Tsumari, soo iu fuu ni **OMOW**arete/**KANGAER**arete shimatta ka na tte, **OMOTta/* KANGAEta** n de iu n da kedo ne.

(I **thought (OMOTta/* KANGAEta)** maybe you at that time **thought (KANGAEta/OMOT**ta) I wanted to follow you around. I mean, I **thought (OMOTta/* KANGAEta)** you **thought (KANGAEta/OMOT**ta). (....) But I **thought (OMOTta/* KANGAEta)** 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. Iizumi (1963: 156) mentions that from ancient times "omou" has referred to the feeling of affection, for example:

"Boku ga kanojo o omou kimochi wa hommono da [Murakami 1997: 57]
I SUB she OBJ omou feeling Top real COP
(B: My feelings for [lit. feelings to 'omou'] her are real)

Doku wa atashi o omotte kureteru-shi.... [Capote 1968: 94]
Doku TOP I OBJ omou give-and
(J <--E: Doc really loves me,....) [Capote 1967: 75]

(MT: Although I have said that what is important for conducting technique is movement of eyes or facial expressions, this is only the tip of the iceberg. (....)
In addition to these, you need to '**OMOU**' from the bottom of your heart for the ideal musical performance you would like to reproduce. I could say that what is essential for conducting is only this, '**OMOI** (Noun)'.)

In the above context, where "*omou* (or its noun *omoi*)" 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 not 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 "*omotte 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 "*omotte iru*". However, I claim that "*omotte 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 "omotte 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 jibun ga shinu to omou/omot-ta.
father TOP himself SUB die QUO think/think-PAST
(Father thinks/thought that he will die.)

(20b) * Anata wa jibun ga shinu to omou/omot-ta.

In order to argue this point, it is important now to examine what *te iru* form of "omou" (omot*te iru*) supply additional complicated denotation to compare with the meaning of simple "omou" form.

you TOP yourself SUB die QUO think/think-PAST
(You think/thought that you will die.)

However, when "*omou*" is replaced with its progressive form , namely "*omotte iru*", the sentence becomes grammatical:

(21a) Chichi wa jibun ga shinu to omot-te iru / omot-te i-ta
father TOP himself SUB die QUO think-GER PROG / think PROG-PAST
(Father thinks/thought (lit. is/was in the process of thinking)that he will die .)

(21b) Anata wa jibun ga shinu to omot-te iru / omot-te i-ta
you TOP yourself SUB die QUO think-GER PROG / think PROG-PAST
(You think/thought (lit. are/were in the process of thinking) that you will die .)

We should note here that, as Kudoo (1995: 91-2) also points out, sentences with "*omotte iru*" describe the process of mental activity of "*omou*", dispassionately or objectively, not as subjective internal feeling. Since "*omotte iru/omotte ita*" can refer to mental activity which lasts for a certain time, this activity can be recognised objectively by observers. Therefore, the sentence can be used in emotion expressions with the second or third person subject.

We should note further that there are occasions where a third person subject emotion sentence with "*omou*" can occur. One occasion is that which arises when an omniscient narrator describes a third person's mental activity. In fact, this occasion is applied to the definition of NSM language. The following is a description of the meaning of 'joy' (Wierzbicka 1999b):

Joy (X felt joy)

(a) X felt something because X thought something
(b) sometimes a person thinks:
(c) "something very good is happening
(d) I want this to be happening"
(e) when this person thinks this this person feels something very good
(f) X felt something like this
(g) because X thought something like this

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 kono yoo-na nanika o *omou* hito da".

For the above reasons, (P103-105) 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'.[13] 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.[14] 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 shite, 2,3 nichi tatte ryokoo ni iku koto o teianshite kita otto. Sore o watashi ga kyohi. Otto wa "Boku no **kimochi** ga wakaran ka"
[Midori Imanishi (71 years old; Gifu prefecture) in Saitoo 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) Saigo ni engi o okonaimasu. Chuugoku no Rii Shoosoo. Koo iu toki no **kimochi** tte iu no wa donna mon deshoo ka nee.
[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 kimochi (ki) / oto /nioi ga suru
something good feeling / /sound / smell SUB do
(I feel/hear/smell 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 kimochi ga suru/ kimochi da
I TOP good feeling SUB do / feeling COP
(I feel good)

(24a) * Watashi wa nanika ii koto 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 kimochi ga suru / kimochi da
I TOP something good feeling SUB do/ feeling COP
(I feel something good.)

(MT: Li Xiaoshuang from China will give his last performance. I wonder what kind of **kimochi** (feelings) he is having at this (kind of) moment.)

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).[15]

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

? Watashi wa kimochi ga ***warui.***
I TOP feeling SUB bad
(---> Sounds like 'I feel sick')

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

(26a) ? Watashi wa nanika ***warui*** kimochi ga suru.
I TOP something bad feeling SUB do
(---> Sound like 'I feel somehow sorry/guilty)

* Watashi wa nanika kimochi ga ***warui.***
I TOP something feeling SUB bad
(---> Sounds like 'I feel somehow sick')

(26b) Watashi wa nanika ***iya na*** kimochi ga suru / kimochi 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'.

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 & Shooji (1994: 259) explain 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 kimochi ga suru /iya na kimochi 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 sensate 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 sensate, which is essential in defining our experience of mental events. .... Our minds, then, are basically metaphoric in the sense that they are machines which borrow things from the world -- including our own bodily experiences -- and produce mentations. (p.30)

> Mental intestates -- or at least their linguistic representations -- originate in the description of bodily, sensate experiences. The fact that what is used to describe perceptual events is also used to indicate mental states should alert us to the metaphoric 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-gyoomubu-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 motte iru "**KOKORO**." Soshite dare mo ga yoku wakaranai no mo "**KOKORO**".
"Sekaijuu no koto o shiru yori mo jibun no **KOKORO** o shiru hoo ga yohodo muzukashii," to wa yoku itta mono.
Aru toki wa ishi to nari, aru toki wa kanjoo to nari, aru toki wa kotoba o hasshi, mata aru toki wa karada no ugoki to natte arawareru **KOKORO**.
[Saitoo 1989: 20]

(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) Rinshoo-shinrigaku nado to iu koto o semmon ni shite iru to, tanin no **KOKORO** ga sugu wakaru no de wa nai ka to, yoku iwareru Watashi ni au to, sugu ni **KOKORO** no naka o misukasare-soo de kowai, to made iu hito mo aru. Tashikani watashi wa rinshoo-shinrigaku no semmonka de aru shi, hito no **KOKORO** to iu koto o aite ni shite ikite kita ningen de aru. Shikashi, jitsu no tokoro wa, ippan no yosoo to wa hantai ni, watashi wa hito no **KOKORO** nado wakaru hazu ga nai to omotte iru no de aru.
Kono ten o motto kyoochoo-shitai toki wa, ippan no hito wa hito no **KOKORO** ga sugu wakaru to omotte orareru ga, hito no **KOKORO** ga ikani wakaranai ka to iu koto o, kakushin o motte shitte iru tokoro ga, semmonka no tokuchoo de aru.
[Kawai 1998: 10]

(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** is 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, kimi wa ichido datte utagatta koto wa arumai. Bokutachi wa **KOKORO** no ugoki o kanjinagara ikite iru. Yorokondari, kanashindari, okottari, aishitari, nikundari suru jibun no **KOKORO** no ugoki nashi ni, kimi wa ikiru koto ga dekiru daroo ka?
KOKORO wa sore kurai, bokutachi ni wa mijika na mono da. Iya, mijika na mono dokoro ka, bokutachi jishin sono mono de aru. Tokorode, bokutachi wa, sono **KOKORO** ni tsuite, dore dake shitte iru daroo ka. Shitte iru yoo ni omotte ite, hotondo shitte inai mono, sore ga jibunjishin 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 okotte itemo, chittomo sore o sotogawa ni arawashite kurenakattara, kimi ni wa okotte iru no ka, inai no ka, nakanaka kentoo ga tsukanai daroo.
Shikashi, sono toki mo, tada, **KOKORO** no ugoki ga karada ni arawaretemo, sore dake de wa, kimi ni wakaranai daroo. Kimi wa jibun no **KOKORO** no ugoki o shitte ite, sore to hikakushite, hajimete, tanin no **KOKORO** ga wakaru 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 taisetsu 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) Watashi wa kore made iroiro na men kara hon o kaite kimashita. Sore wa, "**KOKORO**" o ushinatta hitobito ga amari ni mo ooi kara desu. Ningen ga ningen to shite manabu beki koto o manabazu ni ikite iru, soshite fukoo na jinsei o tsurasoo ni shite yatto ikite iru hitobito o, **KOKORO** no soko kara, sukutte agetai to omou kimochi kara, watashi jishin ga manande kita koto o hon ni matomete shuppan 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) Tsuma wa shigoto o motte iru koto mo atta ga, kaji wa nigate, shugei nado mattaku dame ningen...no hazu datta. Sono tsuma ga nanto 3-nen gakari de watashi no seetaa o ande kureta. "Watashi no **KOKORO** o kite kudasai ne." Kubi ya te no kuchi mo sugu nobite shimaisoo.... Demo, 3-nen gakari no tsuma no **KOKORO** ni, kyun to natta watashi datta.
[Shigeyuki Kikawa (50 years old: Saitama prefecture) in Saitoo 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 elder people "shigoto ni **KOKORO** o suitorareta aware na otona (poor adults whose **KOKORO** has been taken over by their work)" (Shiritsu-gakkoo-kyooshoku-kyoosai-iinkai 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** aru hito nara, sore o damatte misugoshi wa shinai daroo.
[Yamada & Irabu 1986: 282]

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

(9) **KOKORO** nai haikaa-tachi ga tsugi kara tsugi e to gomi o sutete iku.
[Yamada & Irabu 1986: 282]

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

(10) Kare wa **KOKORO** no hiroi (/semai) hito da.

[Yamada & Irabu 1986: 282]

(B [J-->E]: He's a broad-minded [narrow-minded] person (lit. a person who has a broad **KOKORO** /narrow **KOKORO**]).

Which word corresponds to KOKORO in English? The seat of the emotions in English is usually considered to be the 'heart'.[1] 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".[2] Passin (1982: 96) says that KOKORO has an enormous range of meanings, which intersect variously with the English words heart, mind, soul, spirit, etc. Therefore, many translators do not translate the title of Sooseki 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 Besu o tasukete kudasuttara, watashi wa isshoo kamisama o aishite, otsukaeshite ageru wa," to Joo mo makezu ni netsujoo komete itta.
"Watashi, **KOKORO** nante nakereba yokatta to omou wa, kurushikutte tamaranai n desu mono, " Megu wa shibaraku tatte kara, soo itte tameiki o tsuita.
[Alcott 1995 Vol.2: 138]

(J <-- E: "If God spares Beth I'll try to love and serve Him all my life," answered Jo, with equal fever.
"I wish I had no heart [**KOKORO**], it aches so," sighed Meg, after a pause.)
[Alcott 1967: 165]

(12) Watashi atama de kangaeta wa kono hito shika inai tte
Watashi no **KOKORO** mo sore ni oojita wa

(J <-- E: My heart was saying this is the man
And my heart [**KOKORO**] agreed)

1 Wierzbicka (1999b) 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

[Olivia Newton-John "Landslide" 1981 by OSRM][3]

(13) Kinoo kimi ga boku no mae ni araware
Boku ni hohoemikaketa toki
Boku no **KOKORO** wa tokimeita
Akiraka ni hitomebore datta

(J <-- E: Yesterday you came my way
And when you smiled at me
In my heart [**KOKORO**] I felt a thrill
You see, that it was love at first sight)
[Gaskill Clarence "I can't believe you're in love with me" 1926 in Murao 1993 Vol.7: 79]

In Japanese folk-psychology, it is assumed that human beings are composed of "karada (body)" and "KOKORO" (Miyakoshi 1989: 47)[4]. 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)[5], 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

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

4 Yamazaki (in Meiji-Shoin-Kyookasho-Henshuubu 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 Norinaga Motoori (1730-1802) considered "words" more important, others such as Teika Fujiwara (1162-1241) took KOKORO to be more important.

5 Wierzbicka (1994c: 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 umarete hajimete
Watashi no **KOKORO** wa kanjirareru
Kanashimi ga kanjirare, yume ga kanjirareru

(J <-- E: Oh my lover for the first time in my life
My mind [**KOKORO**] can feel
I feel sorrow, oh I feel dreams)
[John Lennon & Yoko Ono "Oh My Love" 1973 by ONO Music][6]

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) Tsumetai **KOKORO**
[Sanseidoo-henshuujo 1995: 232]

(B [J-->E]: A cold heart (* mind [**KOKORO**]))

(16) **KOKORO** no hiroi hito
[Sanseidoo-henshuujo 1995: 232]

(B [J-->E]: A broad -minded (* -hearted) person ; lit. A person who has broad **KOKORO**)

(17) Kirei na **KOKORO**
[Sanseidoo-henshuujo 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

6 Translation from English text of the song into Japanese by Yuuzoo Konno in John Lennon Best Collection 1991 by Doremi Music Pub. Co., Ltd.

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** tte iimasu kedo ne. Nihonjin wa **KOKORO** tte iimasu to, mune o osaetari shimasu nee. Demo gaikokujin tte iu to zembu koko (atama) o osaemasu kara ne.
[Giichi Fujimoto (media personality/writer) in the TV program "Tetsuko no Heya" 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, netsu mo, sonna mono wa nai. Sore ga, **KOKORO** no tokuchoo demo aru. Tatoeba, teeburu ya boorupen ya koppu nado to chigatte, *mono* de wa nai. Sore wa, me de miru koto mo, te de sawaru koto mo, nagasa ya ookisa ya omosa nado o hakattari suru koto mo dekinai. Soo suru koto no dekiru *mono* o, busshitsu to iu no da keredo, **KOKORO** wa busshitsu de wa nai. (....)
Mukashi no hitotachi wa, **KOKORO** o nanika me de mienai, te de sawaru koto no dekinai mono da ga, (...) mune no naka ni osamatte iru mono da to kangaete ita.
[Nada 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/size/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)
(h) 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 'itchiness', 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 shitai/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 (h) "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 magatte ite doo shiyoo 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 "hara" 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 kono **MUNE** no honoo wa, anata ga tenkashita no desu kara, anata ga keshite itte kudasai.
[Dazai 1979: 96]

(J --> E: The flames in my breast [**MUNE**] were lighted by you; it is up to you to extinguish them.)
[Dazai 1956: 102]

(2) "Ja, issui mo sezu ni?"
"Kimi no koto ga shimpai ni natte ne."
Yuriko wa nantonaku **MUNE** ga atsuku natta.
[Akagawa 1985: 123-4]

(J --> E: "So you haven't slept a wink?"
"No, I was worried about you," he said, and Yuriko felt a warm glow through the body [lit. **MUNE**].)
[Akagawa 1985: 103]

(3) Konkai, doo shitemo yurusenai to omotta no wa, kore made no yoo na uwaki de wa naku, honki da to kanjita kara desu. Shujin ga kokoro mo jikan mo zembu soko ni mukete iru, konna koto wa 18 nen-kan, ichido mo nakatta no desu. Ketteiteki na uragiri-kooi da to omoimashita.
Shujin e no shinrai ga ikki ni kuzurete iku no o kanjimashita. Ikari ya kanashimi yori mo, **MUNE** o fusagaremashita.
[Mari Nakayama (actress) in *Fujin Kooron* 1998 March 22: 33]

(MT: What I thought unforgivable this time was that [my husband] did not just have a casual affair. I felt it was serious, unlike his previous affairs. My husband devotes all his time and KOKORO to the affair. Not once did this happen in the past 18 years. I thought that it was an act of definite betrayal. I felt my trust in him suddenly collapse. Rather than anger or sorrow, my **MUNE** was closed with disappointment.)

(4) Hondoo de te o awasenagara, **MUNE** ni komiageru mono ga arimashita. (Nyuugan o kokufukushi,) Kanreki o mukaeta hi ni shinkyoku-happyoo to iu yorokobi ni kuwae, fuan to kurushimi no hibi o hete, ima, jibun no karada to kokoro ga konna ni mo genki ni nareta koto ga, tamaranaku ureshikatta no desu.
[Chiyoko Shimakura (singer) in *Fujin Kooron* 1998 May 22: 29]

(MT: While clasping my hands together, praying, something arose in my **MUNE** (having overcome breast cancer), this added to the pleasure of releasing a new song on my 60th birthday. I was almost unbearably happy that, after those days of anxiety and suffering, my body and heart had become so well.)

(5) Soogi no toki, (yuujin ga) takushii no naka de hossa o okoshita to iu koto o kiite, boku wa, ritsuzen to shita. Byooin de shirabete, nantomo nai to iware, anshin shite dekaketa chokugo no koto dakara de aru.
"....Wakannai mono da naa, issun saki wa mattaku wakaranai, hakanai mono da," Soo itta koto ga, boku jishin, onaji shinzoo o yamu mi ni natta toki, massaki 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 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 kanjoo ga **MUNE** no oku ni wakiokoru

(J <-- E: I've got a feeling
A feeling deep inside [lit. in **MUNE**], oh yeah, that's right)
[John Lennon & Paul McCartony 1970
"I've got a feeling" by Northern Songs in Uchida 1992: 405]

(7) Harii no **MUNE** no naka de wa, yorokobi ga gikochinai oto o tatete, tobihanete iru. Aa, nanto iu ii kibun.
[Updike 1992: 238]

(J <-- E: These strange awkward blobs 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 genki ni tsurikomarete, watashi mo yukai ni natta. To dooji ni, karera ga watashi ni sayonara o ii ni eki made kite kureta no da to kangaeru to, nanika **MUNE** ga ippai ni natta. Watashi wa soo itta kanjoo o kao ni dasumai to, isshookemmei ni natta.
[Maugham 1964: 104]

(J <-- E: Her high spirits cheered me, and at the same time the thought that they had come to the station to say good-bye to me gave me a lump in my **throat** [lit. made my **MUNE** filled]. I tried hard not to let the emotion I felt appear on my face.)
[Maugham 1963a: 63]

(9) Hontoo no / aikokushin to wa
Toorisugiru / kokki o mite
Omowazu **MUNE** o / atsukusuru to itta
mono ijoo no / nanika da
["On patriotism" in United Technologies Corporation 1987: 104]

(B [J-->E]:True / patriotism
is more / than getting
a lump in / your **throat** [lit. something hot / in your **MUNE**]when the flag / passes by)

(10) Ueta kodomotachi no shashin o mita toki, watashi no **MUNE** ni atsui mono ga komiagete kita.
[McCaleb & Yasuda 1983: 716]

(B (J<--E): I felt a lump in my **throat** [lit. felt something hot coming up in my **MUNE**] on seeing the pictures of the starving children.)

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. Philip 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 let off. 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, unravelled, and Jerry realised that something worse had taken its place -- emptiness, a yawning cavity like a hole in his **chest** .)
[Cormier 1995: 68]

However, some idiomatic emotional expressions using "mune" such as "MUNE ga odoru (MUNE dances)" or "MUNE ga hazumu/MUNE o hazumaseru (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 dake de **MUNE ga odoru** n da
Kurushimi mo minna fukitonde shimau yo
Itsu donna toki demo kimi to tomo ni sugoshitai

(J <-- 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)
[Olivia Newton-John "Suddenly" 1980 by MCA Records Inc.][7]

(15) Sutaan wa, yorokobi o kakusenu to itta yoosu de, isoiso to roojin no karada no muki o kaete yaru. Keisatsuhombu-buchoo kurasu no kenryoku o mikata ni tsukeru koto ga dekireba, to, **MUNE ga hazumu** no da. Roojin no usuppetai mune o dakishimetai kokochi de aru.
[Fielding 1971: 37]

(J <-- E: Stern shifted his neighbour around, hardly able to suppress his joy; he was thrilled [lit. his **MUNE** bounces] to have commissioner-type power on his side and wanted to hug his neighbour's chest with delight.)
[Fielding 1991: 31]

(16) Kondo no nichiyoobi no deeto ni wa nani o kite ikoo ka to, kanojo wa ima kara **MUNE o hazumase**te iru.
[Inoue 1992: 34]

(MT: Thinking about what to wear for her date next Sunday, she is making her **MUNE** bounce .)

The following expressions of "mune" combined with the psychomimic word (emotional sound-symbolic word: cf. Hasada 1994a) "kyun" are of 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) "Watashi no kotoba de **MUNE ga kyun to naru** no [illegible]ru?" to otto ni kiite mita. Sugu ni kaette kita no ga, "Itterasshai, ki o tsukete." Nanigenai kono kotoba ga totemo ureshii no desu tte.
[Reiko Aoki (32 years old) in Chiba Prefecture in Saitoo 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 of to work]. He says that such casual words are very pleasing.)

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7 Translation from the English text of the song into Japanese by Kumiko Uchida in Olivia's Greatest Hits vol.2 1982 by Tooshiba EMI Records, Inc.

(18) Sono okaasan, sugoku yasashii egao de kodomo ni hanashikakeru no. Otoosan mo ii kanji de..... Honobono to shita kazoku no fureai o mitetara, **MUNE ga kyuun to k**ichatta. [Furusawa 1996: 10]

(MT: That mother talks to her child with a very gentle smile on her face. The father is also very nice.... While I looked at this warm, caring family, my **MUNE went kyuun.**)

(19) Kimi ni **MUNE kyun (kyun)** when I see you
Uwaki na natsu ga / boku no kata ni te o kakete
Kimi ni **MUNE kyun (kyun)** when I see you
Ki ga aru no? tte / kowai kurai yomareteru
[Takashi Matsumoto "Kimi ni mune kyun" 1983 by YMO]

(MT: I feel **kyun (kyun)** in my **MUNE**
a summer of love puts its hand on my shoulder
I feel **kyun (kyun)** in my **MUNE**
She asks me, 'Are you interested in me?',
I am like an open book to her)

These descriptions of bodily events are used as a way of characterising one's state of mind. Wierzbicka (1999b) 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 miro (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 in 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', 'hunger', 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 suekaneru ((I) cannot put this in my belly)" which roughly means 'feel impatient'.[8] 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, jibunra no uchi no keizaijootai o betsubetsu ni kangaeta. Tsukizuki shuppi shite iru, mata shishutsu-shinakereba naranai kingaku wa, kare ni totte

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

> It is well known that in many languages the nearest equivalents to English terms like *happy, afraid,* and *excited* apparently involve reference to a person's 'insides' or to an internal body-part like the **stomach** (as in Yankunytjatjara), 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 Mente (1994: 120) remarks that:

> "Asians 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."

zuibun kurushii doryoku no hooshuu de aru to dooji ni, sorede subete o makanatte iku saikun ni tottemo, sukoshimo yutaka na mono to wa iwarenakatta.
[Natsume 1974: 164]

(J --> E: They say quietly, each thinking of money [in their **HARA**]. What he made was barely enough for them to live on, and it was an immense struggle for him to make even that much. It was no less easy for her, who had to keep the house going on so little.)
[Natsume 1969: 22]

(2) Naruto-oyakata: Boku ga yokozuna ni natta toki, toonyoobyoo ni naranakereba, anata wa motto yuushoo shita daroo, sugoi dai-yokozuna ni natta n ja nai ka tte iwaremashita. Sono toki boku wa, ie ie, soo ja nai desu yo to iimashita. Demo, honne o iimasu to, sono toki **HARA** wa chigatta n desu. "Toonyoobyoo ni sae naranakattara ore wa motto...." to omotte ita.
Betsu-**BARA** desu yo.
[Toshiaki Naruto (master of sumo wrestlers) "Toonyoobyoo wa bokura no akuyuu"
pp. 378-388 in *Bungei Shunjuu* 1998 July: 382]

(MT: Master Naruto: When I became a champion *sumo* wrestler, I was told by somebody: "If you didn't have diabetes, you could have won more and become even a greater champion than you already are", I said, "No, it is not like that. It is precisely because I have suffered from diabetes that I was able to become a champion *sumo* wrestler'. However, if I say my true thoughts, my **HARA** at that time was different. I was thinking, "If only I hadn't gotten diabetes....". That was my another-**HARA**.)

(3) Boku no **HARA** o misukasu-yoo ni waratta.
[Mushanokooji "Ai to shi" in Hasegawa 1974: 66]

(B [J-->E]: Nonomura laughed as if he had read my intention [HARA].)

(4) Sono mae ni kimi no hoo no **HARA** o tashikamete oku hitsuyoo ga aru n da.
[Tanizaki "Tade kuu mushi" in Hasegawa 1974: 66]

(MT: But before that [I] need to find out exactly wha. you think in your **HARA**].)

(5) Sa, suwatte. Kimi no nayamigoto o **HARA** o watte hanasoo ja nai ka.
[Snowden & Doi 1982: 124]

(B [J-->E]: Sit down, and let's have a heart to heart chat [lit. cut **HARA** in two and talk] about your worries.)

(6) "**HARA** no naka de, omotte iru n daroo."
"Nani o, desu ka."
"Jibun ga inakereba Kizaki Masayo no hanashi wa torenakatta tte."
[Nonami 1996: 62]

(MT: "You think [it] in your **HARA**, don't you?"
"Think what?"
"That we could not have gotten a story from Masayo Kizaki without you.")

(7) Shuushokushite, wazuka 10-kkagetsu de taisha. Yagate Hikomaro wa, Tookyoo iki no shinkansen no shachuu ni ita. Shachuu de hiraita "Jinseishoo" ni kakareta shi no issetsu ga me ni tomatta.
"Shooshin wa seinen no saidai no ketten de aru. Seinen yo, ikanaru jinseigekijoo ni oite mo shutsuensha tare."

Shinkansen no shachuu de Hikomaro wa naita to iu.
"Butai iu non-wa ita no ue dake ja nai. Jibun ga ayumu jinsei no michi kara zettai ni nigetara akan. Mae e, mae e ike to iwarete iru-yoo ni omoete. Shoojiki kokorobosokatta n desu ga, kono shi no issetsu de **HARA** ga kukureta n desu."
[Hikomaro (actor) "Hyuuman gekijoo 27" in *Ushio* 1997 March: 225-6]

(MT: Quitting 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 'Jinseishoo (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) Karera wa otagai ni **HARA** no saguriai o shite iru.
[cf. KNJED 1993: 402]

(MT: They are each trying to fathom the unexpressed thoughts in the **HARA** of the other.)

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 Kajiwara (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

'(5) Sa, suwatte. Kimi no nayamigoto o ***NOO** o watte hanasoo ja nai ka.
[Snowden & Doi 1982: 124]

(B: Sit down, and let's have a heart to heart chat [lit. cut ***NOO** in two and talk] about your worries.)

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 *futoppara* ([*ppara* 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 ookii hito.
[KNJED 1993: 401]

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

(10) **HARA** no suwatta otoko.
[KNJED 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 suekaneru (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 watte 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 watte 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 big, * 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

(1) (Sukuuru bando no) Renshuu wa **KI** ga daiji.
Tatoe 5 funkan demo, yaru "**KI**" ga areba renshuu-kooka o ageru koto ga dekimasu ga, daradarashita mannerikashita renshuu wa jikan ga sugiru dake, warui shuukan ga tsuku dake de muda na renshuu to naru deshoo.
[*Band Journal* 1995 April: 37]

(MT: **KI** is important for [school band] practice.
Even if it's only 5 minutes, if done with **KI**, it will be beneficial. But half-hearted practice wastes time meaninglessly, develops bad habits, and will [surely] be in vain.)

What is KI? S. A. Candau says that the most difficult Japanese word to understand is KI, which is often translated as 'spirit', 'mind', or 'soul' (quotation in Kindaichi 1978: 175). According to Mitsubishi-shooji-koohoosh-itsu (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 goodwill or genuine gratitude or desire to help" (Mitsubishi-shooji-koohoosh-itsu 1983: 96). How is KI different from KOKORO? Akatsuka (1974: 18) quotes a passage from a novel Michikusa by Sooseki Natsume:

(2) **KOKORO** wa shizunde ita. Sore to hantai ni kare no **KI** wa koofunshite 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 Akatsuka 1996: 9). Satoo (1985: 94) also says that Japanese speakers intuitively understand the existence and concept of KI, although they cannot define the

9 Therefore, Péng (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 & Shooji 1994: 249),
> "**KI** ni naru (feel anxious [lit. to become **KI**])" (Hirose & Shooji 1994: 250),
> "**KI** ga tatsu (be all on edge [lit. **KI** stands])" (Mishima 1962: 899; 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 1997: 75),
> "**KI** o otosu (get disappointed [lit. to drop **KI**])" (Snowden & Doi 1982: 126),
> "**KI** ga hikeru (feel small [lit. **KI** feels small])" (Momozawa 1991: 85),
> "**KI** ga ookiku naru (feel uninhibited [lit. **KI** becomes big])" (Matsumoto 1978:92).
> "**KI** ga kiku (considerate [lit. **KI** becomes effective])" (*Jijieigo Kenkyuu* 1996 No. 10: 55),
> "**KI** ga sumanai (feel impatient [lit. **KI** doesn't calm down])" (Obo 1996: 190),
> "**KI** o waruku 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 prevailed 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:

(3) Kaminaga Tomoya sama. Ogenki desu ka. Konogoro, watashi wa ane no ikite ita koro no koto bakari omoidashimasu. Ane wa bijin de atama ga yoku.... demo, ima ni natte kangaeru to, ane mo mochiron ironna nayami o kakaete ite sono ue de aa shite akaruku furumatte ita n da to iu koto --- imooto ni iya na kao o misemai to KI o tsukatte kurete ita koto ga wakaru no desu.
[Shinario-sakka-kyookai 1991: 91]

(MT: Dear Mr. Tomoya Kaminaga. How are you? These days I often remember the time when my elder sister was alive. She was beautiful and clever... but when I think of her now, knowing of course that although she, too, had various worries, she still pretended to be cheerful — I realise that she was using KI in order to show her pleasant face to her younger sister.)

(4) Aramaki: Osushiya san de no tabuu tte donna koto desu ka.
Endoo: Hoka no hito ni meewaku kakenai tte koto da ne. Tatekonde kita na tto omottara, sutto tonari no seki ni tsumete tsugi no hito o suwarasete ageru toka. Tsumari wa KI-kubari da yo ne.
["Onnatomodachi o sasotte totteoki no mise e 4" in *Domani* 1997 April: 304]

(MT: Aramaki: What kinds of things are taboo at a sushi restaurant?
Endoo: Making trouble for other people. When you find it is getting crowded, you immediately move along to the next chair, and let the next person sit down. After all it is KI-kubari [lit. distributing KI]).

(5) Sarani, Hayasaka-shi wa, doosatsuryoku, ketsudanryoku, jikkooryoku nado, oobei no riidaa no jooken ni kuwaete, Nihon no riidaa ni ketteiteki ni juuyoo na no wa, "KI-kubari" da to iu. Kono ten ni kakete wa Obuchi-shi wa tensai-teki da.
"Kakuei, Takeshita to iu KI-kubari-ningen to shikinkyori de sesshite kite mi ni tsuketa. Obuchi-shi to atta hito wa tsukarenai. Jiron o oshituketari sezu, hito no hanashi o jikkuri kiku kara aite wa kibun ga ii. (....)"
["Obuchi-ryuu seikai osorubeshi" pp. 34-37. in *Shuukan Asahi* 1999 January 29th: 35]

(MT: Moreover, Mr. Hayasaka claims that, in addition to the necessary qualities of Western leaders such as insightful decision, particularly; what is decisive for Japanese leaders is "KI-kubari [lit. distributing KI along]". In this point, Mr. Obuchi was generously good.
"He (Mr. Obuchi) learned that by being around the people like Mr. Kakuei or Mr. Takeshita who practice KI-kubari. People who meet Mr. Obuchi do not get tired. They feel good since he does not impose his opinions and he listens to their talks thoroughly to what they have to say.")

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

(6) Kanojo wa shibaraku no aida, shakuri agete ita. Namida wa, ato kara ato kara waite kite, soba ni tatazumu watashi o ojikezukaseta. Atarashii otoko no hito no tame no atarashii namida na no ka naa. Watashi wa kanojo no KI mo shirazu ni nonki ni sonna koto o kangaete ita.
[Yamada 1989: 16]

(J --> E: After a while, she started to cry even harder, the tears welling up one after another. Sitting beside her, I was dumbfounded. I guessed these were new tears for a new man. Not knowing what she was going through [lit. Not knowing her KI], I was simple-minded enough to think that.)
[Yamada 1992: 17]

Péng (1996: 76) says that 'KI-kubari (lit. distributing KI)' is an original Japanese concept developed from the originally borrowed Chinese word KI. In Japan 'KI-kubari' is very important; When Japanese people have 'KI-kubari', they try to communicate with other people in such a way that they would not hurt other people's feelings, in such a way that other people would not feel burdened, or in such a way as to make other people feel good. This attitude is very important in Japanese society, where interdependence, harmony, modesty, and avoidance of confrontation are highly valued. Péng (1996: 83) says that if Japanese people cannot use 'KI-kubari' properly, then conflict will occur among them. Thus the word KI has an important role in the expressions of emotion in the Japanese language.

KI

(a) it is like a part of a person
(b) it is not a part of a person's body
(c) it moves inside/near a person's body
(d) a person can feel many things because of this thing
(e) a person can do good things for other people with this thing

Components (a) "it is like a part of a person" and (b) "it is not a part of a person's body" suggest that KI is not a body part but something like unseen feelers arising from the area around the body part such as KOKORO, HARA, or ATAMA and spreading outwardly (component (c) "it moves inside/near a person's body"). Component (d) "a person can feel many things because of this thing" is necessary since there are many emotion expressions including this word KI. One's KI enables one to do things which one otherwise couldn't do. Component (e) "a person can do good things for other people with this thing" implies that using KI for others properly, which means giving

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. MUSHI

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 shiraseru (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.

(1) Shirayukihime ga itta. "Ato de itadaku wa. Mottomo nonja ikenai tte **MUSHI** ga shiraseru n da keredo. Anata no dashite kureru kono osake, kiken da tte yokan ga suru no. Nanika warui koto ga okorisoo da tte munasawagi ga suru no yo."
[Barthelme 1995: 214]

(J <-- 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.)
[Barthelme 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 chikashitsu no juunin ga mahootsukai datta kara de wa naku, masa ni kare ga Yudayajin de wa nakatta kara da. Kono atari ni sumu ikyoototachi wa doorui o aite ni shite iru hoo ga tanoshii no da. Yudayajin wa **MUSHI** ga sukan, to iu wake da.
[Malamud 1969: 79]

(J <-- E: ...---the store had improved not because this cellar dweller was a magician, but because he was not Jewish. The goyim in the neighbourhood were happier with one of their own. A Jew stuck in their throats [lit. Their **MUSHI** does not like a Jew].)
[Malamud 1967: 71-72]

In this example, the Japanese expression "MUSHI ga sukan (sukanai) (lit. MUSHI does not like it)" indicates that it is not the goyim who dislike Jewish people, but the MUSHI in their stomachs which do not like Jewish people. Similarly, in the following example:

(3) "Gomen. Ayamaru yo. Soo iwareru to, tashika ni boku ga warukatta. Chotto **MUSHI** no idokoro ga warukatta n da yo."
[Matsumoto 1993: 30]

(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 osamaranai (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 naguriai no kenka ni natte, moo wakaretai wa. Guchi demo iwa na, HARA no **MUSHI** ga osamaran wa."
[Masumi Hayashi "'Giwaku no tsuma' wa otto no soogi made jumbi shite ita!?" pp. 188-191 in *Shuukan Bunshun* 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 osamaranai (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 osaeru (suppress one's MUSHI [anger])", "MUSHI o nadameru (sooth one's MUSHI [anger])", "MUSHI o shizumeru (calm one's MUSHI [anger]), "MUSHI o korosu (kill one's MUSHI [anger]) (cf. Watanabe & Muraishi & 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 explication 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) Watashi no shi tte, sugoku Nihonteki da to omoimasu. Mawarikudoi tte iu ka (warai), aimai na hyoogen ga ooi. "**SETSUNAI**" tte iu hyoogen jitai ga Nihonjin dokutoku no kanjoo na n deshoo ne. Amerika de wa sore ni shikkuri kuru kotoba o kikanakatta. Tabun, karera wa iitai koto wa iu shi, yaritai 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) Watashi ni totte, "**SETSUNASA**" wa negatibu na koto ja nakute, ita-kimochi-ii to demo iu ka, sonna kanji.
[Tooko Furuuchi (singer/song writer) in *TARZAN* 1996 No. 246: 84]

(MT: For me "**SETSUNASA [Noun]**[1]" is not something negative, but something painful with a loving, good feeling attached to it.)

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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) Mirai ni nan no shimpai mo nai no da. Ie ga motete, iejuu ni shinchiku no kaori ga tadayoi niwa ni wa yooen ga yurete iru. Soshite Reiko wa torotoro to nemuku, mune ga **SETSUNAI** hodo koofuku de, nazeka kanashii no datta. "Zeitaku sugiru wa" to kanojo wa jibun o shikatta. Koofuku sugite kanashii nante, omoiagari ni mo hodo ga aru. Keredomo, kanashimi wa soko ni ari, kanojo o torimaite iru no datta. Koofuku to kubetsu no tsukanai kanashimi ga. Reiko wa seizen to shita shitsunai o miwatashita. Kore ga atashi no sekai. Atashi no sekai no subete na no da. Kono shikakui, maatarashii hako no naka dake ni tojikomerarete, tsui senjitsu made atta mono ga, kanzen ni ushinawarete ita. Yume to ka kanoosei to ka, soo iu ayafuya na mono ga.
[Mori 1989: 372]

(J --> E: Her future was assured. She had her house, the fragrance of the new structure drifting through it, and heat waves shimmering on the lawn. Reiko felt drowsy, her chest so full of happiness it almost hurt [is **SETSUNAI**: adj.], but somehow she also felt sad. "You're spoiled," she scolded herself. Being sad because she was too happy -- there had to be a limit to such self-indulgence. But the sadness was definitely there, enveloping her. It was a sadness indistinguishable from her happiness. Reiko looked around the orderly room. This is my world, my whole world. Inside these four walls, shut tight in this spanking-new box. Something she'd had until just the other day had been lost to her. A dream, or a possibility -- some such vague thing.)
[Mori 1993: 170]

(4) "Watashi mo suteki na koi ga shitemitai naa."
"Anata, suteki, suteki tte iu kedo, suteki na koi wa kanashii kimochi o itsumo hikizutte iru no yo" Sempai wa chotto sabishige ni bishooshita.
Zutto ato de, kookooseikatsu o omoidashita toki tte, donna kimochi ga kokoro no naka o yogiru no daroo. Watashi wa, sono mattadanaka ni iru kara, mada wakaranai. Moo nido to kurikaeshitakunai to omou no ka, soretomo, nakitai kurai ni natsukashii kibun ni hitaru no ka. Nakitai hodo ni, **SETSUNAKU**te kokochiyoi, sonna kimochi wa, kitto ookina osatoo no katamari ga tokedashite kuru-yoo ni amai mono daroo. Watashi wa, ato de, sore o ajiwau tame ni ima o sugoshitai to omou. Sore jaa, sono amai mono no katamari o tsukuriageru ni wa, ittai nani ga hitsuyoo na no daroo. Watashi wa kangaeru. Amai kako o tsukuru ni wa, moshikashitara, koi tte mono ga hitsuyoo na n ja nai ka tte. Sore mo shiokarakute, supaishii na yatsu. Sugoku mujunshite iru keredo, sonna ki ga suru.
[Yamada 1989:152-3]

(J --> E: "I want to have a beautiful love, too"
"You keep saying 'beautiful', 'beautiful', but beautiful love brings sadness with it, too." Kayoko smiled a little forlornly.
Years from now, when I look back on my high school days, I wonder what kind of feelings will come to my mind. I am right in the thick of it now, so there is no way of knowing. Maybe I'll think nothing could induce me to go through it again, or maybe I'll be filled with such nostalgia I'll want to cry. A feeling so painfully [**SETSUNAI**] blissful, one wanted to cry. Surely such a feeling must be an elixir so sweet it was as if a huge lump of sugar had been melted into it. I felt I was passing through this time now so that I would be able to taste that elixir later. In order to produce that sweet lump, what in the world did I need? I thought about it. In order to make a sweet past, maybe you had to have love. And maybe it had to be something salty, something spicy. It was a contradiction, but that's how I felt.)
[Yamada 1992: 141-2]

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. If the tear drops number more than five, the emotion is called KANASHII, rather than SETSUNAI. Yamada gave the following situation as an example of where this SETSUNAI feeling occurred.

(5) Anata no koto ga suki de, doo shitemo ima, wakareru koto ga dekinai to omou. Ka to itte, anata to koibito dooshi ni naru yuuki wa watashi ni wa nai. Ima, wakarete shimattara, watashi wa, sugoku kizutsukushi, kore kara koi ni ochitara, motto kizutsuku daroo.
Watashi ga kimeta no wa, koo iu koto. Anata ga kaeru sono hi no asa made, watashi wa issho ni iru. Soshite, butsuriteki na riyuu de, watashitachi wa wakareru. (....) Dakara, yakusoku o shimashoo. Zettai ni, ai o yokansaseru-yoo na kotoba wa kuchi ni dasanai koto. Soshite, wakareru toki ni namida o misenai koto. Tanoshii wakare no tame ni, korekara no nokori no hibi o sugoshimashoo.
(Soshite wakare no hi ga yatte kita toki) Yakusoku, yappari mamoru koto, dekinai yo. Kare wa, soo itte watashi o mita. Yappari, kono koto o iwazu ni hanareru nante dekinai.
"I fell in love with you."
Kare wa soo itte, namida o koboshita. Watashi wa, tada kare no kao o mite ita. Naku koto wa shinakatta. Keredomo, totemo kurushikatta. Sore to dooji ni kokoro no naka wa, totemo amakatta. Ima, omoidasu to, kare wa totemo **SETSUNAI** kimochi dattaroo to, yarikirenai. Datte, kare no nagashita namida wa, tashika ni gotsubu inai. Watashi wa boozen to tachitsukushite ita dake da keredo, yahari **SETSUNAI** kimochi datta.
[Yamada 1993: 380-381]

(MT: 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 fall 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 [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 came,) "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"
He said that, and shed tears. I just looked at his face. I did not cry, however, it was very painful. At the same time, in my heart it was very sweet. When I think back on that situation, it feels intolerable to guess that he might have felt **SETSUNAI** at that time. Because he certainly shed less than five drops of tears. Although I was just standing there in a daze, I felt **SETSUNAI** after all.)

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 (1)

SETSUNAI has both the subjective use: "(Watashi-wa) Y ga SETSUNAI ([I] 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 "setsunaru (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 doonen no itoko ga asobi ni kuru to, futari wa yoku dansu no manegoto o shite miseta. Itoko wa yakusha ga umakatta. Ane no te o tori, koshi o kagamete aisatsu o shita. Hitotoori odorioeru to, kare wa ue o muite oogoe de waratta. Ane mo kubi o kashigete kusukusu waratta. Suruto mite iru boku mo ma no nuketa waraigoe o tateta. Boku wa tsune ni kankyaku datta no da. Sore wa boku datte **SETSUNAI** hodo yatte mitai to wa omotte ita no da ga, sono kuse sasowaretemo kubi o furu bakari de atta. Jibun ni wa aa iu koto wa dekikkonai to iu kakushin no yoo na mono ga atta no kamo shirenai.
[Kita 1968: 11]

(J --> E: 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 once around the floor, then throw

his head back and produce a large guffaw, which made my sister look shyly down and giggle, Watching them, I used to laugh as well, but in an idiotic, unreal way, as 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.)
[Kita 1991:9]

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

(7) Watashi wa Jun'ichi no kao o miageru. Kare wa, dooshita no? to itta fuu ni kubi o kashigete, watashi o mikaesu. Nan no kuttaku mo nai kao. Kono sunao na otokonoko ni, onnanoko no kimochi nante wakaru hi ga kuru n daroo ka. Watashi ne, itsu no ma ni ka, anata no koto, suki ni natte ita no yo. Soo kare ni tsugeru koto o soozooshite miru. Soshite zetsuboosuru. Kare ni totte no watashi no kachi wa, soo iu koto o iidashitarishinai tokoro ni aru no da. (....) Watashi wa, Rie no kimochi o kare ni kizukasetakunai to, aratamete omou. Kanojo dake ja nai no da. Watashi datte, **SETSUNAI**. Watashi datte, kare no koto o anna fuu ni mitsumete mitai no da. Sore na noni, watashi wa kare to no kiraku na oshaberi no jikan o ushinaitakunai tame ni, sonna koto o mattaku kangaete inai ka no yoo ni furumawanakute wa naranai. Kare wa, fuzaketa tsuide ni watashi no kata ni fureru. Senaka o ookina te de tataku. Watashi no karada no netsu, sore na noni, kare ni wa kesshite tsutawaranai.
[Yamada 1989: 43-44]

(J --> E: 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 something like that. (....) Now I really didn't want him to know how Rie 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) Sono yoru osoku, Tomioka wa tomaranaide kaette itta. Marude kenkawakare no yoo na kaerikata de atta. Yukiko wa, jiitto iki o koroshite, Tomioka no ashi no toozakaru no o kiite ita ga, kyuuni **SETSUNAKU** nari, Yukiko wa tobira o oshite soto e dete itta. Hoshikuzu ga sora ichimen ni hirogari, shimobiesuru samui michi de atta. Yukiko wa eki no hoo e hashitte mita. Tomioka no sugata wa mienakatta.

(B [J-->E]: Late that night Tomioka took leave of the shed without sleeping there. It was like a student parting during a quarrel. Yukiko listened intently to the retreating footsteps of Tomioka with bated 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 toward the station, but found the man nowhere.)
[Hayashi 1965: 215]

(9) Yamashita Kumiko san no nyuu arubamu "Sumairu" no naka demo, toku ni kokoro yusaburareru uta ga aru. 'Bejitarian'. Konna ni mo suki na noni, koi ga kowarete iku no o mitsumeru shika nai.... sonna **SETSUNAI** kimochi ga afureru rabu songu da. Kiite iru to omowazu namida ga koborete shimau kono uta wa, Yamashita san ni totte mo ookina deai data no da to iu.
[*Lee* 1998 Vol. 1: 227]

(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 ita. (....) Hitomeboreshita to itte ii. Sono ofisu ni uchiawase ni iku tabi, desuku no mukoo de hataraite iru kanojo no sugata o mitsukete wa, boku no mune wa kyun to shita. Chuugakusei ya kookoosei ja arumai shi, ii otona ga 'kyun' mo nai daroo ga, tashika ni nantomo iezu, **SETSUNAI** omoi ni naru no da. Itsumo nara, nanraka no riyuu o kojitsukete 'ochikazuki' ni naru no da ga, kanojo ni taishite no boku wa, mattaku okute datta. [Akimoto 1994: 88]

(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 'kyun'. Being neither a junior high school nor a high school student, why should an adult like me feel 'kyun'? 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 zembee hitto, nambaa wan, disuko no jooo, Dona Samaa no 'hotto sutaffu' o ookurishimasu!"
*Hitori **SETSUNAKU** koko ni suwatte*
Dare ka koibito ga denwa o kakete kuru no o matsu....
[Updike 1992: 50-51]

(J <--E: "And now, the Number One Hit coast to coast, 'Hot stuff,' by the Queen of Disco, Donna Summer!"
*Sitting here eating my heart [**SETSUNAKU**] out waitin'*
Waitin' for some lover to call....)
[Updike 1981: 32]

(12) "Aishiteru yo" Futari dake ni natta toki, kanojo ni itta---futari dake ni nattari shite wa ikenakatta no da ga. "Sugoku mooshiwakenai to omotteru." Boku wa sasayaita. "Dakedo boku wa neesan o aishiteru n da, monosugoku."
"Atashi mo anta o aishiteru, **SETSUNAI** hodo." Furanii wa itta.
[Irving 1989 Vol. 2: 246]

(J <--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**],' Franny 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 since she let her lover Tomioka 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 her. 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) Watashi wa, watashi ni koishita to iu hito no kokuhaku o, sono kotoba doori ni, ureshiku tanoshiku, ukiuki to kiku koto wa dekimasendeshita. Sono hantai ni, jibun no hoo kara, kono hito wa, to omotte suki ni natta hito ni taishite wa, donna ni **SETSUNAKU** kanashii kokoromochi ni natte hageshiku koishita ka.
[Uno 1994: 161]

(MT: I could not listen to declarations of love from people who said they fell in love with me happily, enjoyably, 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 nemurenakatta.
Ano hi, kimi to no saikai o yakusokushite wakareta ato, boku wa hitori heya no naka de, nani hitotsu te ni tsukazu, kimi e no **SETSUNAI** omoi de, mune ga harisake-soo datta.
[Tadayoshi Yamamoto (49 years old, company employee)in Akitaken Futatsuichoo 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) Anata o omou to tada **SETSUNAKU**te
Namida o nagashite wa
[Tomoyasu Hotei "Pride" 1996 by Fuji Pacific Ongaku Shuppan]

(MT: When I think of you I just feel **SETSUNAI**
I shed **tears** and....)

(16) Koi nante kantan to omotteta
Konna ni **SETSUNAKU**te nemurenai
Dore gurai aishitara / Kokoro ga tsunagaru no? Eien ni
[Tomoko Oomoto "White" 1996 by T. Oomoto & 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?)

(17) Carry on, carry out Kizutsuke kizutsuite
Aisuru **SETSUNASA** ni Sukoshi tsukarete mo
Oh, oh, moo ichido yume miyoo
Aisareru yorokobi o Shitte iru no nara Oh
[KAN "Ai wa katsu" 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)

(18) Watashi wa koishite ite, dakareta akamboo no yoo ni sore o kakusenai.
Kono **SETSUNAI** koi no tokimeki wa onajimi no mono de, wakatte iru hazu na noni ne.
Koko no tokoro issui mo shite inai no
Kono toru ni taranai magaimono no otoko ga watashi o kuruwaseru kara
[Lorenz Hart "Bewitched" 1941 by CHAPELL & CO, INC in R. Murao 1991 Vol.4: 61]

(B [J-->E]: I'm in love and don't I show it like a babe 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.

(19) Hajimete no koi shiteru Anata o sotto mitsumeru
SETSUNAKUte sonna koto de Namida ga ato kara afureta
[Midori Karashima "Hajimete no koi" 1997 by M. Karashima]

(MT: In love for the first time I am gazing at you quietly
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.

(20) Ironna kotoba de kimi ni ai o tsugete kita keredomo
Owari sa minna owari sa kimi no hitoriyogari
Kimi e tsunaida kokoro no ito wa ima putsuri to kireta
Junko kimi no namae o yobeba boku wa **SETSUNAI** yo
[Tsuyoshi Nagabuchi "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)

(21) Wakareta kotoba ga amari ni hakanakute
Wasuretai noni wasurerarenai
SETSUNAI koi yo
[Toshio Nijoo "Onna minatomachi" in Soramame-kooboo: 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** ...)

(22) Noomitsu na yoru o omoidaseba
Nakete kuru hodo **SETSUNAI** noni
[Hiroshi Inaba "Easy care, Easy go!" 1990 by K. Inaba a& T. Mastumoto]

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

(23) Futari ga mada aishiatte iru koto wa tashika da kedo, futatabi tsukiaidashitemo, mata mukashi no yoo ni, igamiai, kizutsukeau koto wa me ni miete iru. Onaji ayamachi o kurikaesanai tame ni, onna wa namida o nonde, otoko ni yasashisa o misenai. (....) Akirameru to ittemo, kore mo mata maemuki no wakare de ari, kanashimi o furikiru otona no tsuyosa ga aru. Shikashi, tazunete kita mae no koibito o oikaeshita ato no kanojo no kokoro no naka o omou 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 shove 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**.)

(24) Puropoozu no yaku ninen-go no shoowa 63 nen 8 gatsu nanoka, Ayanomiya wa Okkusufoodo daigaku ryuugaku e to tabidatta. Futari no kekkonbanashi wa shintenshinai mama de aru. Kiko-san wa shimpoo shite iru sempai ni, "dooshite icchau no kashira..." to namida nagara ni **SETSUNAI** kimochi o uttaeta to iu.
[Kawahara 1993: 299-300]

(MT: Two years after his proposal to her, on August 7th, 1988, Ayanomiya 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 Ayanomiya with tears and saying "I wonder why he goes...".)

(25) Shitsuren shite iru saichuu ni wa, dare demo, kono **SETSUNAI** mi o kirareru-yoo na omoi kara, shinu made nukederu koto wa arumai to omoikondemasu keredo, okashi na koto ni, sore

ga, ippen atarashii koibito ni deau to, are wa ittai nan datta no kashira to, jibun de jibun ga shinjirarenaku naru no desu.
[Uno 1994: 90]

(MT: While one has a broken heart, one believes it impossible to get out of this **SETSUNAI**, this tormenting feeling until one dies, however, the strange thing is, once one meets a new lover, one wonders what that feeling was, and cannot believe one's former self.)

Examples (20), (21), (22) and (25) describe the subjects' SETSUNAI feelings when they remember their ex-girlfriend or boyfriend. The subject in sentence (23) felt SETSUNAI when she made her ex-boyfriend leave her house although she still liked him. In sentence (24), the princess Kiko felt SETSUNAI when her boyfriend, the prince Ayanomiya, left for Oxford to study before they got married.

In the following examples SETSUNAI is used in the Japanese translation of the original English texts.

(26) Jimu wa tooku hanareta tsuma to kodomotachi no koto o kangaete, sore de ki ga shizumi, hoomushikku ni kakatte iru no da. (...) "Kawaisoo ni, chiisana Erizabesu ya! Kawaisoo ni, chiisana Jonii ya! **SETSUNEE**[2] kotta na. Ora, moo nido to, moo nido to, omaetachi ni awarenee n ja nee ka naa!"
[Twain 1987: 238]

(J <--E: He (Jim) was thinking about his wife an children, way up yonder, and he was low and homesick; (....) 'Po' little 'Lizabeth, po' little Johnny! Its mighty hard[**SETSUNAI**]. I spec' I ain't ever gwyne to see you no mo', no mo'!')
[Twain 1943: 218-9]

(27) Aisuru mono ni ikiwakarete hitan ni kure, **SETSUNAI** omoi ni kararete, shinitai to omotte ita tora wa, kyoofu to kodoku ni sainamarenagara, sono chika ni yokotawatte ita.
[Saroyan 1972: 117]

(MT: The tiger, who was grieving after parting from his loved one, and was overwhelmed by **SETSUNAI** to the point of death, was lying on the ground, tormented by the feeling of fear and loneliness.)

In the above sentences (26) and (27) the subject feels SETSUNAI when he thinks of his loved one who is away from him.

2 Slang form of SETSUNAI.

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 noni furimuite mo kurenai
Shitte iru hazu na noni furimuite mo kurenai
Shinu hodo **SETSUNAKU**te namida mo karehateta
[Yukio Aoshima "Furimuitemo kurenai" 1966 in Soramame-kooboo 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 heya wa, gakufu ya hon ya tabako no suigara de, unto chirakatte ita. Sempai wa mado o akete kuuki o irekaeta. (....)
"Hajimete, kono heya ni kita toki, namida ga de-soo ni ureshikatta wa. Sono toki, mada, ano hito ga hontoo ni watashi no koto suki de ite kureteru no ka wakaranakatta kara, **SETSUNAKU**te ne. Tabako no suigara o ippon mochikaette, hako ni irete, taisetsu ni totteoita kurai yo."
[Yamada 1989: 155]

(J --> E: Mr. Matsuyama's apartment was pretty messy, with sheet music and cigarette butts everywhere. Kayoko opened a window to let in some fresh air. (....)
"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 [**SETSUNAI**]. I took home a cigarette butt and kept it hidden in a box.")
[Yamada 1992: 144]

(30) Soba ni ite mo **SETSUNAKU** naru Anata no mune no Misty Spot
Yasashisa dake de wa Kitto watashi tarinai kara
Ima wa Semete koi o kotoba ni shite
[M. Oikawa "Aishite masukatto" 1995 by M. Oikawa]

(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 kosenu koi nya / say good bye
SA.YO.NA.RA. sae ienakute
Mitsume aeba **SETSUNAKU**te
Dame na noni toritsukurotte /
Motsureteta futari
[K. Maeda "Natsu o machikirenakute" 1993 by Guambaru & 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

Sayonara o miteshimau.....
[Ikki Matsumoto "Koi wa mune ni sakimidare" in *The Hit Songs on TV* 1996: 146]

(MT: Although I am with you, I feel very **SETSUNAI**, as I foresee our farewell)

(33) Hada ga fureau hodo soba ni ite
Naze konna ni mo **SETSUNAI** no deshoo.
Kodomo e no ai ni wa kesshite tamerau koto nado nai noni
Watashi wa anata o doo aishite yoi no ka wakaranai no desu.
Dooka anata watashi dake ni anata no aishikata o oshiete kudasai.
[Motoko Takano (30 years old, housewife) in Akitaken-Futatsuichoo 1995: 68]

(MT: I am close enough to touch your skin
but why do I feel this much **SETSUNAI**?
Although I would not hesitate to love my children
I don't know how to love you
Please tell me just how I can love you.)

(34) "Warawarechau kamo shirenai desu kedo, kekkon 17nen-me no ima demo shujin ni koishite iru to omou koto ga aru n desu. **SETSUNAKU** naru tte iu ka." to Mari san. Maiasa, shukkin suru otto o okuridasu toki, kuruma ga mienakunaru made te o furu kokorokubari da.
[*AERA* 1998 July 27th: 9]

(MT: " I may be laughed at by others, but even after seventeen years of marriage, I sometimes feel KOI towards my husband. It is like a feeling of **SETSUNAI**," said Mari. Every morning when her husband goes to work, she waves to him until his car disappears.)

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:

(35) Koi o suru **SETSUNASA**.
Kono nantomo iiarawasenai-yoo na kanjoo wa doko kara kuru no daroo. (....)
Sore wa kesshite negatibu na mono de wa naku, ka to itte jirettaku naru-yoo na aimaisa tomo chigau.
Eigo de wa yoku 'sentimental' to yakusareru keredo, doomo "kanshooteki" to iu kanji de mo nai. **SETSUNASA** no imi o setsumeiseyo, to iwareru to, moo oteage na no de aru.
Tada ieru koto wa, **SETSUNASA** wa watashi ni totte, "totemo suteki na" kanjoo de aru to iu koto.
Kotoba o shigoto ni shite iru noni, chanto hyoogen dekinai no wa hazukashii keredo, sore dake **SETSUNASA** ga kotoba o koeta suteki na kanjoo de aru to iu koto o wakatte itadakitai to omou.
Soshite moo hitotsu tashika na koto wa, sore ga, watashitachi ga otona ni natte kara wakiagatte kuru kanjoo da to iu koto da.
[Yoshimoto 1998: 10]

(MT: **SETSUNASA** [Noun] which you feel when you KOISURU.
I wonder, where this indescribable feeling comes from? (....)
It is never negative, nor ambiguous, so it does not make us impatient.
In English this word is often translated as 'sentimental', but this is not such a 'maudlin' thing.
I give up if somebody asks me to explain the meaning of **SETSUNASA**.
I can only say that **SETSUNASA** for me is a "wonderful" feeling.
Although I feel embarrassed, I cannot express it exactly even though my work is concerned with words (as a writer), I would like you to understand that **SETSUNASA** is a wonderful feeling which goes beyond words.
And another thing I am sure about, is that this is the feeling which arises when we grow up.)

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 like 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.(I).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 realise 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) Watashi ga kokonotsu no toki, suki datta Mitsuo wa watashi ga tenkoosuru to shiru to, "Woo, yatta ze, omae nanka inakunaru to seiseisuru wa" to donatta.
Watashi wa tsuttatta mama, Mitsuo no kao o nasu sube mo naku bakazura o shite mite ita. Shikashi bakazura no shita no i no atari no **SETSUNAI** kanashii kimochi wa, 20 demo, 30 demo, 40 demo, tabun 70 demo onaji da to omou.
[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) Jijo ni mo kurookaketa na. Jinan ga bunke shi, choojo ga Sendai e itta ato, saigo made, ano musume o ie ni hikitomete hyakushoo no tetsudai o sasete shimatte, 19 toka 20 no koro no, musume de itai koro ni nani hitotsu fuku mo kutsu mo katte yarenakatta. (...) Ano ko ga jibun no fuku o kau tame ni jariage nado no dokata ni dete, zeni o kaseide kita toki mo, sono zeni o oretachi wa toriagete, sannamboo no gakuhi ni okutta mono datta. Anoko ga fuku ya kutsu o kaitai to omotte hataraita kane o toriageta toki, anoko wa uzukumatte naite ita. **SETSUNAKAT**ta ni chigai nai. Warui koto o shita. Ima sara osoi kedo, ayamaru kara na.
[Kobiyama 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 apologise to her.)

Although she was upset by her father's action, she did not refuse to 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 KANASHII ('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) Aa, **SETSUNAI**. Watashi wa omotta. Nankagetsu mo umi o mite kurashi, kin'iro ni hi ni yakete, otoko ga watashi no te o nigitte iru. Danoni, naze konna ni **SETSUNAI** no daroo. Yurareru fune no naka de kangaete iru uchi ni sono riyuu ga miete kuru. Jibun wa ima, ichiban shitai to omotte iru koto o shite inai no da. Soshite, sore wa shoosetsu o kaku to iu koto na noni, asobu koto ni kamakakete ite genkooyooshi o kau koto sura shite inai no da. Demo, naze, kakanai no daroo. Sore wa, kakenai to iu koto o jibun de shitte iru kara da.
[Eimi 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.

(39) Kodomo ga dekinakute nayande ita koro, anata wa, "Kodomo ga inakutemo, futari dake de tanoshiku kurasoo yo. Betsu ni kodomo nante hoshikunai yo" to yoku itte kuremashita. Sono yasashisa ga, watashi o, toki ni wa arigataku, toki ni wa **SETSUNAKU** sasemashita. Kodomo ga, dekinai riyuu ga, watashi no hoo ni atta kara.
[Satomi Mori (35 years old, housewife) in Akitaken-Futatsuimachi 1995: 60]

(MT: When I was worried about not being able to become pregnant, you often said to me, "Let's live happily by ourselves even though we don't have children. I don't especially want a child." That consideration sometimes made me appreciate you and sometimes made me feel **SETSUNAI**, because it was my fault we could not have a child.)

In the following example, an orphan, Judy, feels SETSUNAI 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.

(40) Atashi wa, anata ga atashi no ouchi no hito de aru-yoo na *furi* o shite mitai no yo. Soo omotte tanoshimu tame ni. Demo, anata ga oiya na no wa, mochiron wakattemasu wa. Dakara, atashi wa hitoribocchi yo. Hontoo ni --- Sumikko ni oitsumerarenagara, seken to iu oozei o aite ni shite tatakatte iru no yo --- Konna koto o kangaeru to, atashi, nandaka **SETSUNAKU** natte kimasu no. Atashi wa konna omoi o kokoro kara oinokete, anata o atashi no ouchi no hito no tsumori ni shitemasu no. Ojisan, wakatte kudasutte?
[Webster 1950: 160]

(J <--E: I like to pretend that you belong to me, just to play with the idea, but of course I know you don't . I'm alone, really --- with my back to the wall fighting the world -- and I get sort of graspy [become feeling **SETSUNAI**] when I think about it. I put it out of my mind, and keep on pretending; but don't you see, Daddy?)
[Webster 1913: 146]

In the following example, a man feels SETSUNAI 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 SETSUNAI.

(41) Ude o setsudanshita hito kara, "Yoru ni naru to, nai hazu no ude ga itamidasu n da yo. Kore wa **SETSUNAI** ze" to, oshierareta koto ga aru....
[Takashi Atooda "Itami" pp. 21-25 in Oooka 1985: 21]

(MT: "I was told by a person whose arm was amputated that "when night comes, my amputated arm begins to hurt. This makes me feel **SETSUNAI**".)

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 SETSUNAI, a more impending and unsuppressed feeling is conveyed.

In the following example, the woman feels SETSUNAI 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.

(42) Watashi wa moo sugu 40-sai ni narimasu. Nandaka VERY sedai no 20-dai, 30-dai no katatachi to gutto hanarete shimau-yoo na, chotto **SETSUNAI** kibun desu.
[Anonymous (woman in Shizuoka prefecture) in *VERY* 1999 January: 263]

(MT: I will be forty years old very soon. Somehow I feel **SETSUNAI** since I feel that there will be a distance between me and the readers of VERY who are 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 SETSUNAI.

Finally, in the following passage, Fabiola feels SETSUNAI 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.

(43) Fabiora wa, kon'ya hitoban o kirinukeru tame no joozai no namae o oshie, yokuasa haireru -yoo ni ryooyoojo no tetsuzuki o shite oku to itte kureta. Me ga samete miru to, **SETSUNAI** hodo hareyaka de atsui zekkoo no natsubiyori de aru.
[Friedman 1971: 158]

(J <--E: Fabiola told Stern of pills that would take him through the night and said he would arrange space at the home for the following morning. Stern awakened blinking to an agonisingly warm [warm enough to make me feel **SETSUNAI**] and lovely summer day.)
[Friedman 1962: 110]

A person often feels SETSUNAI when he/she cannot convey their true feelings to others, even if he/she has a good feeling towards them.

(44) Hijoo ni minikui yooboo no 21-ssai no nooson-seinen. Issakujitsu no natsu kara, aru josei o aishitemasu. Osananajimi de ari, kigokoro mo yoku shitte orimasu ga, kanojo wa utsukushiku, mata mare ni miru hodo no jinkaku no mochinushi desu. Uchiakeru koto mo dekizu, **SETSUNAI** mune o daite, hibi o modae kurushinde orimasu.
[1/6/1953 in Sanseidoo-henshuujo 1995: 81]

(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 kite kara, dorekurai tatta no daroo. Kimi to hanarete kara, dorehodo no toki ga nagaresatta no daroo. (....) Sabishikute, **SETSUNAKU**te, kanashikute, boku wa kodoku o kuchizusamu.
Koraekirenai namida ga, ikudo to naku hoo o tsutau. Ano toki, kimi e no omoi o uchiakerarenakatta. Kokoro de wa kimi o motomete ita noni. Boku wa sunao ni narenakatta. Kimi no senaka ga kieru made, tada mitsumeru koto shika, boku ni wa dekinakatta. (....) Kimi wa kimi, boku wa boku de betsu no michi o aruku beki da. Tooku hanareta koi nante, shinai hoo ga ii. Soo omoikomoo to shite ita. Sono hoo ga raku da kara. Kekkyoku boku ni wa yuuki ga nakatta n da. (....) Yume no naka de boku wa iu. Kokoro no mama ni. Kimi ga suki da.....
[Katsunori Sakamoto (19 years old, male university student in Kyoto)
in Akitaken-Futatsuichoo 1995: 86-7]

(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 sing 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 think in 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) Moo ichido deatta koro ni modoreta nara
Motto joozu ni tsutaerareru noni
Futari chikaku narisugite
Kokoro wa itsumo urahara no kotoba ni natte iku
Yasashiku sareru to **SETSUNAKU** naru
Tsumetaku sareru to nakitaku naru
[Tooko Furuuchi "Dare yori suki na noni" 1996
by Yomiuri-entaa-puraizu & appufuronto ongaku & Guroobaruraitsu]

(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) Yuuki o dashitemo tsutaekirenai
Itsumo kimi to iru dake de **SETSUNAI, SETSUNAI**
[Motoharu Sano 1996 "Tanoshii toki" by M. Sano]

(MT: Even if I summon up my courage, I cannot convey this to you
Always, just by being with you, I feel **SETSUNAI, SETSUNAI**.)

The man in (44) feels SETSUNAI since he cannot confess his loving feeling towards a girl because of his lack of confidence in himself. The subject in example (45) feels SETSUNAI to think that he could not convey his affectionate feeling to a girl although he really liked her. The subject in (46) feels SETSUNAI towards a boy who is sitting besides her since she cannot express her true feelings to him in words. In (47) a boy feels SETSUNAI when he is with a girl because he cannot express his loving feelings towards her.

The following comment by Yooko Mori (1993) is noteworthy, because it illustrates well that the SETSUNAI feeling occurs more when one tends not be able to express one's feelings outwardly to others.

(48) Musume o totsugaseru asa, chichi wa **SETSUNAI**.
Keredomo, musume o omou subete no toki,
Chichioya to iu mono wa **SETSUNAI** mono da to iu koto o
Shitte oite hoshii.

Chichi to musume no kankei wa sokohakatonaku kanashii. Toriwake, hanayome-sugata no musume ga saigo ni yatte kite, "Otoosan, --- Nagai koto osewa ni narimashita" nado to me o urumasete iwaretara, chichioya taru mono, kore ijoo mi no okiba no nai shiin wa nakaroo to, hitogoto nagara yo no chichioya ni fukaku doojoosuru mono de aru. (....)
Nihon no chichioya ga, "Nagai koto osewa ni narimashita" to atama o sageru musume no, kabosoi kata ni ude o mawashi, shikkari to dakishimete yaru koto ga dekitara, donna ni karera wa ureshii daroo ka. Sono ureshisa wa higoro soo iu koto o shinarete iru Seiyoo no chichioya no hi de wa nakaroo. Demo dekinai. Soo iu aijoo no hyoogen de musume o chiisai toki kara sodatete konakatta kara da.
...Nihon no musume ni wa, kekkonshiki no asa no Nihon no chichioya no **SETSUNASA** ga, mugon no uchi ni wakaru. Dakara, jibun mo **SETSUNAKU** nari, soko de musume no hoo ni porori to namida ga koboreru no de aru. Chichi mo mata namida no ippo temae na no ga musume ni wa wakaru. (....) Keredomo, Nihon no chichioya no **SETSUNASA** wa, nani mo kekkonshiki no asa dake no mono de wa nai koto ni, anata wa kizuite iru daroo ka.
(....)...Futsuu chichioya to iu mono wa, musume ni jibun no **SETSUNASA** o misetagaranai mono da. Shikashi nanika no hyooshi ni, musume to futarikiri ni naru to futo roteisuru mono ga aru. Suruto chichioya wa terete, sore o kakusoo to shite, gyaku ni tsukkendon ni nattari buaisoo na taido ni detari suru.
[Mori 1993a: 97-99]

(MT: When a daughter gets married, the father feels **SETSUNAI**
However, I want you to know that
Fathers are feeling **SETSUNAI** whenever they think of their daughters

The relationship between a father and a daughter is somewhat sad, especially when the daughter in her bridal costume, comes to her father and says "Father, ---I have been indebted to you for a long time" with tearful eyes. I sympathise deeply with fathers, since on such occasions they do not know what to do. (....)
If the Japanese father could put his arm around the daughter's slender shoulder and hold her tightly when she bows and says "I have been indebted to you for a long time", how much pleasure such a father would feel. That degree of pleasure would be incomparable to that of

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 **SETSUNASA**: Noun. 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 **SETSUNASA** 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
(h) 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) "sometime 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 (i) 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 yearns 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.(I).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]

(B [J-->E]: Love is bitter[**SETSUNAI**]-sweet./ Love is a sweet torment [**SETSUNAI**].)

(50) ...watashi wa, itsumo kossori to, Rie o nusumimishite ita. Kanojo wa mite iru. Sore na noni, Jun'ichi to kitara, sukoshi mo sono **SETSUNAI** shisen ga kare no senaka ni egaite miseru messeezi ni ki ga tsuku koto mo naku, zembee no puro-basukettobooru no hanashi nante shitsuzukete iru.
[Yamada 1989: 31]

(J --> E: ...I was constantly stealing glances at Rie. She was watching. But Jun'ichi had no inkling of the heart-rending [**SETSUNAI**] message that gaze was writing on his back and continued talking about All-American pro basketball and stuff.)
[Yamada 1992: 30]

(51) **SETSUNAI** katsujitachi.
Ai no issatsu
[Advertisement for books by Kadokawa Bunko 1993]

(MT: **SETSUNAI** printing type
A book of love)

(52) "Q hoteru no tiiruumu de ichijikan no oshaberi no ato, sampo gatera ni aruite juugo-fun hodo no kindai-bijutsukan e. ... Mune ga dokidoki, Aihara san wa watashi o doo omottaroo ka. Fuan de tamaranai."
Nikki wa kore kara isshuukan, **SETSUNAI** hodo no shibo no joo to ononoku kokoro no hida o setsusetsu to tsuzutte imasu.
[Toodoo 1994a: 116-7]

(MT: "After an hour of chatting in the tearoom of the Q Hotel, we walked to the Contemporary Art Museum which was less than fifteen minutes walk. .... My heart was pounding. What did Mr. Aihara think of me? I could not help feeling anxious."
My deep attachment to him was as serious as feeling **SETSUNAI**, and shades of my shivering heart appeared in my diary for the following week.)

In example (49) KOI is described as something that makes people feel sweet and SETSUNAI. In example (50) Rie's glance towards Jun'ichi is described as SETSUNAI since he did not recognise 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)

((People in general feel) Y is SETSUNAI (1))]

(a) I want to say something about something Y
(b) sometimes a person thinks about someone/something else:
(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 to be like a part of me
(h) 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 this other person/thing
(l) I say: other people can feel like this when they think about Y

6.(I).2. SETSUNAI (2)

In all the above examples, the SETSUNAI feeling occurs because something bad is happening to the subject (the subject 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.

(53) Risa wa, kikazatte soto ni deru koto o tometa. Kanojo wa tsune ni, ie de, boku o machitsuzuketa. Boku no tame ni ryoori o tsukuri, igokochi no yoi kuukan o kakuhosubeku doryokushita. Keredo, totonoerareta beddo o miru tabi ni, boku wa furueagari, soto ni deta. Hanayaka de utsukushii hitobito o miru tame ni, yoru no sakaba o urotsuita. Kanojo wa, nani mo iwanakatta. Soshite, tada zeiniku dake o tsukete itta. Mukashi no kanojo to wa betsujin no yoo ni futotta onna wa, boku o **SETSUNAI** kimochi ni saseta. Kanojo ga, niku o

yusurinagara, boku ni yorisou toki, boku wa me o fusenakute wa naranakatta.
[Yamada 1997a: 108]

(MT: Risa stopped dressing up and going out. She was always waiting for me at home. She cooked for me, and made an effort to make a comfortable space for me. Although every time I saw our bed prepared , I trembled and went out. I wandered around bars at night in order to see gorgeous and beautiful people. She did not say anything, she just kept putting on excess weight. The fact was, she was a very different woman from before, and that made me feel **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 displaying qualities of womanhood that are not so compatible with their careers. The subject wants them to reconcile both career and gender roles.

(54) "Watashi, mukashi kara shigotoshiteru onna no hito o miteru kedo, yappari dokoka de onna o suteteru no ne. Konna ni shinakya yatte korenakatta no ka na tte, **SETSUNAKU** naru koto mo 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) Watashi ga chichi no hantai o oshite bareebooru o hajimeta toki, haha wa donna ni tsurai omoi o shita koto deshoo. Kodomo-rashii asobi wa nani hitotsu dekinakatta wa ga ko ni, tatoe mata, taoreru-yoo na koto ga atte mo, semete yaritai to iu koto wa yarasete yaritai..... Demo, sore o yurushitara, kitto mata taorete shimau. Hyotto shitara kono ko no isshoo o dame ni shite shimau kamo shirenai. Haha wa nayanda-soo desu. Yureugoku haha no kimochi wa **SETSUNAI** mono datta to omoimasu.
[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 shitemo terebi de torikumi o mite iru toki wa, hontoo ni ikita kokochi ga shimasen. Dokidoki nante kotoba de wa, iiarawasenai kurai. Moo shinzoo ga bakubaku shite shimaimasu. (Otto ga sumoo de) Maketa toki wa, maketa koto ga kanashii to iu yori, "Ima donna kimochi de iru no daroo. Anna ni gambatte iru noni" to, sono koto ga **SETSUNAKU**te tamarimasen.
[Keiko Hanada "Yokozuna to musuko to watashi no atsui natsubasho" pp. 72-77 in *Fujin Kooron* 1998 June 7th: 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 doki-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) Watashi ga ichiban tsurakatta no wa ichigatsu-basho no toki deshita. (Otto no) tsukare ga piiku ni tassuru chuunichi-goro ni kaze o hiki, kudo-ijoo no netsu ga nannichi mo hikanakatta no desu. (....) Oyakata wa nando mo kyuuba o susumeta-soo desu ga, "Onegai desu. Yarasete kudasai" to, ato ni hikanakatta toka. Izen, kanzoo o waruku shita toki mo oyakata no susumu o kotowatte detsuzukemashita shi, ashi no yubi o kossetsushita toki mo kakushite shutsujoshite iru no desu. Watashi wa **SESTSUNAKU**te, yokozuna no zenshin o koori de hiyashinagara, makuramoto de naite shimaimashita.
[Keiko Hanada "Yokozuna to musuko to watashi no atsui natsubasho" pp. 72-77 in *Fujin Kooron* 1998 June 7th: 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

constant high fever of over 39 degrees for many days. (...) Although it seems his boss recommended him to withdraw, I heard that my husband did not accept that, saying "Please. Let me keep fighting". Before, when my husband was suffering from an illness of the liver, he refused the boss's recommendation to withdraw, and he continued to fight, and he also continued to appear in the ring even when he broke a toe. I felt **SETSUNAI**, and I cried into the pillow as I cooled down my husband's body with ice.)

In the above example (57), the SETSUNAI feeling occurs because something bad is happening to the other person whom the speaker feels affection for. The meaning of SETSUNAI in this use can be explicated as follows:

SETSUNAI (2) --- the subjective use
[(Watashi wa)[4] [Y ga] SETSUNAI (2) ((I) feel SETSUNAI (2) [about Y])]

(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 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 felt something like this
(l) because I thought something like this

The cause of a SETSUNAI (2) feeling can also be either human (e.g. (53)) or inanimate (component (b) "sometimes a person thinks about someone else/something Y"). An example where the object is an inanimate thing is seen in the following sentence "Nagane aidokushite kita Chuuoo-Kooron no shuppansha ga baishuu sareru to kiite SETSUNAKU natta. (I came to feel SETSUNAI when I heard about the corruption in the publishing company of the magazine *Chuuoo-kooron* , a magazine which I have been reading for many years)". Components from (c) "when I think of this person/thing, I feel something good" and (d) "I want something good to happen to this person/thing"

4 When the speaker attaches 'the past tense suffix' or 'some formal evidential markers' to SETSUNAI (2), this describes an emotion feeling experienced by other people. Otherwise, the subject (experiencer) of the feeling is always "I" in Japanese.

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" (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 (j) "this person feels something good towards Y").

6.(I).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 bad about the ageing process which made his father, whom he loved, grow senile.

(58) Chichi wa sono toshi no kure, 83 sai de nakunatta. (....) "Chichi wa aru teido no okane o motte ita noni, (toshi de) tsukaikata ga wakaranaku natte shimatta. Koobutsu no unagi mo tabezu, chikuwa bakari katte. Toshi o toru tte, **SETSUNAI** koto desu ne."
[*AERA* 1998. January 12th: 23]

(MT: 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 otooto ya imooto ga kono yo ni shutsugenshi, tomadotta kodomotachi wa samazama na pafoomansu ni deru koto ga arimasu. (....) Ooku wa akachangaeri to iu hoohoo de sono tomadoi o arawashimasu (e.g. omorashi, akachan-kotoba). (....) Kodomo ni totte wa ima no jibun yori nani mo dekinakatta koro ni modoreba, kore made doori ni kazoku no anteishita

aijoo to chuumoku o torimodoseru no de wa nai ka, 'yume yo moo ichido' to iu **SETSUNAI** koodoo na no desu kara sono jun na shinjoo o (hahaoya ga) kumitotte yaranai koto ni wa ii hookoo ni mukaimasen.
[Matsuoka & Matsuoka 1996: 83-4]

(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 "kanashii (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: Tsuai, kaisha nanka ni iru to, onnanoko no me wa kanari shibia desu yo. Kono hito wa buchoo de tomaru to ka, kachoo domari ya tte, daitai wakarutte iimasu kara ne.
Inoue: Tada, chotto **SETSUNAI** no wa, kachoo domari tte iu no wa, yahari sore ijoo shussesuru hito yori mo ningenteki-miryoku ni oite mo otoru to omowarete shimau n deshoo ka.
[*Fujin Kooron* 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 (l) 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), Ai(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 affective 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), KOI(SURU) ("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 **AISHI**-teru / ni **KOISHI**-teru.
I TOP him NOM SUKI COP/OBJ AISURU-Prog/ DAT KOISURU-Prog
(I love **him**.)

(2) Watashi wa **chokoreeto/kosodate** ga **SUKI** da / * o **AISHI**-teru / *ni **KOISHI**-teru.
I TOP chocolate/childcare NOM SUKI COP/* OBJ AISURU-Prog/ * DAT KOISURU-Prog
(I love **chocolates/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 '**AISHI**teru' wa chigau to omou n desu. '**SUKI**' wa ikura demo ieru kedo, '**AISHI**teru' wa, hontoo ni daiji na toki dake. '**AISHI**teru' tte iu no wa, jibun no koto yori taisetsu na hito no koto o iu n desu yo. Jibun yori taisetsu de, kono hito no tame ni shineru to omotte hajimete '**AISHI**teru' tte kuchi ni daseru.
[Sayaka Yoshino (actress) "Oya ni ii kao miseteru dake" pp. 58-61 in *Fujin Kooron* 1998 July 22nd: 61]

(MT: I think '**SUKI**' is different from '**AISHI**teru'. Although you can say '**SUKI**' whenever you want to, we can say '**AISHI**teru' only on truly important occasions. When you say '**AISHI**teru', you say it to a person you think more important than yourself. Only when you think that person is more important than you and when you think you can die for him/her, you can say '**AISHI**teru' to him/her.)

(4) Kono hito ga **SUKI** da kedo, --- soshite ima wa **SUKI** de, **SUKI** de tamaranai kedo, **AISHI**te iru wake de wa nai. Sukunaku tomo ima wa mada, **AI** de wa nai.
[Mori 1989: 101]

(J --> E: I really like [**SUKI**] this man, Mariko thought, and right now I'm so crazy about him I can hardly bear it, but I don't love [**AISHI**te iru] him. At least I don't love him yet; not now at any rate.)
[Mori 1993: 91]

(5) Masashi kara ookare hayakare puropoozusareru koto wa kanji to shite wakatte ita. Mondai wa, to kanojo wa kuchibiru o kamishimeta. Masashi ni **KOI** o shite inai koto. **SUKI** da kedo.
[Mori 1989: 337]

(J --> E: Yoko had somehow sensed that Masashi would propose sooner or later. The problem was that she simply wasn't in love [**KOI**] with Masashi. But she did like [**SUKI**] him.)
[Mori 1993: 152-3]

(6) "Masaka, sono, onaka no ko wa" to aru yo, otto ni iwareta toki ni wa watashi wa osoroshikute, gatagata furueta. Ima omou to, watashi mo otto mo, wakakatta no da. Watashi wa **KOI** mo shiranakatta. **AI**, sae, wakaranakatta. (....) ...watashi wa, **KOI** mo **AI** mo wakarazu, heiki de Hosoda-sama o **SUKI** da to iu koto o koogenshi, torikesoo to mo shinakatta no de, ...
[Dazai 1979:77]

(J --> E: One night my husband asked me if the child I was carrying was Hosoda's. I was so frightened that I shook all over. I realise now that my husband and I were both very young. I did not know what love [**AI**] was, I did not even understand simple affections [**KOI**]. (....) ...I, who knew nothing of love [**AI**] or affection [**KOI**], would publicly say without any embarrassment that I loved [**SUKI**] Hosoda.)
[Dazai 1956: 80]

Secondly, the following examples are Japanese translations from English texts:

(7) "Soo nee, ima ja Hesutaa wa ookiku natta kedo, watashi ga kanjiteru koto ga, seikaku ni itte **AI** ka doo ka wa dangen dekinai wa."
"Mochiron, **AISHI**temasu tomo. Watashi ga Suura o **AISHI**teru mitai ni, anta wa kanojo o **AISHI**teru no yo. Demo watashi, Suura no koto o **SUKI** ja nai wa. Soko ga chigau no yo."
"Soo omou wa. Kodomo ga **SUKI** da tte koto wa, betsu no koto nan da mono."
"Sono toori yo. Kodomotachi tte chigau jinshu da mono...."
[Morrison 1995:70]

(J <--E: "Well, Hester is grown now and I can't say love [**AI**] is exactly what I feel."

"Sure you do. You love [**AISHI**teru] her, like I love [**AISHI**teru] Sula. I just don't like [**SUKI**] her. That's the difference."
"Guess so. Likin' [**SUKI**] them is another thing."
"Sure. They different people, you know...")
[Morrison 1973: 57]

(8) Shikashi, ittai watashi wa kono hito ni tomokaku kooi to iu mono o kanjite iru no ka to ware shirazu jibun no kokoro ni tazunete mita toki, kanojo wa manzara kirai demo nai koto o mitomezaru o enakatta. Demo shimpai ni naru hodo juushoo de mo nai. **SUKI** ni wa **SUKI** da ga, sore ijoo fukai kanjoo ni oboretai to negatte iru wake de wa nai. Kare wa kanojo ga **KOI** o shitai to negau-yoo na aite de wa nai.
[Malamud 1969: 123]

(J <--E: Yet, when, almost without noticing, she once more asked herself if she liked him at all, she had to admit she did a little. But not enough to get worried about; she liked [**SUKI**] him, but not with an eye to the possibility of any deeper feeling. He was not the kind of man she wanted to be in love[**KOI**] with.)
[Malamud 1967: 109]

(9) "Ano hito ni **KOI** o shite wa inai no?"
"Shiranai, **SUKI** wa **SUKI** da."
[Steele 1994: 304]

(J <--E: 'You're not in love [**KOI**] with her?'
'I don't know. I like [**SUKI**] her.')
[Steele 1989: 309]

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) Umai, socchoku na, soshite utsukushii bummen, sore wa akiraka ni, onna o kudokitsukete iru otoko no tegami datta. Boku no mune wa anata o omou kimochi de ippai desu. Hajimete ome ni kakatta toki kara, **KOI / *AI** ni ochite shimatta no desu.
[Maugham 1959a Vol.3:115]

(J <--E: It was well written, frank and charming: it was the letter of a man who was used to making love to women. He told Mildred that he loved her passionately, he had fallen in love [**KOI/*AI**] with her from the first moment he saw her.)
[Maugham 1963b: 365]

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 odoroita no wa, onna no hoo no kanjoo datta. Somosomo kare wa, kono onna ni, konna hageshii **KOI** ga kanoo da to wa, tada no ichido mo kangaeta koto ga nakatta. Ga, kore wa masashiku **KOI** datta. Magiremo naku **KOI** datta.
[Maugham 1959a Vol.3:126]

(J <-- E: It was her emotion that surprised him. He had never thought her capable of passion [**KOI**], and this was passion [**KOI**]: there was no mistaking it.)
[Maugham 1963b: 372]

The following example als illustrates he strong intensity of emotion in KOI.

(12) Dakedo, okashi na mono de, tsuma ni wa moeru-yoo na **KOI** o shita[1] to iu kioku ga nai n desu. Aiboo mitai na kanji de. (....) Shikashi mochiron **AISHI**temasu.
[Hiroshi Tachi (actor) in *Fujin Kooron* 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 **AISHI**temasu[2] her.)

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 a following sentence:

1 Koi o shi-ta: **KOI** + Obj + do-Past

2 aishi-te-masu: aisuru + -te (conjunctive suffix) + masu (polite)

(13) Kanojo wa ima **KOI/*AI** wazurai da.
[Yamada & Irabu 1986: 267]

(B: She's love[**KOI/*AI**]-sick.)

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-toosho no atsui kimochi wa, sore hodo nagaku wa tsuzukimasen. Kekkon wa akumade seikatsu desu kara, **ren'ai** to iu kotoba no '**KOI**' no bubun wa, kekkonsuru to jojo ni kiete yukimasu. Sono kawari ni '**AI**' wa beesu to shite nokorimasu. Kono '**AI**' ga fuufu no kihon ni nai to, kekkonseikatsu wa umaku ikanai no de wa nai 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]**[3] will disappear gradually after marriage. Instead, the '**AI**' will remain as a base. Married life will not go well unless the couple has this '**AI**' as their base, will it?)

(15) Datte motomoto **KOI** nante nagaku wa tsuzukanai mono.
[Matsumoto 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 jizokusaseru no wa taihen muzukashii. Tsumari **KOI** wa futsuu manzokushinai jootai de hajimaru ga, manzoku shite shimau to **KOI** de wa nakunaru no de aru.
[Minako Ooba "Koofuku na fuufu" 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) Kekkonsuru danjo no aida de daiji na mono wa **KOI**suru kokoro ja nai no yo. Sonna mono 2-ka-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 soo deshoo ga, Onna wa ikutsu ni nattemo **KOI** o shite itai n desu. Tokoroga, **KOI** ni wa owari ga aru. Tokuni, kekkonshite shimau to, kakera mo nai.
["Anata o aishita koto mo aru No. 24" pp. 82-86 in *Shuukan Asahi* 1998 Nov. 13th: 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 get 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. (...) Doryoku mo nintai mo soo iranaidesu kara.
Shikashi **AI** no hoo wa dare ni demo dekiru to iu wake de wa arimasen. (....) **AI** no daiichi-gensoku wa 'sutenu koto' desu. Aite e no bika ga kie, joonetsu ga useta jootai de, shikamo aite o 'sutenu' koto ga **AI** no hajimari desu. Aite no biten dake de naku, ketten ya iya na men o fukumete hontoo no sugata o mikiwame, shikamo sono hontoo no kare o sutenu no ga **AI** no hajimari desu. **KOI** nante dare demo dekiru mono, **AI** koso tsukuridasu mono, to oboete oite kudasai.
[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'.[4] 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 ataeru mono de ari, jikogisei o tomonau mono desu. '**KOI**' wa motomeru mono de ari, jikoshuchoo o tomonau mono desu.
[Sasazawa 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 iu koto wa, sono hito o itawaru to iu koto da. Omoiyaru to iu koto de aru. **KOI** ni **KOI**shiteru musume ni wa, aite ni taisuru hairyo ga kakeru. Jibun sae yokereba subete yoi 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 **KOI**shiteru 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 **shi**te iru toki wa tanoshikute,
AISHITE iru toki wa kurushii
[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 for 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 *na*-noun and not a verb, it often corresponds to the English verb "like." (....) In fact, *suki* used with reference to a person often means more than just "like." It means "love".
>
> Man: **Kimi ga suki da.**
> (I love you.)
> 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 kookaishita. (Soo datta), mainichi empitsu o kezutte ageru kurai **SUKI** na hito o, nande, osumoo no jikan ni, sukkari wasurete, nagetobashichatta n daroo..... Demo, moo osokatta. Totto-chan ga, Tai-chan no oyomesan ni narenai koto wa kimatte shimatta. (Demo, Ashita kara, yappari empitsu wa kezutte ageyoo) Datte, **SUKI** na n da mono.
[Kuroyanagi 1981: 202]

(J --> E: Totto-chan regretted it with all her heart. Yes, that was it. What on earth made her beat the boy she liked [**SUKI**] so much she sharpened his pencils every day? But it was too late. She could never be his bride now.
"I am 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 Yooku ga dai-**SUKI** na no yo. Ki datte toori datte ie datte, nani hitotsu honto ni atashi no mono to iu wake ja nai kedo, demo yappari, nantonaku Nyuu Yooku ga jibun no mono no yoo na ki ga suru wa. Datte kono machi wa, pittari atashi no shoo ni atteru n da mon.
[Capote: 1968: 109]

(J <-- E: I love [very 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: 85]

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 be 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

(f) this person feels good towards this something
(g) X felt something like this
(h) because X thought something like this about Y

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 explication 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 thin 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'yooshuu 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 hanarete iru mono o **KOISURU** no desu. Sore wa butsuriteki na kyori o kanarazushimo imishinai. Katawara ni hito ga suwatte ite mo, moshi sono hito no kokoro ga tookereba, bokura wa **KOISURU** no desu.
[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 iu 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.

Atte iru toki wa nan demo nai ga,
sayonara suru to namida ga koborechau
(....) aenakerya kanashikute awazuni irarenai
[Tetsuo Mizushima "Koi" 1966 by Watanabe Ongaku Shuppan]

(MT: **KOI** is a strange thing. When we see each other, it is nothing, but tears fall when we say goodbye. When we cannot meet, we are so sad we cannot go on without meeting.)

Consider also the following example, to get a better insight into the meaning of KOI.

(3) Ren'ai to wa gensoo desu. **KOI** wa kanarazu samemasu. (...) Ren'ai-kekkonshite nannen ka suru to, "moo **KOI** wa shite inai ga **AI** wa aru" to iu fuufu ga yoku imasu. Kono **AI** to wa, seikatsu suru ue de no rentaikan toka dooshi-**AI** toka tomodachi-**AI** deshoo.
[Kuniko Uemura in *AERA* 1998 May 4th: 11]

(MT: Love [ren'ai 'KOI-AI'] is an illusion. **KOI** cools down without fail. (....) Often there are couples who married with love and after some years say 'We don't feel **KOI** for each other any more, but we still feel **AI**.' I think this **AI** is a feeling of solidarity, **AI** between like-minded persons, or **AI** between friends.)

(4) Watashi no naka de wa, mama ga mukashi, katei mo sute, jibun no gekidan made sutete, hitori no butaikantoku to issho ni nacchatta koto ga wakaranai. **KOI** tte, soko made kyooryoku na nanika o motte iru mono na no ka tte.
[Maya Ishikawa (writer) in *Fujin Kooron* 1998 April 22: 26]

(MT: I don't understand why ages ago you (mama) abandoned both our family and your theatrical company and became attached to a stage director. It made me wonder if **KOI** can have such a strong power as that.)

(5) **KOI** tte, fukakooryoku da na to omoimasu. Jibun no chikara de wa dooshiyoo mo nai tokoro kara totsuzen yattekuru kanjoo desho. Nandaka shiranai kedo deatte shimai, konna hazu ja nakatta n da kedo to omotte iru uchi ni hamatte shimattari suru.
[Eri Ishida (actress) "Motomeru no wa kokoro no ekusutashii" pp. 40-42 in *Fujin Kooron* 1998 July 7th: 40]

(MT: **KOI** has an irresistible force. It is an emotion which springs suddenly from somewhere out of our control. We encounter it without knowing why, and we get involved while thinking we are not supposed to do so.)

(6) "Kanojo ga boku ni hanashikaketa..."
"Dyuui wa dooka shita no kai?"
"Un, kare wa **KOISHI**teru to omoikonde iru n da. Kare wa hisoka ni nanshuukan mo kanojo no koto o omotte ita no. Soshitara kyoo tootoo kanojo ga kare ni hanashikaketa no."

(B: "She spoke to me...."
"What's the matter with Dewey?"
"Oh, he thinks he is in love [**KOISHI**teru]. He's been secretly admiring her for weeks, and today she finally talked to him.)
[Disney 1977: 24-26]

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.(II).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, osoroshii mon da yo, **KOI** tte no wa," kare wa itta. "Sore o mata, dare mo kare mo, **KOI** o shitagaru n da!"
[Maugham 1959a Vol.3:126]

(J <-- E: 'It is awful, love [**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 a person 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.[6] 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 not think about this person"). Although the subject's general feeling towards the object is "very good" (component (j)), 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, *Koojien*, 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(SURU).

(1) Toki ni ...tegaru ni tsukawarete inagara, **AI** hodo tsukaminikui mono wa nai. Nannen ka mae, kooensaki no aru toshi de, hitori no josei ni "Ochiai-san wa **AI** o doo teigizukemasu ka" to shitsumon sarete tomadotta koto ga aru. Watashi jishin **AI** to wa koo iu mono, to hitotsu no teigi o kudasu koto wa dekinai. Tabun isshoo dekinai daroo.
[Ochiai 1989: 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 yobu no ka wakaranai. Kanojo wa, soo omotte iru. Hito wa, doo iu kanjoo ni **AI** to iu nari o kenjoosuru no daroo. Shuuchaku, aigan, joonetsu, donna kotoba mo, **AI** to iikaeru koto ga dekiru-yoo ni, kanojo ni wa omoeru.
[Yamada 1994a: 92]

(J --> E: What 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)".
[Yamada 1994: 82]

(3) "**AI** tte, donna koto da ka, boku ni wa, yoku wakannai kedo, itsumo kokoro ni, sono hito no koto ga kuttsuiteru tte koto ka naa."
"Sore ni yoku nite iru yo." Bakkii ga itte, hohoenda.
[Yamada 1994: 561]

(J --> 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.)
[Yamada 1994: 366]

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.

Kövecsss (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. Brainley (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'.[7] 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 "taisetsu (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 datte, zenzen **AISHI**te nai wake ja nai wa" to, Takako wa tsuzuketa. "Demo ne, watashi ga wakai otoko to rabushiin o enjiteru tokoro e haitte kitemo, 'Iya, shitsurei. Doozo tsuzukete kuretamae' tte magao de iu hito yo." (....) "Sonna otto ja, **AI** datte sameru wa. Watashi, itsumo **AISHI**te itari. **AIS**arete itai no."
[Akagawa 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. Satake 1977: 233).

(MT: "It's is not that I don't **AISHI**te iru my husband at all," Takako continued. "But, he is the kind of person who says 'Oh, excuse me. Please carry on' with a straight face when he finds me acting a love scene with another young man." (....) "Even **AI** will cool down towards such a husband. I always want to **AISHI**te iru or be **AI**Sarete iru [AI + passive form of 'suru' (do)] by somebody.)

(6) Taigai no oya wa, honto ni taigai no oya wa, jibun no ko ga ikutsu ni nattemo yappari shimpai de, honto ni **AISHI**teru.
[Yuki Hyoodoo (talent) in TV programme "Tetsuko no Heya" on August 8, 1996]

(MT: Most parents, really, most parents are worried about their children and **AISHI**teru them however old they become.)

(7) De, nani ga attemo, anata o mamoru kara. Anata o **AISHI**teru kara. Sore dake wa wasurenai de ne tte. Itsumo ittemasu.
Ammari kodomo o **AISHI**teru kara, mawari kara, "Maza-kon ni naru n ja nai no" tte iwareru kedo, hito wa, itsumo dareka ni **AI**Sarete iru tte, hitsuyoo na koto da to omou no ne.
[Ririi (singer) "Wakarete Sorekara Vol. 20" pp. 80-83 in *Shuukan Josei* Feb. 2nd, 1999: 82]

(MT: "I will protect you no matter what happens. Because I **AISHI**teru you", I always tell my son not to forget this.
Because I love him so much, people say to me "Won't your son develop an Oedipus complex?". But I think it is necessary for human being to always feel **AISarete** iru (passive form of AISHIte iru) by others.)

Example (5) is the feeling of AI towards the opposite sex, which is similar to KOI.

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 to netai to ioo to shite iru no nara, ima wa iya. Watashi ga anata o kokoro kara **AISHI**te iru to kokoro kara omoeru made, moshimo watashitachi ga kekkonsuru -yoo na koto ga aru to shitara, tabun sono toki made wa gamanshite kudasaranai to ikenai wa."
[Malamud 1969: 139]

(J <--E: 'I won't sleep with you now, if that's what you mean. It'll have to wait til I am really sure I love [**AISHI**te iru] you, maybe till we're married, if we ever are.')
[Malamud 1967: 122-3]

(9) "Sono ebiashi ne, sonna ni ki ni suru no, baka da wa."..."Nee, Firippu, anata ga omou hodo, sonna koto, hito wa kangae ya shinai mono yo. Sorya, hajimete atta toki wa ki ga tsuku daroo kedo, sugu ni wasurete shimau mono yo." ...."Wakaru wa nee, watashi, anata o **AISHI**teru kara konna koto iu no yo. Konna koto de, anta ga fukoo ni naru no, watashi, iya na no yo."
[Maugham 1959a Vol.3: 24-25]

(J <-- 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 [**AISHI**teru][8] you.')

[8] Aishi-TERU is the fused form where "-i" of "iru" is dropped from Aishi-TE IRU.

[Maugham 1963b: 318]

(10) Kanojo ga **AISHI**te ita mono, sore wa Mootsuaruto to Bahha, soshite Biitoruzu. Sore ni boku.
[Segal 1994: 5]

(J <-- E: That she loved [**AISHI**te ita][9] Mozart and Bach. And the Beatles. And me.)
[Segal 1977: 1]

(11) "Nerii ga ii to omou n nara, itsu datte watashi wa ano ko ni aitai wa. Ano ko wa ojiichan ya watashi ga nozonde ita-yoo ni naranakatta ni shite mo, watashi wa kokoro kara anoko o **AISHI**teru wa."
[Updike 1992 Vol. 1: 61]

(J <-- E: "Nellie, I am happy to see hime whenever he deems fit, I love [**AISHI**teru] that boy with all my heart even though he hasn't turned out the way his grand father and I had hoped.")
[Updike 1981: 39]

Examples (5), (8), (9), and (10) refer to feelings of AI(SURU) towards a person of the opposite sex. Sentences (6), (7), and (11) are examples where the subject feels AI(SURU) 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:

(12) Hito o **AISURU** to iu koto wa, tebanashi no yorokobi to wa betsu no mono da to omou. Aite ni taisuru kitai o nuki ni, hito o **AISURU** koto nado, seijin demo nakereba dekinai kara da. Watashi mo otto mo seijin to hodo tooi bonjin de aru. Aite ni tsune ni nanika no kitai o shi, sore ga taitei no baai, uragirare, kizutsuku to iu pataan.
[Yooko Mori "Ai no kusari kara doo nukedasu ka" pp. 7-14 in Nakamura 1989:13]

(MT: I think that to **AISURU** [V] somebody is different from feeling joy without reserve, because to **AISURU** somebody without any expectations from him/her is impossible unless you are a saint. Neither I nor my husband are saints. The usual pattern goes, we expect something from the other person, this expectation is usually betrayed and we get hurt.)

(13) Honki de wasureru kurai nara, nakeru hodo **AISHI**tari shinai.
[Jun Natsume "Saigo no ame" 1992 by NTVM & Kity Music; S]

(MT: If I could forget you completely, I would not **AISURU** [V] you so much that I start to cry.)

[9] Aishi-TE I-TA
Verb-Conj Prog-Past

(14) **AI** to iu no wa, aite ni mujooken ni ataeru mono de ari, aite o mujooken ni yurusu koto de aru.
[Yooko Mori "Ai no kusari kara doo nukedasu ka" pp. 7-14 in Nakamura 1989: 8]

(MT: **AI** is something that you keep giving unconditionally, forgiving unconditionally.)

(15) (Gan de nyuuin shite iru Mikako ni Tetsu ga mainichi ichinichijuu tsukisotte iru.)
Mikako: Anata, watashi, naoshite.
Tetsu: Oo, naosu tomo.
Mikako: Ureshii. Watashi ne, ima kagirinai otto no chikara de ikite iru no. Nihonjuu, sekaijuu, dono hito yori mo **AI**Sarete iru no. Zutto koo shite ite kureru anata no kao mirareru no. Honto ni ureshii. Tayori ni shiteru (Naku). 42-nen tatte, honto ni **AISHITE** kureru to wa, koo iu koto da to wakatta wa.
Tetsu: Konna no atarimae da. **AI** tte iu no wa, kono kurushimi o hambun ni wakenakya ikenai n da. Sore ga dekinai. Hagayui yo.
[Tetsu Ueda "Tsuma yo, omae no gan wa kokuchi dekinai" pp.26-87
in *Fujin Kooron* 1997 November special volume: 65]

(MT: (All day every day, Tetsu is in attendance on Mikako, who is hospitalised with cancer.)
Mikako: Darling, please cure me.
Tetsu: Yes, I will. By all means.
Mikako: I am happy. I am now living on the limitless power of my husband. I am **AISarete** iru [Passive form of 'AISHIte iru'] 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 **AISURU** somebody.
Tetsu: 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 risooteki na josei no sugata o chijoo no onna no naka ni miidasenakatta to wa ie, suterareta onnatachi koso ii meiwaku de arimashoo. Sore yori mo, kono Don-fan no ayamachi wa, kare ga ooku no onna o motometa ni mo kakawarazu (...) kare wa jitsu wa **AI** to iu mono o shiranakatta koto ni aru no desu.
Nazenara, **AI** to wa joonetsu to wa chigau kara desu. Joonetsu ni hitaru to iu koto wa dare ni demo dekimasu ga, **AISURU** to iu koto wa, soo yasashiku dekiru mono de wa nai kara desu. Joonetsu to wa genzai no jootai ni toosuisuru koto desu ga, **AI** to wa genzai kara mirai ni mukatte, nintai to doryoku de nanika o tsukuriagete iku koto desu.
Don-fan wa jibun no koibito no naka ni risooteki na josei no sugata ga nai to itte kanojo kara hanarete itta. Daga, naze Don-fan wa koibito o jibun no chikara, kanojo no kyooryoku ni yotte, risooteki josei ni tsukuriagete ikanakatta ka. **AI** to wa genzai no mazushisa ni zetsuboo suru koto de wa arimasen. Genzai no mazushisa ya fukanzen-sa kara, mirai ni mukatte, futari no isei ga nanika o tsukuriagete iku koto o **AI** to yobu naraba, Don-fan wa tashika ni kono **AI** no imi, **AI** no chikara o shiranakatta no de arimasu.
[Shuusaku Endoo "Otoko no don-fan-teki shinri 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 **AISURU** 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 gakkoo o yameru to itta toki, chichi wa nani ga nan demo gakkoo ni ike to wa iimasendeshita. (....)
Chichi wa soo iu hito desu. Hontoo ni komatta toki ni wa tasukete kurerushi, watashi no sentaku ni mo shimboo zuyoku tsukiatte mo kureru. Watashi ga jibun de soo subeki ka kizuku made, jitto matte iru n desu. Sore dake **AI** ga ooki na hito na n desu ne.
[Anna Umemiya (model) "Jiritsu e no michi" pp. 78-81. in *Fujin Kooron* 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 tte, aite no mi-hensai-bun ni taisuru miren na no yo. Kangaete mireba, samoshii kanjoo na no yo. Okaeshi nante kitai shite, hito o **AISURU** tte koto jitai ga, sude ni hito o hontoo ni **AISHI**teru to wa ienai koto na no yo".
[Mori 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 **AISURU** towards somebody, if he/she expects the person to return something when he/she **AISURU** the person.)

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, "atashi o **AISHI**teru?" to itta. Ore wa sonna kotoba wa shoosetsu ya terebi dorama no naka de tsukau mon da to bakari omotte ita node, koppazukashikute damatte ita.
[Tanabe 1975: 36]

(MT: Noriko said, "Do you **AISHI**teru 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 **AISHI**te iru?"
Sono toki mo kare wa mattaku onaji koto o itta.
"**AI**? Sore tte doo iu koto? Koppazukashikute sonna koto kangaeta koto mo nai yo.
[Hayashi 1997: 247]

(MT: "Well, do you **AISHI**te iru me?" At that time, too, he answered with exactly the same words "**AI**? What do you mean by that? I am too embarrassed (HAZUKASHII) to have ever thought about it.)

(21) Masaru ga Hiroshi no raburetaa o yomiagete iru.
Masaru: "'....Boku wa sukkari anata no koto o sukkari **AISHI**te, **AISHI**te shimaimashita.'
Oi, **AISHI**te shimaimashita datte yo. Ha ha ha ha, hazukashii."
[Takeshi Kitano "Kids Return" in Shinario-sakka-kyookai 1996: 217]

(MT: Masaru is reading out Hiroshi's love letter. "'I have ended up loving [**AISHI**te shimaimashita][11] you completely.' Hey, he says he had ended up loving [**AISHI**te shimaimashita] her. Ha ha ha ha, how embarrassing (HAZUKASHII).")

(22) (Heya ni Off Course no "I Love You" ga kikoete kuru.)
Yamashita: Maa shikashi, sasuga no Oda-san (Off Course no riidaa) mo jisseikatsu ja , konna kaisuu 'I love you' o itte wa inai deshoo ne. [Warai] Uta dakara ukeirerareru kotoba desu yo ne.
Shiina: "Kono aida, kissaten ni ita n desu yo. 'I love you' tte itteru yatsu ga."
Yamashita: "Majime ni?"
Shiina: "Moo, majime ni. Ore, fuzakete itteru no ka to omottara, chigau no. (....) Datte nee, futsuu iwanai yo, matomo na shinkei shite iru otoko dattara, Nihongo de datte, '**AISHI**teru' nante iwanai deshoo."
Yamashita: "Iimasen ne. "
[Shiina 1989: 9-11]

(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. [laugh] This is a phrase you can accept when it is included in a song."
Shiina: "The other day there was a guy who said ' I love you' in a cafe."

[10] Kyooko Fujitoo (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-shimaimashita: Aisu (Verb) + -te (conjugative suffix) + shimau (end up doing) + masu (polite) + -ta (Past).

Yamashita: "Was he serious?"
Shiina: "He was serious. I thought he was making a joke, but he wasn't. (....) Usually, men who have a normal sensibility would not say '**AISHI**teru' even in Japanese, would they?"
Yamashita: "No, they would not.")

(23) Jissai ni, koibito ni mukatte **AISHI**te iru to iu kotoba o tsukau no wa, Nihonjin ni totte kanari hazukashikute nigate na koto de atte, eiga ya shibai no tsukurigoto da to shitte iru tokoro de yaritori sareru no o kiku no sae terekusai.
[Tamiko Tomioka "Aisuru, aishinai" pp. 15-34 in Tanigawa 1981: 12]

(MT: In practice, using the word **AISHI**te iru 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 iu ne. Okaasan wa watashi no inochi, **AISHI**teru. Ù, hazukashii.
[Female (42 years old) in Fukuiken Maruokachoo 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 **AISHI**teru you. Oh, how embarrassing (HAZUKASHII).)

(25) "Nee, sono kami to iu kotoba yamete kurenai. Irairasuru shi jikkan ga nai no. Watakushi ni wa jittai ga nai n desu mono. Daigaku no toki kara gaijinshimpu-tachi no tsukau ano kami to iu kotoba ni endookatta no."
"Sumimasen, sono kotoba ga iya nara, ta no na ni kaete mo ii n desu. Tomato demo ii, tamanegi demo ii. " (....) "Kami wa sonzai to iu yori, hataraki desu. Tamanegi wa **AI** no hataraku katamari na n desu."
"Nao kimochi warui wa, majime na kao shite **AI** nante hazukashii kotoba o tsukawareru to. (....)"
[Endoo 1996: 103-4]

(J --> 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. Ever 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 existence as a force. This Onion is an entity that performs the labours of love [**AI**].'
'That's even more repulsive. How can you use such upsetting words as "love [**AI**]" with a straight face? .....')
[Endoo 1994: 63-4]

(26) Hito o **AISURU** tte iu no wa ne, nakanaka wareware Nihonjin te no wa heta na n de, mazu, sono mijika ni iru hahaoya ni kansha no kimochi, soo iu no tsutawareba ii na to omotte.
[Akiko Wada (singer) in TV programme "Tetsuko no Heya" 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

embarrassing. A woman in (25) even feels that using this word AI is repulsive and upsetting.[12]

Itasaka (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-kenkyuukai 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. *Kimi 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: RH] 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)", Sooseki 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 AISHIteru by men in Japan. The following example illustrates this point:

> Sakunen, furiiraitaa (41) wa, juunen mae ni rikonshita tsuma ga saikonshita koto o kaze no tayori ni kiita. Ima, reisei na kuchoo de furikaeru.
> Tsuma ga koo itta koto ga aru. "**AISHI**te iru to itte kureta koto ga nai."
> "Terekusakute, ieru ka."
> "Futarikkiri nara, itte kuretemo ii ja nai" to, tsuma wa kuisagatta ga, tsuppaneta.
> ["Otto ga rikai dekinai raamen-rikon" pp. 6-10 in *AERA* 1996 May 20th: 9]
>
> (MT: Last year a freelance writer (41 years old) heard a rumour 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 **AISHI**te iru 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 salient word "SUKI" has a milder meaning than AISURU. Kanayama (1978: 67) also notes that an indirect expression such as "Issho 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 AISHIteru (I AISHIteru 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 "suki", as seen in the following examples:

(27) Chiisai toki kara hazukashii te iwarehenkatta. Ima iu. "Okaasan ga **SUKI** ya."
[Fukuiken Maruokachoo 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) "Omaetachi ga **SUKI** da" to kazoku ni mukatte kotoba o nagekakeru otoosan ga, kono Nihon ni ittai nannin iru daroo ka. Kotoba ni dasanakutemo wakaru daroo to iu no ga Nihon no mukashi kara no shuukan 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) Tatoeba, jibun ga roke ni itte, kanojo ga matte iru to iu shichueeshon. "Isogashikute, omiyage ga kaenakatta" to wa iwanai. Jikan ga nakute mo, nantoka katte iku. Soo iu kimochi o takusan kasanete iku no ga kare no yasashisa no hyoogen-hoohoo no yoo da. Kotoba de wa naku koodoo de miseru. Terekusakute, "**SUKI** desu", nante zettai misenai" kare dakara.
[*CanCam* 1995 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 tsuma o **AISHI**te ita daroo ka.)
Kanojo ga shinda ato, totsuzen, kuukyo ni natta mainichi no naka de, kanojo no ihin---nichijoo tsukatte ita kanojo no hashi, shingu, yoofukudansu ni burasagatte iru kanojo no fuku---o me ni suru tabi Isobe wa fui ni iiyoo no nai sabishisa to kui o kamishimenagara jimonjitoo shita. Shikashi ooku no Nihon no dansei no tsune to shite kare wa "**AISURU**" to wa ittai, nan na no ka kekkonseikatsu de majime ni kangaeta koto wa nai.
Kekkonseikatsu to wa kare ni totte, tagai ni sewashitari mendoo o mitarisuru danjo no bungyooteki na tasukeai datta. Onaji yane no shita de seikatsu o tomo ni shite, horeta hareta nado to iu kimochi ga kyuusoku ni shoometsushite shimaeba, ato wa otagai ga dono yoo ni yaku ni tatsu ka, benri ka ga mondai ni naru no da. (....) Otto ga mainichi, shinkei o suriherashite kaisha kara modotta toki, dore dake wagamama o yurushi, kyuusoku no ba o tsukutte oite kureru ka ga tsuma no saidai no shigoto da to kare wa kangaete ita.
[Endoo 1996: 205-6]

(J --> E: *Did I love [AISURU] my wife?*

13 Wierzbicka (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.

He had to ask himself that question, as he endured the unspeakable loneliness and regret in those empty days following her death, each time he looked through her belongings -- the chopsticks she had used every day, the linen, the clothes hanging in her cupboard. But, like most Japanese husbands, he had not given any serious thought to the meaning of 'love [AISURU]' during his marriage.
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. They lived together beneath the same roof, and once the feelings of romance had fled swiftly away, what remained was to determine how each could be useful and helpful to the other. (...) he felt that a wife's most important job was to put up with her husband's tempers and create a place of repose for him when he returned from work each day with frayed nerves.)
[Endoo 1994:127-8]

Here, the man confesses that he never thought seriously if he AISHIte ita 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

14 A similar example is seen below:

(1) Watashi wa anata no nan na no?
Otto o kitsumon shita.
Nyooboo daro.
Nyooboo o hotte kaeru teishu ga imasu ka. Mukashi wa itsu made datte matte ite kureta ja nai desu ka. Jikan wa yuukoo ni tsukawanakereba ikenai n da. Daiichi, itsu made otoko to onna o yatte iru tsumori da.
E?
Fuufu tte iu no wa kuuki taitai na mono na n da. Nakereba komaru ga, aru koto o wasureru kurai shizen na sonzai ga risoo na n da. Denakya nagaku tsuzuku wake ga nai.
["Anata o aishita koto mo aru 12" pp. 84-88 in *Shuukan Asahi* 1998 August 14: 87]

(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 intend us to be a man and woman?
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.)

(2) Mukashi wa kuchi mo kikanaide fukigen na kao o shite itemo, kimochi wa yasashiku tsuujiatte iru fuufu ga ita. Mukashi no ningen wa **AI** o kataru koto nante koto o shinakatta.
[Kooji Nakano (writer 73 years old) "Fuufu no kaidan 247" pp. 106-109 in *Shuukan Asahi* 1998 August 7th: 109]

(MT: Before there were couples whose feelings were conveyed to each other although their faces looked glum. Old people did not talk about AI.)

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 AISHIteru can be used only by people who reach a certain age.

(31) Kangaete miru to Keisuke wa '**AISHI**teru' to iu kotoba o ichido mo itte kurenakatta. "Daisuki ja tsumaranai wa. Ano ne, suki ga jukko atsumaru to daisuki de, daisuki ga jukko atsumaru to **AISHI**teru ni naru no yo." Umaku ienai keredo, '**AISHI**teru' nante iu no wa nijuugo-sai ijoo no hitotachi ga tsukau mono no yoo na ki ga shite ita no mo hontoo da. [Hayashi 1994a:150-1]

(MT: When I think of it, Keisuke never said to me '**AISHI**teru'. "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 **AISHI**teru." 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 '**AISHI**teru'.)

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) Hahaoya no Machiko-san wa koo furikaeru. "Otto wa Tae ni kibishikatta hammen, totemo yasashikatta n desu. (...) Sugu chikaku ni kombini ga aru n desu ga, yuugata yoji chikaku ni natte sukoshi demo kuraku naru to, "Nanika ga atte wa ikenai" to ikasenakatta. Shiranai otokonoko kara denwa ga kakatte kuru to, toritsuganai. Me no mae ni Tae ga iru noni, gachan to kitte imashita". Soo iu bamen o ma no atari ni shita toki, Satoya wa, "Otoo-san ni konna ni **AIS**arete iru n da ne. Tae ga kawaii n da ne".
["Mooguru-chan Satoya Tae no kattobi dokyoo" pp. 151-153 in *Shuukan Asahi* 1998 Feb. 27th: 153]

(MT: (Tae Satoya's) mother remembers her husband like 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 "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 AISarete iru[16] by my father. You like me.")

[15] Therefore, as seen in the example below, a problem often occurs in a marriage betw een Japanese and non-Japanese people.

Haruman: "Aru toki musume ni, mama wa papa no koto doo omotte iru no, to kikareta. Sorede kare ni kikitai koto o kaisogaki ni shite, chikaku no resutoran ni yobidashiteta. Kore ni kotaete choodai. Kotae shidai de wa wakaremashoo to. Saigo ni wa watashi no koto o suki ka to kiita."
Shoogo: "Boku to shite wa, sonna koto wa iwanakutemo wakaru daroo to omotte ita. Demo kanojo ni shite mireba, **AISHITE IRU** to itte kurenai node kiratte iru to omotta to. Sore de ironna gokai ga toketa. Kotoba ni shite iu no ga ika ni daiji ka wakatta.
[Harman (painter) & Shoogo Shimizu (writer) "Fuufu no kaidan 249" pp. 96-99 in *Shuukan Asahi* 1998 August 21st-28th: 99]

[MT: Harman "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 separation depended on the answers. Lastly, I asked him if he liked me."
Shoogo: "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.")

However, many Japanese feel too hesitant to ever express their affectionate feelings towards their children or parents with the words AI(SURU).

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 AI(SURU). When people feel AI(SURU), 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) Kotoba ni dekinai no ga **AI** sa, kotoba de wa kimi o tsunagenai.
[Jun Natsume "Saigo no ame" 1992 by NTVM & Kity 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 harm.....**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 AISU(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. Theses days, with movie stars and crooners and preachers and psychiatrists all pronouncing the word, it's come to mean nothing but a vague fondness for something. In this sense, I love the rain, this blackboard, these desks, you. It means

16 AIS-are-te iru :
Verb-Passive-Conj. Progressive auxiliary "iru"'

nothing, you see, whereas once the word signified a quite explicit thing--a desire to share all you own and are with someone else.
[Updike 1963: 55]

We cannot translate the underlined sentence above with "AI(SURU)" except when the object is the animate "you":

(36) Watashi wa anata / inu /* ame /* kono kokuban o **AISU/AISHI**teru.
I TOP you / dogs /*rain / *this blackboard OBJ love

(I **AISURU/AISHI**teru you/dogs/* rain/* this blackboard.)

Here we should remark upon Harkins' (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/SHIteru) applies only to sentences with human object.

However, we can say :

(37) Watashi wa kono kuni / kono tochi o **AISU/AISHI**teru.
I TOP this country/ this land OBJ love

(I **AISU/AISHI**teru this country/this land.)

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/SHIteru)

AI(SURU/SHIteru) **[X wa Y o AISURU/AISHI**teru
(X AISURU/AISHIteru **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 (h) "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 (i)). 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 enraptured 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) Bijo: "Tada **SUKI** da to iu no to, **HORE**ta to iu no to, doko de sen o hikeru no ka..., soo iu kubetsu tte nai desho. Sono hito sono hito ni yotte chigau wake desho."
Yoshiyuki: "Shikashi, **HORE**ta jookyoo to iu no wa wari ni kantan ni wakaru yo. Tsumari, atashi to shita koto ga...., to iu jookyoo ni naru koto ga **HORE**ta tte koto da."
[Yoshiyuki 1980: 112]

(MT: Beauty: "I wonder where you could draw the line between just **SUKI** da and **HORE**ta[17].... There is no such distinction, is there? The distinction is different depending on each person."
Yoshiyuki: "But I can easily understand the situation of **HORE**ta. That means, if you are in the situation 'Why should I feel like this', you have already **HORE**ta him/her.)

One can HORERU not only a person, but also attributes of a person as follows:

(2) Watashi wa anata no ude/engi ni **HORE**ta.
I TOP you NOM skills/performance DAT HORERU-Past

(I **HORE**-ta 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) Ibuka: Tokorode, Honda-san ga Fujisawa-san to deatta kikkake wa doo datta no?
Honda (Honda-giken soosetusha) : Watashi wa tsukuru koto wa jibun de isshookenmei tsukutta. Tokoroga, uru to naru to karakishi dame da. (....) Sore ja dame da to iu node, yuujin ni, nantoka kane o kaishuusuru no ga mai-yoo na hito wa inee no ka to tanomikonda. Soko de shoobainin wa iru yo, to shookai sareta no ga, Fujisawa Takeo fukushachoo da. Tookyoo de hajimete atta. Iroiro hanashite iru uchi ni boku ni nai mono o motte iru. Watasha motomoto jibun to onaji-yoo na ningen to wa kumanai. Soko de kono hito nara to **HORE**-konda.
[Ibuka 1995: 154]

(MT: Ibuka: 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 realised that he had something I didn't have. By nature I don't team up with people like me. So I was attracted [**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) Asoko ni tatteru ano ko o mita totan
Hoka no ko to odoru ki ga usechatta
Kanojo mo jitto boku o miteta / Sorede pinto kita yo
Kitto kono ko ni **HORE**chau[18] daroo tte
[John Lennon & Paul McCartney " I saw her standing there" in Uchida 1963:13][19]

(J <--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
That before too long I'd fall in love with [**HORERU**] her)

But in fact, we cannot 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 hajimete kare o shoomen kitte mita.
Honto ni ii otoko datta no de aru.
Shiranakatta....(....) Watashi, kare ni **HORE**-soo ni natta.
[Toodoo 1994c: 74]

(MT: 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.)

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17 hore-ta: horeru (verb) + -ta (past case participle)

18 '-chau' is the contracted spoken form of '-te shimau', and refers in this context to "end up doing -- contrary to one's original plan" (cf. Jorden 1988: 98).

19 "I saw her standing there" by John Lennon & Paul McCartney (1963) Northern Songs Ltd in Kumiko Uchida (tra.) Biitoruzu Zenshishuu (1992) by Shinko Music Pub. Co., Ltd., 7th edition

(6) Nante kono hito wa kandai na ii hito na n daroo tte kansha no kimochi de ippai deshita. Are dake otoko no puraido o kizutsukete, kanashii omoi mo kurushii omoi mo saseta watashi o, kodomo no tame to wa ie yurushite mata ukeirete kureru nante.
Soshite, soo iu otoko no sugata ni aratamete **HORE**-naoshimashita yo ne. Kare ni taishite saisho no ren'ai to wa chigau, arata na kimochi ga mebaeta n desu.
[Satoko Amachi (talent) in "Shiriizu Rikon No. 23" in *Shuukan Josei* 1999 Feb. 23rd: 87]

(MT: What a tormenting and good person he is! I was full of appreciation. Even though it was for our daughter, my husband accepted me again, although I had hurt his pride as a man, and had made him feel so sad and bitter.
And I **HORE**ta him again. A new feeling towards him occurred, which was different from what I had felt before when I fell in love with him the first time.)

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 naga no toshitsuki, ojiichan wa, atashi no jooai o chittomo shinjite inakatta n da ne?"
Ojiichan: "Ee?"
Obaachan: "*Tokoroga, atashi ni wa atta no --- magokoro kometa jooai ga atta no--- **HORE**te, **HORE**te, **HORE**nuite ita n da yo!* "
[Williams 1959: 107-8]

(J <--E: BIG MAMA: *In all these years you never believed that I love you?*
BIG DADDY: Huh?
BIG MAMA: *And I did, I did so much, I did love [**HORERU**] you!*)
[Williams 1957: 64]

Hanrahan (1989: 123) is correct in saying a woman could use HORERU when speaking of another person's feelings, as seen below:

(8) Kono hito wa "Boku wa uwakishite inai. Honki de kanojo ni **HORE**teru n da" tte kakusanai n desu yo.
[Shigeko Kazama in Shuukan Asahi Henshuubu 1994: 41]

(MT: He (my husband) would not hide it, saying "I haven't been unfaithful. I am seriously **HORE**teru her".)

(9) Kono Kuroiwa tte otoko, hitome de, Yamanobe Ryooko ni **HORE**chimatta no de aru. Byooin o deta no wa ii ga, ashi wa chi ni tsuite inai kanji de, me wa toron to shite, kuchi wa hambun kurai aketa mama....
[Akagawa 1997: 222]

(MT: This man called Kuroiwa ended up **HORERU** Ryooko Yamanobe at a glance. After Yuri and Kuroiwa got out of hospital, Kuroiwa seemed to be floating in the air with fuddled eyes and half-opened mouth....)

Similarly, in translation from English:

(10) "Anata tte, zuibun toku o shite iru wa. Maishuu issho ni gorufu o shite kureru Ikuresu ga iru shi, okusan ni wa oikakerarete komaru kurai da shi, hana wa aru shi, anata ni **HORE**te iru Sumisu fujin ga iru. Sore ni watashi made iru wake yo."
"Sumisu fujin ga honto ni boku ni **HORERU** nante omotteru no kai?"
[Updike 1972a: 148]

(J <--E: ..."look at all you've got. You've got Eccles to play golf with every week and to keep your wife from doing anything to you. You've got your flowers, and you've got Mrs. Smith in love with [**HORE**te iru] you . You've got me."
"You think she really is in love with [**HORERU**] me? Mrs. Smith.")
[Updike 1960: 134]

Hanrahan (1989: 120) is also right in pointing out that men are more likely to use HORERU, rather than KOI(SURU) for expressing affectionate feelings towards women because it has an "active" connotation. He says that women would rather use KOI(SURU) than HORERU, since KOI(SURU) has a "passive" connotation and traditionally women do not make the first approach in a romance.

However, I do not agree with Hanrahan's (p. 122) further comment that "HORERU is a verb which is prototypically used in the first person exclusively by men in expressing sexual desire, a spontaneous feeling of physical attraction towards another person". Firstly, the word could be used in the third person as seen in examples (9) and (10) above. Secondly, HORERU is not always a spontaneous and short-term feeling, as seen in the following example:

(11) Ore wa nyuusha shite kara zutto kimi ni **HORE**te ita.
[A confession of love used for the author's friend by her present husband]

(I have always been in love with [**HORE**te ita] you since I started to work for this company.)

Thirdly, HORERU is not always used for sexual desire as seen in the following examples:

(12) Ore wa aitsu no jinkaku ni **HORE**te iru.

(I **HORE**te iru his character.)

(13) [Kadokura Yuki wa) 17-sai no toki ni Nihon Korombia no oodishon ni shutsujoo-suru ga, rakusen. Ga, kono butai de, ooku no kashu o tegake, Misora Hibari no saigo no purodyuusaa o tsutometa Sakai san ni **HORE**-komareta.
"Koeshitsu, uta no sensu, hyoogenryoku. Migakeba daiamondo ni naru."
["Kadokura Yuki, Mainasu kara no shuppatsu" in *AERA* 1997 January 20th: 41]

(MT: Yuki Kadokawa auditioned for the Colombia Japan Record Company when she was 17 years old, but she failed. However, Mr. Sakai, who took care of many singers and worked as the last producer of the late Hibari Misora, saw her on stage, and she was **HORE**-komareta [passive form of HORE-komu 'be charmed'] by him.
"The quality of her voice, her singing sense, her power of expression. If you polish them, she will become like a diamond.")

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.

(14) Watashi wa jibun no * ani /* chichi ni **HORE**te iru.

(* I **HORE**te iru my elder 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 (c) "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 (h)). 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 AKOGARERU. Sasaki (1989: 9) also defines the meaning of AKOGARERU 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 AKOGARERU, since it is also used as the translation of words such as "omoikogareru" or "natsukashigaru".

Iguchi (1988: 134) says that the word AKOGARERU was made from the combination of the obsolete word "aku" which meant 'place' and "karu" which meant 'leave', and that this word originally meant that the soul left its right place (also Iizumi 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 AKOGARERU 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 .[20]

(1) Iwanaga wa daikirai da to, hotondo no joseito ga itte ita. Sukunakutomo sannensei no joseito no kuchi kara, Iwanaga o homeru kotoba o kiita koto ga nai. Kare ni **AKOGARE**, tegami ya hana o okuru no wa kakyuusei no onnanoko ni kagirarete ita.
[Hayashi 1993: 175]

(J <--E: Almost all the girls said they detested Iwanaga. At least I'd never heard any of the senior girls say anything nice about him. It was only the younger girls who admired [**AKOGARE**] him and sent him letters and flowers and other things.)
[Hayashi 1996: 173]

(2) "Rumiko-san o mite iru to, sore o kanjiru no. Kizutsuku kedo, mata iete, ii koto mo ippai jibun de tsukanderashite. Ii karada tte sugu ieru deshoo. Rumiko-san wa karada mo kokoro mo sugooku shinayaka. Soo iu fuu ni naretara suteki da na tte, onaji josei to shite **AKOGARE**masu yo."
[Naomi Kawashima (actress) "Koi o motome, Ai ni naku" pp. 76-83. in *Fujin 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's) body and heart are very flexible. Thinking it would be wonderful if I could be like that, I **AKOGARERU** you as a woman.)

(3) "Chuugakusei no koro kara masegimi de, toshiue, sono koro desu kara kookoosei ya daigakusei ga ii na, nante **AKOGARE**temashita nee."
[Tooko Furuuchi (singer/song writer) in *Tarzan* 1996 No. 246: 84]

(MT: I was a precocious child from the time I was a junior high school student, so I **AKOGARE**te ita elder boys, that is, high school students or university students.)

(4) Yoochien no toki kara, (....) kabuki no butai o mite, "Shooroku no ojisan, kakko ii!!" tte omotte imashita. Toku ni, Shooroku no ojisan ni wa sugoku **AKOGARE**te ita kara, butai o mite iru to, torihada ga tatte, furue ga tomaranaku naru.
[Hashinosuke Nakamura (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 **AKOGARE**te ita Mr. Shooroku, and when I see him on stage, I get goose-bumps and cannot stop shaking.)

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[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 activities (e.g. one confronts 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).

(5) Ikenoboo: "Asanuma Inajiroo o sonkeishite ita no. Sugoku tanomoshii ki ga shite, nantonaku **AKOGARE**te ita n desu. Dakara kare ga korosareta toki, donna ni kanashikatta ka."
[Endoo 1995: 83]

(MT: Ikenoboo: "I respected Inajiroo Asanuma. I thought he was very reliable, and I somehow **AKOGARE**te ita him. That's why I was so sad when he was murdered.")

(6) Watashi wa, daigaku de amari benkyoo no dekinai gakusei deshita. Akademizumu ni susumu jookyuusei ya yuujin ni **AKOGARE** o idaite imashita.
[Ooe 1995: 205]

(MT: I was a university student who was not good at studying. Therefore, I held **AKOGARE** [Noun] towards my seniors or friends who continued in academic life.)

(7) Ren'aikankei ni natte kara kare ga uchiaketa keredo, watashi wa R daigaku no ichinen no toki kara kare no **AKOGARE** datta toka. (....) Demo, amari ni mo **AKOGARE** no kimochi ga tsuyokute koe o kakeru koto mo dekinakatta toka.
[Toodoo 1994: 156]

(MT: After we entered into a relationship, my boyfriend confessed to me that I was **AKOGARE**: Noun for him since I was a freshman at R University. (....) Unfortunately, his feeling of **AKOGARE** was so strong that he could not even say hello to me.)

(8) Yakusha to shite no jikaku ga yooyaku mebaeta n desu. Sore wa hitoe ni, Nakadai-san to Shuake-san to iu futari no chichioya yaku no hoo ga sugokatta kara. Ano ofutari no ichi ni made ikitai to omotta. **AKOGARE**sasete kureta n desu.
[Tatsuya Uekawa (actor) in "Uekawa Tatsuya Interview" pp. 134-138 in *Grazia* 1998 Dec.:136]

(MT: I at last started to develop self-consciousness as an actor. This is really because Mr. Nakadai and Mr. Shuake who played the roles of my fathers were incredible. I wanted to attain a position like theirs. They made me **AKOGARERU** them.)

In translation from English, AKOGARERU is used to render the following words; For example, 'adore' in (9), 'want' in (10), and 'yearn for' in (11).

(9) Boku wa, joonetsuteki da ga, junketsu o mamorinagara Maraia ni **AKOGARE**te ita. Kokoro o kakimidasareru hodo sono hito ga utsukushii to iu ichizu na riyuu de **AKOGARE**te ita.
[Styron 1991: 80]

(J <--E: I had passionately but chastely adored [**AKOGARE**te ita] her, adored [**AKOGARE**te ita] her for such a simple-minded reason as that she was beautiful enough to wreck the heart....)
[Styron 1979: 62-63]

(10) "Dakara watashi wa muki ni naranai koto ni shiteru. Kokujin no otoko ga hakujin no josei ni **AKOGARE**ta tte, doozo gokatte ni tte ne. Watashi wa sonna koto yori shimpaigoto de atama ga ippai da na."
[McMillan 1993 Vol. 1: 306]

(J <--E: 'So I don't hold it against them. If a black man wants [**AKOGARERU**] a white woman, that's his business. I've got too many other things to worry about.)

[McMillan 1993: 189]

(11) Chiisana kokujin no shoojo ga, chiisana hakujin no shoojo no aoi me ni **AKOGARERU**....
[Morrison 1994: 236]

(J <--E: A little black girl yearns for [**AKOGARERU**] the blue eyes of a little white girl....)
[Morrison 1970: 158]

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) "Motomoto Hyoogoken no yamaai no mura de umarete sodatta watashi ni totte 'umi' wa **AKOGARE** datta."
[Moe Nagata (illustrator) in *Fujin Gahoo* 1994 Vol. 6: 50]

(MT: For me, who was born and raised in a mountain village in Hyogo prefecture, the 'sea' was **AKOGARE**: Noun for me.)

(13) Nandemo sono toshi no shinjin no uchi, ichiban kirei na onnanoko ga ragubiibu no maneejaa ni naru to iu fubunritsu ga aru to Noriko wa kiita koto ga aru. Maneejaa to ittemo taishita koto o suru wake de wa nai. Joseito ga ni, san-nin de bushitsu no sooji ya sentaku nado, komagoma to shita zatsuyoo o suru. Sore dake no koto na noni, kono yakume wa hotondo no joseito ga **AKOGARE**te ita. Nazenara ragubiibu no buin wa, Koomeikan-kookoo ni oite, hotondo sutaa atsukai 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 longed [**AKOGARE**te ita] to be rugby managers. That's because, at Komeikan, the boys on the rugby team were practically stars.)
[Hayashi 1996: 67]

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 X 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

(e) I am not like this person/I am not near this thing
(f) I want to be like this person /I want to be near this thing"
(g) when this person thinks this, this person feels something good
(h) this person feels something good towards Y
(i) X felt something like this
(j) because X thought something like this

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 X 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, ITOSHII, ITOOSHII, 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, ie de nooto o hirogete iru toki wa soo omoidasanai. Sore na noni, gakkoo e iki, kono kyooshitsu ni kayou no mo moo nannichi mo nai to kangae hajimeru to moo dame da. Mune ga harisake-soo na hodo, Ogawa-kun ga **KOISHIKU** naru. Kare to aenaku nattara doo shiyoo to omou. "Koo iu no ga KOI tte iu n da yo ne."
[Hayashi 1993: 186]

(J --> 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 left and she'd be plunged into despair. She longed for [became **KOISHII**] Ogawa so much she felt as though her heart would burst. Whatever would she do when she wasn't able to see him any more? " I wonder if this is what they call love [KOI]?")
[Hayashi 1996: 184-6]

(2) Aa, hito wa mukashi mukashi tori datta no kamo shirenai ne.
Konna ni mo konna ni mo sora ga **KOISHII.**
[Miyuki Nakajima "Kono sora o tobetara" 1978 by YAMAHA, F.M.F.]

(MT: Oh, people might have been birds a long long time ago,
I feel **KOISHII** the sky so very much.)

(3) Itsuka kimi to itta / Eiga ga mata kuru
Jugyoo o nukedashite / Futari de dekaketa
Kanashii bamen de wa namidagundeta /
Suteki na yokogao ga ima mo **KOISHII**
[Yumi Arai "Ichigo 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.**)

In the following examples, English words like 'love' and 'miss' in original texts are translated as KOISHII:

(4) Mohaya kare ni totte wa, kanojo ga, ikani reikoku de, zannin de, geretsu de, gudon de, don'yoku de aroo to, sonna koto wa doo demo yokatta no da. Tada mushoo ni **KOISHIKAT**ta no da. Nora to tomo ni koofuku de aru yori mo, mushiro Mirudoreddo to tomo ni, fukoo de aru koto no hoo o eranda no de atta.
[Maugham 1959a Vol 3: 63]

(J <--E: He did not care if she was heartless, vicious and vulgar, stupid and grasping, he loved [**KOISHIKAT**ta] her. He would rather have misery with one than happiness with the other.)
[Maugham 1963b: 338]

(5) Ikinari, hahaoya ga **KOISHIKU** natta. Shinde shimatta hahaoya ni omoi o haseru to, namida ga hoo o tsutai ochita.
[Cormier 1994: 249]

(J <--E: Suddenly, he missed [became **KOISHII**] his mother. Her absence formed tears on his cheeks.)
[Cormier 1995: 233]

(6) Anata ga itte kara totemo **KOISHIKU**te[21]
Mainichi usa o harashitari
Hitoban hitoban kazoenagara anata no kaeri o matte iru
[Lee Gaines "Just squeeze me" 1946 by SBK/ROBBINS CATALOG INC in Murao 1991 Vol.2: 119]

(B: Missing [**KOISHII**] you since you went away
Singing the blues away each day
Counting the nights and waiting for you)

(7) "Kimi ga **KOISHII**" to Rasseru.
"Uso bakkari."
"Honto sa."
"Itsu kara?"
"Wakarete kara zutto."
"Zuibun mukashi da wa yo, Rasseru."
"Un, wakatteru. Nagasugita. Honto ni kimi ga **KOISHII** n da, Robin."
[McMillan 1993 Vol. 1: 275]

(J <--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]

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[21] Koishikute: koishiku- (i-adj.) + -te (conjunctive suffix)

(8) Koko e kite moo isshuukan-ijoo ni naru kedo, anata no kao ga mirarenakute totemo sabishii wa. Ima no watashi wa shinsen na kuuki ga **KOISHII** shi, mae ni wa are hodo iya datta chikatetsu no hitogomi ga **KOISHII** shi, mainichi maijikan okotte ita heibon na konna koto ga **KOISHIKU**te tamaranai---sono shinsensa ga ne. Ichiban **KOISHII** no wa shinsen na hikari yo. Watashi wa hikari nashi de wa ikirarenai.)
[Fowles 1984: 133]

(J <--E: I have been here over a week now, and I miss you very much, and I miss **[KOISHII]** the fresh air and the fresh faces of all those people I so hated on the Tube and the fresh things that happened every hour of the day if only I could have seen them--their freshness, I mean. The thing I miss **[KOISHII]** most is fresh light. I can't live without light.)
[Fowles 1963: 189)]

Morita (1993: 415) points out that this word KOISHII is used only when one knows the goodness of the object of KOISHII and where one has an affectionate feeling towards it. One feels KOISHII when the desired object is physically/mentally far away from him/her. In examples (1) and (4) the subject feels KOISHII towards someone even though he/she thinks this person's heart is distant from him/her. In example (3) a person feels KOISHII towards his ex-girlfriend. In example (5), a man feels KOISHII towards his deceased mother. In example (6) a person feels KOISHII towards a person who has left him/her.

The object of the KOISHII feeling could be either an animate or an inanimate thing. In example (2) the subject feels KOISHII towards 'the sky'. In sentence (8) the subject feels KOISHII towards 'the fresh air', 'the people on the tube', or 'fresh light'.

We should note here that we would not feel KOISHII unless we were already familiar with the person/thing. In example (5) the subject feels KOISHII towards his dead mother, but if the person had not met his mother since he was born, he would not be able to say KOISHII towards her after her death. Similarly, when one finds that one has a sister born of a different mother in some distant place, one would not say "Mada mita koto no nai jibun no imooto ga KOISHII (* I feel KOISHII towards the sister I have not yet met)".

I will posit the following explication of the meaning of KOISHII:

KOISHII --- 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 yearns 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

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 KOI(SURU), 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, KOI(SURU) expresses a more intense feeling than KOISHII. Thus the component "I cannot not think about this person" is included in the meaning of KOI(SURU), but it is not included in the meaning of KOISHII.

6.(II).6.2. ITOSHII

Like KOISHII, ITOSHII has only the subjective use: "(Watashi wa) Y ga ITOSHII ((I) feel ITOSHII towards Y)".

The following are examples where ITOSHII is used in original Japanese texts.

(1) Kono mama kimi dake o ubaisaritai
Yagate asa no hikari otozureru mae ni
Soshite mata ano hi mita yume o kanaeyoo
Itsu made mo shinjite itai yo
Kokoro furueru hodo **ITOSHII** kara
[Noboru Uesugi "Kono mama kimi dake o ubaisaritai" 1993 by BEING, INC.]

(MT: I would like to take only you away [with me] before sunlight visits us
and let's realise the dreams we saw that day again
I would like to believe [in you] forever /
because I feel so **ITOSHII** towards you that my heart trembles.)

(2) Ima sugu atte mitsumeru soburi misetemo
Naze ni damatte kokoro hanarete shimau?
Nakanaide yoru ga tsurakutemo
Ame ni utareta hana no yoo ni
Magao de okotta toki hodo sugao ga **ITOSHIKU**te
[Keisuke 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 **ITOSHII** toward you when looking at your really angry face)

(3) Tooi kioku no naka dake kimi no sugata sagashitemo
Moo modoranai demo wasurenai
ITOSHII hohoemi
[Kazuhisa Sakurai "Cross Road" 1993 in Komota 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 **ITOSHII** smile.)

(4) Onaka o ue ni shite koron to korogaru no ga, (uchi no neko no) tokui no onedari poozu. (....)
Boroboro no sugata de sore φ yarareru to omowazu waratte shimau shi, hitoshio **ITOSHIKU** nari, tsui hitokire, futakire to (osashimi o) yatte shimaimasu.
[Housewife (53 years old "Inu-baka, neko-baka, Petto-baka No. 250" in *Shuukan 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 ragged figure, I cannot help laughing and feeling **ITOSHII** about her still more, so I end up giving her one or two pieces of 'sashimi (raw fish)'.)

The following are two examples where ITOSHII/ITOSHISA(noun) is used for the translation of original English texts:

(5) Moshimo Natto ga denwa o kakete kure sae shitara, to kanojo wa itsumademo kangae tsuzuketa. Daga denwa wa kiku mimi motanu to demo iitage ni kanzen ni nari o hisomete ita. Yoru ni nareba kanojo wa kare no yume o mita. Kare e no **ITOSHISA** wa tsunori, kare o motomete kanojo wa ueta. Honno kasuka ni unazuite kure sae shitara, aruiwa watashi o motomete to kare ni tanomu dake no yuuki ga kanojo ni attara, kanojo wa isoiso to atatakaku shiroi kare no beddo ni koodorishitsutsu tobikonde itta koto daroo.
[Malamud 1969: 90]

(J <--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 **[ITOSHISA: Noun]**, famished for 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 bokujishin no sobo ga 13 sai no toki, jibun yori mo honno sukoshi toshishita no chiisana kokujin no komazukai o futari mochi, Eburahamu Rinkan no doreikaihoo-sengen no jookoo ni mo kakawarazu, namboku-sensoo no aidajuu sono onnanokotachi o **ITOSHII** zaisan da to minashite ita. **'ITOSHII'** to boku ga iu no wa nani mo hiniku de wa nai. Sobo ga sono kotachi o totemo aishite ita to kakushinsuru kara da. Dorushira to Rushinda (kore ga futari no tagui mare naru namae da) no omoide o kataru toki, sobo no oita furueru koe wa kandoo de ware, sono chiisana onnanokotachi ga jibun ni totte 'donna ni kawaii, kawaii' mono de atta ka, senji no tsumetai fuyu no sanaka ni sono kotachi no kutsushita o amu keito o donna ni kurooshite achikochi sagashimawatta ka o hanasu.) [Styron 1991: 50-51]

(J <-- 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 **[ITOSHII]** chattel all through the years of the Civil War, despite Abraham Lincoln and the articles of emancipation. I say 'beloved **[ITOSHII]**' with no irony because I'm certain that she did very much love them, and when she recollected Drusilla and Lucinda (for those were their incomparable names) her ancient 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 woollen yarn in order to knit them stockings.)
[Styron 1983: 40-41]

There are some differences in meaning between KOISHII and ITOSHII. Firstly, unlike the feeling of KOISHII which requires either an animate or an inanimate object, the object towards which one feels ITOSHII has to be animate. The objects of ITOSHII 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 ITOSHII towards the person who has that angry face or that smile. In example (4) the object of the ITOSHII feeling is a 'cat'. One could not use ITOSHII 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, ITOSHII does not have such a restricted connotation. Therefore, one could say "Watashi no ude no naka de nemutte iru watashi no kodomo ga ITOSHII (I feel ITOSHII towards my child who is sleeping in my arms)". In examples (1) and (6) one feels ITOSHII towards the people who are beside oneself. One could also feel ITOSHII towards a person who is away at a distance, as examples (3) and (5) show.

Considering these points, I explicate the meaning of ITOSHII as follows:

ITOSHII
[(Watashi wa)[23] Y ga ITOSHII ((I) feel ITOSHII 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
(j) I felt something like this
(k) because I thought something like this about Y

23 When the speaker attaches 'the past tense suffix' or 'some formal evidential markers' to ITOSHII, 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 ITOSHII are only animate things (e.g. example (4)) (component (b) "sometime 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 ITOSHII 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 ITOSHII. The resultant feeling of ITOSHII is "something good" (component (g)). The subject generally has an affectionate feeling "something very good" towards the object (component (h)).

6.(II).6.3. ITOOSHII

Like KOISHII and ITOSHII, ITOOSHII has only the subjective use: "(Watashi wa) Y ga ITOOSHII ((I) feel ITOOSHII towards Y)".

Hida & Asada (1996: 62) state that whereas ITOSHII 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 ITOOSHII 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 "itaike na yowai mono (A pitiful weak thing)", and in example (2) a man feels ITOOSHII towards a partner who shows her weakness to him. In example (4) a person feels ITOOSHII towards birds and flowers which human beings regard as small or weak. In example (5) a man feels ITOOSHII towards himself, and describes himself as miserable.

(1) Koko wa Rikku no agohige o omoidashita. Kare no toohatsu wa kuroguro to shite ita ga, sono bubun wa, nenrei ni soguwanai shirosa datta. Soshite, sore ga, kanojo o konwakusaseru mono no hitotsu demo atta. Donna ni, kanojo ga hara o tatetemo, sono agohige o me ni suru to, kanojo wa, namidagumitai hodo, Rikku o **ITOOSHIKU** omou no datta. Itaike na yowai mono. Kanojo ga kanjiru no wa, sore datta.
[Yamada 1994a: 177]

(MT: Koko thought of the stubble 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 stubble she felt **ITOOSHII** towards him. She felt that he was a pitiful weak thing.)

(2) Fuufu no ai wa, aite ni taisuru yasashisa, omoiyari ni yotte nomi sodatsu no de wa nai ka. Soshite aite ga jibun no yowasa o sarakedashita toki ni **ITOOSHISA** wa sara ni tsunoru.
[Nobuya Fusegami (57 years old, Saitama prefecture) in Saitoo 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 **ITOOSHISA** [Noun] when we expose our weaknesses.)

(3) "Watashi ga anata to kekkon shitai no wa, anata ga oishasan dakara. Datte byooki shita toki ni shiranai oisha san ni hadaka o mirarenakute sumu desho."
(....) Mukidashi no 'dasan' wa minikui ga, mukidashi no 'chakkari' wa chakkari kawaii no de aru. Otoko wa sore ga **ITOOSHII**.
[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 'egocentric idea' is ugly, but open 'shrewdness' is cute. Men feel **ITOOSHII** towards that.)

(4) Wareware no shinsoo-shinri no naka ni wa moo ichido gendai ga ushinatta uchuu no seimeikan o chiisana uekibachi ya kago no naka no kotori o tooshite furetai to iu yokkyuu ga kakurete iru no da.
Wareware gendai no Nihonjin no kokoro no oku ni sae yahari uchuu no inochi no araware de aru hana ya kotori o **ITOOSHIMU** nanika ga hataraite iru.
[Endoo 1994: 93]

(MT: In our deepest mental state, there is a hidden desire to reacquaint 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 **ITOOSHIMU** :Verb flowers or birds.)

(5) Aware na jibun ga **ITOOSHIKU** mo aru konogoro de wa....
[Kazuhisa Sakurai "Innocent World" 1994 by K. Sakurai]

(MT: These days when I feel **ITOOSHII** towards my miserable self....)

Since the subject feels a protective or maternal feeling when he/she feels ITOOSHII towards someone or something, the subject consequently wants to do something to the object of ITOOSHII. In all the examples we can see that the subject of the ITOOSHII feeling wants to caress or do something to benefit the object.

From the above observations, the following explication is posited as the meaning of ITOOSHII.

ITOOSHII --- the subjective use
[(Watashi wa)[24] 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/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 ITOSHII, the object of ITOOSHII can be the subject him/herself (e.g. "Nokori sukunai inochi no jibun ga ITOOSHII (I feel ITOSHII 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 naganen tsukatte iru tansu ga ITOOSHII [* I feel ITOOSHII towards this

24 When the 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.

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 (e) "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 Shooji (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 (1), 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) Kono yoo ni, kokunaigai tomo ni migoto ni hidenka o konashite kita Michiko sama no shiteki na naimen o ukagau to,, kono 29-nen, kibishii 'gyakkyoo' no naka de taenuita **IJIRASHII** sugata ga me ni ukabu.
[Kawahara 1993: 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 watashi no Naomi o jochuu ni hoshii to iu tanomi o yasuyasu to shoodaku shita.) Yo no naka ni wa zuibun musekinin na oya ya kyoodai mo aru mono da to, watashi wa sono toki tsukuzuku to kanjimashita ga, sore dake issoo Naomi ga **IJIRASHIKU**, aware ni omoete narimasen deshita.
[Tanizaki 1947: 19]

(J --> E: (Naomi's family easily agreed with my request that I wanted Naomi for my maidservant.) The world has its share of irresponsible parents, I thought, but to me that made Naomi's case all the more touching **[IJIRASHII]** and pitiable.)
[Tanizaki 1985: 14]

(3) Aru toki nado wa benchi ni matte iru yakusoku datta no ga, kyuu ni ame ga furidashita node, dooshite iru ka to omoinagara dekakete iku to, ano, ike no gawa ni aru nanisama da ka no chiisai yashiro no nokishita ni shagande, soredemo chanto matte ita no ni wa hidoku **IJIRASHII** ki ga shita koto ga arimashita.
[Tanizaki 1947: 14]

(J --> E: Once we were to meet at a certain bench, when it suddenly began to rain. I wondered what she'd do. When I got there, I was touched [felt **IJIRASHII**] to find her crouching under the eaves of a little shrine by the pond, waiting for me.)
[Tanizaki 1985: 11]

(4) Tookyoo ni modori, (ninshin 3 kagetsu no) tsuma ni (gan ga) saihatsushita koto o tsugeta. Kanojo no me kara, ootsubu no namida ga koboreta. Shikashi, kesshite torimidasu koto wa nakatta. Hisshi de gaman shite iru no ga wakatta. Sono **IJIRASHISA** ni, atsui mono ga komiagete kita.
[Kizoku Ikeda (musician) in *Fujin Kooron* 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 **IJIRASHISA** [Noun].)

(5) Demo, soo iu Yoshimura-san wa, kekkoo seishinteki ni moroi n desu yo. Soo wa mienai kedo, jitsu wa hitori ni wa saserarenai-yoo na taipu. Shikamo soo iu bubun o misenai koto mo shitte iru node, watashi to shite wa yokei **IJIRASHIKU** omottai suru wake desu yo.
[Ami Oonuki (singer) in "More interview: Puffy" pp. 126-129 in *More* 1998 May: 127]

(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) Ore ga futamata kakete iru koto o shirinagara, nani mo iwanakatta kanojo. Aru toki, yopparatte, "Watashi, anata o ichiban AISHITERU jishin ga aru. Dakara watashi dake o mite yo!" to nakijakutta. Doo yara heiki na kao o shite ita no wa poozu datta-yoo. Kurushii no o gamanshite ita kanojo ga **IJIRASHIKU** natte, hoka no onna to te o kiru kesshin o shita.
[Mitsuo Homma (company employee, 36 years old) in *Shuukan Josei* 1999 Feb. 23rd: 110]

(MT: My girlfriend said nothing even when I was having an affair with another woman. One day, she got drunk and cried, "I am certain that I AISHITERU 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 **IJIRASHII** towards her who bore her sufferings patiently, and I decided to separate from the other woman.)

(7) Aru hi no ohiru sukoshi mae ni, watashi ga genkan no soba no idobata de, kotoshi no haru ni umareta jijo no Toshiko no omutsu o sentakushite itara, otto ga doroboo no yoo na hikagemono kusai kaotsuki o shite, kosokoso yatte kite, watashi o mite, damatte hyoi to atama o sagete, tsumazuite, tsunnomerinagara genkan ni haitte kimashita. Tsuma no watashi ni omowazu atama o sageru nado, aa, otto mo kurushii no daroo, to omottara, **IJIRASHISA** de mune ga ippai ni nari, totemo sentaku o tsuzukeru koto ga dekinakute...

[Dazai 1985: 231]

(J --> 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 burglar anxious to avoid detection. He noticed me and nodded slightly, then suddenly tripped and plunged headlong into the house. My heart overflowed with pity **[IJIRASHISA: Noun]** for this man who instinctively avoided his wife's gaze, and I could no longer attend to the washing.)
[Dazai 1983: 231]

(8) Otto no kaeri ga hayaku natta. Naze nara boonasu de katta pasokon o ijiritakute tamaranai. Sosokusa to kaette kite wa sugu ni pasokon no mae ni suwaru no da. Furui terebidai o riyooshite, ima no katasumi ni koonaa o tsukutta no ga nantomo **IJIRASHII.**
[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 **IJIRASHII** 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 IJIRASHII ((I) 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 good for this person
because I want something good to happen to this person"
(g) when this person thinks this, this person feels something
(h) this person feels something good towards this person
(i) I felt something like this
(j) 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 "Kyonen no watashi wa [shuutome no guchi ni teate ite] IJIRASHIKATta (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 markers' to IJIRASHII, this describes an emotion feeling experienced by other people. Otherwise, the subject (experiencer) of the feeling is always "I" in Japanese.

feel IJIRASHII 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 IJIRASHISA [Noun]. Although the subject generally feels "something good" towards the object (component (h)), 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 IJIRASHII.

(5) Rie ga butsukatta toki ni, funwari to kaotta amai nioi. Kanojo wa, moshika shitara, Jun'ichi to butsukaru to iu mangaichi no guuzen no tame ni, mainichi, soo iu nioi o mi ni tsukete iru no kamo shirenai. Moshimo, soo dattara, konna ni **IJIRASHII** koto tte nai.
[Yamada 1989: 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 [**IJIRASHII**].)
[Yamada 1992: 33]

The meaning of this attributive use of IJIRASHII is as follows:

IJIRASHII --- the attributive use
[Y wa IJIRASHII ((people in general feel) Y is IJIRASHII)]

(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"

(g) when this person thinks this, this person feels something
(i) this person feels something good towards this person Y
(j) I say: other people can feel like this when they think about this person Y

6.(II).6.5. KENAGE

Unlike IJIRASHII, 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 as follows:

(1) Kono ko wa nakanaka kashikoi to ioo ka, yuutoosei to ioo ka, jibun no oya ga yancha datta mono desu kara, honnin ga monosugoku yoku natte, sakki sensei ga osshatta toori na no desu. Hontoo ni yuutoosei de, nanimokamo isshookemmei yarisugiru ko de, iwayuru, **KENAGE** na ko datta no desu.
[Kawai 1992: 63]

(MT: How can I describe a person like this? He is clever, and an honours 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-na** child.)

(2) Kanojo wa obaasan-ko de atta. Sono sobo ga hodonaku nakunarareta toki no kanojo wa, **KENAGE** ni mo kizen to shi, itsumo to onajiku shigoto ni isoshimi.....sono sugata o minagara, watashi no hoo ga tsuraku kanashikatta. Kanojo ga amari ni mo heijooshin o ushinaumai to kemmei ni doryokushite ita kara de aru.
[Toodoo 1994c: 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, shikashi, **KENAGE** datta.
Kore hodo made ni, akarasama ni shokuin-tachi ga shiraketa hampatsushin o misetsukete iru noni, sore ni ki ga tsuite iru no ka, inai no ka, yooki ni kaigi o susumete iku.
[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 Masako wa ikken totemo akaruku genki-soo de nani o shite mo nani o iwarete mo biku to mo shinai onnanoko no yoo ni omowarete imasu. Shikashi hontoo ni derikeeto de kizutsukiyasuku, hito no kokoro o taisetsu ni shi sekininkan no tsuyoi ko desu. (....) Sore dake ni mawari ni shimpaisasemai to gambatte iru sugata ga **KENAGE** de...
[Nakano 1994: 203]

(MT: My eldest daughter Masako looks very cheerful and energetic, so everybody thinks that she does not care about what others say or do. But she is actually very sensitive and easily hurt, also she is considerate of other people's feelings and very responsible. (....) Because of this I feel **KENAGE** towards her as she makes an effort not to worry others....)

(5) Shujin to isakai ga hajimatta koro, watashi, tooji dai-hitto shita "Kureimaa Kureimaa" to iu eiga o mita n desu. Okusan ga iedeshichatte, dannasan ga kosodate ni daifuntooshite, demo, iroiro to umaku ikanakute, to iu ohanashi. **KENAGE** ni gamanshite iru kodomo ga fubin de fubin de shikata ga nakute nee.... Miowatte kara, aa, watashi wa yahari rikonshite wa ikenai n da, kodomo ni anna fubin na omoi o sasete wa ikenai tte, kataku kokoro ni chikaimashita.
[Satoko Amachi (talent) "Shiriizu Rikon No.23" in *Shuukan Josei* 1999 Feb. 23rd: 84]

(MT: When I began to have quarrels with my husband, I saw the movie "Kramer vs. Kramer" which was a big hit at that time. It was a story about a husband whose wife left home suddenly and who struggled a lot to raise his son, but many things did not go smoothly. I felt **KENAGE** about the child who was patient and I could not stop feeling pathetic... After I saw it, I thought I should not have a divorce, I should not make my daughter experience hardship like that, and I swore not to divorce.)

In all of these examples, the subject feels KENAGE towards the object in a difficult situation, and has some admiration-like feelings towards the object who does not give up in that condition.

Hida and Asada (1996: 55-56) say that the word KENAGE has similar connotations to the word IJIRASHII. Both words feature a positive connotation towards a person or the attitude/behaviour of a person who makes an effort to do something positive to overcome bad events. Hida and Asada (p. 56), however, point out that KENAGE is different from IJIRASHII in that it especially refers to a positive evaluation of mental strengths, such as patience or diligence inherent in the object's effort whereas IJIRASHII emphasises 'sympathetic' feelings toward the object (cf. also Araki 1994: 16). This may be because KENAGE is used only attributively to describe the property of the person, rather than subjectively use. Therefore, in the following examples KENAGE is more appropriate than IJIRASHII.

(6) Ano ko wa byoojaku na ryooshin o tasukete hataraku **KENAGE na/ ? IJIRASHII** kodomo na no da. Erai nee.

(That boy is a **KENAGE na / ? IJIRASHII** child who helps his sickly parents. He is wonderful, isn't he?)

(7) "Shinseki no uchi ni azukerarete, kitto iroiro to fujiyuu na omoi o shite iru no daroo ne."
"Uun, nobinobi yo."
"Kimi no soo iu **KENAGESA**[Noun]/ ? **IJIRASHISA** [Noun] ni taishite, boku wa iu kotoba mo nai."
[Toodoo 1994b: 46]

(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 **KENAGESA** [noun] / ? **IJIRASHISA** [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 chiisana onnanoko ga byooki de netakiri no hahaoya no kambyoo o suru nante, nante, **KENAGE** na n daroo.

(I was touched to see that little girl looking after her bed-ridden mother. How admirable!)

(9) Anna chiisana onnanoko ga byooki de netakiri no hahaoya no kambyoo o suru nante, nante, **IJIRASHII** n daroo.

(I was touched to see that little girl looking after her bed-ridden mother. How pitiful and pathetic!)

Comparing these two sentences we see that KENAGE has an 'admirable' connotation, whereas IJIRASHII has a 'pitiful and pathetic' connotation. According to Araki (p. 15), most dictionaries list 'admirable' or 'laudable' and some dictionaries include 'diligent' or 'hardworking' for the meaning of KENAGE. But he claims that the meaning of KENAGE is not simply 'admirable', nor is it 'diligent' nor 'hardworking'. He says that these refer to a part of the meaning of KENAGE, but not the whole. In my opinion,

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 IJIRASHII 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 IJIRASHII is not found in the meaning of KENAGE. The subject simply admires the object. The object is admired as good

(component (e) "this person is good"). People feeling KENAGE do not have to think they want to do something good for the object.

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) Aachaa: Suprintaa mo jitsugyooka mo seijika mo keikenshimashita ga, shippitsukatsudoo ga ichiban shinkei o suriherashi, shinshin tomo ni tsukarekitte shimau sagyoo desu.
Masuda: Shikashi, ichiban **TANOSHII**.
Aachaa: Soo, ichiban juujitsu shite iru. Dakara, kore kara mo dondon kakimashoo.
["Eikoku-shinshi no tashinami, Soosaku no himitsu" in *Ushio* 1994 Sep.: 274]

(MT: Archer: I have been a sprinter, businessman, and politician, but the activity of writing is the work which most fatigues my sensitivity and makes me tired, both mentally and physically.
Masuda: But it is the most **TANOSHII**.
Archer: Yes, it is the most substantial. Therefore, let's write more and more from now on.)

(2) Suki na koto ga dekiru to iu no wa, **TANOSHII** mono desu. Atarashii ongaku ni, fasshon ni sekkusu kakumei.
[Gross 1995: 198]

(J <-- E: "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, Sakairi 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), Masuda 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. Hirose and Shooji (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 *Nyuugaku 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?

To begin with, I would say URESHII -- unlike TANOSHII --- always requires a thought. It would be odd to say "Watashi wa kyoo nazeka URESHII (?I feel URESHII today, I don't know why)", although it would be natural to say "Watashi wa kyoo nazeka 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 adjective 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 zuutto hoshikatta no" to honshin kara ieru-yoo na mono ni, ome ni kakatta koto wa nai.
[Yooko Mori "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) "Issho ni yuugohan o tabemasen ka. Watashi, iroiro zairyoo o katte kita tokoro na n desu. Watashi no tsukutta mono ja oishikunai kamo shirenai ga."
"Hontoo, **URESHII** wa."
[Hayashi 1986:91]

(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) Yon-sai de hatsubutai o funde kara wa, gakkoo yori Kabukiza ga, saikoo no asobiba. Gimukyooiku ga owatta toki wa, suki na Kabuki dake ga dekiru no ga **URESHIKAT**ta.
[Hashinosuke Nakamura (Kabuki actor) "Watashi no suki na toki"
in *Kurashi to Kenkoo* 1997 No. 5: 5]

(MT: Since I made my first appearance on the stage at 4 years of age, the Kabukiza 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.)

(6) Suki na otoko ga ita. Suki da kara, chokochoko asobi ni itta. Suki da kara, iku aidajuu wakuwaku **URESHII** no de aru. Itte kao mite hanashite iru aidajuu **URESHIKU**te shikata ga nakatta.
[Sano 1995: 102]

(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) Kentaikai o mae ni shita aru hi, fudan watashi to sunao na kotoba o kakeawanai imooto wa, watashi no heya ni sotto tegami o otoshite ikimashita. -- Mucchan ga shuchoo o gambatte iru -yoo ni, watashi mo gambaru yo -- tte kaite arimashita. Namida ga deru hodo **URESHIKAT**ta.
[Mainichi-shimbunsha 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 -- 'As you are doing your best for the speech contest, I will also do my best' -- I felt so **URESHII** that I cried.)

(8) Soshite, imi mo naku e-he-he-he to warau.
"**URESHII** kai?"
"Soryaa, **URESHII** yoo. Datte nee, Hayate to asobi ni iku deshoo? Sore de nee, kawa ni itte, osampo shite nee."
[Nonami 1996: 207]

(MT: Then she laughed a meaningless laugh, e-he-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'yon kara kaette kita toki, eigakantoku no Antoniooni kara denwa ga atte, "Watashi no eiga ni shutsuenshite hoshii no desu ga" to iwareta no desu. Hontoo ni **URESHIKAT**ta wa.
[Gross 1995: 232]

(J <--E: Then, when I came back from Japan, there was this phone call from Antonioni saying, "I would like to have you for my film." I was happy [**URESHII**].)
[Gross 1995: 219]

(10) Antatachi ga kite kureru no wa **URESHIKAT**ta. Hoka no kodomotachi ga totemo urayamashigatta no desu. Kuruma o motte iru hito ga shiriai ni iru, to iu no wa tokken deshita. Kuroi Shiboree ga oka o nobori, yukkuri michi o hashitte kite Jooji Taanaa-tachi no mae de tomaru to watashi wa yorokobi de hachikire-soo ni narimashita.
[Morgan 1992 Vol 2: 135]

(J <--E: I love it [felt **URESHII**] when they all came up, because other kids were so envious. There was a lot of status in knowing someone who had a car. I thought I'd burst for joy when I saw the black Chev creep up the hill and drive slowly down the road, to halt at George Turner.)
[Morgan 1987: 251]

(11) Boku wa achikochi Jenii o sagashite mita. Kanojo, hitori de Radokurifu ni kaette shimatta n daroo ka? "Jenii?" Boku wa fantachi kara suuho hanare, yakki ni natte sagashite mita. Totsuzen, sukaafu de kao o tsutsumi mimi dake o dashita kakkoo de, shigemi no kage kara kanojo ga tobidashite kita. "Heei, pureppii. Koko yo! Samukute shinjai-soo." Kono toki no **URESHISA** to ittara!
[Segal 1994: 24]

(J <-- E: I was looking everywhere for Jenny. Had she left and walked all the way back to Radcliffe alone? "Jenny?" I took three of four steps away from the fans, searching desperately. Suddenly she popped out from behind a bush, her face swathed in a scarf, only her eyes showing. "Hey, Preppie, it's cold as hell out there." Was I glad [**URESHII**] to see her!)

[Segal 1977: 13]

(12) Bangohan o tabenaide chichioya no kaeri o matsu uchi ni, atari wa kuraku natta. Yooyaku chichioya ga Birii Bakku to issho ni kaette kita toki, Joodii wa, futari no haku iki ga oishi-soo na burandee no nioi o obite iru no ni ki ga tsuki, naishin **URESHIKU** omotta. To iu no wa, chichioya wa, burandee no nioi o sasete iru toki ni wa, mukoo kara kotoba o kakete kuretari, ima hodo hirakete inakatta jidai ni, kodomo de atta chichioya ga yatta ironna koto o, hanashite kikasete kureru koto sae, toki ni aru kara da.
[Steinbeck 1966: 15]

(J <-- E: The supper waited until dark for his father to return. When at last he came in with Billy Buck, Jody could smell the delicious brandy on their breaths. Inwardly he rejoiced [felt **URESHII**] for his father sometimes talked to him when he smelled of brandy, sometimes even told things he had done in the wild days when he was a boy.)
[Steinbeck 1973: 8]

(13) "Ii yo, booya, itsu demo kite kakete ii kara" Kono suugetsu, Neisan ga tokidoki boku o 'booya' to yobu no ni kizuite ita ga, kore wa kare ni wa wakaranai hodo boku ni wa hisoka ni **URESHII** koto datta. Aite e no kookan ga ookiku naru ni tsure, mada honno kodomo no boku ni wa, jibun ni wa nai ani ni mo ikura ka nita kimochi de kare o mihajimete ita no da.
[Styron 1991: 215]

(J <-- E: "You know, kid, you're welcome to play them anytime." I was aware that in the past few days he had taken to calling me 'kid' at times. This secretly pleased me [was **URESHII** for me] more than he could know. I think that in my growing fondness for him. I, an only child, had begun to see in him a little of the older brother I had never had -- a brother.)
[Styron 1983: 160]

(14) "Gonen itara, kimi wa kaisha no ningen ni natte ita-roo. Juunen de kaseki ni naru. Sanjuudai demo toshioite kasekikashita borokuzu da yo. Maguroohiru ni iru to soo naru n da."
"Ee, yameru no wa nanika **URESHII**-yoo na kimochi na n desu" to boku wa itta. "Demo, kane ni komaru-yoo ni narimasu ne. Okane to ieru-yoo na kyuuryoo ja nakatta keredo."
[Styron 1991: 41]

(J <-- E: "In five years you'd have been a company man. In ten years you'd have been a fossil. A fossilised old fart in his thirties. That's what McGrow-Hill would have turned you into."
"Yeah, I'm kind of glad [**URESHII**] to be going", I said. "I'm going to miss the money, though. Even though it was hardly what you might call a bonanza.")
[Styron 1983: 33]

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

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 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.

(15) Tsurubei: Raibu wa kono shigatsu mo Aoyama de itsukakan, hanashi o kaete ichijikan shaberimasu. Jibun demo **TANOSHII** desu kara nee. Ichinen atta koto o shabettari shite. Mainichi kiharu hito mo imasu yo.
[Tsurubei Fukushootei "Shoogo no yukai taidan 5" in *Fujin Gahoo* 1996 May: 385]

(MT: Tsurubei: 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) Kuroyanagi: (Kishakaiken no toki) ano otoko no kata to wa doo iu otoko to onna no kankei na n desu ka toka tte soo iu fuu ni iwaretari suru ja nai. Soo suru to nante iu no.
Yamase: Sono toki no koto chanto hanashimasu kedo, nanka ne, **TANOSHIKU**te shooganai n desu yo. Futsuu nara zettai kishakaiken nante kite moraenai wake ja nai desu ka. Soo iu toki ni, "Aa, geinoojin na n da naa tte" kanjite **TANOSHIKU**te.
[Kuroyanagi and Mami Yamase (talent) in TV programme
"Tetsuko no Heya" February 11th, 1997]

(MT: Kuroyanagi: (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?
Yamase: 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, **TANOSHIKAT**ta kodomo no koro o omoidasu.

[Hirose & Shooji 1994: 139]

(MT: Sometimes, I recall my childhood days when I felt happy [**TANOSHII**].)

(18) Watashi no musuko wa, kondo no nichiyoobi ni yuuenchi ni iku no o **TANOSHIMI** ni shite iru.
[Hirose & Shooji 1994: 139]

(B: My son is looking forward (feeling **TANOSHIMI** [Noun]) to going to the amusement park this Sunday.)

(19) (Yuujin Pudogoruni ga yuka no renshuu o shite iru)
Akiyama: Ima Pudogoruni ga sankai chuugaeri o renshuu shitemasu ne. **TANOSHIMI** desu nee.
Gushiken: **TANOSHIMI** desu ne. Kyoo wa tabun (sankai chuugaeri o) happyoo shite kuru deshoo ne.
[Hiroshi Akiyama (sports-caster) and Kooji Gushiken (boxer) in TV programme "Atlanta Olympic Men's gymnastics: Floor" July 29th, 1996]

(MT: (Eugene Pudgorni is practicing floor exercises.)
Akiyama: Now Pudgorni is practicing triple somersaults, isn't he? It is **TANOSHIMI** [Noun], isn't it?
Gushiken: It is **TANOSHIMI**. He will probably attempt (the triple somersault) today.)

The sentence still makes sense even if one replaces TANOSHII with URESHII in example (16), although the character of the emotion changes. In other examples, one could not substitute URESHII for TANOSHII (nor URESHI-sa for TANOSHI-mi/-sa).[1]

The point we should note about the difference between URESHII and TANOSHII in the subjective use is that TANOSHII implies a longer state of "happiness" than URESHII does. As Miura (1983: 194-195) points out, "TANOSHII refers to a sustained state of happiness. To express a momentary state of joy, use URESHII". In the above example (15) Tsurubei feels TANOSHII, instead of URESHII about the five-day performance. In example (17) one cannot change the word 'TANOSHIKATta (past form of TANOSHII) with 'URESHIKATta (past form of URESHII)' since one is describing a long span of time.

[1] This is not always due to the semantic difference between these two words. In (16) URESHISA is not possible since "TANOSHIMI ni suru" is a kind of idiomatic expression.

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 otoko ga ita. Suki da kedo, nen ni ichido shika aenakatta. Demo, suki da kara, kare ni kondo aeru no o matte iru ichinenjuu **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. Pudgorni '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 ensoo o shite kureta to itte kuremashita.

Person B: **URESHII / * TANOSHII** desu nee.
Person A: Ee, **URESHII / * TANOSHII** desu nee.

(MT: Person A: My boyfriend said to me that he played the piano just for me today.
Person B: You feel **URESHII / * TANOSHII**, don't you?
Person A: Yes, I feel **URESHII / * TANOSHII**.)

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) Betonamu-sensoo ga owatta nyuusu o kiite **URESHIKAT**ta / * **TANOSHIKAT**-ta.

(I was happy [**URESHIKAT**ta / * **TANOSHIKAT**ta] 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 paatii wa shukoo ga korashite atte, **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.

(25) Byooki de tsurai no desu ga, mainichi narubeku **TANOSHIKU / * URESHIKU** kurasu -yoo ni shite imasu.

(Although I suffer from illness, I make an effort to spend everyday with a **TANOSHII / * URESHII** feeling.)

Lastly, I will mention Morita's (1996: 258) 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 taisetsusa 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)".

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 (c) "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) "sometime 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.

URESHII --- 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"

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 (experiencer) of the feeling is always "I" in Japanese.

(f) when this person thinks this, this person feels something very good
(g) I feel something like this
(h) because I thought something like this about Y

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-ginkoo-gyoomubu-koohooka (1970: 28) explains that originally SHIAWASE was derived from the combination of "shi" which refers to 'do' and "awaseru (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

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 (experiencer) 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 TANOSHII also refers to a state of good feeling which lasts for some time. What is the difference then, between SHIAWASE and TANOSHII?

The following are examples from original Japanese texts where the word SHIAWASE occurs.

(1) Nijussai o sugita, aru hi, haha ga, "Ano toki, dooshite shoogakkoo kawatta ka, shitteru?" to kikimashita. Watashi ga, "Uun?" to iu to, haha wa, "Hontoo wa taigaku ni natta no yo", to karui kanji de iimashita. Moshi, ano ichinensei no toki, "Doo suru no? Anata, moo taigaku ni nacchatte! Tsugi no gakkoo ni haittatte, moshi, mata taigaku ni demo nattara, moo iku tokoro nanka arimasen kara ne!!" Moshi, konna fuu ni haha ni iwareta to shitara, watashi wa, donna ni, mijime na, odoodoshita kibun de, Tomoe no mon o, ano hajimete no hi ni, kugutta koto deshoo. Soshitara, ano, ne no haeta mon mo, densha no kyooshitsu mo, anna ni, tanoshiku wa mienakatta ni chigai arimasen. Koo iu haha ni sodaterareta koto mo, watashi wa **SHIAWASE** deshita.
[Kuroyanagi 1981: 270-271]

(J --> E: "Do you know why you changed elementary schools?" she asked me one day. When I said no, she went on, quite nonchalantly, "It was because you were expelled." She might have said at the time, "What's going to become of you? You've already been expelled from one school. If they expel you from the next, where will you go?" If Mother had spoken to me like that, how wretched and nervous I would have felt as I entered the gate of Tomoe Gakuen on my first day there. That gate with roots and those railroad-car classrooms would not have seemed nearly so delightful to me. How lucky [**SHIAWASE**] I was to have a mother like mine.)
[Kuroyanagi 1996: 193-194]

(2) Donna ni hidoi jookyoo demo **SHIAWASE** na hito wa iru shi, kore hodo totonotta jooken no naka de fu-**SHIAWASE** da tte, mayu ne ni tatejiwa o kizande iru hito mo aru.... Kore wa, sono hito no toraeyoo dakara, hata kara doo koo suru koto wa dekinai 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) Umemiya: "Ma, tanoshinde yappari honto ni oshigoto yattemasu kedo, demo honto ni **SHIAWASE** da na tte omou n desu yo. Koo shigoto ga honto ni tanoshii tte omoinagara...."
[Anna Umemiya (model) on the TV programme "Tetsuko no Heya" June 28th, 1996]

(MT: Umemiya: "Well, I am happily doing my job (modelling), but I really feel **SHIAWASE**. I really think my job is enjoyable....")

(4) Oohashi: "Tomobataraki ga ookute okaasan no aijoo, otoosan no aijoo tte mono o sore hodo wareware mitai ni mi ni isshin ni abite sodattenai desu yo ne, ima no hitotachi wa. Soo suru to, boku wa monku ienai na tte omoimasu yo. Himojii omoi o shita keredomo hahaoya no aijoo o honto ni isshin ni ukete sodatta kara soo iu ten de wa, kuimon toka, goraku toka wa ochita kedo, monosugoi **SHIAWASE** na jidai ni umaresodatta na tte konogoro tsukuzuku omoimasu yo."
[Kyosen Oohashi (television personality) on the TV programme "Tetsuko no Heya" July 7th, 1996]

(MT: Oohashi: "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 tsunagattenai otoosan desu keredo, toshikoshisoba o tabeta dake na n desu kedo, sono toki ni "Aa, moo sekaijuu de ima, watashitachi ga ichiban **SHIAWASE** da" to omotta koto ga aru n desu yo ne. Ima kara omou to nante koto nai n desu yo. Nanka gyaagyaa waratteta wake demo nai shi, tada hontoo ni futsuu no koto o tantan to shite ita dake na n desu kedoo...."
Kuroyanagi: "Demo, hontoo ni **SHIAWASE** tte iu mono wa soo iu mono kamo shirenai noni ne."
[Eri Ishida (actress) and Tetsuko Kuroyanagi on the TV programme "Tetsuko no Heya" 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 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.")

(6) Yamashita: "(TV bangumi "Kuishimboo banzai" de) Kono aida kani, oishii ano matsubagani tte iu anoo, ichibangani de sugoku saikoo no yatsu itadaite, honto ni, **SHIAWASE** da na tte omotta n desu."
[Shinji Yamashita (actor) in TV programme "Tetsuko no Heya" Feb. 21st, 1997]

(MT: Yamashita: "(On the TV program "Hail gluttons") 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) Ano ko no futatsu no hitomi wa
Natsu no sora yori mo motto aoku kagayaite iru
Ano me o mireba dare datte
Boku ga dooshite Rorein o aishite iru ka wakaru daroo ne
(Aa, **SHIAWASE** da naa.)
[Parish Mitchell "Sweet Lorraine" by EMI Music Publishing Ltd. in Murao 1994 Vol.9: 189]

(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**].))

(8) "Oyaji ga **SHIAWASE** de iru to iu koto ga shaku ni sawaru n da. Mattaku moo **SHIAWASE** na n dakara." Neruson wa susurinaki shite iru. "Oyaji no okage de donna mijime na omoi o shita ka zembu kangaete miro yo. Imooto ga shinda no wa oyaji no sei da. Sorekara Jiru o shinaseta no wa oyaji na n dakara."
[Updike 1992 Vol.1: 188]

(J <-- E: "That's what gets me, his (my father's) *happiness* [**SHIAWASE**]. He is so fucking *happy* [**SHIAWASE**]." Nelson almost sobs. "You think of all the misery his caused. My little sister dead because of him and then this Jill he let die.")
[Updike 1981: 124]

(9) "Kankoohen dattara, byooshoo no shinkoo ga kamman na dake ni, kutsuu ga nagabikimasu. Afuratokishin no baai wa, fukuyooryoo ni mo yorimasu ga, hotondo kurushimanakute sumu no desu. Mukiryokujootai ga ichizjirushiku, teashi ga kikanaku nari, mochiron, hakike ga hidoku narimasu. Shikashi, isshuukan ka sokora de shineru no wa, mushiro **SHIAWASE** to iu beki de wa nai deshoo ka. Daitasuu no hitobito ga, kurushiminagara shinde yuku no o kangaereba desu yo."
[Greene 1983: 141]

(J <-- E: Real cirrhosis would be much slower. With a dose of aflatoxin he'll hardly suffer at all. Increasing lethargy, perhaps a bit of leg trouble as he doesn't have wings, and of course a certain amount of nausea is to be expected. To spend only a week dying is quite a happy [**SHIAWASE**] fate, when you think what many people suffer.)
[Greene 1978: 103]

I think that SHIAWASE refers to something like a deep appreciation felt towards something. In example (1), Kuroyanagi appreciates her mother for not blaming her when she was expelled from an elementary school. In example (3), Umemiya is thankful for the happy circumstances that allow her to do her favourite modelling job. In example (4), Oohashi is grateful that the period in which he was a child was when mothers could give plenty of affection to their children. In example (5), Ishida confesses that she valued the time when she could eat noodles with her family at the end of the year as SHIAWASE. In example (6), Yamashita enjoyed the chance to eat the best crab while working in his job, and described his feeling at that time as SHIAWASE.

Even though Mizutani and Mizutani (1990: 40) suggest that feelings like SHIAWASE refer to a state which lasts "for some time", there is a wide variation in the time periods covered by this phrase . In cases like example (3) or (4) the subject has this SHIAWASE emotion for a rather long time. In the case of examples (5) or (6) the subjects felt SHIAWASE suddenly while they were eating food.

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 explication:

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 "watashi (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 SHIAWASE and URESHII, 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 nyuugaku-shiki no toki ni kare no sugata o mite irai, atama ni egaite ita yume ga genjitsu ni natta no da. Watashi wa jibeta kara ashi no ura ga 20-senchi uite iru-yoo na kibun datta. Issho ni kaette kureru-yoo ni natta no wa, watashi to shimmitsu ni natte kuretemo ii tte iu ishihyooji ni chigainai wa to naishin, **UCHOOTEN** ni natte ita no da.
[Mure 1998: 195-196]

(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) "Mendookusee na. Onna tte sa."

"Hee, demo, watashi to wa yoku hanasu jan."
"Omae wa tokubetsu da yo."
Sono kotoba o watashi wa ureshisa ni ki ga kurui-soo ni narinagara kamishimeru. Watashi wa **UCHOOTEN** ni natta. Kare ni totte, watashi dake wa mendoo na mono ja nai n da. Watashi dake wa tokubetsu na n da. Soo sakebitai kimochi datta.
[Yamada 1989: 36]

(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 mooshikonda toki kanojo wa **UCHOOTEN** datta.
[Hiejima 1995: 2]

(B [J-->E]: She was on cloud nine **[UCHOOTEN]** when Tom proposed to her.)

(4) Kare wa umaku itta koto de **UCHOOTEN** datta.
[Hiejima 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.
[Morgan 1992 Vol. 2: 183]

(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 kimochi /omoi (lit. feeling as if one goes up to the top of the sky)" to refer to the same meaning.

(6) Faasuto kisu wa kekkon no zennen, Hibiya Kookaidoo de no Karayan no konsaato-go. Otto wa "**TEN NI MO NOBORU kimochi**" datta.
[Minako & Toshio Ooba "Fuufu no kaidan No. 270" pp. 82-85 in *Shuukan Asahi* 1999 January 29th: 83]

(MT: He first kissed her a year before their marriage, after a concert conducted by Karayan at the Hibiya Public Hall. The husband said he experienced **TEN NI MO NOBORU kimochi**".)

(7) "Kon'ya no kimi wa sugoku kirei da ne."
Soo iwareru to **TEN NI MO NOBORU** omoi. Watashi wa hoo o somete, kono yo ni aran kagiri no odayaka na rei o iu.
[McMillan 1993 Vol. 1: 44]

(J <-- E: "You sure look beautiful tonight," he said, and I thought I would go right through the floor [**TEN NI MO NOBORU**]. I blushed and said the softest thank you known to mankind.)
[McMillan 1993: 22]

(8) Tokidoki, hikoojoo de Aporonia no yoo na ichiryuu moderu ni deau koto ga atte, sono tabi ni watashi wa **TEN NI MO NOBORU** kimochi ni narimashita. Ichido nado, katarogu no shigoto de Mein e itta toki, Patii Hansen ga mukoo kara aruite kita n desu yo! Waao, to iu kanji deshita.
[Gross 1995: 452]

(J <-- E: Sometimes they would fly in girls like Apollonia, and I would be beside myself [have **TEN NI MO NOBORU** feeling]. One time I went to Maine for a catalogue, and Patti Hansen was coming! I meant, my God!)
[Gross 1995: 412]

In example (6) the subject experiences TEN-NI-MO-NOBORU-kimochi when he kissed his wife for the first time before marriage. In example (7) the subject has a feeling of TEN-NI-MO-NOBORU because she was told by her boyfriend that she is beautiful. The subject in example (8) confesses she experiences a TEN NI MO NOBORU feeling when she saw a top model she admired.

I will provide the following explication for the meaning of UCHOOTEN.

UCHOOTEN --- the subjective use
[X wa UCHOOTEN da (X feels/is UCHOOTEN)]

(a) X felt something because X thought something
(b) sometimes a person thinks:
(c) "something very good happened to me
(d) I wanted something like this to happen
(e) I can't want anything more now
(f) things like this are not happening to anybody else"
(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

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 explication 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. NATSUKASHII

In the last section of this chapter, we will examine the meaning of the word NATSUKASHII. Strictly speaking, NATSUKASHII is different from URESHII, TANOSHII, 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 TANOSHII, but like URESHII and UCHOOTEN, NATSUKASHII has only the subjective use:"(Watashi) wa [Y ga] NATSUKASHII ((I) feel NATSUKASHII [about Y]).

Hida and Asada (1996: 405) say that NATSUKASHII 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 NATSUKASHII for someone or something unless one had not seen or heard from him/her for a long time. Therefore, one could not say:

(1) Iyaa, * **NATSUKASHII** naa, futsuka buri da ne.

(Oh, I feel * NATSUKASHII. I have not seen you for two days.)

Kawashima and Amamori (1993: 104) claim that NATSUKASHII 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 NATSUKASHII is used more frequently than the English equivalent word 'nostalgic', her comment that NATSUKASHII 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, NATSUKASHII 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 NATSUKASHII. Example (2) is from an original Japanese text. Examples (3) - (6) are Japanese translations of originally English texts, where NATSUKASHII is given as a gloss of various English terms.

(2) "Sore ni, anata wa atashi ni aitai wake ja nai no yo. Atashi o dakitai. Soo iu koto na no yo. Chigau?"
"Kimi no soo iu kuchoo wa mukashi to kawaranai ne". Tamura wa yooki ni, mukashi o **NATSUKASHIMU**-yoo ni soo itta.
[Mori 1989: 381]

(J --> E: Anyway, it's not that you want to see me. You just want to lay me. That's the way it is. Right?"
"You haven't changed a bit. You're as frank as you were all those years ago," Tamura said cheerfully. He seemed to be feeling wistful [NATSUKASHIMU: Verb] for old old times.
[Mori 1993: 175]

(3) Moshi boku ga senchi na otoko de, tatoeba Haabaado no shashin o kabe ni hattemitari shitemo, sore wa Winsuroppu gakuryoo ya Memoriaru kyookai ja nakute, Diron no shashin da to omou. Diron beya da. Haabaado ni wa ga kokoro no furusato to demo iu-yoo na mono ga atta to shitara, kono heya koso sore da. (....) Daigaku jidai, itsumo koogi ga owaru to sono heya ni itte, kigokoro no shireteru renchuu to ecchi na kotoba o hakichirashinagara bummei no fuku o kanagurisutete, undoogi ni kigaeta mono da. Patto o tsuke, ano **NATSUKASHII** nanaban no shatsu o ki, (....) sukeeto o haite Watoson rinku no hoo e to aruite iku kibun to kitara, mattaku tamaranakatta.
[Segal 1972: 21-22]

(J <-- E: If I were a sentimentalist, and cared enough about Harvard to hang a photograph on the wall, it would not be of Winthrop House, or Mem Church, but of Dillon. Dillon Field House. If I had a spiritual home at Harvard, this was it. (....) Every afternoon of my college life I walked into that place, greeted my buddies with friendly obscenities, shed the trappings of civilisation and turned into a jock. How great to put on the pads and the good old [NATSUKASHII] number 7 shirt (I had dreams of them retiring that number; they didn't), to take the skates and walk out toward the Watson Rink.)
[Segal 1994: 11-12]

(4) Mirukuman wa Pairotto no koto o omoidashite bishooshita. Nambyaku nairu mo hanarete iru to, Mirukuman ni wa Pairotto ga, Pairotto no ie ga, mata, anna ni mo hanaretai to omotta hitobito ga **NATSUKASHIKU**te tamaranakatta.
[Morrison 1980: 322]

(J <-- E: Milkman smiled, remembering Pilate. Hundreds of miles away, he was homesick [NATSUKASHII] for her, for her house, for the very people he had been hell-bent to leave.]
[Morrison 1977: 303]

(5) Watashi no tomodachi to kazoku — Kono tsumaranai machi yo
Watashi no norisokoneta basu — Watashi ga kisu shita otokonokotachi
Subete wa toshi furi soshite **NATSUKASHII**
[Benny Anderson, Stig Anderson & Björn Uiveaeus "I wonder" 1977 by Polar Music AB][5]

(B [J<--E]: My friends and my family — This dull little town
Buses I've missed — Boys that I've kissed
Everything old and familiar [NATSUKASHII])

(6) "Anta mitai ni yowai hito ga, konna, iwa de kachikachi no chikyuu ni yatte kuru nante, kawaisoo da na. Moshi, anta ga, itsuka, anta no hoshi ga **NATSUKASHIKU**te kaeritaku nattara, ore ga, anta o nantoka tasukete yaru yo. Sorekara...."
[de Saint-Exupéry 1966: 96]

(J <-- E: You move me to pity -- You are so weak on this earth made of granite", the snake said. "I can help you, some day, if you grow too homesick [NATSUKASHII] for your own planet. I can ---."
[de Saint-Exupéry 1971: 73]

In all the above examples, the subject feels NATSUKASHII towards someone or something he/she used to be familiar with in the past, which is no longer near by.

As seen in examples (7) to (11) below, one also feels NATSUKASHII for something or someone when one is confronted with that object once more. Yet the feeling of NATSUKASHII is based on the familiarity of the object, overlapping one's old image of it. Except for (11), all examples (7) - (10) are from original Japanese texts. In examples (7) and (11), the subject feels NATSUKASHII while listening to songs in the present day, but the feeling arises because she recalls those songs she used to listen in the past. In example (8), the subject feels NATSUKASHII because of the high school yearbook which is in front of him/her; the subject feels NATSUKASHII, because he/she recalls old memories through seeing the book. In examples (9) and (11) a man feels

5 Translated by Koru Konishi 1979 in ABBA Greatest Hits vol 2. by DISCO Co., Ltd. Tokyo.

NATSUKASHII meeting his old friend who is standing before him, because he remembers the days he spent with that friend in the past.

(7) Waa, **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**].)

(8) A, kookoo jidai no arubamu da. **NATSUKASHII**.
[Yoshida 1991: 76]

(B [J-->E]: Oh, it's my high school yearbook. This brings back so many memories [makes me feel **NATSUKASHII**] !)

(9) (Hisashiburi ni atta Endoo to sono tomodachi)
"**NATSUKASHII** naa. Omae, nani shiton nen. Terebikyoku ni tsutometoru no ka."
[Endoo 1976a: 219]

(MT: [Endoo 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?)

(10) **NATSUKASHII** naa. Kimi ni mata aeru nante.
[Yamada & Irabu 1986: 598]

(B [J-->E]: It feels just like the good old days [**NATSUKASHII**] to see you again.)

(11) "Arigatoo, Minasan! Tsugi no kyoku wa mukashi **NATSUKASHII** kyoku na node, mukashi kara kiite kureta hito nara, kitto oboete iru deshoo. Kyonen ni dashita kyoku de, taitoru wa " She loves You."
[Comment by the Beatles at the Hollywood Bowel on August 23rd, 1964.
Translated by Yasumi Yamamoto (1977) Toshiba EMI Ltd.]

(J <-- E: Thank you folks, the next song, the next song we're gonna sing is an oldie [**NATSUKASHII** kyoku (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, kirai datta sensei ni atta n dakedo, **NATSUKASHIKA**Tta 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
[(Watashi wa)[6] Y ga NATSUKASHII
((I) feel NATSUKASHII about Y)]

(a) I felt something because I thought something about another person/thing 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/this thing now"
(h) when this person thinks this, this person feels something good
(i) I felt something like this
(i) 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/thing 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' or 'some formal evidential markers' to NATSUKASHII, this describes an emotion feeling experienced by other people. Otherwise, the subject (experiencer) of the feeling is always "I" in Japanese.

When the subject thinks of the object, overlapping its old image, the subject currently thinks "something good" (component (g) "I think something good about this person/this thing now"), The resultant feeling is "something good" (component (h)).

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) Y 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.[1] One example is as follows:

(1) Daijishin **KOWAI, KOWAI, KOWAI** naa. Daijishin beddo ga ugoku. **KOWAI** naa. Daijishin nandemo ochiru. **KOWAI** naa.
[Iso: 1996: 53]

(MT: Big earthquake. **KOWAI, KOWAI,** I feel **KOWAI**. Big earthquake. The bed is moving. I feel **KOWAI**. Big earthquake. Everything is falling down. I feel **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-gyoomubu-koohooka 1970: 70). The present use of KOWAI started from the Muromachi era (1336-1603 A.D.) (Mitsubishi-ginkoo-gyoomubu-koohooka 1970: 70).

Iso 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 "obieru (become frightened)" or "kowagaru (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) ...bunshoo wa meikaku ni yomitoreta. (...)
Kichigai ni yuukaisareta. F. Kureggu. Futtobooru de tobaku de ooana o ateta shiyakushozutome no otoko. Rondon kara nijikan no kyuuryoo-chitai. Genkan ni 1961-nen to kakareta ikken'ya no bessoo no chikashitsu ni tojikomerarete iru. Genzai no tokoro anzen. **KOWAI / ? OSOROSHII.**
[Fowles 1984 Vol. 2: 102]

(J <-- E: ...the letters were clear. (....)
D. M. Kidnapped by madman. F. Clegg. Clerk from Annexe who won pool. Prisoner in cellar lonely timbered cottage date outside 1961 hilly country two hours London. So far safe. Frightened [**KOWAI / ? OSOROSHII**].)
[Fowles 1963: 74]

Kenkyusha's New Japanese English Dictionary [KNJED] gives the gloss "frightful" and "frightened" for both KOWAI and OSOROSHII. To describe an impending 'frightened' feeling as seen in the above example, however, one would use KOWAI, not the objective adjective OSOROSHII.[2]

2 In the acquisition of the Japanese language, children acquire KOWAI much earlier than OSOROSHII.

Furthermore, Morita (1993: 249) points out that KOWAI can be used to describe one's feeling towards a dangerous situation, or circumstance, without applying to a specific object. On the other hand, OSOROSHII necessarily refers to the specific object which causes the feeling. In this sense, KOWAI can be applied to a wider range of situations. In the following examples, where the cause of the feeling is unclear, KOWAI, but not OSOROSHII, should be used.

(3) Kokora hen o aruku no wa nantonaku **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 yoru aruku to kanarazu hitodama ga mieru to iu 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 inu ga **KOWAI / *OSOROSHII.**
(I feel **KOWAI / *OSOROSHII** about that dog.)

(6) Watashi wa sensoo 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) ...watashi no baai, shoojiki imada ni shi ga **KOWAI**. Yonaka nado me o samashi, jibun no shi no shunkan o kuusoosuru to, nantomo ienu ritsuzentaru kimochi ni karare, oogoe de sakebitaku naru.
[Endoo 1995: 128]

(MT: ...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.)

(8) "Demo shinu koto jitai wa chittomo **KOWAKU**nai wa yo. Sore wa hontoo. Konna no kemuri ni makarete ki o ushinatte sono mama shinjau dake da mono. A tto iu ma yo. Zen zen **KOWAKU**nai wa. Watashi no mite kita okaasan yara ta no shinseki no hito no shinisata o kurabetara ne. Nee, uchi no shinseki tte minna taibyooshite kurushiminuite shinu no yo. Nandaka soo iu chisuji rashii no. Shinu made ni sugoku jikan ga kakaru wake. Saigo no hoo wa ikite iru no ka shinderu no ka sae wakaranai kurai. Nokotteru ishiki to ieba itami to kurushimi dake." Midori wa Maruboro o kuwaete hi o tsuketa.
"Watashi ga **KOWAI** no wa ne. Soo iu taipu no shi na no yo. Yukkuri to yukkuri to shi no kage ga seimei no ryooiki o shinshokushite, ki ga tsuitara usugurakute nani mo mienaku

natte ite, mawari no hito mo watashi no koto o seija yori wa shisha ni chikai to kangaete iru -yoo na, soo iu jookyoo na no yo. Sonna no tte iya yo. Zettai ni taerarenai wa, watashi."
[Murakami 1991a Vol.2: 144-145]

(J --> E: "Even so, the idea of actually dying doesn't frighten me [make me feel **KOWAI**] at all. Honest. All it'd take would be to be overwhelmed by smoke, lose consciousness and die, and that'd be that. What's there to be frightened [**KOWAI**] of? Nothing compared to what I've seen of Mother's death or those of other relatives. Did I tell you? All my relatives seem to die from excruciating illnesses. I guess it runs in the blood. It takes them forever to kick off, holding on until the last stretch when you can't even tell if they're alive or dead, pain and suffering the only consciousness left to speak of." Midori put another Marlboro to her lips and lit it.
"What I'm afraid [**KOWAI**] of is dying like that. The shadow of death slowly, ever so slowly encroaching upon the living, everything fading to black, those around you treating you as more dead than alive. That'd be unbearable. I absolutely wouldn't be able to stand it.")
[Murakami 1987 Vol.2: 149-150]

(9) ...Toshi oite shi o mukaeyoo to shita toki ni ittai boku ni nani ga nokotte iru no daroo to kangaeru to hidoku **KOWAI**.
[Murakami 1990a: 10]

(J --> E: ...the prospects are awfully scary [**KOWAI**]; in old age, when it comes time to die, what on earth's going to be left of me?)
[Murakami 1987: 9]

(10) (Eizu de shinda shoonen Ch[illegible].) Kare no omoiyari, fukutsu no seishin to yuuki wa eien ni hitobito no mune ni nokoru b[illegible].
Intabyuaa: "Shinu no wa **KO**[illegible]**WAI**?"
Chaarii: "Uun, koko de sugosete yokatta kara."
[TV programme "Inside Edition" broadcasted in Japan on Mach 14th, 1997.
Translator from English into Japanese is unknown.]

(J <-- E: (News about a boy who died from AIDS.) Charlie was remembered for his sweet spirit, his incredible endurance and his courage. (The following is an interview conducted before Charlie died)
Interviewer: "Are you afraid [**KOWAI**] to die?"
Charlie: "No, I am glad to be here.")

People often feel KOWAI when they anticipate encountering ghosts, as seen in the following two examples.

(11) (Kuhombutsu no otera ni iku made wa obake wa denai, to sensei wa itta kedo, zettai ni tochuu de denai kana...) to bikubiku shinagara yatto Nioosama no mieru, otera no iriguchi ni tadoritsuita. Yoru no otera wa, otsukisama ga dete itemo, kurai mitai de, itsumo wa hirobiro to shite kimochi no ii keidai na noni, kyoo wa koko kara obake ga dete kuru ka wakaranai to omou to, Tottochan-tachi wa, **KOWAKU**te, **KOWAKU**te doo shiyoo mo nakatta.
[Kuroyanagi 1981: 95]

(J --> E: The headmaster said no ghosts would appear before they got to Kuhonbutsu 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 Deva 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 when they would encounter one of the ghosts, the children were so terrified [felt so **KOWAI**] they could hardly bear it.)

[Kuroyanagi 1982: 66]

(12) "Docchi michi Marii wa bochi o tootte, Bakku Haaroo kaidoo wa suki janai n da. Kanojo, yuurei ga **KOWAI** n da."
[King 1987: 44]

(J <-- E: "Marie doesn't like to go down that Back Harlow Road past the cemetery, anyway. She's afraid [**KOWAI**] of ghosts.")
[King 1992: 333]

As mentioned before, Hida and Asada (1996: 112) also say that the degree of "kyoofu (roughly 'fright')" or "fuan (roughly 'anxiety')" involved in OSOROSHII 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 OSOROSHII ((I) feel OSOROSHII about that teacher)", the person is someone who can readily depart from the ways of humanity. i.e., be cruel and heartless". OSOROSHII 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 OSOROSHII. 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) Koozu: "Anoo, watashi wa sugoku ano hito (ane) ga **KOWAKU**te. Hijoo ni naka ga ii shi, imooto omoi no ane na n desu kedo... Nanishiro watashi no shiranai koto subete shittemasu shi, totemo watashi wa ano hito ni wa kanawanai desu ne, tsune ni. (...) Shoogakkoo no toki kara, ano, nanika watashi ga kanojo no ki ni kuwanai koto o suru to, "Haa-chan, zabuton motte, heya ni kinasai." Watashi wa tsune ni atama ga agaranakatta n desu ga...
[Hazuki Koozu (actress) in TV programme "Tetsuko no Heya" on January 22nd, 1997]

(MT: I always felt **KOWAI** of her (my elder sister). Although she and I are intimate with each other and she is considerate to me, she knows everything I don't know, and I am no 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) Tiin'eejaa no koro, watashi wa jibun ga noppo de, uchiki de, minikui to omotte imashita. Kawatta no wa, kookoo o sotsugyooshita ato no natsu desu. Otoko no ko ni motehajime, kirei ni natta ki ga shimashita. Demo, saikin, kookoosei no koro no gakkyuuiin datta otokonoko ni atta toki, koo iwareta n desu yo. "Mearii, kimi wa kirei datta yo. Totemo shikkari shite ita kara, bokutachi wa kimi ni chikazuku no ga **KOWAKAT**ta n da."
[Gross 1995: 258]

(J <-- E: When I was a teenager, I thought I was ugly, tall, and gawky. A lot changed the summer after high school. Boys discovered me. I had sort of turned beautiful or something. But I recently met my class president, and he said, "Mary, you weren't ugly, you were beautiful, but you had ideas. You terrified us [made us feel **KOWAI**].)
[Gross 1995: 250]

In examples like the following, where one has noticed someone whom one thinks cruel or heartless, and feels frightened, one could alternate KOWAI with OSOROSHII.

(15) "Hakujin no keiei shite iru ano hoomu no koto? Asoko wa Eva o ireru toko ja nai wa. Asoko ni haitteru onnatachi wa minna fuketsu de bimboo de, sewashite kureru hito ga zenzen inai hitotachi yo. (....) Eva wa kawatteru kedo, ki wa tashika desho. Sonna koto shicha dame yo, Suura."
"Watashi, kanojo ga **KOWAI** no."
"**KOWAI** tte? Eva ga?"
"Anta wa kanojo o shiranai kara yo. Kanojo ga Puramu o yakikoroshita koto, shitteta?"
[Morrison 1995: 121-122]

(J <-- E: "You mean that home the white church run? Sula! That ain't no place for Eva. All them women is dirt poor with no people at all. (....) Eva's odd, but she got sense. I don't think that's right, Sula."
"I'm scared [**KOWAI**] of her, Nellie. That's why...."
"Scared [**KOWAI**]? Of Eva?"
"You don't know her. Did you know she burnt Plum?")
[Morrison 1973: 100-101]

(16) Soshite Asui ni Furanii wa itta. "Aitsu o korosu koto nanka doo demo ii. Tada aitsu o kowagaasete yaritai." Kanojo wa itta. "Kare o chijimiagarasete yaritai wa." Kanojo wa itte, kyuu ni furueta. Kanojo wa nakidashita. "(Gookansareta toki) honto ni atashi wa **KOWAKAT**ta n da kara!" Kanojo wa sakenda. "Okage de, ima demo kare ga **KOWAI** wa." Kanojo wa itta.
[Irving 1989 Vol. 2: 297]

(J --> E: And finally Franny said, "I don't care about killing him. I just want to scare him," she said. "I want him to be frightened," she said, shivering suddenly; she started crying. "He really *scared* me [made me feel **KOWAI**] (when he raped me)," she cried. I'm *still* afraid [**KOWAI**] of him, for Christ's sake," she said.)
[Irving 1982: 372]

Other examples where KOWAI appear as follows. Examples (17) - (19) are from original Japanese texts. Examples (20) -(22) are Japanese translations of originally English texts;

(17) Aa, suppin ga **KOWAI**. Ie no naka de urouroshite, futo kagami ni utsuru suppin megane o miru toki, totetsumonai buttai ni omoeta.
[Kimiko Shiraishi "Jibun no kao to no tsukiaikata" pp. 186-191 in Takagi 1994: 190]

(MT: Oh, I feel **KOWAI** of my face without make-up. I wandered around the house, and when I saw my face in the mirror with glasses on but without make up, it looked awful.)

(18) "Suuggee! Kanojo sugoku kiree da ze."
"Marude betsujin-nijuuhachigoo."
"Keshoo suru to aka no tanin."
"Onna tte **KOWAI**."
[Hayami 1987: 132]

(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 hidoi uso o tsuku to, ato ga **KOWAI** wa yo."
[Mishima 1952: 274]

(J --> E: "If you tell such lies, you'll be sorry [feel **KOWAI**] later."
[Mishima 1977: 127]

(20) "Kao ga tayori dake to iu sekai wa sugoku **KOWAI** mono yo" to Nanshii Baagu ga itte iru.
[Gross 1995: 186]

(J <-- E: "It's a very scary [**KOWAI**] world when all you are is a face," says Nancy Berg.)
[Gross 1995: 171]

(21) Atashi wa karera to wakareru no ga **KOWAI** no desu. Kono mijikai kikan ni ano hitotachi wa atashi ni totte kazoku no yoo ni natte shimatta kara.
[Walker 1986: 154]

(J <-- 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 kara nishi e 42 mairu ni takusan no gyangu ga iru.)
Juumin: "Machi o aruku no ga **KOWAI**. 23-sai dakedo 8-ji ikoo wa gaishutsu shinai."
[TV programme "Inside Edition", broadcasted in Japan on February 26th, 1997.
Translator from English into Japanese is unknown.]

(J <-- 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 23 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 iu kata desu no" to tsuma wa Ooki kara me o hanasanaide kaoiro o ukagatte ita.
[Kawabata 1961: 46]

(J --> 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) Wakakatta ano koro
Nani mo **KOWAKU**nakatta
Tada anata no yasashisa ga **KOWAKAT**ta
[Tadashi Kitajoo "Kandagawa" 1973 in Komota et al. 1995 Vol. 2: 222]

(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 wa)[3] [Y ga] KOWAI ((I) feel KOWAI [about Y])

3 When the speaker attaches 'the past tense suffix' or 'some formal evidential markers' to KOWAI, this describes an emotion feeling experienced by other people. Otherwise, the subject (experiencer) of the feeling is always "I" in Japanese.

(a) I felt something because I thought something [about
some person/some thing Y]
(b) sometimes a person thinks [about someone/something]:
(c) "something bad will happen [because of this person/thing]
(d) I don't want this to happen
(e) I want to do something because of this
(f) I can't do anything 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]

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. "Okoru to kontorooru 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 men mo aru n desu kedo, demo yappari otoosan tte doo iu hito tte iwareru to, yappari **KOWAI** hito na n desu yo ne."
Kuroyanagi: "Sugoku suparuta..."

Umemiya: "Sugoku kibishikatta n de. Anoo, sugoku koo, yappari nanika warui koto o suru to, yappari sugoku koo, tataku tte iu yori mo, sugoku koo nagurarete tte iu...
[Anna Umemiya (model) and Tetsuko Kuroyanagi in TV programme "Tetsuko no Heya" on July 28th, 1996]

(MT: Umemiya: "My father really spoiled me in some respects, but despite that, when I am asked how my father is, I would say he is a really **KOWAI** person."
Kuroyanagi: "He is a Spartan..."
Umemiya: "He was very strict. Well, after all, if I did something bad, I was beaten rather than hit by him....')

(26) --- Gemba no Ozu kantoku wa **KOWAKAT**ta desu ka?
Kishi: Minasan soo ossharu keredo, sugoku yasashikatta. Omoiyari ga arimashita.
--- Ichikawa kantoku wa doo desu ka?
Kishi: Ichikawa sensei wa ne, wakai toki wa **KOWAKAT**ta desu. (...) Ima wa taihen maroyaka ni nararemashita kedo.
[Keiko Kishi (movie actress) in *Fujin Kooron* 1997 November: 186]

(MT: ----Was Ozu, the director, **KOWAI** during filming?
Kishi: Although everybody says he generally is, he was very gentle to me. He had OMOIYARI.
---How about the other director Ichikawa?
Kishi: He was **KOWAI** when he was young, (...) but he has become very mellow now.)

The meaning of the attributive use of KOWAI can be posited as follows:

KOWAI --- The attributive use
[Y wa KOWAI ((people in general feel) Y is KOWAI)

(a) I want to say something about some person /some thing Y
(b) sometimes a person thinks:
(c) "something bad will happen because of this person/thing
(d) I don't want this to happen
(e) I want to do something because of this
(f) I can't do anything now"
(g) when this person thinks this, this person feels something bad
(h) I say: other people can feel like this when they think about Y

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 yonda hon de wa, Doitsujin no daitasuu wa nani ga okotte iru ka o shiranakatta -yoo desu kara ne. Aushuvittsu no chikaku no juumin wa, are o sooseeji-koojoo to omoikonde ita tokoro."
"Ut, nante **OSOROSHII**." Monika wa, ii kagen ni nasai to iitage na hyoojoo de otto o nirande.
[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.

(2) "Aa, boku wa moo **OSOROSHIKU**te tamaranai. Kitto nanika okoru. **OSOROSHII** koto ga okoru. Danoni boku ni wa, doo suru chikara mo nai."
"Donna koto ga dai?" to, boku wa kiita.
"Aa, boku ni mo wakaran." Ryoote de atama o kakaenagara, kare wa, umeku-yoo ni itta. "Tada nanika **OSOROSHII** ketsumatsu no kuru no ga, me ni mieru-yoo na ki ga suru no da."
[Maugham 1959b: 176]

(J <-- E: "Oh, I'm so frightened [felt so **OSOROSHII**]. I know something is going to happen, something terrible **[OSOROSHII]**, and I can do nothing to stop it."

"What sort of thing?" I asked.
"Oh, I don't know," he moaned, seizing his head with his hands. "I foresee some terrible **[OSOROSHII]** catastrophe.")
[Maugham 1950: 135]

(3) Soshite akamboo ga umareta ato no kanojo no mokumokutaru **OSOROSHII** tekii ni wa kare wa osore o nashita no de atta. Naze nara, kare wa tsuma ga soo sezu ni wa irarenakatta koto ga yoku wakatte ita kara de atta. Onna to iu mono wa sonna de atta. Karera no kanjoo wa jibunjishin ni taitshite sae gyaku no hookoo o totte ita. Soshite sore wa **OSOROSHIKAT**ta -- **OSOROSHIKAT**ta! Sono kanjoo ga jibunjishin ni taishite sae gyaku ni natte iru. Sono yoo na onna to ie no naka de seikatsusuru koto wa **OSOROSHII** jitsu ni **OSOROSHII**!
[Lawrence 1957: 64-65]

(J <-- E: ...and her silent, awful **[OSOROSHII]** hostility after the baby was born, had frightened him deeply. Because he had realised she couldn't help it. Women are like that. Their feelings take the reverse direction, even against their our selves, and it was awful **[OSOROSHII]** -- awful **[OSOROSHII]**! Awful **[OSOROSHII]**. Awful **[OSOROSHII]** to live in the house with a woman like that, whose feelings were reversed even against herself!)
[Lawrence 1972 Vol.2: 541]

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:

(4) "**OSOROSHIKU** nani mo nai heya ne."
[Murakami 1990b: 167]

(J --> E: "Awful **[OSOROSHIKU]** empty room you've got here.")
[Murakami 1985: 64]

(5) "(Kono chosuichi wa) dono kurai fukai no?"
"**OSOROSHIKU** fukai."
[Murakami 1990b: 195]

(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) Kaasan wa shokutaku o katazuke, taoreta isu o okoshita. Kazoku no chi ni nagareru booryokusei o zettai ni yoonin dekinai kaasan wa, mutto shite oshidamari, kizutsuita yoosu de

SORA-OSOROSHIKUte tamaranai to iu kao 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 1982: 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 kyooboosei 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 (experiencer) 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 (h)).

The Attributive Use of OSOROSHII

Examples of the attributive use of OSOROSHII are as follows:

(7) "(....) Juunen hodo mae no aru fuyu no yoru, Yudayajin kara seiteki na shuugeki o ukemashita. Sono otoko wa ushigoroshi da to wakatta no desu ga, imooto o uragoya ni hikizurikonde nando mo chijoku o kuwaeta no desu. Nikutaiteki ni wa imooto wa Yudayajin ni yoru shuugeki no ato ikite imashita ga, seishinteki ni wa hametsushite shimaimashita. Ninengo ni nyuusui-jisatsushita no desu. Kawaisoo na ko desu yo. Tashika ni kono **OSOROSHII** jiken dake demo, donna ni zangyaku na koto o Yudayajin ga dekiru ka, Yurius Shutoraihaa no rikai no fukasa ga jisshoo dekiru to omoimasu.
[Styron 1983: 38]

(J <-- E: One evening about ten winters ago she was walking near the ghetto and was sexually assaulted 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, Aushubittsu wa jitsu ni **OSOROSHII** tokoro yo, Sutingo. Mattaku shinjirarenai hodo **OSOROSHII** tokoro da kara. Hoka no sekai no yoo ni rippa na kedakai yarikata de koto o okonau beki datta nante hontoo ni ienai no ne."
[Styron 1983: 51]

(J <-- E: "(....) But a terrible **[OSOROSHII]** place was this Auschwitz, Stingo, 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) Shikashi, ningyoo no teashi o barabara ni suru koto wa, hontoo no imi de **OSOROSHII** koto de wa nakatta. Hontoo no imi de **OSOROSHII** no wa, onaji shoodoo o chiisana hakujin no onnanoko ni utsusu koto datta. Watashi wa, hakujin no onnanoko ni taishite wa mattaku

mukanshin de, ono o furutte mo doojinai hodo datta ga, soo shitai to iu yokuboo o kanjiru toki dake mukanshin de wa irarenaku natta.
[Morrison 1994: 27]

(J <-- 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 weaved on others.)
[Morrison 1970: 22]

(10) "Soo ieba, ano Migueru mo, doo natta kashira? Sainoo no nai ningen ga suru, geijutsu e no nesshin hodo, **OSOROSHII** mono wa nai. Izure wa, hinku, ue, byooki nado ni oitsumerarete, saigo wa, dokoka byooin de demo iki o hikitotta no daroo. Iya, soretomo zetsuboo no chikai no o shitte, ano nigotta Seenu-gawa ni demo, shi o motometa no de aroo ka?
[Maugham 1959a Vol.3: 152]

(J <-- E: He wondered what had happened to Miguel. There is nothing so 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: 386]

(11) Onaka ni Birii ga iru toki, Guradisu wa porio ni kakatta. Maruberii Faamu de porio ni yararenakatta ie wa nakatta yo. **OSOROSHII** koto sa.
[Morgan 1992 Vol. 2: 292]

(J <-- E: When Gladdie was carrying Billy, she got polio. There wasn't one family in Malberry Farm that wasn't touched with polio. It was a terrible [**OSOROSHII**] thing.)
[Morgan 1987: 346]

(12) "Watashi ga shissoosuru mae ni nanika atta n da wa. Nanika **OSOROSHII** koto. Nani mo kamo wasureru shika nai-yoo na." Kanojo wa tenjoo o miageta.
[Fielding 1994: 395]

(J <-- 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/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 say: other people can feel like this when they think about Y

OSORE (1) 恐れ and OSORE (2) 畏れ

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 Chinese 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 OSORERU (2) 畏れる and OSORE (2) 畏れ.

(13) Nobunaga no kashin ni taisuru ayatsuri kata wa 'kyoofusaseru' to iu koto datta ga, buka o 'kyoofusaseru'-yoo na soojuuhoo wa kesshite nagatsuzuki shinai. Araki Murashige wa hanki o hirugaeshi, Akechi Mitsuhide mo hanran o okoshite shimatta.
Nobunaga wa kerai o **OSORE (1)** sase wa shita ga, **OSORE(2)** sase wa shinakatta. '**OSORE(1)**' to '**OSORE(2)**' wa komponteki ni chigau. '**OSORERU(1)** to wa ningen no kyoofu ga soko ni aru ga, '**OSORERU(2)**' o wa aite ni taisuru sonkei ga kontei ni aru.
[Endoo 1994: 42-43]

(MT: Nobunaga's way of controlling his vassals was "to make them feel fear [**kyoo-fu**][5]", but the manipulation which makes subordinates feel **kyoo-fu** can never continue for long. Murashige Kuroki flew the flag of revolt, and Mitsuhide Akechi also revolted against Nobunaga.
Nobunaga made his vassals feel **OSORE(1)**, but not **OSORE(2)**.
OSORE(1) and **OSORE(2)** are fundamentally different. There is a **kyoo-fu** of human beings at the base of '**OSORERU(1)**', but there is respect for the person as the base of '**OSORERU(2)**'.)

(14) "Sorede, doo desu ka," Vaisuferuto ga odayaka na kuchoo de kiita. "Kuroodo wa donna chooshi desu?"
"Kiwamete yoku yatte imasu yo. Dono kamoku demo ii seiseki o totte imasu. Zuibun hon o yonde ita-rashii desu ne."
"Iya, hoka no seito to no kankei ni tsuite kikitai n desu ga ne. Hitozukiai to iu ka."
Aivan wa chotto kao o shikamete kangaeta. "Sukoshi koritsushitemasu ne. Amerika de wa nante iu n deshita kke. Soo ippikiookami na n desu. Hoka no seito wa kaette keii o haratteru-yoo desu. Chotto shita **OSORE(2)** o kanjite iru seito mo iru kurai de."
[Conroy 1994 Vol.1: 28]

(J <-- E: "So tell me," Weisfeld asked quietly, "how's it going with him over there?"

[5] 'Kyoofu' is the Chinese compound word of a combination of two words "kowai (kyoo-)" and "osoroshii (-fu)".

"I would say extremely well. He's getting high marks in everything, apparently. He seems to have read a great deal."
"I mean with the other boys. The social part of it."
Ivan frowned for a moment, thinking. "He's a bit standoffish. What's the American word? A loner. But people respect that. Some of them seem slightly awed [holding **OSORE(2)**] in fact.)
[Conroy 1993: 170]

(15) Sono yoru, watashitachi sannin wa beddo no naka ni jitto yokotawatte ita. Watashitachi no kokoro wa, Pikoora ni taisuru **OSORE(2)** to sonkei no kimochi de ippai datta. Hontoo ni *minsu* ni natte iru genjitsu no ningen no tonari ni yokotawatte iru no wa nantonaku **OSORE(2)** ooi kanji datta. Ima, kanojo wa watashitachi to wa chigatte ite, -- nantonaku otona no yoo datta.
[Morrison 1994: 38]

(J <-- E: That night, in bed, the three of us lay still. We were full of awe [**OSORE (2)**] and respect for Pecola. Lying next to a real person who was really ministrain' was somehow scared [full of **OSORE (2)**]. She was different from now -- grown-up-like.)
[Morrison 1970: 38]

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 homonymous word OSORE(RU) (2) can be explicated as follows:

OSORE(RU) (2) 畏れ（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

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 /t/: zot-to --> zoQ-to. Some onomatopoeic words combine with the verb 'suru (do)'. 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), kyoton to suru (feel kyotoN). (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) Moo sugu mayonaka da
Nanika jaaku na mono ga yami ni hisonderu
Tsuki no hikari no moto de
Shinzoo ga tomari-soo na kookei o kimi wa miru no sa
Sakebi o ageyoo to shite mo
Kyoofu no amari koe mo denai
Osoroshii mamono ni jitto mitsumerare
Kimi wa sono ba ni kooritsuku
Ippo mo ugokenai yo

(B [J<--E]: 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 [**k y o o fu**] takes the sound before you make it
Your start to freeze as horror looks you right between the eyes,
You're paralysed)

(1) Odoroki no amari tada boozen to shite shimatte, watashi wa karekore 30-byoo mo nagamete ita ni chigainai. To kyuu ni shimbaru demo uchiawaseta ka no yoo ni, watashi no mune ni ketatamashiku **kyoofu** no nen ga wakitatta. Watashi wa nedoko kara gaba to okiru to, massugu kagami no mae e tonde itta. Kagami no omote o hitome miru nari, zenshin no chi ga satto hiite ichiji kooritsuita-yoo de atta. Soo da, watashi wa Henrii Jiikiru de toko ni tsuki, Edowaado Haido de me ga sameta no da. Kore wa doo setsumeishitara yoi mono de aroo ka? To mata shite mo **kyoofu** no amari tobiagaru omoi de -- kore wa ittai doo shite motodoori ni naoshita mono daroo ka? to, watashi wa jimonshita no de atta.
[Stevenson 1967: 95-96]

(J <-- E: I must have stared upon it for near half a minute, sunk as I was in the mere stupidity of wonder, before terror [**kyoofu**] woke up in my breast as sudden and starling 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 bound of terror [**kyoofu**]--how was it to be remedied?)
[Stevenson 1925: 54]

The ZOQ feeling occurs when one physically feels cold in a biological sense, as in:

(2) Tsumetai yokaze ni atatte, **ZOQ** to minishimita.
[Ono 1989: 179]

(B: Blown by the cold night wind, I was chilled [felt **ZOQ**] to the bone.)

In the following examples where one experiences a sound-symbolic emotion of ZOQ, one feels as if physically cold, especially on one's back:

(3) "....soshite ashioto ga kikoeta no. Sugoku yukkuri to shita ashioto. Sara...sara...sara..., soo iu surippa o hikizutte aruku-yoo na ashioto. Sore ga ippo ippo to doa no hoo ni chikazuite kuru wake."
Kanojo wa sono oto o omoidasu-yoo ni, chuu o mitsumeta. Soshite kubi o futta.
"Sono oto o kiita totan ni watashi **ZOQ to shi**chatta no. Kore wa ningen no ashioto ja nai tte. Sesuji ga kooritsuku tte iu kanji ga hajimete wakatta wa. Sono toki. Sesuji tte hontoo ni kooritsuku no yo. Shuujiteki-kochoo ja nakutte. Watashi, hashitte nigeta wa."
[Murakami 1991b: 75]

(J --> E: "...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]

(2) Dooshite boku ga maiban furueru hodo **kowai** omoi o shite iru ka tte?
Moshi Daina ga kokorogawari o shitara tte kangaechau kara sa

(B [J<--E]: Every night why do I shake with fright [**kowai** feeling]?
Because my Dinah might change her mind about me)
[Sam M. Lewis & Joe Yong "Dinah" 1925 by MILLS MUSIC INC. in Murakami 1994: 51]

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]

(4) Aru hi, shihooshiken ni kansuru shimbun-kiji o me ni shita. Sono kiji wa, shihooshiken ni gookaku suru koto ga ika ni konnan ka o kaita mono de, toku ni gookakusha no heikinnenrei wa 29.3-sai to iu deeta ni boku no me wa ubawareta. Hotondo no jukensei ga, daigaku-zaigakuchuu kara benkyoo o hajimeru koto o kangaereba, shihooshiken ni kakeru kikan wa yaku 10-nen. Sono aida, zutto benkyoo-zuke ni natte inakereba naranai ka to omou to, sesuji ga **ZOQ to shi**ta.
[Ototake 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.)

(5) Kanojo no obake no hanashi wa **ZOQ to suru** hodo kowakatta.
[Yamada & Irabu 1986: 444]

(B [J-->E]: Her ghost story was so scary that it sent chills up my spine [made me feel **ZOQ**].)

(6) Obake ga deru to, ningen wa **ZOOQ**[8] **to suru**. Sesuji ga samuku naru.
[Nada 1984: 30]

(MT: We feel **ZOOQ**, when we see a ghost. Chills run up our spines.)

(7) Osoroshii sakebigoe o kiite, karera wa **ZOQ to shita**.
[Yanase & Jewel 1990: 237]

(B [J-->E]: The horrible scream made their blood run cold [made them feel **ZOQ**].)

(8) Tetsuzuki ga owatta tokoro de, Supensaa-shi wa ie no kagi o hikiwatashi, shinai ni shika sunda koto ga nai Sutaan wa, totan ni koogai ni deru koto ga KOWAKU natta. "Konna tokoro" de ore wa hontoo ni kurasu ki ga aru no ka doo ka kangaeru to **ZOQ** to samuke ga suru no de atta.
[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]

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[8] Emphatic form of ZOQ.

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 kangaeta dake de **ZOQ** to suru.
[Yamada & Irabu 1986: 444]

(B [J-->E]: I shudder [feel **ZOQ**] at the very thought of war.)

(10) Kanojo wa shinin o mite **ZOQ** to shita.
[Konishi 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) Kare wa, Furanagan ni oshierarete, tokidoki omoidasu-yoo ni kayotta shooka no koto o omoidashita. Fukurokooji no aru ie o, kossori kuguru. Yutorehito, biroodo o hatta oosetsuma, dokudokushii keshoo o shita shoobai-onna no kobi. Omotta dake de **ZOQ** to shita.
[Maugham 1959a Vol.2: 118]

(J <-- E: He thought of the stray amours to which he had been introduced by Flanagan, the sly visits to houses in *cul-de-sacs*, with the drawing-room in Utrecht velvet, and the mercenary graces of painted women. He shuddered [felt **ZOQ**].)
[Maugham 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]

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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 (ZOOQ is the emphatic form of ZOQ) :

Haruko: Goo Hiromi, itsu no ma ni ka, HIROMI GO.
Asako: Yatara rempatsu-suru "Saannkyuuuuu" no hatsuon ga suggoku hen! Suggoku hen!
Haruko: Membaa shookai no toki no gaikokujin-chikku na namari mo, sesuji ga **ZOOQ** to suru hodo ki-mi ga warui shi.
["Kachi-shinsa-iinkai: HIROMI GO concert tour" p. 96 in *Shuukan Asahi* 1996 Aug. 16-29: 96]

(MT: Haruko: Before I knew it, the name of Hiromi Goo had been changed into the English-style "HIROMI GO".
Asako: His pronunciation of "Thankyuuuuuuuuuuuu" which he said over and over again sounded strange. Very strange.

(12) Anna otoko ni sawararetara **ZOQ to suru** wa!
[Murakami 1997: 153]

(B [J-->E]: It would give me the creeps [I would feel **ZOQ**] if a man like that touched me!)

(13) "Nandaka, ano hito to au to kimatte sesuji ga **ZOQ to suru**," Redii ga itta.
"Dooshite ka na."
"Aburagitteru tte iu ka, jito tto shita kanji ga suru no yo."
[Conroy 1994 Vol.2: 207]

(J <-- E: "I don't know why that man has always given me the creeps [lit.made me feel **ZOQ** at my spine]," Lady said.
"In what way?"
"Something oily. Something wet about him.")
[Conroy 1993: 411]

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.

(14) "Anata wa ne, mieppari de goojoo yo. Wagamama da shi... soo ne, watashi yori okubyoo da wa." (....) "**ZOQ to suru** hodo tsumetai kanji ga suru koto datte aru no yo. Okorippokute egoisuto da shi, tsuite ikenai kana, soo omotta koto ga nando mo aru no."
[Hata 1974a: 160]

(MT: "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 egoistic and I have often thought that I could not follow you.")

(15) Mata, sute-zerifu no yoo na mono demo, "Korya KOWAAI" to mi no ke ga yodatsu kotoba mo aru. Moshi anata ga, okugata ni taishi, sune ni kizumotsu tachiba de aru to shiyoo.
"Tane wa agatteru n desu yo. Itte shimainasai. Hakeba raku ni naru n da. Haite shimae. Oi!" Tatetsuzuke ni semararetemo, kore wa sashite KOWAKUnai. Gyaku ni tada hitokoto,
"Watashi, shitte iru no yo." Kore wa **ZOOQ**[10] **to suru** no de wa nai ka, sukunaku tomo watashi no baai nara soo de aru.

Haruko: The foreign accent he used when he introduced his band was also queer. It made me feel **ZOOQ** along my spine.)

10 The emphasised form of 'ZoQ".

[Taroo Miyagoshi "Kokoro no oku o terasu kotoba" pp. 143-166 in Saitoo 1989: 52]

(MT: Among parting shots, there are words which make you feel "KOWAI" as if your hair is made to stand on end. Let's suppose you have a secret which you are keeping from your wife.
"I know your secret. Say it. You will feel better if you confess it. Confess it. Hey!"
Although you are accused continuously like this, this is not so KOWAI. On the other hand, just one word,
" I know it." This will make you feel **ZOOQ**, won't it? At least, it does in my case.)

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 ZOOQ 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, namekuji o nomu toki no kibun tte, namekuji o nonda koto no aru ningen ni shika wakaranai yo na. Koo namekuji ga nura tto nodomoto o tootte, tsuu tto hara no naka ni ochite iku no tte hontoo ni tamaranai ze, sorya. Tsumetaku tte, kuchi no naka ni atoaji ga nokotte sa. Omoidashite mo **ZOQ to suru** ne. Geegee hakitai no o shinimonogurui de osaeta yo. Datte haitari shitara mata nominaoshi da mon na. Soshite ore wa tootoo sambiki zembu nonda yo."
[Murakami 1991a Vol.1: 63]

(J --> E: "What'd it feel like?"
"What'd it feel like? Like nothing that anyone who hasn't swallowed slugs could possibly understand. That slimy ooze as the slugs slide down your throat and plop into your stomach. Unbearable. All cold and wet and that aftertaste in your mouth. Simply revolting [ZOQ to suru] just to think of it. I wasn't going to retch up those things if it killed me. If I had, they'd just have made me swallow them again. Altogether I swallowed three of the things.")
[Murakami 1989a Vol. 1: 64]

(17) "Sensei, takai tokoro ga KOWAI hazu nai desho. Ochiru shimpai ga nai nara. Demo, shita o miru to, **ZOOQ to shite** shimau n desu." Koosho-kyoofushoo no ningen wa soo iu.
[Nada 1982: 153]

(MT: "Doctor, high places should not be KOWAI, should they? If we don't have the worry of falling down, that is, but when I look down, I end up feeling **ZOOQ**." People who are afraid of heights says this.)

(18) Repootaa: (Anata no musumesan o koroshita) Shoonen ni taisuru kimochi ha?
Haha: Saisho wa nikushimi shika arimasendeshita. Mitsukedashite, kono te de koroshi, tsumi o tsugunau tame ni, watashi mo shinoo to omotte imashita. Sono koro, kagami ni utsuru jibun no kao o mite, **ZOQ to shita** koto ga arimasu.
[*AERA* May 25th: 14]

(MT: Reporter: What do you think about the boy (who murdered your daughter)?
Mother: At first I had only NIKUSHIMI (hate). I was thinking that I would find him and kill him with my own bare hands, and then kill myself to atone for the offence after that. At that time I felt **ZOQ** upon seeing my face reflected in a mirror.)

(19) "Anta mitai na kasu-otoko ga, era-soo na kuchi kikanaide yo!"
Doosei-aite to no kooron de, omowazu hisuterikku ni donatte shimatta shunkan, Kazumi-san (30) wa **ZOQ to shita**. Shinu hodo kirainuite kita hahaoya ga, jibun o batoosuru toki no kuchoo to sokkuri da to kanjita kara da.
[*AERA* 1999 February 22nd: 66]

(MT: "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.)

(20) Ki ga tsuku to, kodomo-tachi ga sunde iru manshon no mae ni kuruma o tomete, utsuro na kao o shite zuuutto soko ni iru n desu. Mikka ni ichido gurai, itte ita deshoo ka. Makari machigaeba, yuukaishite ita kamo shiremasen. (....) Moo, kuruu ippo temae to iu kanji datta. (....) Moshi nani mo shigoto ga nakattara, doo natte ita n daroo. Hatashite, ochikonda jootai kara haiagaru koto ga dekita daroo ka. Soo kangaeru to, **ZOQ** to shimasu.
[Hiromi Iwasaki (singer) "Musuko-tachi to no wakare o norikoete" pp. 70-74. in *Fujin Kooron* 1999 April 22nd: 73]

(MT: When I came to myself, I had parked my car in front of the apartment block where my children were living and I had been there for a long time with a vacant face. I went there once every three days. If things went wrong, I might have had kidnapped them. I was just one step from going crazy. (....) I wonder what would have happened to me if I had not had any job at that time. Would I have been able to get out of that depressed state? Thinking of that, I feel **ZOQ**.)

(21) Watashi wa jibun no kanjusei o seikatsu no tame ni riyooshitai. Sainoo no karamawari wa saketai. Demo watashi wa bi o soozooshitai. Sore o omou to, kekkonshite hahaoya ni naru koto wa **ZOQ to suru**. Kaji to, ryoori to, kaimono no sekai ni bottooshiteshimau koto wa.
[Fowles 1984 Vol. 2: 5]

(J <-- E: 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.)
[Fowles 1976: 151]

(22) Totsuzen futari no hitokage ga arawaremashita. Hitori wa kogara na otoko de, higashi no hoo e isogiashi ni gungun aruite iku. Moo hitori wa, yattsu ka too gurai deshoo ka, onnanoko de, yotsuji o ikiseki kitte kakete kita. Sokode toozen futari wa, magarikado de deaigashira ni butsukatteshimatta n desu. Sore kara desu. **ZOQ to suru**-yoo na koto ga okotta no wa. Tsumari, otoko wa, heiki na kao de, kodomo o fumitsukete, jibeta de nakiwameite iru no o, sono mama, sassa to itte shimaoo to suru de wa arimasen ka.' Kiita dake de wa, nan demo nai koto deshoo ga, jissai ni mita mono no me ni wa marude, jigoku. Totemo ningen-waza de wa nai. Hito o hikikoroshite gokuraku e okuru to iu Indo no imawashii kami no yoo desu.
[Stevenson 1967: 10]

(J <-- E: All at once, I saw two figures: one a little man who was stumping along eastward at a good walk, and the other a girl of maybe eight or ten who was running as hard as she was able down a cross-street. Well, sir, the two ran into one another naturally enough at the corner; and then came the horrible [ZOQ to suru] part of the things; for the man trampled calmly over the child's body and left her screaming on the ground. It sounds nothing to hear, but it was hellish to see. it wasn't like a man; it was like some damned Juggernaut.)
[Stevenson 1925: 5]

(23) "Yuujin no jitensha de okurimashoo" to kare wa itta. "Takushii yori wa mashi deshoo. Toogyuu wa osuki de wa nai n desu ne."
"Ee! **ZOQ to shi**masu wa!" to Keeto wa itta.
[Lawrence 1990: 30]

(J <-- E: "I will send you in the automobile of my friend," he said. "It will be better than a taxi. You don't like the bull-fight.?"
"No! Horrible [**ZOQ** to suru]!" said Kate.)
[Lawrence 1951: 16]

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/spine' [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 (i) 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, masukara tsukete kite, me o pachipachi saseru n ja nai wa yo.
HARA TATSU[2] naa.
[Yamada 1989: 118]

(J –> E: "You're not supposed to come to school wearing mascara and go around batting your eyelashes. It pisses me off **[HARA (GA) TATSU]**.)
[Yamada 1992: 109]

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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.

(2) Karera no itta bakageta joodan ni **HARA GA TAT**ta.
[Snowden & Doi 1982: 11]

(B [J-->E]: Their stupid jokes put my back up [made me **HARA GA TATSU**].)

(3) Shujin ni **HARA GA TAT**temasu! Ninshinchuu ni yoso de asonde kita mitai de Kuramijia ga utsutte shimai, soozan ni narimashita. Kodomo o unde 2-nen ni naru n desu keredo, sono-go, hansei mo nai mama, mada asonde iru rashikute, onna no kaita denwabangoo o hakkenshimashita. Uwaki o suru nara motto joozu ni yare! Byooki o motte kuruna!
[Housewife, K.Y. (26 years old) in *Shuukan Josei* 1999 February 23rd: 88]

(MT: I am feeling **HARA GA TATSU** towards my husband. During my pregnancy, it seems he had an affair somewhere. I caught chlamydia from him, and my child was born prematurely. It is already 2 years since I had the baby, but my husband blithely continues playing around. I found a telephone number written in a woman's hand. If you have an affair, be a bit more clever! Don't come back diseased!)

(4) Watashi wa Samyueru no tsuma de, Superuman shimpu no sotsugyoosei dakara tokubetsu na no da to iu kao o shite ita no desu kedo, kare wa watashi o tada no kuromboo to shite atsukatta no desu! Aa, watashi totemo kizutsuita wa! Sore ni sugoku **HARA GA TAT**ta no!
[Walker 1986: 221]

(J <-- E: I was acting like somebody because I was Samuel's wife, and a Spelman Seminary graduate, and he treated me like an ordinary nigger. Oh, my feelings were hurt! And I was mad [**HARA GA TAT**ta]!)
[Walker 1982: 171]

(5) "Tokorode, Myurieru wa ano toori no ko deshoo. Honto ni adokenai mon dakara, dare ni datte ii yoo ni ugokasarete shimau n desu. Soko ga atashi, **HARA GA TAT**te tamannai no. Kekkyoku kizutsuku no wa, itsu datte aa iu hitotachi na n da mono.
[Salinger 1980: 30]

(J <-- E: "And you know Muriel. She's just darling enough to let anybody and his brother push her around. That's what gripes me [**HARA GA TATSU**]. It's always those kind of people that get burnt in the end....")
[Salinger 1955: 25]

In example (1) the subject HARA GA TATSU about a girl who wears mascara to school. In example (2) the subject HARA GA TATSU about somebody else's stupid jokes. In example (3) a housewife HARA GA TATSU about her husband who passed on an infection to her as a result of his love affair. The subject in example (4) HARA GA TATta since she had suffered discriminatory treatment. The subject in (5) HARA GA TATSU about a girl who manipulates others.

The explication for the meaning of this expression HARA GA TATSU is as follows:

**HARA GA TATSU [(Watashi wa)[3] HARA GA TATSU
((I) feel HARA GA TATSU)]**

(a) I felt something because I thought something
(b) sometimes a person thinks this:
(c) "someone did/didn't do something
(d) I didn't want something like this to happen
(e) I say: my gut is standing inside me[4] [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 did/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 korosareta ato...) "Naruhodo." Sono keiji wa amari nesshin-soo de wa nakatta. Nemutte iru no o tatakiokosareta no ka, shikiri ni akubi ga de-soo ni naru no o kamikoroshite ita. Yuriko wa HARA GA TATta ga, (Noriko no otto no) Katase mo (musume no) Atsuko mo ima wa **HARA O TATERU** hodo no yoyuu mo nai-yoo da.
[Akagawa 1985: 117]

(J --> E: (After Noriko was killed...) "I see...," the detective said. He didn't sound particularly eager, and from the way he kept trying to suppress a yawn it was obvious that he had been dragged out of bed. His attitude made Yuriko furious [HARA GA TATSU], but neither (Noriko's daughter) Atsuko nor her father were in any state to notice [**HARA O TATERU**].)
[Akagawa 1985: 98]

(2) "Kodomo ga naite iru wa" Janisu ga Neruson o dakiageru. "Wakatta wa, akachan. **HARA O TATE**te n no ne. Sugu nakiyamu wa."
"Akamboo ga **HARA O TATERU** tte?"
Futari wa chotto mimi o sumashita ga, kodomo wa nakiyamanai. Kichigai mitai na, yowayowashii nakigoe wa, irairasuru chimmoku de kugirinagara, itsu made mo tsuzuku. Uttaeraretemo, sore ga nan da ka wakarazu ni, kangoku no kabe mitai ni suiteki no nijinde iru heya no naka de futari wa ochitsukinaku urotsuki, nichiyooban-shimbun no kamikire o fumichirasu.
[Updike 1972a: 255]

(J <-- E: "Baby cry!" Janice put her arm around Nelson. "I know it honey. She's hot [**HARA O TATE**te iru]. She'll stop in a minute."
"Baby hot [**HARA O TATERU**]?"
They listen for a minute and it does not stop; the wild feeble warning, broken by tantalising gaps of silence, goes on and on. Warned, but not knowing of what, they blunder about restlessly through the wreckage of the Sunday paper, inside the apartment, whose walls sweat like the walls of a prison.)
[Updike 1960: 225-226]

(3) Chichi wa tokidoki mikakeru watashi no yuujintachi subete o, omo ni ie ni deirishite iru toki no taido kara handansuru yarikata de, Baan o handanshite iru no da. Tadashi, kare no handan wa machigatte iru. Mata, chichi ga Kurisu o doroboo yobawarisuru toki wa itsumo, watashi wa **HARA O TATETA**. Naze nara, chichi wa Kurisu no koto o zenzen shiranai kara da.
[King 1987: 57]

(J <-- E: He (My father) was judging Vern the way he judged all my friends, from having seen them off and on, mostly going in and out of the house. He was wrong about them. And when he called Chris a thief I always saw red [**HARA O TATE**ta] because he didn't know *anything* about Chris.)
[King 1992: 339]

(4) Jiru ga yonkagetsu ni naru ka naranai ka no uchi ni, watashi wa mata ninshinshimashita. Isha no tokoro ni iku to, ima wa kodomo wa umanai hoo ga ii to iwareta no desu. (....) Ninshin nanakagetsu ni natte mata byooin e iku to, kodomo o umu no o akiramenakatta to iu node, sono isha wa watashi ni **HARA O TATE**mashita.
[Morgan 1992 Vol. 2: 199-200]

(J <-- E: By the time Jill was four months old, I was pregnant. Again. I went to the doctor and he told me I couldn't have a baby, that I had to get rid of it. (....) I went back to the doctor when I was seven months pregnant, he was very cross [**HARA O TATE**ta] that I had let the pregnancy continue.)

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 TATEta. In example (4) the subject describes how her doctor HARA O TATEta 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 this not because I think it is true
(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 GA TATSU, the subject of HARA O TATERU in the present tense in affirmative form is not restricted to the first person (component (a) "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 & Muraishi & Kabe 1989: 375; Kurosawa 1994: 321).[5] Xu (1993: 210, 217) suggests that the expression ATAMA NI KURU is informal colloquial language when compared with the expressions HARA GA TATSU 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 "kokoro" with one's head.[6] 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.

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5 Takeuchi (1986) reports that at the end of the 1950's, most young people under thirty did not use "HARA GA TATSU", but "ATAMA NI KURU". In the mid-1960's, 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 1970's, 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-1980's, young people began to use another angry-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. Hasada 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').

(1) "Ano hito wa kichin to mono o kangaeru to iu koto ga dekinai hito na no. Sono ba no omoitsuki de nanika itte, sono mama wasurechau no. Itteru toki wa honki na n da kedo, nani mo oboetenai no. Sono kuse, tokidoki kimagure de hahaoya to shite no yakuwari ni mezameru no. Watashi wa soo iu no ga sugoku **ATAMA NI KURU** no yo."
[Murakami 1991b: 377]

(J --> E: "But then Mama doesn't think like normal people do. She says whatever comes into her head and then she forgets it right after she's said it. She's serious when she says it, but after that she might as well have never said a thing. And then out of nowhere, she wants to play mother again. That's what really pisses me off [makes me **ATAMA NI KURU**].")
[Murakami 1994: 255]

(2) "Moo, **ATAMA NI KURU**! Katta bakari no sukaato ni koohii o kobosarechatta."
[Murakami 1997: 118]

(B [J-->E]: I'm so mad [**ATAMA NI KURU**]! Somebody spilled coffee on the skirt I just bought!)

(3) Yasumi-jikan tte yuu to, ore n toko no gakkoo, rooka made migigawa-tsuukoo na n da. Soide, rooka hashittari suru to, yasumi-jikan-chuu, rooka ni seiza saserareru n da. (....) Tsui, hashicchau jan, rooka tte. Chotto hashiru to, minna de "hashitta! hashitta!" tte, dekkai koe de sawagu n da yo. "Moo, seiza daa!" toka ne. Hoka no kumi no yatsu nanka, hashittoru yatsu mo oru noni, oretachi no kumi bakkari seiza da wa. **ATAMA NI KURU** naa. Hontoo ni.
[Sutajio Anuu 1985: 290]

(MT: During recess at my school, we have to walk on the right side of the corridor. Then, if we run in the corridor, we are made to sit there quietly during recess. (...) You can't help running in the corridor unintentionally, can you? When I run a little, everybody (from the other classes) yells "You ran! You ran!". "Punish him!" Although there are students in other classes who run, it is always only students in our class who are punished. **ATAMA NI KURU**. Really.)

(4) Harorudo: (Okotte) Konnichiwa, Yukie. Kyoo Nikku o minakatta?
Yukie: Iie. Kare to wa isshuukan ka sokora attenai wa. Doo shita no?
Harorudo: Ore, **ATAMA NI KI**te iru n da. Tooka mae ni 20 doru karite itte, mada kaeshite konai n da. Ano 20 doru, ima iru noni.
[Izumi & Matsui 1993: 113]

(B [J-->E]: Harold: (angrily) Hi, Yukie. Have you seen Nick today?
Yukie: No. I haven't seen him for a week or so. What's the matter?
Harold: I'm pissed off [**ATAMA NI KI**teru]. He borrowed twenty bucks from me ten days ago, but he hasn't paid it back yet. I really need it right now!)

(5) A: Jiageya no yarikata wa hontoo ni hidoi desu ne. Hookashitari, burudoozaa de kowashitari.
B: Hontoo desu ne. Konna hanashi shite iru dake demo **ATAMA NI KI**masu yo.
[Sasaki 1989: 13]

(B [J-->E}: A: The way land price riggers go about their business is just awful, isn't it? Setting fire to buildings or knocking them down with bulldozers.
B: You're right. Just talking about them, like this makes me blow my top [makes me **ATAMA NI KURU**].)

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) "Hoka ni terebi o mita hito iru kashira -- watashi wa minai wake ni ikanai wa yo. Sugoku HARA GA TATSU no yo -- hoooo ga Firaderufia de yatta koto yo. Josei no seishokusha wa zettai dame tte itta wa. Shikamo, nikoniko shite iru n dakara, hontoo ni **ATAMA NI KI**ta wa. Nikoniko shite, otoko shika inai boosantachi ni seisabetsu-shugisha no tawagoto o makushitatete iru no yo. Sore ga kyookai no shinnen da toka, kami ga kimeta koto toka nantoka, sonna koto o itte iru n dakara. Kare wa tottemo josai nai kara, **ATAMA NI KI**chau no yo. Sukunaku tomo, Nikuson ya Hitoraa no yoo na ningen wa ki ga kurutta mitai ni naru hito no yosa ga atta wa."
[Updike 1992 Vol. 2: 106-107]

(J <-- E: "Did any of you watch except me -- I can't stop watching. I got so furious [HARA GA TATSU] -- the performance he (Pope) put in at Philly[7] where he said absolutely No to women priests? And he kept smiling, what really got my goat [ATAMA NI KIta], he kept smiling while spouting all this sexist crap about only men in the priesthood and how it was the conviction of the church and God's decision and all that, so solly. He's so *smooth* about it, I think it is what gets to me, at least somebody like Nixon or Hitler had the decency to be fanatic.")
[Updike 1981: 106]

(7) "Nee, watashi, hakujin-onna ni hashiru kokujin-otoko ga nikurashikutte" to Robin.
"Watashi wa betsu ni nikurashiku wa nai kedo---" to Sabanna. "Nani yori **ATAMA NI KURU** no wa, renchuu ga taitei kateiteki na otonashii hakujin-josei bakari erabu koto ne. Shikamo soo iu onna o motomeru koto ni, nan no teikoo mo kanjite inai no yo ne."
"Otoko-domo ga hakujin-onna o utsukushisa yara onna-rashisa no tenkei mitai ni omotte iru desho. Soko ga **ATAMA NI KURU** yo ne."
[McMillan 1993 Vol. 1: 305]

(I <-- E: "You know what? I hate black men who run to white women," Robin said.
"I don't hate them," Savannah said. "But what kills me [makes me ATAMA NI KURU] more than anything is they usually pick the homeliest ones they can find and the ones who don't have shit going for them."

[7] Philadelphia

"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 HARA GA TATSU. For example, one might feel like killing another person impulsively because of ATAMA NI KURU. The person who just feels HARA GA TATSU is unlikely to consider such a violent reaction.

(8) Uchi no hahaoya mo aijoohyoogen ga sugoku heta de, yasashii kotoba ga ienai hito na n desu. Imada ni omoidasu no wa, shoogakusei no koro, haha no hi ni okane o tamete kompaku.o o purezento shita n desu ga, haha wa "Konna tsukai mo shinai mono o katte mudazukaisuru nante!" tte okotta no. Watashi, sono toki, hontoo ni koroshite yaritai kurai **ATAMA NI KI**ta no yo.
[Mainichi-shimbunsha 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 posit 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.

(h) I say this not because I think it is true
(i) I say this because I want to say how I feel"
(j) when this person thinks this, this person feels something very bad
(k) I felt something like this
(l) because I thought something like this

To compare with HARA GA TATSU, the feeling of ATAMA NI KURU is a relatively momentary feeling (component (b) "for some time, not for a long time"). The trigger of ATAMA NI KURU is somebody's action which offends the subject's feelings. Therefore, the components (c) "someone did something bad" and (d) "I don't want things like this to happen" are included in its meaning. The cause of ATAMA NI KURU is something bad that someone did. As seen in examples (5), (6), and (7) this bad thing does not have to have happened to the subject. Therefore, the component (c) does not include " to me" (someone did something * to me). The component (e) "it is very bad if someone does things like this" shows that the subject thinks there is something 'objectively' wrong about the object's action. The component (f) "I want to do something bad to this person" refers to an impulse to do something that would make the culprit feel bad. This is not controlled and is given full rein. Components from (g) to (i) show that the subject expresses his/her anger metaphorically as if his/her blood comes up to his/her head. The resultant feeling is "something very bad" (component (j)), which is more intense than that of HARA GA TATSU "something bad" .

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

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 **burn** 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.**
[McCaleb & 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!!**)
[Schulz 1958: n.p.]

(7) Jane sat 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 fifths. Boy oh Boy, you were steamed. 'Why not? Why not?' You'd asked. You loved the sound of them.)
[Conroy 1993: 203]

Japanese also has metaphorical expressions of anger which are related to body heat and blood pressure, as seen in the following examples:

(9) Seifu no bakasa kagen 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) Aitsu ga ore no hatsumei o utte hyakuman-chooja ni natta ka to omou to, **HARAWATA GA NIEKURIKAERU** ne.
[McCaleb & 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) **karadajuu no chi ga niekurikaeru** ka to omotta. Sugu ni kaette, Mutsuki o gushagusha ni shite nagutte yaritai, to omotta.
[Ekuni 1994: 114]

(MT: I thought **karadajuu 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, kantoku ga **atama kara yuge o tatete** daguauto kara tobidashite kite shimpan 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 referees decision of 'out'.)

(13) Hirame-kun no Yoshimoto-kun e no ikari wa **bakuhatsu**-sunzen!
[*Cancam* Nov.1994: 243]

(MT: Hirame's anger towards Yoshimoto is right on the point of **exploding**.)

(14) "Nani yo! ATAMA NI KIchau! Ano okkina taido!"
Suzuki Akiko no **ikari wa** masa ni **futtooten ni tasshi**yoo 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

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 (Munro[9] in Kövecses 1994). Thus, cultures do not observe the same physiological symptoms for anger.

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.
[Momozawa 1991: 79]

(B [J-->E]: He turned **red** with anger.)

(2) Kare wa giron ni makeru to, ikari de **aoku** naru.
[Momozawa 1991: 79]

(B [J-->E]: He turns **pale** with rage when he loses an argument.)

(3) Kare ga nijuusuunen mae, kishinda koe de itta kotoba ga kioku ni modotta. -- Kimi wa fuku o nugisuteru-yoo ni otoko o suteru n da. Sakisofon-fuki no otoko no kuchibiru wa, ikari no tame ni **aozamete** furuete ita.
[Mori 1989: 53]

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9 Munro, Pamela (1991) "Anger is heat: Some data for a crosslinguistic survey" (manuscript), Department of Linguistics, UC Los Angels.

(J --> E: She remembered, what he had rasped at her twenty-some years ago, his voice breaking. "*You change men like you change clothes.*" The boy's lips had been **pale** and trembling with rage.)
[Mori 1993: 62]

(4) Sokode kanojo wa hidariashi kara kanojo no bukakkoo na kutsu o nugi kin no kutsu o hakimasu to, sore wa kanojo no tame ni tsukutta mono no yoo ni pittari to kanojo ni aimashita. Sooshite kare ga chikazuite kanojo no kao o mimasu to sono kao ni mioboe ga arimashita. Kare wa iimashita. "Kore ga honto no hanayome desu." Shikashi haha to futari no musumetachi wa odoroki, kare ga Shinderera o uma ni nosete issho ni itte shimau to, ikari no tame ni **massao** ni narimashita.
[Grimm "Cinderella" 1963: 28]

(B: Then she took her clumsy shoe off her left foot, and put on the golden slipper; and it fitted her as if it had been made for her. And when he drew near and looked at the face he knew her, and said, "This is the right bride." But the mother and both the sisters were frightened, and turned **pale** with anger as he took Cinderella on his horse, and rode away with her.)

However, Japanese speakers would not describe the angry face as "shiroi (white)" as English speakers do. Therefore, in the following Japanese translation of the English 'white' angry face, 'white' is not translated as "shiroi (white)", but as "massao" or "ao-jiroi" which means 'blue' and 'pale' respectively.

(5) Firippu no kao wa, ikari de **massao** ni natte ita. Dekiru koto nara, genko de hitotsu, onna no kao o mimatte yaritakatta. Kokoro de wa, kuroku uchimi no dekita sono kao o sae, soozooshite ita.
[Maugham 1959a Vol.3: 119]

(J <-- E: Philip was **white** with rage. He would have liked to hit her in the face with his clenched fist, and in fancy he saw how she would look with a black eye.)
[Maugham 1963b: 367]

(6) "Atashitachi aishiatta koibito-dooshi datta -- soo yo, anata to nanka doo omotta tte kamawanai wa. Anata ni nan no kankei ga aru no? Atashi ga anata o shiru zutto mae ni koibito-dooshi datta --."
"Koibito-dooshi -- koibito-dooshi," kare wa ikari ni **aojiroku** natte itta. "Omae wa heitai san to zombun ni asonda tte wake da ne. Sorekara, ii kagen akichatta jibun ni ore no tokoro ni yome ni kita to iu n da nee --."
[Lawrence 1957: 124]

(J <-- E: "We loved each other, and we *were* lovers -- we were. I don't care what *you* think: what have you got to do with it? We were lovers before I knew you --"
"Lovers -- lovers," he said with **white** fury. "You mean you had your fling with an army man, and then came to me to marry you when you'd done --.")
[Lawrence 1961 Vol.1: 252]

Furthermore, the Japanese translation of the colour of an angry face as "murasaki (purple)" or "(dosu-)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 -- Choppaa no kuchibiru wa mekurete ha ga mukidashi ni nari, mimi wa surripusutoriimu no naka o tonde iru-yoo datta. (....) Choppaa no nodo kara shimekorosareru -yoo na osoroshii koe ga more. Choppaa wa shirome o muku to odoroku hodo kiree ni kyuuootenshite, jihibiki o tatete aomuke ni taoreta. Moomoo to tsuchikemuri ga tatsu. Isshun sono mama de ita ka to omou to, Choppaa no kuchi no hidarihashi kara nejireta shita ga darari to tareta.
Kore o mita Mairo wa ikari no amari gyakujoo shita. Hiyake shite kuroi kao ga, osoroshii hodo no **murasaki-iro** ni kawatta -- teppen o taira ni katta mijikaku kowai kami no ke no shita no jihada sae mo, **murasaki-iro** ni kawatta.
[King 1987: 132]

(J <-- E: I kid you not -- his doggy lips were stretched back from his teeth and his ears were flying in the slipstream. (....) A strangled yawp came out of Chopper's mouth, both eyes came up blank, and he did a totally amazing reverse snap-roll, landing on his back with a solid thump that sent dust puffing up around him. He just lay there hanging crookedly from the left side of his mouth.
At this, Milo himself went almost berserk with rage. His complexion darkened to a scary **plum colour** -- even his scalp was **purple**.)
[King 1992: 380]

(8) B. B. Goodon-shi wa, umaretsuki, kyooshi ni wa, fumuki na otoko datta. Kimijika de, okorippoi no da. Nanishiro aite wa kodomo bakari, dare hitori, togameru ningen ga inai mono dakara, oyoso jiseiryoku to iu mono ga tokku no mukashi ni, nakunatte ita. Subete jugyoo wa puripuri de hajimatte, kankan de owaru. (....) Hidoku zoosa no hakkirishinai, chiisana, aoi me o shita, ookina kao wa, umaretsuki ao-zaraao na no da ga, sore ga mata, tabitabi, kankan ni natte HARA O TATERU to, kurai, **murasaki-iro** ni kawaru.
[Maugham 1959a Vol. 1: 100-101]

(J <-- E: It was in his form that Philip was put on entering the school. The Rev. B. B. Gordon was a man by nature ill-suited to be a schoolmaster: he was impatient and choleric. With no one to call him to account, with only small boys to face him, he had long lost all power of self-control. He began his work in a rage and ended it in a passion. (....) His large face, with indistinct and small blue eyes, was naturally red, but during his frequent attacks of anger it grew dark **and purple**.)
[Maugham 1963b: 64]

(9) Ferudo ni wa chokkan ga hirameita. Anna hon ya kansoobun o shudan ni shite, nanika toomawashi no hoohoo de, Soberu wa Miriamu ni jibun ga kanojo o aishite iru to uchiaketa no da. Kutsuya wa aite no damashiuchi ni hageshii ikari o kanjita.
"Soberu, omae wa shooki ja nai zo," to kare wa kuyashige ni itta. "Kanojo wa omae mitai na toshiyori no minikui otoko to kekkonsuru hazu ga nai."
Soberu wa funnu de **dosuguroku** natta. Kutsuya o nonoshitta. Shikashi sore kara, mi o furuwasete gamanshiyoo to shinagara mo, sono me ni wa namida ni afurete kite, fukai susurinaki o hajimeta. Ferudo ni se o muke, kobushi o nigirishimete madobe ni tsuttatte ite, sono kata wa oshikoroshita musebinaki ni furuete ita.
[Malamud 1971: 73]

(J <-- E: Feld had a sudden insight. In some devious way, with his books and commentary, Sobel had given Miriam to understand that he loved her. The shoemaker felt a terrible anger at him for a deceit.
"Sobel, you are crazy," he said bitterly. "She will never marry a man so old and ugly like ... i."
Sobel turned **black** with rage. He cursed the shoemaker, but then, though he trembled to hold it in, his eyes filled with tears and he broke into deep sobs. With his back to Feld, he stood at the window, fists clenched, and his shoulders shook with his choked sobbing.)
[Malamud 1960;14-15]

Colours which are associated with other emotions in English and seem inappropriate to Japanese people are: "green" for 'envy', 'jealousy, spite', "purple" for 'pride', and "yellow" for 'misanthropy' (cf. Harré 1983: 137; Harré 1986b: 6). The following examples also show that the colour associated with the emotion felt when one's mind suddenly goes blank is different in different cultures.

(10) (Shikisha no) Heruman Burain wa nigatsu gejun kara Tookyoo Santorii-hooru de, roku-ban renzoku no Shuuberuto zen-kakyoku o utau risaitaru o yatta no datta.
60 nakaba na noni, muchakucha na keikaku da. Muron, zembu ampu de aru. (....)
Yom-bamme no risaitaru ga owatta koro, kare wa kanzen ni batete shimatta. Atama ga hatarakanaku natta to iu. (....)
Burain no hanashi de ha, "Saa, kono kyoku de saigo da" to harikitta totan ni, atama no naka ga "**makkuro**" ni natta no da-soo da. Tsumari, ampu ga kieta no de aru. (....)
Boku-tachi Nihonjin wa, atama no naka ga "**masshiro**" ni natta to iu. Onaji koto na no da. "**Makkuro**" to "**masshiro**", Doitsujin to Nihonjin , jinshu no chigai, bunka no chigai na no ka.
[Iwaki 1999: 130-131]

(MT: (The conductor) Herman Brown had recitals of Schubert's songs for six nights continuously at the Suntory Hall in Tokyo at the end of February.
That was a mad plan, since he was in the mid-sixties. Of course, he performed without music notes.
Around the time when he finished the fourth night's recital, he became completely played out. He said his mind started not to work.
According to Brown's story, when he got enthusiastic about conducting the last song, the inside of his mind became "**makkuro (deep-black)**". That means the memory of musical scores in his mind disappeared. (....)
If we Japanese are in such a condition, we would say that our mind became "**masshiro (complete-white)**". It's the same thing. "**Makkuro (deep-black)**" and "**masshiro (complete-white)**"--- Does this difference occur because of the difference of nationality (German or Japanese), or because of the difference of culture?)

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

(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 teki to omoe (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 **wanawana to furueta** ga, hoteru de sono hi kekkonshiki demo aru rashiku, shuui ni suunin no kikazatta danjo ga ite, minna nantonaku kooki no me o kochira ni mukete iru-yoo na yoosu na node, washi wa tachiagatta.
[Inoue 1964b: 181]

(B [J-->E]: I was so furious that I **shook**, but I could say nothing. There seemed to be a wedding reception somewhere in the hotel, and people in formal clothes were giving us vaguely curious glances. I stood up.)

(2) "Damashita no yo. Okaasama wa, watashi o odamashi ni natta no yo. Naoji ga kuru made, watashi o riyooshite irasshatta no yo. Watashi wa, okaasama no jochuu-san. Yoo ga sundara, kondo wa Miyasama no tokoro ni ike tte."
Wat to koe ga dete, watashi wa tatta mama, omoikiri naita.
"Omae wa baka da nee," to hikuku osshatta okaasama no okoe ga, ikari ni **furuete** ita.
[Dazai 1979: 50]

(J --> E: "You've deceived me. Mother, you've deceived me. You were using me until Naoji came. I've been your servant, and now that you no longer need me you're sending me away."
I let a cry and burst into tears.
"You are very foolish." Mother's voice as she spoke these words was **shaking** with anger.)
[Dazai 1956: 50]

(3) Sono aida ni oohi wa ie ni kaette kagami no tokoro e ikimashita ga, mae to sokkuri no kotae o yomitotta toki, ikari ni **furuete** mooshimashita. "Tatoe watashi no inochi ni kaete mo, Shirayukihime wa koroshite yaru wa."
[Grimm "Snow-drop" 1963: 45]

(B: Meantime the queen went home to her glass, and **shook with rage** when she read the very same answer as before; and she said, "Snow White shall die, if it cost me my life.")

(4) Atashi, kare o mushishite, motto hayaku aruita no dakedo, nimotsu wa omoi shi, taiyoo wa jirijiri teritsukete kuru. Shibaraku iku to, moo yasumazu ni wa irarenakatta. Suruto kare wa uma kara orite, atashi ni kisu shiyoo to shite, mori no naka ni hipparikomoo to shita n desu.
Mochiron, atashi wa teikooshimashita. Omoikiri itai omoi o saseta node, kare wa tsui ni atashi o hanashita n desu. Demo, kare monosugoku okotte imashita. Kono shikaeshi ni, anata to atashi ga otagai no shoosoku o shiru koto ga dekinai-yoo ni shite yaru to itta no desu.
Atashi wa ikari no tame ni **zenshin ga furue**mashita.
[Walker 1986: 151]

(J <-- E: I tried to ignore him and walk faster, but my bundle was heavy and the sun was hot. After a while I had to rest, and that's when he got down from his horse and started to kiss me, and drag me back in the woods.
Well, I started to fight him, and with God's help, I hurt him bad enough to make him let me alone. But he was some mad. He said because of what I'd done I'd never hear from you again, and you would never hear from me.
I was so mad myself **I was shaking**.)
[Walker 1982: 119]

(5) (Yuriko wa Ayako no suki na Anzai sensei ga satsujin no hannin kamo shirenai to iu.)
"Yuriko!" Ayako wa koe o **furuwaseta**. "Ikura nan demo hidoi wa yo. Moo yamenai to okoru wa yo."
[Akagawa 1985: 224]

(J --> E: (Yuriko says that Mr. Anzai whom Ayako likes might be the murderer.)
"Yuriko!" Ayako's voice **tremble** (with rage). "How dare you say things like that! I don't want to have another word or I'll be very angry!")
[Akagawa 1985: 224]

(6) Watashi wa too too boo-seishinka no mon o tataita.
"Magire mo naku fuketsu-kyoofushoo da na. Tsurikawa no sawarenai hito, ichinichijuu kami o aratte iru hito, iroiro aru ga, tegami (no fuu o kirenai) to wa washi mo hajimete kiita ne. Wa, ha, ha, ha."
Ishi to wa, toku ni seishinka-i wa motto derikeeto na hito de, watashi no namida no uttae o shimmi ni natte kiite kudasaru mono to shinjite ita watashi no kitai wa kudakechitta. Rippuku no tame ashi ga **furueta**.
[Tokizane 1995: 174]

(MT: Finally I went to a psychiatrist.
"Undoubtedly you suffer from a dirt-phobia. There are various types, such as being unable to touch a strap, or of washing one's hair all day, but this is the first time that I have heard of someone not being able to open a letter . Ha, ha, ha, ha."
I had thought that a doctor, especially a psychiatrist, would be more delicate and would listen to my complaint warmly, but that expectation was shattered. I was so angry that my legs **trembled**.)

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 okotta toki, kimitachi wa donna kimochi ni naru? Shintai wa donna fuu ni naru ka na?"
Suchuwaato Buubaa kyooyu ga shitsumon-suru to, hachinensei (chuugaku ninensei)-tachi ga, tsugitsugi to te o agete kotaeta.
"**I** ga hen na kanji".
"**Atama** ga itaku naru".
[Kinuyo Hagiwara "Shoonen no ikari o osaeru kunren" pp. 57-59 in *Shuukan Bunshun* 1999 June 24th: 57]

(MT: "When you get very angry, what kind of feeling do you have? What happens to your bodies?"
When their teacher, Stewart Boover, 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 'vexatious', 'vexing', 'mortifying', or 'regrettable' for its gloss. Doi (1981: 112) also says that KUYASHII mean "something like 'annoying', 'vexatious,' or 'mortifying'. However, 'mortifying' or 'regrettable' is also given for the gloss of the different Japanese emotion word "kuchioshii", and 'vexatious' 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) (Harii no kuruma o) Senshashite morau nante, Neruson ni shite wa ki ga kiite iru. Omoiyari made aru. Ima made Neruson o kiratte ita koto o **kuyamu** kimochi ga gyakuryuusuru-yoo ni dot to waite kite, Maunto Jakku ni kaette kita to iu koofukukan o shimijimi to ajiwau.
[Updike 1992 Vol.1: 216]

(J <-- 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:

> "kuyami" 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....' indefinitely 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 *kuiru*. 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 got 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 kookoosei no enjo-koosai 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 "haradatashii (roughly 'irritating') should be used. When the subject him/herself gets hurt, however, one could use KUYASHII.

(3) Kore made tsukushite kita ni mo kakawarazu, shujin ga kookoosei no onnanoko to enjo-koosai shite ita 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) Kisshinjaa wa yooshooo no koro, hitori de tsume o kande **KUYASHI**-gatte ita mono da. Kare wa sore kurai naikooteki na ningen datta no da.
[Matsumoto 1978: 17]

(B [J-->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.

(5) Tsune: "Doo shita n da yo. Baka ni genki ga nai ja nai ka."
Sakura: "Oniichan, watashi, **KUYASHII**."
Tora: "Doo shita."
(....)
Sakura: "Nyuugakushiki ga owatte, kyooshitsu ni haitte, sorezore no seki ni tsuite ne. Sensei ga hitori hitori no namae o yobiageru deshoo. (...) Sore de Mitsuo no tokoro ni kitara ne, sensei ga, "Suwa Mitsuo kun" tte itte, Mitsuo no kao o chotto mite "Ara, kimi, Tora-san no oigo san ne" tte soo ittara, minna ga doo tte waratta no."
[Yamada 1977: 41-43]

(B: Aunty: "What's wrong now? You look sort of depressed."
Sakura: "Brother! I'm ashamed [**KUYASHII**]!"
Tora: "What happened?"
(....)

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 Mitsuo's turn, the teacher said, 'Suwa Mitsuo' and looked at Mitsuo and said...'AHA, you're the nephew of that man Tora, aren't you?' ... and they all burst out laughing.")

(6) Watashi wa choonan no yome de, shujin no ryooshin to wa zutto dookyoshite imasu. Shujin no imooto wa watashitachi no kekkongo totsugimashita ga, uchi ni ita koro kara, uchi no tetsudai wa nani mo shimasendeshita. Fuyu no asa, watashi ga tsumetai mizu de zookingake o shite ite mo, shuutome wa imooto ni wa "Te ga areru" to itte, tetsudawasenai no desu. Watashi wa **KUYASHIKU**te yoku naite imashita.
[Shikita 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 **KUYASHII**.)

(7) Boku ga **KUYASHII** no wa, tsumi mo naku ken'etsusareta koto de wa nakute, jibun ga tsumi ni ataisuru nanigoto mo shite inakatta to iu koto na n desu.
[Kazumi Takahashi "Hi no utsuwa" in A. Nakamura 1993: 290]

(MT: What I feel **KUYASHII** about is not that I was censored even though I hadn't committed a crime, but that I had not done anything like a crime.)

(8) "Omae mo kore dake wa kokoroetokanakya naran zo. Ore ga omae ni nanika shiro tte ittara, sono toori ni shinakyaa naranai tte iu koto da. Saa, kono sen no ue ni namae o kaki na."
Kanojo wa pen o te ni shita ga, sugu ni wa shomeishiyoo to sezuni, kao o utsumukete tsuttatte ori, sono te ni nigirareta pen wa furuete ita. Masashiku ofukuro sokkuri da. "**KUYASHII**" to kanojo wa iu. "**KUYASHII.**"
[Faulkner 1972: 367-368]

(J <-- E: "You've got to learn one thing, and that is that when I tell you to do something, you've got it to do. 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 [**KUYASHII**]," she says, "oh, God [**KUYASHII**].")
[Faulkner 1956: 267-268]

(9) "Watashi, otona ni natta nante kangaeru dake de zotto suru wa. Soshite Misu Maachi nante mono ni natte nagai kimono o kite, ezo-giku mitai ni tsunto sumashiteru nante sa. Tonikaku onnanoko da tte iu no ga ikenai no yo, watashi wa asobi datte shigoto datte, taido date, otokonoko no yoo ni yaritai noni. Otokonoko de nakatta no ga **KUYASHIKU** tte tamaranai wa."
[Alcott 1995 Vol.1: 11]

(J <-- E: "I hate to think I've got to grow up, and be Miss March, and wear long gowns, and look as prim as a China-aster! It's bad enough to be a girl, anyway, when I like boys' games and work and manners! I can't get over my disappointment [feeling of **KUYASHII**] in not being a boy; ....)
[Alcott 1967: 5]

In example (5), Sakura feels KUYASHII 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 KUYASHII since she is treated unfairly when compared with her sister-in-law. The subject in example (7) feels KUYASHII about being accused even though he did not commit any crime. In example (8) the subject feels KUYASHII since she has to do what her younger brother tells her to do although she does not want to. The subject in (9) feels KUYASHII because she cannot do what men can do since she is a woman.

Secondly, a person feels KUYASHII when he/she recognises that he/she is powerless or inferior when he/she competes or compares him/herself with others.

(10) **KUYASHII** koto ni wa ga chiimu wa gyakutemmake shita.
[Yamada & Irabu 1986: 240]

(B [J-->E]: How frustrating [**KUYASHII**]! Our team blew the lead and lost the game.)

(11) Ano shiai ni maketa toki wa **KUYASHIKAT**ta naa.
[Nakagawa & Beers 1997: 146]

(B [J-->E]: It was really frustrating [**KUYASHII**] to lose that game.)

(12) "...(tsuma wa) ano otoko ni tsuite ikeba, ai to yume to booken ni michiafureta hi ni meguriaeru to shinjite, boku kara nigedashimashita. (...) "
"Ja, anata wa...."
KUYASHI-soo ni, kuchibiru o kamishimeru otoko ni mukatte, okaasan wa iikakemasu. "Soo desu yo. Boku wa, nyooboo ni nigerareta otoko desu."
[Tachihara 1985: 53-54]

(J --> E: "She (My wife) went off with him, believing her days would be full of love and dreams and adventure. She ran away from me,..."
"Then she..."
"That's right -- she left me for another man." He put his thoughts into words [bit his lips, with the appearance of feeling **KUYASHII**].)
[Tachihara 1989: 52-53]

(13) Jidai wa shoowa shoki, Nakahara Chuuya wa, shi no roodokukai de, kare no yomiageru shi ni kandooshite namida nagara no hakushu o okuritsuzukete kureta bijo, Hasegawa Yasuko to koi ni ochiru. (....) Nochi ni, koibito, Hasegawa Yasuko wa Chuuya o sute, kindai Nihon no chisei, Kobayashi Hideo no moto e satte shimau. Chuuya wa mizukara o,
"Boku wa **KUYASHII** otoko desu" to utatte iru.
[Saimon 1990: 45-46]

(MT: It was at the beginning of the Showa era. Chuuya Nakahara fell in love with a beautiful woman, Yasuko Hasegawa, who was impressed with Chuuya's reading of poetry and clapped on and on, tears welling in her eyes. (....) Later, Yasuko left Chuuya for a major intellectual of modern Japan, Hideo Kobayashi. Chuuya describes himself in a poem:
"I am a **KUYASHII** man [man who feels **KUYASHII**].")

(14) Boku, mae, otona no omocha e yopparatte furat to haitta koto ga aru n da yo. Gankojijii mitai na oyaji ga otte na. "Ojisan, kore, nan ni tsukau no?" tte kiite mo kotaete kurehen nen. Nando mo "Kore wa nani?" toka kiite mo kotaete kurenai. "Occhan, nande kotaete kurehen nen" tte kiitara, "Washi wa na, koko de 30nen mo kono shoobai o yatteru n ya. Haitte kita totan ni A no kyaku ka B no kyaku ka C no kyaku ka wakaru n nen. Anta, mite kaeru dake. C no kyaku ya" tte iwareten. (warai) Atatteru dake ni **KUYASHIKAT**ta ne.
[Nakajima 1996b: 43]

(MT: I went into an adult toy shop once when I was drunk. There was a stubborn looking old man behind the counter. Although I asked him "how do you use this?", but he did not answer. I asked him many times "What is this?", but he didn't answer. When I asked him, "Hey, why won't you answer?", he said, "I have been doing business here for thirty years. As soon as a customer comes in, I know if he is an A customer, a B customer, or a C customer. You have just come to look. You are a C customer." (laughs) Because he had hit on the truth, I felt **KUYASHII**.)

(15) Kodoku to wa donna mono na no ka shiranakatta. Hitori ga inakunaru to, sugu ni betsu no dareka ga matte ita kara da.
KUYASHII kedo, ano jidai wa owatta.
Shoojiki ni itte, ima wa sukoshi shimpai ni natte iru. Matomo na otoko o mitsukeru koto ga dekiru no daroo ka, mune ni ippai tameta iki o fuutto hakidaseru toki ga kuru no daroo ka. Kangaemai to sureba suru hodo, sono koto o kangaete shimau.
[McMillan 1993 Vol.1: 34]

(J <-- E: I had no idea what loneliness felt like, because somebody was always waiting in the wings to fill whatever 'his' name's shoes if he blew it.
Times have damn [although I feel **KUYASHII**] sure changed.
And I cannot lie. Now I worry. I worry about if and when I'll ever find the *right* man, if I'll be able to exhale. The more I try not to think about it, the more I think about it.)
[McMillan 1993: 15-16]

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 imperfectness when he/she could not accomplish something, or when he/she has failed to do something.

(17) 'Sekushii aidoru' no imeeji kara Fujiwara-san ga ookiku kawatta no ga, 2-nen mae no eiga 'Kyattsu Ai'.

"Shigoto de hajimete naita n desu yo. Umaku shibai ga dekinakute.
KUYASHIKUte."
[*An.An* 1998 No. 1146 (Dec. 11th): 18]

(MT: It was the movie 'Cats Eye', two years ago, that made Miss Fujiwara outgrow her former image of a 'sexy idol'.
"I cried at work for the first time. Because I could not act well, I felt **KUYASHII**.")

(18) Donna ni **KUYASHI**gattatte shikatanai yo. Doo yatta tte imasara machigai wa naosenai n dakara.
[Snowden & Doi 1982: 36]

(B [J-->E]: It's no good beating our own breasts [feeling **KUYASHII**]: there's no way we can correct our mistakes.)

(19) Yonsai no koro kara haiyuu datta. (....) Kyonen 'Deddo Man Wookingu' o mita. Shokku o uketa. "Kokoro ni nokoru n desu yo. *Haiyuu no shigoto* na n desu yo. **KUYASIHKAT**ta desu."
[Koosuke Toyohara (actor) in *Kinema Jumpoo* 1997 March: 16]

(MT: I have been an actor since I was four years old. (....) Last year I saw 'Dead Man Walking.' I was shocked. "That movie remained in my heart. That was *the work of a real actor.* I felt **KUYASHII**.")

(20) Nakago: 'Sutaa Woozu' ga 77nen ni Amerika de kookaisareru to, monosugoi ryoo no joohoo ga haitte kimashita. Ironna media de tokushuu ga kumaretarishite, demo Nihon kookai wa sono ichinen-go. Ichinichi mo hayaku mitai to iu yokkyuu ga dondon zoofukusarete itta n desu.
Mitome: Jirasete, jirasarete, **KUYASHIKAT**ta no o oboete imasu.
[Shinji Nakago & Mayumi Mitome "Zadankai: Nijuunen-me no Sutaa Woozu impakuto" in *Kinema Jumpoo* 1997 May: 55]

(MT: Nakago: After 'Star Wars' opened in the United States in 1977, a great amount of information about that movie came to Japan. Various media focussed attention on that movie, but it only opened in Japan one year later. This focus really increased our desire to see the movie as soon as possible.
Mitome: I remember we were made to be patient and I felt **KUYASHII**.)

In example (17) the subject feels KUYASHII about her inability to act better on the stage. In example (18) the subject feels KUYASHII about the mistakes he/she has made. The subject in (19) feels KUYASHII looking at a better actor. The subject in (20) feels KUYASHII that he could do nothing although he wanted to see the movie 'Star Wars' as soon as possible.

Lastly, one feels KUYASHII when one can not accomplish something at the last minute although one had expected that one could do it in nine cases of ten.

(21) Kiriko: (Atoranta Orimpikiku de) **KUYASHIKAT**ta tte ittara ano hito yo. Hoogan-nage. Doko no kuni no hito ka shiranai yo. Gaikoku no senshu, otoko no hito. Hoogan-nage tte, sankai nagerareru n da. Sankai-me no toki sono hito ga moo sono tsugi no mikka-me ni natta toki ii seiseki dattara kim-medaru kamo shirenai tte iu hito. Sugokaita no. Tonikaku sankai me nageru toki ni sa, jibun de tenshon takameru tame ni "Hooo, hooo, hooo" toka tte yatteru wake. Soshitara, puuu tte itte jikangire de shikkaku. Moo, suggoi kawaisoo datta. Hoide moo, atama waa tte kakaechatte. Datte yonenkan no sa, sono tame ni renshuushite kite jibun de "ooo" tte itte iru aida ni jikan-gire de shikkaku yo.
[TV programme "Osoku okita asa wa" August 18th 1996]

(MT: Kiriko: "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 "Hooo, hooo, hooo." But then the siren 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 'oooo'".)

(22) Kariya: Saisho ni tobimasu no ga Dominiku Doozu. Kojinsoogoo de wa nishumoku ga owatta tokoro de toppu datta n desu ga, yuka de shippai shite saishuuteki ni wa kojinsoogoo 17-i ni owarimashita. Ma, ano toki no namida tte no wa honto ni **KUYASHISA** de ippai deshita kara nee.
[Fujio Kariya (announcer) in TV programme "Atlanta Olympic: Apparatus women -- valet" on July 30th, 1996]

(MT: 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 performance and ended up in 17th position in the individual event. Well, at that time she was full of tears and the feeling of **KUYASHISA** [Noun], wasn't she?)

(23) "Ni-i to iu koto wa, yuushoosuru no ni nanika ga tarinakatta to iu koro.....**KUYASHII**...."
Juuichinichi, jampu no noomaruhiru de gimmedaru ni kagayaita Funaki Kazuyoshi no hyoojoo wa fukuzatsu datta.
"Supootsu wa ichi-i o mezasu mono. Ichi-i de nakereba, ni-i demo gojuu-i demo onaji koto."
[*Shuukan Asahi* 1998 February 27th: 12]

(MT: "Coming second means I lacked something necessary to win..... I feel **KUYASHII**...."
On the 11th, Kazuki Funao, 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 fiftieth are all 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)[10] 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 not think about it"
(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

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 him/herself ("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 not 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 key 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.[1]

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. Kaneguchi (1980) introduced the following episode where a Japanese student mistook the teacher's English word 'shame' for the Japanese HAJI.

> Watashi no tsuma ga eigo o oshiete iru gakusei ga, saikin, nanika no shiken o ukete shippaishita. Sokode, kanojo ga "Oh, what a shame!" to ittara, sono gakusei wa unadarete, "Yes, I feel very ashamed" to kotaeta. Gokai sareta to kanjita kanojo wa awatete, "What a shame!" to iu no wa "What a pity!" toka "I'm sorry" to iu no to onaji de, sore ijoo no imi wa nai to iu koto o setsumei shita to iu.
>
> (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 shinu ga mashi (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 ittoki no **HAJI**, kikanu wa matsudai no **HAJI** (To ask may bring momentary **HAJI**, but not to ask and

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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:

(1) Kodomo ni kodomo no gara no tammono o katte yaru kane ga nakatta. Boku ni soodan sureba urusagaru dake da. Kanojo wa, itsumo jibun no mono o naoshite wa kiseta. (....) Kanojo wa zutto ato ni koo itta. "Ano toki shinoo to omotta koto wa tabitabi de aru. Daga anata ga seken ni **HAJI** o kaku no o kangaeru to dooshitemo shinenakatta."
[Okamoto 1996: 61-2]

(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 kimonos 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) Ninen-mae ni Amerika higashikaigan to Kyuuba de eiga o torioete kara, Nihon ni iru jikan ga nagaku natta. Sono aida ni Amerika ya Furansu ya Ajia de shoosetsu ga nansaku ka hon'yaku sareta koto de, gaikoku no media no intabyuu o ukeru koto ga fueta. Karera wa kanarazau, Oumu ya joshikoosei no koto o kiku.
"Konna yutaka na kuni de dooshite joshikoosei ga baishun o suru no ka?"
Oya ga warui, kyooiku ga natte inai, to wa kotaenai. Soo iu kotae wa Nihonjin-dooshi ga wamekiau terebi no tooron-bangumi de wa yuukoo da ga, gaikokujin ni taishite wa jikoku no **HAJI** ni natte shimau. Anata no kuni no kazoku de anata no kuni no kyooiku de wa nai no ka, to gaikokujin ni iwaretara, kaesu kotoba ga nai.
[Murakami 1998: 62]

(B [J -->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 Aum Shinrikyo 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 clamorous 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

4 Quoted in Lynd, M. (1958) "On Shame and the Search for Identity" quoted in Inoue (1977: 124).

"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 hatsugen: Totsugu musume ni "Otoosan, ima made sodatete kurete, arigatoo" to iwarete **TEREKUSAKAT**ta/***HAZUKASHIKAT**ta.

([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 (12) (13), or (17). in the main text (pp.315-317) while 'embarrassed' is used in (·). 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. Harkins 1990a, 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 (/iu) 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 more 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 "Kazuko, 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 imeeji 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 otooto 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 ttara, 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 sonna ni takusan shaberu to hito ni warawareru yo.
Aa, **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 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) Gaikokugo ga joozu ni hanasenakute, **HAZUKASHII**.
(I feel **HAZUKASHII**, because I cannot speak foreign languages well.)

(6) Hitomae 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 HAZUKASHII about his/her blunders that he/she feels one could almost die.

(7) Aa, moo iya. **HAZUKASHII**. Shinjaitai tte kono koto da wa. Ano ne, daishippai o shichatta no. Tochittari, genkoo tobashitari tte iu misu wa shocchuu shiteta kedo, kinoo no wa torikaeshi ga tsukanai wa yo. Datte, keshooyoo no pin o tsuketa mama, terebi ni dechatta n desu mono.
[Hayashi 1990: 201]

(MT: Oh, no. I feel **HAZUKASHII**. I'd like to die. I made a big mistake. I often made mistakes like muffing 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) Shibaraku, Nyuu Ootani de jin-tonikku o nonda ato, sensei wa ginza e tsurete itte kudasatta. Tottemo tanoshikute omowazu, Nosaka Sensei ni dakitsuita, to iu koto wa mochiron naku, sore dokoroka watashi sakuya no nebusoku no tame haiyaa no naka de Sensei o makura ni shite kuchi o akete nete shimatta. Aa, **HAZUKASHII**, shini-soo!!
[Yamada 1991: 123]

(MT: After we drank gin and tonics at the New Otani hotel, Nosaka 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 **HAZUKASHII**, I could almost die!!)

Other examples where this word HAZUKASHII appears are where one feels HAZUKASHII 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), HAZUKASHII is given in the translation of original English texts.

(9) **HAZUKASHII** hanashi da ga, boku wa kore made nanika o zutto tsuzukeoooseru, to iu koto ga marude dekinai jinsei o ayunde kita no de aru. Shoogakkoo no koro soroban wa rokkagetsu shika tsuzukanakatta. Yobikoo wa gokagetsu de yameta. Marason wa nikagetsu, aroe kenkoohoo wa nishuukan shika tsuzukanakatta.
[Shiina 1986: 126]

(MT: It is a story which makes me feel **HAZUKASHII**, but I have had a life where I could never continue to do anything until the end. I learnt the Japanese abacus for only six months at elementary school. I quit prep school after five months. I ran for two months, and did the Aroe health method for only two weeks.)

(10) Demo, yappari, oyaji ga shinde shimatte kara kagyoo wa sukoshizutsu katamuki hajimeteta n da na. Otoko no boku ga, benkyoo nanka shiteru baai ja nai to iu koto o shitta no wa, Dooshisha

daigaku ni nyuugakushita ato no koto datta. Ie no jitsujoo o shitta toki wa, chi no hiku omoi datta. Otoko to shite, nonki ni gakkoo ni kayotteta ka to omou to **HAZUKASHIKAT**ta.
[Hideaki Nitani (actor) in Nitani 1991: 163]

(MT: As you might expect, after my father died our family business started to decline. It was after I entered Doshisha University that I discovered that this was no time to be studying. After I discovered the real condition of the family business, I felt my blood chill. As a man, I felt **HAZUKASHII** to think that I had been casually attending school at the time.)

(11) Watashi wa jibun no koto o hito ni iu no ga sugoku nigate desu. "Tsurai n da", "Kurushii n da", sonna koto ittara **HAZUKASHII**, soo omotteta jibun desu.
[Mainichi-shimbunsha 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 **HAZUKASHII**.)

(12) "Sorekara, maa, nante zarazarashita te o shiteru n daroo! Maa, nante atsui dotagutsu na no yo!" Watashi wa, sore made jibun no te o **HAZUKASHII** to omotta koto nazo, tsuizo ichido mo nakatta. Tokoroga, soo iwarete miru to, jibun no te ga ikanimo tsumaranai te no yoo ni omowareta. Watashi ni taisuru kanojo [Esutera] no keibetsu wa amari ni mo hageshikatta node, sore ga watashi ni mo utsutte shimatta no da.
[Dickens 1966 Vol. 1: 99]

(J <-- E: And what coarse hands he has! And what thick boots!" I had never thought of being ashamed [**HAZUKASHII**] of my hands before, but I began to consider them a very indifferent pair. Her (Estella's) contempt for me was so strong that it became infectious, and I caught it.)
[Dickens 1965: 158]

(13) Nora no koto wa, kare mo, konogoro yoku kangaete ita. Mirudoreddo ni suterareta toki, mazu ichiban ni kangaeta no wa, kanojo no koto datta. Ano onna nara, kesshite konna koto wa shinakattaroo. Itte, atte mitakatta. Ano onna nara, doojooshite kureru daroo. Daga, kangaeru to, sore mo **HAZUKASHIKAT**ta. Mukoo de wa, shijuu yasahikatta noni, kare no hoo de, hidoi shiuchi o shita no dakara de aru.
[Maugham 1959a Vol. 3: 154]

(J <-- E: Philip had thought of Norah often. When Mildred left him his 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 [**HAZUKASHII**]; she had been good to him always, and he had treated her abominably.")
[Maugham 1963b: 386-387]

(14) Katsute hakujin ni naritai to omotte ita nante, ima de wa **HAZUKASHII** ki ga shimasu.
[Morgan 1992 Vol. 2: 222]

(J <-- E: I feel embarrassed [**HAZUKASHII**] now, to think that, once, I wanted to be white.)
[Morgan 1987: 306]

Prototypically, the feeling of HAZUKASHII involves being seen by other people. All the HAZUKASHII feelings illustrated above are tied to concern with "other people's eyes". We usually don't feel HAZUKASHII if there is no possibility that other people

will perceive negative aspects of ourselves. This is illustrated in the following minimal pair:

(15) Toshokan de shodana ni atama o butsukete **HAZUKASHII.**

(I feel **HAZUKASHII** because I hit my head on the bookshelf in the library.)

(16) ? Jibun no heya 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 HAJI, 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 naive 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, furui nikki o miru no wa tanoshimi desu wa. Nandemo kakusazu sono toori ni kaite aru kara. Hitori de yonde ite mo **HAZUKASHII** wa."
[Kawabata 1973: 35]

(J --> E: "It's always fun to read an old diary. But I don't hide anything when I write in my diary, and sometimes I'm ashamed [**HAZUKASHII**] to look at it myself.")
[Kawabata 1957: 40]

(18) Dai-issaku-me no 'Beddo Taimu Aizu' no hankyoo ga yosoo-ijoo ni ookikatta node, watashi wa odoroite hisashiburi ni jibun no sakuhin o yomikaesu to iu **HAZUKASHII** koto o yatte shimatta.
[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) Soba de Tamie ga yosotte kureta udon o tabenagara, Noriko wa chi ga dokudoku to oto o tatete nagare-hajimeta no o kanjita. Hoo mo atsuku natta. Sore o kizukaremai to, ***shita o muite*** men o kuchi-ippai ni hoobaru. Onaidoshi no itoko ga, koi da toka kekkon da toka iu kotoba o kuchi ni shite iru no da. Kore ga **HAZUKASHIKU** nakute nan daroo.
[Hayashi 1993: 179]

(J --> 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. Hoping 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 her being in love and getting married! Noriko was terribly embarrassed [**HAZUKASHII**].)
[Hayashi 1996: 176]

(20) Gosai no Kayako to, Doi wa kigaru ni monoreeru ni nottari, juusu o hakonde kuretari, benjo ni tsurete itte kuretari shita. Kayako wa hashagi, sono Kayako o mite, Takako mo ureshikatta. Keredomo, Kooko wa soo shita kikai ni ***Doi o seishisuru koto ga dekizu ni ita.*** Jibunjishin no amari ni mo tsuyoi yorokobi ni tomadoi, **HAZUKASHIKU**, soshite, sooshita jibun no hannoo ni iradatazu ni wa irarenakatta.
[Tsushima 1980: 23]

(J --> 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, Kooko would be happy too. But on such occasions, ***she couldn't look Doi squarely in the face.*** The very depth of her pleasure bewildered and shamed her [made her feel **HAZUKASHII**], and finally left her helplessly annoyed at her own reaction.)
[Tsushima 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 no) kyookasho o yomu koto de, jibun ga shimeisaretemo, hito ga yonde itemo itsumo **HAZUKASHISA** ga tsukimatou.
[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 **[HAZUKASHII]** 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/Otto to aratamatte 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 (experiencer) 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)).[8]

A person can also say that he/she feels HAZUKASHII when complimented by others, as seen in the following example:

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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 glöss 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) sometime 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'.

(27) Sonna ni homerareru to kaette **HAZUKASHII.**
[Yamada & Irabu 1986: 650]

(B: It's actually embarrassing [**HAZUKASHII**] to be praised that much.)

In the following example, Chieko feels HAZUKASHII as a result of her husband's appreciation of her work.

(28) Suru to aru toki, Chieko wa hoomon no watashi ni hitotsu no kamizutsumi o watashite, miro to iu fuzei de atta. Kamizutsumi o akeru to naka ni irogami o hasami de kitta moyoofuu no utsukushii kamizaiku ga taisetsu-soo ni shimatte atta. Sore o mite watashi wa odoroita. Sore ga mattaku orizuru kara hiyakuteki ni susunda rippa na geijutsusakuhin de atta kara de aru. Watashi no kandoo o mite Chieko wa **HAZUKASHI**-soo ni warattari, ojigi o shitari shite ita.
[Takamura 1967: 150]

(MT: Then one time when I visited her, Chieko gave me a paper package and wanted me to look at it. When I opened the paper package, there was a beautiful paper object with a cut pattern made of colourful paper inside. I was surprised to see it, because it was a greatly advanced work compared with ordinary folded paper. Seeing my surprise, Chieko laughed with the appearance of having **HAZUKASHII** feelings, and nodded at me.)

In the following example, the actress Yuuki Kudoo expresses her feeling about getting a special prize as HAZUKASHII.

(29) Kuroyanagi: Kondo no shoo mo, hontoo ni yoo gozaimashita ne. Kono anata no tame ni tsukutte kudasatta shoo na n desu tte?
Kudoo: Ee, wazawaza nanka hihyooka no sensei ga, ano, atashi ga kekkoo gaikoku de shigoto shiteru wari ni wa Nihon de wa jimi ni jimi ni shigoto shiteru koto ga ooi n de, anoo, soo iu ten de wa mitomerareteмo ii n ja nai ka tte iu koto de wazawaza shoo o tsukutte kudasatta n de.....(....) Ima made Nihonjin ni nakatta koodoo no shikata de, kaigai ni koko made shinshutsu shita hito wa inai n ja nai ka tte, sorede, nanka **HAZUKASHII** n desu kedo shoo o itadaita n de...
[Tetsuko Kuroyanagi and Yuuki Kudoo (actress) in TV programme "Tetsuko no Heya" February 18th, 1997]

(MT: Kuroyanagi: It was good that you got a prize this time, wasn't it"
That was a prize made just for you, wasn't it?
Kudoo: Yes, well, the [movie] critics made the prize on purpose because they thought I, who often work abroad but work in Japan in an undemonstrative way, should get more recognition. (....) Acting in a way which was original, for Japanese, they said no-one else had gotten this much exposure overseas, and so, I feel **HAZUKASHII**, but I received a prize.)

In the following example, a singer expresses her pleasure at hearing her own song at a convenience store and her feeling of HAZUKASHII.

(30) Shigatsu ni debyuu shite irai, tatetsuzuke ni 4 mai no shinguru o hitto sasete iru Hamazaki Ayumi-san. (....) "Hitto shita tte iu jikkan wa amari nai n desu ga, kombini nado de jibun no uta o kiitari suru to, URESHI, **HAZUKASHI** tte kanji desu.
[*An. An* 1998 December 11th: 30]

(MT: Since she made her debut in April, Ayumi Hamazaki had four hit singles in succession. (....) "I don't really actually feel that I've had a hit, but when I hear my own songs at a convenience store, I feel URESHII and **HAZUKASHII**.)

These uses of HAZUKASHII are closely related to a way of thinking which Minami (1971: 34) claims as characteristic of Japanese culture:

> We Japanese, in contrast to foreigners, rarely use the word "happiness." Especially in daily conversation, if a person uses an expression like "I am happy," he sounds either insipid or affected. (....)
> It seems that feelings about happiness in life are for some reason diluted among the Japanese. The reason that the word "happiness" is not used daily is not only because the Japanese masses are not blessed with happiness in daily life but because they have cultivated a habit of hesitation toward happiness.

Thus, since Japanese people have "a habit of hesitation toward happiness", they don't express their happy feelings openly when they are complimented by others. HAZUKASHII is often used when they want to deny that they deserve being complimented in front of other people. Otherwise, Japanese people think other people may think they are vain. In such a way, the Japanese people use the word HAZUKASHII in a humble way when they are praised by others. The cultural script about why one says HAZUKASHII when he/she is complimented can be formulated as follows:

Saying HAZUKASHII when complimented

(a) when something good happens to me
(b) I feel something good because of this
(c) if I say I feel good, other people may think something bad about me
(d) I don't want this
(e) I say I feel something bad [HAZUKASHII] because of this
(f) other people would not think something bad about me because of this

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) Karada ga fujiyuu na dake de, isshoo jiyuu no nai seikatsu nante, kawaisoo da to omoimasen ka? Sore o omou to, mezurashi-soo ni jirojiro miru no wa hidoi koto da shi, sore to dooji ni **HAZUKASHII** koto da to omoimasen ka?
[Mainichi-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 chiisai hito ya yowai hito o oshinokeru koto ya, ramboo o suru no wa, **HAZUKASHII** koto da...
[Kuroyanagi 1981: 102]

(J --> E: ...they mustn't push people smaller or weaker than themselves; that unruly behaviour was something to be ashamed [**HAZUKASHII**] of.)
[Kuroyanagi 1982: 72]

This is because Japanese culture emphasises the importance of putting oneself into another's place; people often feel HAZUKASHII when they cannot "sassuru (guess)" other people's feelings, and then hurt their feelings because of this. Japanese people often say "Ki ga kikanakute (Sasshi 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 ("sassuru") what the other person really means:

> To *sassuru* is to understand the other's feelings without relying on verbal communication or understanding. Parents train their children in the art of *sassuru*. 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 *sassuru* such a matter".

Therefore, people think of acts which fail to "sassuru" 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 mashi da wa. Watashi no otto ga shinaidensha no untenshu mitai ni kozeni ni chuui shinakerya ikenai koto o tanin ni shirareru kurai dattara, atashi, isshoo Kanzasu Shitii o minakute mo ii wa. Sono otto wa maishuu namae ga noru hodo no yuumeijin na no yo. **HAZUKASHII** koto da wa!
[Shaw 1979: 125]

(J <-- E: "I would rather die," Arline 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 shameful **[HAZUKASHII]**!")
[Shaw 1988: 98]

(34) "Papa wa shiritsutantei o yatotta no." (....)
"Nan no tame ni?"
"Anata no koto o shiraberu tame ni yo." (....) "Papa ga sonna kitanai koto o suru nante, **HAZUKASHII**...." Kanojo wa kubi o sayuu ni furi, kotoba o togiraseta.
[Conroy 1994 Vol. 2: 152]

(J <-- E: "You see, what he did was, he hired a firm of private investigators." (....) "What for?" he asked.
"To find out about you." (....) " How he could do something so sneaky and shameful **[HAZUKASHII]**..." She shook her head, words failing.)
[Conroy 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

this about Y
(d) I don't want this
(e) I think: it would be good if people did not know this
(f) I don't know what to do now"
(g) when this person thinks this, this person feels something bad
(h) I say: other people can feel like this when they think about Y

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][9] as seen in the following example:

(1) Takagi-san wa, watashi ni, oiwai da to itte suteki na buresuretto o kudasatta. Sono kurekata ga, mata kawaii no. **TERE**chatte sa.
[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 to no) naresome nee. Chotto **TERERU** kedo, hanashichaimashoo ka.
[Utsumi 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: 955) 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 1995: 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 tte **TERE**masu nee. Warae to iwarete warau no ga taihen da naa."
[Location bus driver 23 years old in *Keitodama* 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 oaishimashoo. Yuu Yuu hiru no jokkii, oaite wa Okazaki deshita." Teema ongaku ga nagarete kieta. Garasu no mukoo de Itoo kun ga OK sain o dashite iru. Hobo jikan pittari ni osamatta no da. "Doo datta." "Un, yokatta yo. Dakedo saa, Okazaki no sa, 'tokidoki wa sora o mimashoo yo' tte iu toko, monosugoi booyomi na n da yo na. Kanari **TERE**teru ra?" "Un, **TERE**teru."
[Hayashi 1993: 111-2]

(J --> E: "Well, we're running out of time. Until tomorrow, this has been Okazaki Noriko here with you on Yuu-Yuuu Lunchtime Jockey." Cut to the theme song. On the other side of the glass Ito 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 [**TERE**teru][10]?" "Yea, kinda ([**TERE**teru]).")
[Hayashi 1996: 112]

(5) Kocchi muite waratte **TERE**naide Smile, Smile, Smile
Watashi dake shitte iru ii kao de Eye to me
[Miwa Yoshida "Eye to Me" 1991 in Komota et al. 1995: 370]

(MT: Look this way and smile, don't **TERERU** Smile, Smile, Smile
Eyes my way with the nice/good face which only I know)

(6) Shoojo no taido wa socchoku sono mono to itta kanji datta. Massugu na shisen ni mitsumerarete, Kuroodo wa sukoshi **TEREKUSAI**-yoo na kimochi ni natta.
[Conroy 1994 Vol.1: 443]

(J <-- 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 TERERU 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 geki ni, sensei wa Sutaan ni akuoo Ahashuerosu no yaku o furi, sono toojitsu made Sutaan no koto o, "Watashi no hansamu na Ahashuerosu-kun" to yonde kureta mono da. Sore wa yokatta ga, aru hi no hookago, doraggusutoa no mae ni tamurosuru yotatta renchuu no aida ni iru Sutaan o mitsuketa sensei, tsumasakidachi ni natte te o futte mise, "Ahashuerosu-kun." Kore ni wa sukkari **TERE**te shimatta Sutaan datta.
[Friedman 1971: 75]

(J <-- 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 **TERERU**] by standing on tiptoe and waving, "Ahasuerus".)
[Friedman 1962: 55]

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10 'TERE-teru' is the contracted form of 'TERE-te iru'. For the meaning of '-te iru' form, see footnote 2, Chapter (1).

(8) (Liina ga Edo no hanashi [Edo ga dai-niji-sekai-sensoo-chuu, kega shita Yudayajin no Liina o dangan ni utarenagara mo dakikakae, Doitsu kara Suisu no kokkyoo o koeta] o oeta ato) "Soshite otto desu." "Edo, anata mo kocchi ni kite." Kodomo ga chichi no se o osu. "Hora toosan, **TERETE**naide ikina yo."[11]

(J <-- E: (After Lena finished her story [that Ed helped her during World War II by crossing the boundary of a country between Germany and Switzerland while carrying a Jewish Lena on his back despite receiving some shots from German soldiers]) "There is my husband (eh huh) Ed, come. Come here." The sons pushed Ed's shoulder forward. [No words in English; in the Japanese translation above, literally, "Hey father, stop **TERERU** and go over there"].)

Like HAZUKASHII, one would feel TEREKUSAI or one TERERU 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 homerareru to **TERERU** naa.
[Yamada & Irabu 1986: 547]

(B [J-->E]: It's embarrassing [**TERERU**] to be praised so much.]

(10) "Seiteki-kankei ga aru hoo ga koi wa fukamaru shi, ningen no sabishisa mo, soko de sukuwareru to omou yo. Datte onnanohito wa iu ja nai. 'Anata no ude ni dakarete iru toki ga ichiban shiawase yo' tte."
"Anata no ude no naka wa, yohodo igokochi ga ii mitai nee."
"Iyaa, sonna koto nai kedo, a ha ha" Kare wa hitori de **TERE**te iru node, watashi wa hanashi o tsuzuketa.
[Matsumoto 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 happiest 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 **TERE**te iru by himself, so I continued the conversation.)

(11) Akko: "Atashi, tenisubu tsuzukeru koto ni shimashita. (....) Buchoo ga gatto hatte kudasatta kara desu. Arigatoo gozaimashita. (....) Kotoba yori mo nani yori mo ano pin to hatta gatto ga atashi o bu ni hikitometa n desu. Sore wa sugoi kikime datta n desu."
Buchoo: "**TERERU** na, soko made iwareru to...."
[Ikezawa 1990: 95-6]

(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: "I **TERERU** if you compliment me like that.")

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[11] Script from the movie "SHINING THROUGH (Japanese title: Arashi no naka de kagayaite)" Presented by 20th Century Fox, written for the screen and directed by David Seltzer. Translator from English into Japanese is unknown.

(12) "Atta bakari dakedo, Koko, anta tte, iroiro na koto o ki ni kakesugiteru hito no yoo ni omoeru na. Randii to tanoshiku yattara ii ja nai desu ka. Kare wa, totemo ii yatsu da shi, daiichi, anata ni kubittake desu yo." Randii ga, Vikutaa no kotoba ni **TERE**te, kare o tsutsuita.
[Yamada 1994b: 421]

(J --> E: "I've only just met you, Koko," Victor added, " but I think maybe you worry too much. How 'bout if you concentrate on just having fun with Randy? He's a great guy, and besides, he's nuts about you." Embarrassed [**TERE**te], Randy elbowed him.)
[Yamada 1994: 287]

(13) "Oota san mitai na direkutaa to oshigoto dekite, tottemo tottemo ureshikatta desu." Sono totan, hakushu to kansei ga wakiagatta. "Yatta ne, Oota-chan." "Kore de hottoitara otoko ja nai yo." Ootsu-tachi ni kata o tatakare Oota wa shikiri ni **TERE**te iru.
[Hayashi 1986: 165-6]

(MT: "I was very, very happy to have been able to work with a director like Mr. Oota." At that moment the clapping of hands and applause were heard. "Well, done, Oota" "If you leave her alone after this, you are not a man." With his shoulder being patted by Ootsu and the other guys, Oota is pretty much **TERE**te iru.)

(14) Repootaa: "Josei to shiriau kikai ga, Eikoku shakai no hoo ga, Nihon yori ooi-yoo desu ne. Sooshite, denka mo josei ni taisuru ome ga takaku natta n de wa naideshoo ka?"
Hironomiya Denka: "A ha ha, sonna tokoro wa, ...a ha ha." (to sakan ni **TERE**te orareru.)
[*Shuukan Gendai* 1989 No.9/14 in Kawahara 1991: 267]

(MT: Reporter: "It seems that you have more opportunities to get acquainted with women in British society than in Japan. And haven't you become a keener observer of women than before?"
Prince Hironomiya: "A ha ha, it's not something like that, ...a ha ha" (He's quite **TERE**te orareru.)

(15) Utouto shite iru musume (issai) ni soineshite ita otto ga, "Okaasan mitai na onna no hito ni nare yo" to..... Watashi ga ushiro de kiite ita koto o shitte, totemo **TERE**te imashita.
[Satomi Katoo (33 years old in Aichi prefecture) in Saitoo 1995: 139]

(MT: My husband, who was lying down with our sleeping daughter (1 year old), said to her "Grow up to be a woman like your mother." .... After he realised that I was behind him listening, he was very much **TERE**te imashita.)

In all examples the subject TERERU when something good is said about him/her by other(s).

In the following example a man is 'TEREte iru' when the shop attendant's interest is directed towards his wife whom he feels proud of.

(16) "Dakedo warui kedo, chotto take o dashite kurenai ka naa. Boku no nyooboo wa se ga takai kara."
"Wakarimashita. Shinchoo wa dono kurai de irasshaimasu ka."
"172 senchi."

Bikkurishichatta wa. Sono hito mo se ga takai kata na n dakedo, 172 senchi nante ittai donna onna no hito na no kashira ne. Watashi no odoroita no ga wakatta rashikute, sono hito, chotto **TERE**te ne, "Nyooboo, izen wa moderu o yatte ita 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 **TERE**te 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 otoko ni ikinari "omae" to iwaretara gekidosuru kedo, suki na kare kara ikinari no "omae" wa, tokimeki o kanjite shimau. Kare to no kyori ga guun to chikazuita-yoo de ureshii no yo ne. Kare mo myoo ni **TERE**te shimau keredo futari no naka o fukameru sayoo no aru kotoba.
[Chuubu-joshi-tankidaigaku 1990: 46]

(MT: Although I would get angry if I a strange man called me "omae (you)", I would got 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 **TERERU** 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.

(18) Momoko: "(Kyoo anata ga shigotoba ni kite kurete) Watashi, suggoku shiawase na kimochi ni nareta na."
Sukegawa: "...Yuuyake ga, kiree da ne."
Momoko: "Ara, **TERE**teru no (to warau)."
[Shinario-sakka-kyookai 1991: 254]

(MT: Momoko: "(Because you came to see me at my work place), I felt very SHIAWASE ('happy')."
Sukegawa: "....The sunset is very beautiful."
Momoko: "Oh, are you **TERE**teru? (laugh)")

Here, Sukegawa is 'TEREte 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:...Tatoeba, kekkonshitara nyooboo to wa deeto shinai toka, soo iu tokoro aru ja nai, Nihon no otoko tte. Demo, **TERE**cha dame na no yo.
Fukuda: .....Demo, yappari bokura no sedai wa doomo **TERETE**shimau. Kekkonshite kara wa nanka **TEREKUSAKU**te purezento dekinai tte iu tokoro, arimasu yo ne.
[Hayaru Fukuda & Kankuroo Nakamura "Ai da yo ne, Hideyoshi wa" in *Fujin Kooron* 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. Shiraishi (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 issho ni kurashitenai kara. Dakara **TERERU** n desu yo, ryoosha ga, au to ne. Mukoo (ofukuro) mo **TEREKUSAI** shi, boku mo **TEREKUSAI**.
[Seiichiroo Kuroda (illustrator) in Shiina 1989: 137]

(MT: We only lived together for a short time. Therefor:, we both **TERERU** when we meet each other. My mother feels **TEREKUSAI**, and I also feel **TEREKUSAI**.)

(21) Hitorimusume wa wakareta tsuma no moto de kurashite ita. Rokunen-buri ni musume to au to iu ba ni, otoko wa onna-tomodachi o tomonatta. Juuyon-sai no musume ni ittai-ichi de au yuuki ga nakatta. **TEREKUSAI** no da.
[Kenji Ogiwara (actor) in *Shuukan-Asahi* 1994 :121]

(MT: My daughter was living with my ex-wife. I took a female friend along when I went to see her for the first time in six years. I did not have the courage to see my fourteen year old daughter by myself. I feel **TEREKUSAI**.)

Japanese people may even TERERU or feel TEREKUSAI towards a family member whom they see each day as seen in the following examples.

(22) (Haha ni) motto yasashiku shite agetai tte omotteta shi, "hontoo wa daisuki na n da yo" tte oogoe de sakebitai kurai deshita. Tada sonna kimochi o doo yatte tsutaetara ii no ka ga wakarimasendeshita. Seikaku ga chichi ni nita watashi wa, kazoku ni taisuru **TERE** de sunao ni naru koto ga dekizu ni, yasashiku shitai noni umaku dekinai jibun ga modokashikute irairashite, tsui tsumetai taido o totta n desu.
[Mainichi-shimbunsha 1991: 32]

(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 be true to my feeling towards 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 oyaji wa, kodomo e no sesshikata ga sugoku heta de, hanashi ga yoku kuichigau n desu ne. Kocchi ga nani mo omottenakutemo, sugu gyakujooshite booryoku o furuttari suru.....
Andoo: Otoosan ga **TERE**zuni, moo sukoshi kodomo to no sesshikata ga umakattara, risooteki na kazoku desu ne.
[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.....
Andoo: It would be an ideal family if your father did not **TERERU** and he became good at making contact.)

(24) Hazukashii hanashi desu ga, boku wa chichioya ni ichido mo dakishimerareta kioku ga arimasen. Meiji umare no sei datta no ka, **TERE** mo atta no da to omoimasu keredo, ichido mo dakishimerareta kioku ga nai.
[Tanimura 1996: 84]

(MT: It's a HAZUKASHII story, but I have no memory of ever having been hugged by my father. Maybe because he was born in the Meiji era, he had **TERE** [Noun], so I have no memory of being hugged by him.)

(25) (Nihon no otto wa) Kaisha de wa, koohai no mendoomi ga yoku, joochoteki na komyunikeeshon ga dekitemo, katei de wa, 'HAZUKASHII', '**TEREKUSAI**' to nigeru. Kaisha no gengo wa shitte iru ga, sai-shi to no gengo wa motanai.
[Kiyomi Kawano (psychotherapist) ion *AERA* 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 'HAZUKASHII' or '**TEREKUSAI**'. 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 TERERU or feel TEREKUSAI when they say something which they feel too embarrassed to say in normal circumstances.

(26) Kotoba de iu to, anata wa **TERERU** kara. Koko de iu ne. Sekaijuu no dare yori mo anata ga ichiban daisuki. Zutto zutto issho ni itai.
[Office lady (29 years old) in Akitaken-Futatsuichoo 1995: 183]

(MT: Since you will **TERERU** 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 for ever and ever.)

(27) Shujin e
Men to mukatte orei nante **TEREKUSAKU** tte ienai kedo, watashi no chichi o suki de ite kurete arigatoo. Kyonen no 11 gatsu ni chichi ga nakunatta toki, jitsu no musume no watashi yori mo takusan naite kurete arigatoo. Kono hito to kekkonshite yokatta to kokoro kara omoimashita.
[Nanami Yamashita (30 years old in Fukuoka)
in RKB Mainichi-hoosoo-rajio-seisakubu 1995: 101]

(MT: To my husband:
Although I feel too **TEREKUSAI** 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 TEREKUSAI even when they apologise to their mothers, as in (28), or when they express their appreciation towards their friends, as seen in (29).

(28) Denwa da to chotto **TERE**, dakara tegami de sotto yuu. "Kaachan gomen."
[Man (53 years. old) in Fukuiken-Maruokachoo 1995: 55]

(B (J-->E): I feel a little shy [**TERERU**] to say it over the phone. So I furtively say by letter, "I'm sorry Mom.")

(29) Watashi tte, nante baka na n daroo, soo omoimashita. Watashi no koto o hontoo ni omotte kureru tomodachi na noni, hankan o motsu nante, watashi wa, konna ni ii tomodachi ni megumareteta noni. Asu, futari ni ayamaroo, soo omoimashita. Tsugi no hi, "kinoo, gomen ne" to iu tsumori deshita, ookina koe de. Dakedo, nandaka kyuu ni **TEREKUSAKU** nacchatte, "Arigatoo" tte, hitokoto, chiisana koe de shika iemasendeshita.
[Mainichi-shimbunsha 1988: 59]

(MT: What a fool I am, I thought. I had ill feelings towards my friends although they were friends who really looked out for me. I am fortunate in having such good friends.... I will apologise to the two of them tomorrow, I thought. The next day, I intended to say "I am sorry about yesterday" in a loud voice. Then, somehow I felt **TEREKUSAI**, and could only say the words "Thank you" in a small voice.)

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) [12] **Y ga TEREKUSAI**
((I) feel TEREKUSAI about Y)]

(a) I feel something because I think something about something 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

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.

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'.[13] 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) Itoo: (Aru haiyuu wa) kuchibeta de, me o awasenai desu yo ne.
Naitoo: **TERE-YA** san de, sugoku shai de suteki na kata ne.
[*Communication* 1998 April: 33]

(MT: Itoo: (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, nikotto waratta ga, **HAZUKASHIGARI-YA** de, shaberoo to wa shinakatta.
[Snowden & Doi 1982: 220]

13 As discussed in section 2 of Chapter 4 in this thesis, and also as Mizutani & Mizutani (1990: 66) mention, an expression referring to feelings like HAZUKASHII is usually used by the speaker. When the speaker refers to someone else's HAZUKASHII feeling, one of his/her way to express this is to replace the last part "i" of the adjective "hazukashii" with the suffix "garu". Words with "garu" like "hazukashi-garu" are sometimes changed into nouns which mean "a person who feels ....." by replacing the last part of suffix "garu", "ru", with "ri" and adds -YA (HAZUKASHII --> HAZUKASHI-garu [derived verb] --> HAZUKASHI-gari [derived noun] --> HAZUKASHI-gari-YA (compound noun).)

(B [J-->E]: The little girl gave a toothy smile, but she was too shy **[HAZUKASHIGARI-YA]** to speak.

(32) Kanojo (Kuroodo no haha) wa saisho no uchi kuru no o kobande ita ga, ookesutora no zutto ushiro no, deguchi ni ichiban chikai seki nara ii to itte kureta no da. "(....) Okaasan wa dooshite koko ga ii n da? Heisho-kyoofushoo na no ka?" "Saa, boku ni mo wakaranai n da. Hitomae ni deru no ga nigate de, **HAZUKASHIGARI-YA** na n da to omou."
[Conroy 1994 Vol. 2: 136]

(J <-- E: ...his [Claude's] mother, who hadn't wanted to come in the first place, relented if she could be assured a seat in the back row of the orchestra, next to an exit. "(....) What is it with your mother? Is she claustrophobic?" "No," Claude said. "I don't know, more like self-conscious. Shy **[HAZUKASHIGARI-YA]**.)
[Conroy 1993: 368]

(33) "Igirisujin tte no wa, onna no hito no atsukaikata o shiranai no nee. Hidoi **TERE-YA** na no yo. Onna no mae de TERERU nante bakageteru wa. Kudokikata hitotsu, shiranai n da mono. Onna no hito ni ne, anata wa utsukushii to demo ioo mon nara, moo sore dake de, sukkari kimariwarugatteru n da mono."
[Maugham 1959a Vol. 1: 228]

(J <-- E: "Englishmen do not know how to treat women. They are so shy **[TERE-YA]**. Shyness is ridiculous in a man. They don't know how to make love. They can't even tell a woman she is charming without looking foolish.")
[Maugham 1963b: 135]

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.

(34) Watashi no otooto/kodomo/tomodachi wa **TERE-YA/HAZUKASHIGARI-YA** da.
(My younger brother/child/friend is **TERE-YA/ HAZUKASHIGARI-YA**.)

(35) Watashi no chichi/jooshi/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.

Yuikawa (1996: 91-96) observes that TERE-YA is not basically negative. She says TERE-YA is more charming than not to TERERU at all. However, she recommends that females readers practice becoming a HAZUKASHIGARI-YA, rather than TERE-YA, when they seek to appeal to men. She explains as follows:

(36) Watashi wa **TERE-YA** desu. (....)
Jitsu wa shiriai no naka ni, watashi to dokoka nita taipu no josei ga imashita. Kyootsuu suru no wa, otoko no mae ni deru to umaku jibun o dasenaku naru, to iu koto desu. Nanoni, kanojo wa motemasu. Watashi to wa zenzen chigaimasu. (....)
Soshite, aru hi, ki ga tsuku no desu. Kanojo wa **TERE-YA** de wa naku, **HAZUKASHIGARI-YA** na no da to iu koto ni. Kono sa wa ookii. Nite iru-yoo de zenzen chigaimasu. Taikyoku ni aru to ittemo ii kurai desu. Soshite ketsuron o saki ni itteshimau nara, naru nara **TERE-YA** de wa naku, zettai **HAZUKASHIGARI-YA** desu.
TERE-YA no ningen wa, homerareru koto ga sugoku nigate desu. ...moshi, dansei kara fui ni "Kon'ya no kimi wa kiree da ne" nante iwaretara, sore dake de **TERE**te. **TERE**te, doo-shiyoo mo naku narimasu. Soshite, koo iu koto o itte shimau no desu. "Eeet, yotte ite me ga okashiku nacchatta n ja nai no. Sonna koto ittemo, koko no nomidai, ogoranai kara ne". (....)
Sono ten, **HAZUKASHIGARI-YA** wa chigaimasu. "Kon'ya no kimi wa kirei da ne." "E...." Potto hoo o akarame, utsumuite shimau no desu. Ato wa tada damatte iru.
HAZUKASHIGARI-YA wa sokohakatonaku iropposa ni tsunagarimasu. Keredo **TERE-YA** wa gasatsu na onna ni naru dake desu.
[Yuikawa 1996: 91-94]

(MT: I am a **TERE-YA**. \
Among my friends there was a woman who somehow resembled me. What we had in common was that we could not express ourselves in front of men. However, she is popular. She is quite different from me.
Then, one day it hit me. She is not a **TERE-YA**, but a **HAZUKASHIGARI-YA**. This is a big difference. Although they look similar, they are completely different. We could say they are opposite. And to state the conclusion first, you should definitely be a **HAZUKASHIGARI-YA** rather than a **TERE-YA**.
A **TERE-YA** is not good at being complimented by others. If I was told by a man "You are beautiful tonight", I would TERERU so much, and would say something along the lines of: "You're drunk, and it has got to your eyesight! Even if you go on like that, don't think that I'm going to pay for your drinks"
The **HAZUKASHIGARI-YA** is different. "You are beautiful tonight." "Oh....." She blushes a little and looks down. And she remains silent.
The **HAZUKASHIGARI-YA** is somehow connected to sexiness. However, the **TERE-YA** is just rough.)

Yuikawa recommends that females be HAZUKASHIGARI-YAs rather than TERE-YAs because a HAZUKASHIGARI-YA behaves more humbly so that other people might think that she is very weak, and needs to be protected by them.

Japanese has also the verb HANIKAMU which is a synonym of HAZUKASHIGARU or TERERU. The word is used as in the following examples:

(37) **HANIKAN**de iru toki no anata, suteki yo.
[Hamaguchi 1969: 76]

(MT: You look nice when you are **HANIKAN**de iru)

(38) Otoko: Oi, ii koto o omoitsuita. Omae, kono hito no tame ni, uta o utatte yare yo.
Tsuma: Uta o? Utaemasen yo, watashi nanka.
Otoko: Watashi nanka .... nante ne, hora, **HANIKAN**demasu deshoo. Kenson na n desu yo. Anata no mae desu keredomo ne, koitsu no uta wa chotto kikeru no desu. Omae, ii ja nai ka utatte yarinasai.
[Betsuyaku 1972: 243]

(MT: Man: Hey, I have a good idea. Honey, you sing a song for this man.
Wife: A song? I cannot sing, not somebody like me.
Man: "Not somebody like you...." See, she is **HANIKAN**de iru, isn't she? It is her modesty. Although we're in public, I will say that she sings very well. Honey, why not? Sing for him.)

HANIKAMI, a noun derived from HANIKAMU, can form a compound with a suffix -YA for making bound noun.

(39) Umaretsuki no **HANIKAMI-YA** de, ikutsu ni nattemo shoshin na komusume no yoo ni, danna-sama ni amai otegami ga kakenakatta dake no koto, heiki de kakeru ta no tonogata ni, danna-sama ni kawatte sesse to koibumi o kaite sashiageru shiyoo ni natte shimatta-yoo de gozaimasu.
[Inoue 1964a: 129]

(B[J-->E]: I am shy and naive [**HANIKAMI-YA**] in spite of my years. I could not write a sweet letter to my husband but I could write to other men one after another.)

(40) Onna: Otooto wa totemo enryo bukai no desu. Uchiki na n desu. **HANIKAMI-YA** de, sore ni mukuchi desu.
Tsuma: Ii koto desu yo. Otoko to iu mono wa ne, amari shaberanai no ga rippa na no desu.
Otoko: Sore wa, soo desu. Rippa na otoko to iu no wa gaishite shaberimasen. Shikashi, shaberanakereba rippa ka to iu to, soo demo nai. Watashi no nagai keiken ni yoreba, mushiro shaberu toki ni wa shaberu beki desu. Shaberu beki de nai toki ni shaberanai otoko koso rippa na no desu.
[Betsuyaku 1972: 249]

(J --> E: Woman: My brother is very reserved. Shy. Bashful [**HANIKAMI-YA**] and uncommunicative besides.
Wife: But that's good. Not to talk too much is excellent in a man.
Man: Yes, that's true. Real gentleman usually don't talk much. Still, to say that it is excellent not to talk misses the point. Speaking from my long experiences, I would say that you should talk when it is time to talk. To be more precise, it is excellent in a man not to talk when it isn't time to talk.)
[Betsuyaku 1992: 42]

The original meaning of HANIKAMU was 'to threaten others by showing anger or to show anger by baring one's teeth' (Morizui, Imaizumi, and Matsumura 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 "kizumari (embarrassment)"[14] 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 "Kizumari" literally means "KI 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.

(1) Tokoroga, sannin gurai toka no, chiisai guruupu no naka de, yasumijikan ni hanasu no to chigatte, zenkoo-seito, gojuunin no mannaka de, hanasu, to iu no wa, yuuki mo iru shi, muzukashii koto datta. Hajime no koro wa, **TERE**chatte, tada "ihi-ihi-ihi-ihi" to **waratte** bakkari no ko ya,....
[Kuroyanagi 1981: 130]

(J --> E: The children soon discovered that unlike talking to two or three friends during lunch hour, standing up in the middle of the whole school needed a good deal of courage and was quite difficult. Some children were so shy **[TERE]**, at first they just giggled **[waratta]**.)
[Kuroyanagi 1982: 93]

(2) "Nee, Koko." "Naani?" "Yasashii n da ne." "Ara." Koko wa, **TEREWARAI** o ukabeta.
[Yamada 1994: 287-288]

(J --> E: "Hey, Koko," he said. "What?" "You're nice." "Oh, my," Koko said with an embarrassed laugh **[TEREWARAI]**.)
[Yamada 1994: 205]

(3) Isei e no okurimono wa -- hanataba to kimete iru. (...) Taitei no dansei wa hidoku tomadoi, sorekara **TERE**, saigo ni totemo ureshi-soo ni **warau**.
[Yooko Mori "Okurimono" pp. 135-144 in Harada 1996: 143]

(MT: I have a rule that the present I will give to men should be flowers. (...) Most men get awfully puzzled and then **TERERU**, and finally **laugh** very happily.)

(4) "Washi wa naa, (shinu chokuzen ni) kanai o makuramoto ni yonde iu. 'Nagai koto, kimi ni kuroo o kakete mooshiwake nakatta. Washi ga shindara, dooka shiawase na kekkon o shite kudasai.' " Koko made itta ato, **TERE**ta kao ni natte, (Endoo Shuusaku wa) oogoe de **waratta**.
[Seiichi Yashiro "Kaisetsu" pp. 301-316 in Endoo 1994: 311]

(MT: "(Just before I die), I will call my wife to me, beside my pillow and I will say: 'I am sorry that I gave you such a hard time for so long. After I die, please marry happily.'" After he (Shuusaku Endoo) said this, he had a **TERE**ta face, and **laughed** loudly.)

What non-Japanese often call the Japanese 'ambiguous smile' or 'inscrutable' smile, is in fact one of the typical devices used to cover TEREKUSAI feelings, and the gesture is prompted by the following complicated thinking; On the one hand, Japanese try to show goodwill to others by smiling, but on the other hand, they try to prevent their inner feelings from being known by others by using smiling as a barrier.

Other examples of TERE-WARAI are as follows:

(5) Kodomo wa homerareru to, **TEREKUSA**-soo ni e-he-he-he to **waratta**.

(When the child was praised he **laughed** 'e-he-he-he' as though he felt **TEREKUSAI**.)

(6) Shinkon-ryokoo wa doko desu ka to kikarete, kare wa he-he-he to **TEREKUSA**-soo ni **waratte** sono ba o gomakashita.

(When he was asked "where are you going on your honeymoon?", he evaded the question by **laughing** 'he-he-he' as if he felt **TEREKUSAI**)

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?"
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-kodawari-kurabu 1994: 15-16). This is possible in Japanese society because a display of TEREKUSAI or embarrassment in public is generously 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...". Mukoozaka (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) "Demo ne, oniichan, (tokyoosoo de moo sukoshi de ichii ni narenakute) honto ni oshikatta ne" Haha ga yasashiku iu. "Oshikatta, oshikatta" to Mamoru. Suruto, Shin'ichi ga **atama o kakinagara** "E he he he" to **TEREwarai o shita.**
[Beat-Takeshi 1987: 52]

(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 Mamoru. Then Shin'ichi **scratched his head and gave a TEREwarai** "E he he he.")

[15] Tooyama (1993: 127) says results she got from a questionnaire showed that in Japan, males (60. 3%) take this action more often than females (35. 0%).

(4) Kuroyanagi: Okusama wa junsui de nandemo isshookemmei nasaru kata de hontoo ni anata wa ki ni itte rassharu to uketamawatte orimasu ga.
Yamashita: **(TERE**warai, **atama o kaku)**
Kuroyanagi: Ara, anata, owarai ni naru no ne, soo iu kao shite.
Yamashita: Hyoojoo o yomitoraremashita ka ne.
Kuroyanagi: Soo itta okusama no ningensei ni horekonde rassharu tte.
[Tetsuko Kuroyanagi and Shiji Yamashita (actor) in TV programme "Tetsuko no Heya" February 21st, 1997]

(MT: Kuroyanagi: I hear that your wife is very pure and always does her best in all things, and you truly like her very much.
Yamashita: **[TERE**warai, **scratching his head]**
Kuroyanagi: Oh, you, you're laughing, that's the expression on your face.
Yamashita: You can read my face.
Kuroyanagi: The humanity of your wife is what you're in love with.)

(5) "Kore, honto no mizu?" Yoku soo itte, (hana no) hachi no naka ni yubi o tsukkonde, kakimazeru (takushii no) okyakusan ga iru. Sono otoko mo yappari yubi o tsukkonda. "Iyaa, hommono da yo." Suwetto no zubon ni kuroi jampaa, panchipaama no **atama ni te o yarinagara**, "Nanka **TERE**chau yo na. Ore, hana nanka ni en ga nai shi yo." Soo itta kiri otoko wa damatta.
[Suzuki 1996: 117]

(MT: "Is this real water?" There are often customers in my taxi who ask that and put their finger in the vase and stir. This man also put his finger in it. "Yes, that is real." He was wearing sweat pants and a black jacket. **Putting his hand on his** punch permed **head** , "Somehow I **TERERU**, I've had nothing to do with flowers", he said and became quiet.)

I suggest that the action of scratching one's head when one TERERU/feel TEREKUSAI 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 TEREKUSAI. In Japan, people tend to expect others to have an 'empathetic' attitude towards those who are expressing a TEREKUSAI 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

of HAZUKASHII which arises from one's deviation from a social norm, they are indulgent of some TEREKUSAI feelings which represent ambiguous, perplexed feelings.

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) "Chuuzetsu no hiyoo ga nakute ne, haha ni karita koto ga aru no. **NASAKENAKAT**ta. Jibun-tachi no sekkusu no atoshimatsu mo dekinai tte 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 shoo-Pari da to iwareru hodo Pari-teki na machi da to kiite, Yukiko wa Shinonoi Haruko ga urayamashikatta. Jibun mo sonna utsukushii machi e posuto o mochitakatta. Kimatte shimatta mono wa shikata ga nai kereodomo, soo shita meirei ga, onna ni totte wa, kao-katachi no bishuu ni aru koto mo, Yukiko wa yoku shitte iru. Daratto to iu, kiita koto mo mita koto mo nai, koogen no okubukai tokoro de, heibon na tsutome ni tsuku ummei ga Yukiko ni wa nantonaku **NASAKENAI** kimochi datta. Wakai onna ni totte, heibon to iu koto hodo kurushii mono wa nai.
[Hayashi 1965: 45]

(B [J-->E]: Saigon is often called a "little Paris,' having so much of the Parisian atmosphere. Yukiko envied Shinonoi 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 unbearably painful [**NASAKENAI**].)

(3) Ga, suppon ga urarete ita no ni wa maitta. Watashi wa tsurakutte naita. Haha wa haibyoo no hito ga chi o nomu to itta ga, watashi ni wa soo omoenakatta. Giragira abura o ukabete hara ga tsukideta kanemochi ga, joohin ni kame no niku o tsumande, poi to kuchi ni hoorikomu bamen ga me ni ukande shikata ga nakatta. Kore ga bimboo na n da, higoro wa minai-yoo ni furenai -yoo ni shite iru ga, kore ga bimboo na n da. Watashi wa zarazarashita genjitsu no suhada ni furete shimatta node aru. Tomedomonaku shakuriage, ikite iru no ga **NASAKENAKAT**ta.
[Hata 1974b: 54]

(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 omottemasu yo. Otooto no koibito na n dakara akiramero, akiramenakucha ikenai....omoeba omou hodo suki ni natte iku 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 mitsukarazu
Shite agerareru koto ga nani mo nai
Tomodachi na noni **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 ugokenai kanja-san ga hotondo de aru tame, (jisshuusei no watashi wa omutsu no kookan ga) nakanaka umaku ikimasen. Jikan o kakete, muri na shisei de, kore ga kanjasan no kutsuu de aru koto ga wakatte inagara dekinai. Sonna jibun ga hontoo ni **NASAKENAKU** narimasu.
[Mainichi-shimbunsha 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 igai no ittai dare kara, watashi wa nagusame ga erareru deshoo? Nanishiro, nagusame ga hitsuyoo ni naru no wa maido no koto, sono tabi ni jibun no yowasa o tsuukanshite, jibun ga **NASAKENAKU** naru tachi na n desu.
[Frank 1994: 114-115]

(MT: From whom except myself can I get comfort? At any rate, I need to have comfort frequently, as I fully realise my weakness each time, I come to feel **NASAKENAI** about myself.)

(8) Kuroyanagi: (Okusama ga isshuukan no ryokoo kara) okaeri ni natta toki wa honto ni ureshikatta desu ka?
Yamashita: Ureshikatta desu ne. Ie no naka mo guchagucha ni natteru shi, **NASAKENAI** mono desu ne. Dakara, sakidatarenai-yoo ni taisetsu ni shinakya ikenai to omottemasu.
[Comments 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) Watashi jishin, bekkyosuru toki wa toozen, rikon o zentei to shite iru no da ga, hanarete kurasu to kare ga totan ni yoku miete, saisho no ketsui wa doko e yara. Soko e kare ga denwa de amai kotoba nado sasayaite kitara, moo banjikyuusu de, yappari wakarerarenai! to natte shimau. Ware-nagara, **NASAKENAI** ga, dooshitemo shuunenbukaku nikumi tsuzukeru koto no dekinai tachi rashii.
[*Fujin Kooron* 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.)

(10) Hanae Mori: Yappari maa, sensoo ni maketa ato no Nihon no, choodo hajimete sono mama itta toki Madamu Batafurai no opera mita n desu ne. Sono toki maa sugoku nanka mijime de **NASAKENAKAT**ta desu nee. Jibunjishin no kimochi mo atta kamo shiremasen ga nannimo, watashitachi konna ni Amerika no koto shitteru noni kono hitotachi nannimo Nihon no koto nanka shiranai n da naa to omoimashita yo. Konna kakkoo shite ne, Madamu-Choochoo-san ga nee, hoide, geta haite nee, tatami aruitari suru hito mo iru wake desu yo.
[Hanae Mori (designer) in TV programme "Itsu Mitemo Haran-banjoo" on July 7th, 1996]

(MT: Hanae Mori: And, after Japan lost the war, I went to see the opera Madam Butterfly for the first time. At that time I felt somehow miserable and **NASAKENAI**. Maybe it was just me, but I felt that although we knew so much about America, these people knew nothing at all about Japan. They had Madam Butterfly dressed like this, and others walking on tatami mats with their geta on[1].)

In the following two examples NASAKENAI represents words translated from the original English texts.

(11) "Atashitachi ga koko ni kita no wa, anata no kenkyuu no tame datta to omou n dakedo", soo itte Nooma wa, Itaria-ryuugaku no hanashi nado uketsukenakereba yokatta, to omotta. "Sono hanashi wa moo yosoo", to Kaaru wa itta. Kare wa **NASAKENAI** kimochi ni nari, kono kuni ni kita koto de -- sono tame ni Nooma ya kodomotachi made makizoe ni shita koto de, jibun o semeta. Naze subete ga koo waruku bakari yuku no ka, rikai dekinakatta.
[Malamud 1971: 88-89]

(J <-- E: "I thought your research was the main reason we came here." Norma then wished she had never heard of Italy. "That's enough of that," said Carl. He felt helpless **[NASAKENAI]**, blamed himself for coming -- bringing all this on Norma and the kids. He could not understand why things were going so badly.)
[Malamud 1960: 60-61]

(12) Dokoka e dekakete kitara to, kanojo wa (Poora ni) iitakatta. Ichiichi sashizusareru no ga wazurawashii. Daga, jibun wa sonna onna na no ka. Kaseifu no yuunoosa made ga netamashii no ka. Tsukushite kurete, shimpaishite kureru no o sakauramisuru ningen na no ka. "Kimochi ga fusagu no mo muri nai wa. Nante **NASAKENAI** ningen na no."
[Fielding 1994: 147]

(J <-- E: Time to take a hike, Jane wanted to tell her [Paula], feeling encumbered 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 all 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

[1] In Japan people take off their shoes before they enter tatami rooms.

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) Reisei ni natte kara kangaemashita. Watashi wa koo yatte chikara datte nan datte tsuite, dondon seichooshiteiku noni, watashi no otoosan ya okaasan wa dondon otoroete iku n da na tte hajimete mi ni shimite kanjita n desu. Dooshite motto hayaku kizukanakatta n daroo, sono toki hontoo ni jibun ga **NASAKENAKU**, HAZUKASHIKU narimashita.
[Mainichi-shimbunsha 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 this earlier? At that time I really felt **NASAKENAI** and HAZUKASHII about myself.)

(14) Toshi o toru ni tsure, tashoo no keiken wa kasaneru ni tsurete watashi ni mo jinsei ya ningen ni tsuite wazuka nagara rikaisuru mono ga atta. Wareware no jinsei de ichijiteki ni wa mainasu ni mieru mono (zasetsu, byooki, shippai) ni mo kanarazu purasu to naru kanoosei ga ari, sono kanoosei o mitsukete gugenkasureba kako no mainasu mo itsuka wa purasu ni tenzuru to iu koto datta. Nanda, sonna koto ka to owarai ni naru kamo shirenai ga, **NASAKENAI** ka na, watashi ga kore o jikkan o motte shitta no wa gojussai ni natte kara datta.
[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 (collapse, illness, mistake) 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, is that it?", some people may laugh. I feel **NASAKENAI**, because I realised this only after I turned fifty.)

(15) Sakaya o itonande iru otto wa, seibo no jiki ni naru to ooisogashi. Mise ni tomarikomu koto ga ooku naru. Sono hi mo "Ashita wa tomari ni nari-soo da" ni naishin niyari. Kore de yuushoku no shitaku wa shinakute ii..... "Ii no?" to otto. "Dooshite?" to watashi. "Sabishii to omotte...." Omowazu shinzoo ga dokkin. Jibun ga **NASAKENAKU**te, sekimen shite shimatta.
[Yuuko Kuwahara (35 years old in Saitama prefecture) in Saitoo 1995: 37]

(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'll have to stay overnight at the shop", I smiled inside my heart. Then I don't have to prepare dinner..... "Is that all right?", said my husband. "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) "Korera no jiken (Sakamoto-san ikka to Taguchi-san o koroshita koto) wa, Asahara no meirei no moto ni, watashi to hoka no deshitachi ga yatta koto desu. Benkai no yochi wa arimasen. Sakamoto-san ikka to Taguchi-san ni wa, shazaishiyoo ni mo, nanto owabishite ii ka wakarimasen. Hontoo ni mooshiwakenaku, sumanai kimochi desu. Asahara no toku, subete no tamashii no gusai, heiwa na sekai o yume mite, shukkeshimashita. Nido mo isho o kaite made Asahara ni tsuite itta jibun ga **NASAKENAKU** omoimasu."
[Comment by Okazaki (a member of the Aum religion) in Egawa "'Oumu-shinrikyoo' saiban bookan-ki" pp. 232-242 in Saki 1998: 236]

(MT: "These incidents (the murders of the Sakamoto family and Mr. Taguchi) were conducted by me and other disciples under the orders of Mr. Asahara. There is no room for excuses. I don't know how to apologise to the Sakamoto family and Mr. Taguchi, although I want to do so. I really feel sorry and guilty towards them. I became a member of Aum-Cult of Supreme Truth dreaming of helping people's souls out of danger and into a peaceful world, as preached by Asahara. I feel **NASAKENAI** about myself who believed and followed Asahara, to the extent that I wrote two wills.)

The subject in (13) feels NASAKENAI about herself for not having recognised the ageing of her parents sooner. The subject in (14) describes himself 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) "Mooshiwake nai. Tsuma no mimi ni haireba, watashi wa tachimachi ano ie kara tatakidasareru," to Uezuma ga itta, "Tsumari, dooji ni kaisha kara mo oidasareru no da." "**NASAKENAI** wa ne, mattaku," to Nogami Yukiyo ga tameiki o tsuku. "Kachoo na n desho, chitto wa kizen to shinasai yo."
[Akagawa 1985: 186]

(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", Nogami Yukiyo said. "You're the section chief, so try and behave like one.")
[Akagawa 1985: 149]

(18) "Kono ko mo, dandan yaku ni tatsu-yoo ni narimashita yo" to, okaasan, watashi no kanashii kimochi, chanto wakatte irassharu kuse ni, Imaida-san no kimochi o mukaeru tame ni, sonna kudaranai koto o itte, ho ho to waratta. Okaasan, sonna ni made shite, konna Imaida nanka no gokigen toru koto wa, nai n da. Okyakusan to taishite iru toki no okaasan wa, okaasan ja nai. Tada no yowai onna da. Otoosan ga, inakunatta kara tte, konna ni mo hikutsu ni naru mono ka. **NASAKENAKU** natte, nani mo ienakatta.
[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.

Simply because Father's gone doesn't mean you have to become so obsequious, Mother. I feel so wretched **[NASAKENAI]** I can't even speak.)
[Dazai 1988: 84]

(19) Daga, watashi wa tada hitori no chichioya to shite, wa ga ko no gakusei ni arumajiki fuhinkoo ga **NASAKENAKAT**ta.
[Inoue 1964b: 174]

(B [J-->E]: But the boy's conduct, so unbecoming in a student, was most distressing **[NASAKENAI]** to me as a father, the only father he had, after all.)

(20) Kookoo no toki no saakuru no koohai de, ooboke no Takako ga kekkonsuru koto ni narimashita. Kanojo tte, oryoori wa zenzen dame. Soshite iu ni wa, "Nanishiro, osakana nanka wa, osashimi shika dasenai to omou no." Sore tte, pakku-uri shiteru mon ne. Omake ni, "Yakizakana mo utteru koto dashi, daijoobu da yo ne" nante iidasu no yo. Uun, **NASAKENAI.**
[*With* 1995 Feb: 234]

(MT: Dull Takako, a younger woman who was in the same club as me in high school, is going to get married. She cannot cook at all. And she says, "anyhow, I can serve fresh slices of raw fish, if [he wants to eat] fish." Yeah, they are sold in packages at the shops. Besides, she says, "They also sell grilled fish at the shops, so I will be all right, won't I?" Oh, I feel **NASAKENAI** about her.)

In example (17), Yukiyo 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
[(Watashi wa) [2] 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.

(c) "I/Y cannot do something
(d) this is bad
(e) I/Y is not good if I/Y is like this
(f) now I cannot think what I can do about this
(g) when this person thinks this, this person feels something bad
(h) I felt something like this
(i) because I thought something like this

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 bad 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) "Anata, hoteru-dai no tame ni, Rui Viton da toka Seriinu no baggu o katte, sore o hangaku kara sambun no ichi kurai de kaeto ni utte genkin o tsukutte iru n deshoo?" Shuutome wa soko de fukabuka to tameiki o tsuku. "**NASAKENAI** hanashi da wa nee, sonna jigoro ni hikkakaru nante. Doose nara onna to asobu okane kurai motte iru sukoshi wa mashi na otoko o erabeba ii noni.")
[Mori 1989: 28]

(J --> E: "You've been buying Louis Vuitton and Céline bags and the like, selling them at half or a third of the price, and using the cash to pay hotel bills, haven't you?" She [mother-in-law] sighed deeply. How pathetic **[NASAKENAI]**. That gigolo is certainly taking you for a ride. If you're going to do something like this, you could at least pick a man with money of his own to spend on women.")
[Mori 1993: 31]

(22) Kuitai dango ga kuenai no wa **NASAKENAI**. Shikashi, jibun no iinazuke ga tanin ni kokoro o utsushita no wa, nao **NASAKENAI** daroo.
[Natsume 1978: 80]

(J --> E: To be unable to eat dango[3] one is so fond of eating, is tragic **[NASAKENAI]**. But to have one's betrothed change her love to another, would be more tragic **[NASAKENAI]**.)
[Natsume 1918: 65]

(23) Ningen, nani ga **NASAKENAI** tte, 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 taru mono ga oya no onkyuu o ate ni suru-yoo dewa, amari ni **NASAKENAI** de wa nai ka!
[Inoue 1964b: 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 fujintachi ya reijootachi mo soo gotegote to kikazatte ita hazu wa arimasen, ga, kooshite karera to Naomi to o kurabete miru to, shakai no joosoo ni umareta mono to soo de nai mono to no aida ni wa, arasowarenai hinkaku no sooi ga aru-yoo na ki ga shita no desu. Naomi mo kafe ni ita koro to wa betsujin no yoo ni nari wa shita mono no, uji ya sodachi no warui mono wa yahari dooshitemo dame na no ja nai ka to, watashi mo soo omoi, kanojo jishin mo issoo sore o kanjita ni chigai arimasen. Soshite itsumo wa kanojo o haikara ni miseta tokoro no, ano mosurin no budoo no moyoo no tangoromo ga, maa sonotoki wa donna ni **NASAKENAKU** mieta koto deshoo.
[Tanizaki 1947: 53]

(J --> E: As it was summer, of course the women couldn't have been particularly dressed up. But when I compared them to Naomi, I sensed an unmistakable difference in refinement between those who are born to the higher classes of society and those who aren't. Though Naomi seemed to have become a different person from the café girl she'd been, there's no concealing bad birth and breeding. And if this is what I was thinking, she must have felt it even more. How pitiful **[NASAKENAI]** it looked now, that muslin kimono with the grape design, that had made her seem so stylish.)
[Tanizaki 1985: 26]

(26) Inu wa ikioi yoku, Enu hakushi ni hoetsuita. Odoroita hakushi wa awatete nigemawatta ga, robotto wa sore o tasukeyoo to shinai. Sore dokoroka, issho ni natte nigeru dake de, kono yoosu o yuujin wa monokage kara mite tsubuyaita. "**NASAKENAI** robotto da na. Hontoo ni yaku ni tatanai rashii.")
[Hoshi 1977: 98]

(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.")
[Hoshi 1986: 72-73]

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3 Japanese sweets.

(27) Andii to Rinda no fuufu wa, 1947 nen 9 gatsu 10 ka no gogo ni hageshii kooron o shita. Kooron no moto wa, Rinda no futei datta. Andii no shoogen ni yoru to, Rinda wa anata ni shirarete kaette yokatta, hitome o shinonde kosokoso au no wa **NASAKENAI** hanashi da kara, to itta.
[King 1988: 14]

(J <-- E: Andy and Linda Dufresne argued bitterly on the afternoon of 10 September 1947; that the subject of their argument was her infidelity. He testified that Linda professed to be glad he knew; the sneaking around, she said was distressing [NASAKENAI].)
[King 1992: 15]

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 fiancee's change of her mind 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:

NASAKENAI --- the attributive use
[Y wa NASAKENAI (people in general feel) Y is NASAKENAI)]

(a) I want to say something about me/another person Y
(b) sometimes a person thinks about someone:
(c) "I/Y cannot do something
(d) this is bad
(e) I/Y is not good if I/Y is like this
(f) now I cannot think what I can do about this
(g) when this person thinks this, this person feels something bad
(h) I say: other people can feel like this when they think about me/Y

10.(II).2. KANASHII

There are two Chinese characters which are used for the single word KANASHII; (1) 悲しい and (2)哀しい. Each word has different connotation. Therefore, I will posit the polysemy for KANASHII: KANASHII 悲しい<1> and KANASHII 哀しい<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 one's instantaneous subjective feeling.

Oida: Kyooiku to iu no wa fushigi na mon da to omou n da keredomo, tonikaku tokkoo no meirei ga deta ato deshoo. Shutsugeki shite kara sukunakutomo mikka inai ni wa shinu wake desu yo. Kangaete miru to shutsugekimeirei to itta toki ni, dokit to mo shinakatta. Kore wa yappari kyooiku deshoo ne. Jibun ga nijussai, nijuuissai made ikirareru to wa omottenai desu kara, zen'in ga.
Sawa: Wat, **KANASHII**.....
[Toshio Oida (jazz singer) & Tamaki Sawa (actress) "Talking Party"
in *Min'on* 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/*KANASHII<2>哀しい.....)

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 "nangi (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". Yoshikawa (1992: 8) says that 'Enka (Japanese ballads)' are the songs of KANASHII <2> feelings. Japanese people favour plaintive songs. Indeed, the words KANASHII in 'enka' are more often described with 哀しい 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> ((I) 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 Amamori (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 uso nanka tsuitemasen wa. Taichiroo san ga atashi o wakatte kudasaranai dake desu wa. Honshin ga doko ni aru no ka, sore o kakushite irassharu no wa, Taichiroo san ja arimasen no? **KANASHII** wa."
[Kawabata 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 [KANASHII].")
[Kawabata 1975: 157]

(2) (Kobayashi) sensei no kao wa, naite iru yoo datta. Sensei wa, yukkuri, itta. "Yasuaki-chan ga, shinda yo. Kyoo, minna de osooshiki ni ikoo. Yasuaki-chan wa, minna no tomodachi datta ne. Totemo zannen da yo. Sensei mo **KANASHII** kimochi de ippai da....."
[Kuroyanagi 1981: 237]

(J --> E: He (Mr. Kobayashi) looked as if he had been crying. "Yasuaki-chan's dead," he said slowly. "We're all going to his funeral today." Then he went on, "You all liked Yasuaki-chan, I know. It's a great shame. I feel terribly sad [KANASHII].")
[Kuroyanagi 1982: 169]

(3) Kobayashi sensei ni shite mo, kono Tomoe gakuen o hajimeru mae ni, nannen mo nannen mo kenkyuushi, kanzen na mono to shite gakkoo o hajimeta no ga shoowa 12 nen. Yaketa no ga, 20 nen desu kara hontoo ni mijikai kikan deshita. Demo, watashi no ita koro wa, sensei ni totte, mottomo joonetsu ga tsuyoku, sensei no yaritai koto ga hanahiraita shunkan datta-yoo de, sono ten, koofuku da to omoimasu. Demo, sensoo sae nakereba, donna ni takusan no seito ga, Kobayashi sensei no te no naka kara yo no naka ni dete itta ka, to omou to, mottainai, to **KANASHII** kimochi de ippai desu.
[Kuroyanagi 1981: 267-268]

(J --> E: It took Mr. Kobayashi years and years of study before starting Tomoe in 1937 and it burned down 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** feeling] at the waste.)
[Kuroyanagi 1982: 191]

(4) "Mimi no katachi wa kawaiku kirei da ga, yooki no aru-yoo ni utsukushii yokogao o shitemasu ne," to Ooki wa itta.
"Ureshii wa. Sensei ga sonna ni osshatte kudasaru no" to Keiko wa nagame no hosoi kubi o usuakarameta. "Okotoba wa isshoo wasuremasen wa. Demo, sensei ga sonna ni osshatte kudasaru utsukushisa wa itsu made tsuzuku no deshoo ka. Soo omou to, onna desu kara, **KANASHII** wa."
[Kawabata 1961: 83]

(J --> E: "Your ears are lovely," he said, "but there's a kind of eerie beauty to your profile."
"I'm glad you think so!" Her slender neck flushed slightly. "I'll never forget that, as long as I live. But how long will beauty last? A woman feels sad [**KANASHII**] to think of that.)
[Kawabata 1975: 77]

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) **KANASHIKU**te doo shitara ii ka wakaranai
Ichinichijuu kimi no koto bakari omotte iru yo
Kimi o ikashiteshimatta no wa machigai datta ne
Datte ima ja hiru mo yoru mo
kimi no koto de hitan ni kurete iru n dakara
[Henry Creamer & James P. Johnson "If I could be with you" in Murao 1991 Vol. 3: 137]

(B (J<--E): I'm so blue [**KANASHII**], I don't know what to do
All day through I'm pining just for you
I did wrong when I let you go away
For now I grieve about you night and day)

(6) "(...) Nannen mo mae, mada zuibun wakai koro no koto, noojoo kara Ryuubekku no machi e yoku deta ga, Sairento eiga no 'Fausuto' o mita koto ga aru. Eiga no naka de Gureechen yaku o shita josei ga shinjirarenai hodo utsukushiku, washi ni fukai kammei o ataeta. (...) Washi wa sono eiga o juunankai to mita. Kanojo ga totemo wakakute nakunatta. -- Haikekkaku datta to omou ga, soo kiita toki hidoku **KANASHII** kimochi ni natte shimatte ne. "
[Styron 1983: 42-43]

(J <-- E: "A number of years ago when I would I go from my farm up to Lübeck--I was quite young at the time--I saw a silent film version of *Faust* in which the woman who played Gretchen was unbelievably beautiful and made a deep impression on me. (...) I saw the film a dozen times. I learned later that she died very young -- of tuberculosis, I believe --and it saddened me [made me feel **KANASHII**] terribly.)
[Styron 1983: 375]

(7) Omoeba **KANASHII** wa yo ne
Watashitachi ga moo dame nante
Soshite tsui ni gomakasu koto sura
Dekinai tte toko made kite shimatta
[James D. Weatherly "Neither of us" 1971
by BIBO MUSIC PUBLISHERS in Kawazoe 1995: 69]

(B (J<--E): It's sad [**KANASHII**] to think
We're not gonna make it
And its 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)[4] [Y ga] KANASHII <1>
((I) feel KANASHII <1> [about Y])]

(a) I felt something [because I thought 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 (h) "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 nazeka KANASHII <1> (I feel KANASHII

[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 (experiencer) of the feeling is always "I" in Japanese.

<1> today, I don't know why)". Therefore, the stimulus object "Y ga [about Y]" in this sentence construction could be absent. It should be noted that the object Y of KANASHII <1> in its subject use cannot be "someone". For example, we could not say "* (Watashi wa) **ani** ga KANASHII <1> (* (I) feel KANASHII <1> about **my elder brother)**", while we could say "(Watashi wa) **ani 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> 悲しい

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: Ma, Nihon no medaru nashi to iu, soo itta **KANASHII** nyuusu dake wa kikitaku arimasen kara, nan to shite mo kono Hatakeda ni gambatte morawanakereba narimasen.
Gushiken: Soo desu nee.

[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 Hatakeda 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, mottomo **KANASHII** mono wa tsugi no kotoba da---"....datta kamo shirenai noni."
[J.G. Whitteir, *Maud Muller* in Kajima 1986: 234]

(B (J<--E): For of all sad [**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 wants 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 make 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) Aru hi, mama ni naze KANASHII koto bakari kaku no ka to kikareta kedo, sore made watashi wa jibun no e ga **KANASHII** e da to wa kizukanaide ita.
[Morgan 1992 Vol.1: 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**].)
[Morgan 1987: 45]

(11) "Tokorode, sakuya, Panama unga o kaeshita na."
"Ee, shittemasu. Watashi wa nyuusu ni unzaridesu yo. Kono kuni wa **KANASHII** kuni desu yo. Minna ga, watashitachi o kozukimawasu n desu kara ne."
"Kimi wa Vetonamu kara te o hiku koto o nozonde ita na."
"Are mo KANASHII koto deshita yo."
[Updike 1992 Vol. 2: 85]

(J <-- E: "And they gave the old Canal back last night."
"Yeah, I get 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.")
[Updike 1981: 251]

The meaning of the attributive use of KANASHII <1> is explicated as follows:

KANASHII <1> 悲しい--the attributive use
[Y wa KANASHII <1>
((people in general feel) Y is KANASHII <1>)]

(a) I want to say something about something/someone Y
(b) sometimes a person thinks about something:
(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 say: other people can feel like this when they think about Y

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 KAWAISOO da ((People in general feel) that man, who cannot trust even his own family, is KAWAISOO). 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 natte 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-soo na **MONO-GANASHII** niryoo-hensei no koogai-densha o oriru to, mazu saisho ni natsukashii kusa no nioi ga hana o tsuita. Zutto mukashi no pikunikku no nioi da.
[Murakami 1990b: 123]

(J --> E: Stepping down from the sorry **[MONO-GANASHII]** two-car local train that seemed ready to rust up any minute, the very first thing to hit me was the familiar smell of open grassy spaces. The smell of picnics way back when.)
[Murakami 1985: 110-111]

(13) Rippa na hana o motte iru wake de wa nai ga, watashi wa nioi ni kokoro o ugokasareru koto ga ooi. Osanai koro no omoide mo, nioi ni musubitsuita mono da ga, ichiban kannooteki de, **MONO-GANASHII**.
[Shuntaroo Tanigawa "Nioi" pp. 11-13 in Tsukamoto 1986: 11]

(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 matomo na kanjoo o idaku hi ga yattekite shimatta to shitara
shokku no amari boku wa kitto umi ni tobikonde shimau koto daroo
Soshite ressha ga toorisugite iku toki ni tateru hibiki wa
nantomo iezu **MONO-GANASHII**.
[Steven Morrissey & John Marr "Nowhere Fast" 1985
by Morrissey Marr Songs Ltd. in Nakagawa 1992: 105]

(B [J<--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 uragirarete 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). [5]

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) Yuujin kara kiita hanashi da ga, saikonshita fuufu ga mae no kekkon no shippai o kurikaesanai -yoo ni, kondo wa kaiwa no jikan mo tappuri totte, eiga nado ni mo issho ni mini iku-yoo ni doryokushite iru to iu. Nantomo kenage de, mata **KANASHII<2>**to iu koto o kanjizu ni wa irarenai. Ii hanashi da na to wa omou ga, hatashite hontoo ni sore de umaku iku no ka dooka wa gimon da. Mushiro soo iu kankei de itakattara, koibito-dooshi no mama de betsubetsu ni kurashi, aitai to omou kimochi o taisetsu ni shite ita hoo ga ii no de wa nai no daroo ka.
[Tokiwa 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)].

[5] The Russian word 'toska' is also an emotion word which arises without reason, but it can be very deep (Anna Wierzbicka: personal communication).

(2) Yasui-san wa gurabia o kazarinagara mo, hongyoo ni oite nagai koto toppurannaa no hitori de atta. Kanojo ga tsukutta ikutsuka no kyoku, 'Yoroshiku aishuu', 'Kiken na futari' wa, karaoke de sakan ni utaware, ima motte CM ni tsukawareru meikyoku to iwareru mono da.
Watashi no namida wa, hommono no sainoo aru josei, hommono no sutaa o ushinatta **KANASHIMI<2>** de aru.
Jibun ga akogarete ita josei ga shinu to iu no wa, kore hodo **KANASHII<2>** mono daroo ka to tsukuzuku omou.
[Hayashi 1994a: 299]

(MT: While Ms. Yasui also featured as a cover girl, she was one of the leading people in her profession for a long time. Some of her songs, such as 'Please give my love to pathos' or 'A couple in danger' were often sung at karaoke and remain as masterpieces which are still used in commercials.
My tears convey the **KANASHIMI<2>** [Noun] I felt when we lost such a really talented woman, a real star. I think how deeply **KANASHII <2>** it is that the woman I idealised passed away.)

The following examples (3) to (6) also show the attributive use of KANASHII <2>. In example (3) the subject says a lot of women are in KANASHII <2> circumstances. In example (4) the subject depicts the old couple's suicide as a most KANASHII <2> thing. In example (5) the back of a pitcher who has lost in a game is described as KANASHII <2>. In example (6) human beings are described as being in a 'sad' existence and the word 'sad' is translated as KANASHII <2> in Japanese. In example (7) the subject thinks her friend's world is a KANASHII <2> one, sympathising that she has not experienced any gentle treatment by men.

(3) "Onna no hito wa fushigi na n desu yo" to Ooki wa mushiro nogareru-yoo ni, "Jibun no koto ga kakarete iru, jibun ga ano shoosetsu no moderu da to shinjikomu hito ga, ni, sannin wa aru mono desu yo. Sore ga, sakusha no mizushirazu no, mattaku kakawari no nai onna na no dakara... Doo iu moosoo na no ka na."
"**KANASHII <2>** mi no ue no onna ga ooi desu kara, soo iu moosoo ni torawarete shimatte, jibun no nagusame ni suru no da to, atashi wa omoimasu wa."
[Kawabata 1961: 85]

(J --> E: "Women are odd," he said, to extricate himself. "Two or three of them have told me they're sure I modelled one of my characters on them. And they were complete strangers, women I'd had nothing to do with. What kind of delusion could that be?"
"Lots of them are unhappy [in **KANASHII <2>** circumstances], so they console themselves with delusions.")
[Kawabata 1975: 79]

(4) "Toshiyori no rikon wa iya da ga, roojin no shinjuu wa, kore hodo **KANASHII <2>** mono wa nai ne. Sore ga shimbun ni detari suru to, wakai koibito no shinjuu o wakai hito ga akogareru yori mo, roojin no shinjuu no kiji o mite mi ni shimiru roojin no hoo ga tsuusetsu ja nai kashira."
[Kawabata 1961: 149]

(J --> E: "Old couples getting divorced are bad enough, but there's nothing sadder [**KANASHII <2>**] than when they suicide together. It must make old people feel agitated to see such articles in papers. Even more so than the way young people feel about the suicide of young lovers.")
[Kawabata 1975: 132]

(5) Haisen-tooshu no senake wa **KANASHII <2>**
Otoko nara dare demo sono wake o shitteru
Nagai jinsei ni ichido ya nido wa
Mizukara maundo o oriru koto mo aru kara
[Masashi Sada "Haisentooshu" 1980 by M. Sada]

(MT: This losing pitcher's back is **KANASHII <2>**
If you are a man, you know the reason
Because over a long life time once or twice
we retire from the mound by ourselves)

(6) Ningen to wa mina **KANASHII <2>** mono
Dare mo sonna soburi wa misenai keredo.....
[Glenn Frey "Most of us are sad" 1972 by Red Cloud Music,Co.in Yamamoto 1995: 19]

(B: Most of us are sad [**KANASHII <2>**].
No one lets it show)

(7) "Kare ga hontoo ni tsumetai hito na no ka, doo ka handan ga tsukanai no. Datte, watashi, otoko no hito ni yasashiku sareta koto nai kara, itsumo konna mono ka naa tte."
KANASHII <2> kotoba de atta. Otoko ni yasashiku sareta koto ga nai kara, otoko no tsumetasa mo wakaranai to wa.
[Toodoo 1994c: 113-114]

(MT: "I cannot judge whether my boyfriend is really a cold person or not. Because I was never treated gently by men, I think maybe all men are like that..."
These were **KANASHII <2>** words. Since she has never been treated gently by men, she does not even understand men's coldness.)

We should note that this KANASHII <2> emotion, as illustrated in all examples (1) - (7) in this section, is a more objective feeling than that of KANASHII <1>. The subjects in these examples put some psychological distance between themselves and the objects towards which they feel KANASHII <2>. Example (8) below also illustrates this point. Here, KANASHII <2>, not KANASHII <1>, should be used, because in this context the subject is describing a fact objectively; a certain innate disposition of human beings is a KANASHII <2> thing (a certain innate disposition of human being is a thing which makes people in general feel KANASHII <2>).

(8) Otto o toitsumetari, nakikudoite mitari suru mae ni, ikoji na hodo tsuyoki no shisei ni deru no ga hahaoya no shoobun datta.
Sono kawaige no nasa ga, chichi o sara ni aijin no hoo e katamukasete itta no kamo shirenai.
Musume to iu yori, "ningen-ai" no shiten ni tatte miru to, chichi to haha no dochira ni hi ga aru to wa dantei dekinakatta. Tada, shimijimi to **KANASHII <2>** 哀しい /* **KANASHII <1)>**悲しい.
[Toodoo 1994d Vol.2: 117]

(MT: It was my mother's nature to take an aggressive attitude before she pressed my father for an answer (about his love affair), or broke down crying.
That lack of charm might have encouraged my father to devote himself to his lover.
When I thought of the fact from the viewpoint of a "lover for humanity" rather than as their daughter, I could not judge which of them should be blamed. Simply, it was really **KANASHII <2>** 哀しい/* **KANASHII <1>** 悲しい).

I will tentatively explicate the meaning of KANASHII <2> as follows:

KANASHII <2> 哀しい---the attributive use
[Y wa KANASHII <2> ((people in general feel) Y is KANASHII<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 KANASHII <2> 哀しい is different from KANASHII <1> 悲しい. Firstly, whereas KANASHII <1> has two uses (the subjective use, the attributive use), KANASHII <2> has only the attributive use. Secondly, the attributive use of KANASHII <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) "sometime a person thinks for some time" in KANASHII <2> and (b) "sometimes a person thinks" in KANASHII <1>; as well as comparison between component (c) "something bad has been happening" in KANASHII <2> and (b) "something bad happened" in KANASHII <1>). The subject of both KANASHII <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 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)

6 Iizumi (1963: 282) mentions that the meaning of TSURAI has changed historically. In the Heian era (792-1192 A.D.) the use of TSURASHI (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:

Tabe sugite i ga * TSURAI.
(I feel *TSURAI in my stomach since I ate too much.)

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 gohot. Seki ga tomaranai. **TSURAI** yoo.
[Yoshida 1991: 60]

(B [J-->E]: Cough--cough! I can't stop coughing. This is terrible [**TSURAI**]!)

(2) Demo, nantettatte **TSURAI** no wa asa hayaku okiru koto da na. **TSURAI** naa. (....) Okite, fuku o kigaeru toki.... Hontoo ni are, doo 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 that...Sleeping and cold....)
[Abe 1975: 41]

(3) Kookoku ni detari, fujinfuku-ten o mawatte moderu o tsutometari. Ichinichi ni rokkai kara hakkai no shoo o konasu no wa, hontoo ni **TSURAI** shigoto deshita. Watashi wa sore o ichinen hodo tsuzuketa no desu.
[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.)
[Gross 1995: 179]

TSURAI has both the subjective use and the attributive use, although most examples are in the subjective use.

What is most noticeable about TSURAI is that while this word is apparently regarded as an emotion word in the Japanese language, the English translation of TSURAI does not usually rely upon an emotion word. The word 'hard' is most frequently used for its translation, and alternatives include 'bitter' or 'not easy'. In order to prove that Japanese TSURAI is an emotion word, while English HARD is not, examine the following examples in both in English and Japanese.

[English] I feel * **HARD**. / I have a * **HARD** feeling.

[Japanese] Watashi wa **TSURAI** to kanjiru. /	Watashi wa **TSURAI** kimochi ga suru.
I TOP TSURAI quot. to feel /	I TOP TSURAI feel SUB do
(lit. I feel **TSURAI**.)	(lit. I have a **TSURAI** feeling.)

Although one can say he/she 'feels TSURAI' or 'has a TSURAI feeling' in Japanese, in English one would not say one 'feels HARD' nor 'has a HARD feeling'.

Sometimes, however, an emotion word is used for the translation for TSURAI. For instance, in the following example, the emotion word 'excruciating' is given for the translation of TSURAI:

(4) Tada, boku wa neesan ni, boku ga sono hito no okusan ni kogarete, urouroshite, **TSURAKATta** to iu koto dake o shitte itadaitara ii no desu. Dakara, neesan wa sore o shitte mo, betsudan, dareka ni sono koto o uttae, otooto no seizen no omoi o togesasete yaru to ka nan to ka, sonna kiza na osekkai nado nasaru hitsuyoo wa zettai ni nai no desu shi, neesan ohitori dake ga shitte, sooshite, kossori, aa, soo ka, to omotte kudasattara sore de ii n desu. Nao mata yoku o ieba, konna boku no hazukashii kokuhaku ni yotte, semete neesan dake demo, boku no kore made no mochi no kurushisa o, sara ni fukaku wakatte kudasattara, totemo boku wa ureshiku omoimasu.
[Dazai 1979: 111]

(J --> E: I only would like you to know how excruciating **[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 of this 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 shameful confession of mine made at least you, if no one else, understand better the sufferings I have gone through.)
[Dazai 1956: 178-179]

And the emotion English word 'sorry' is translated as TSURAI in Japanese in the following example:

(5) "(Jenii san wa) shi ga chikai n desu."
"Masaka." Boku wa itta.
Ima no wa warui joodan desu ga, to isha ga soo iu no o boku wa matte ita.
"Hontoo desu, Oribaa san." Kare wa itta. "Konna koto o ohanashi shinakereba naranai to iu no wa, totemo **TSURAI** n desu ga."
[Segal 1994: 160]

(J <-- E: "She (Jenny) 's 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 Aborijinaru ga kubi ya te ni kusari o makarete, keikan no ato o tsuite iku no o mita koto ga aru. (...) Aa, mattaku sono koro wa, washira kuromboo ni wa **TSURAI** koto bakkari datta sa.
[Morgan 1992 Vol. 2: 15]

(J <-- E: I remember seein' 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) "Sanjuu ni naru no wa, nani yori **TSURAI** taiken deshita. Moderu to shite no saiseiki de, hoka no koto o suru jumbi wa nani mo shite imasendeshita shi, nokori no jinsei wa ima no yoo na wake ni ikanai to totsuzen kizuita no desu. Mono no mikata ga sukkari kawarimashita yo. Yooyaku, itsuka moderu o yamenakereba naranai to satorimashita."
[Gross 1995: 329]

(J <-- 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 realised it's not going to be like this the rest of my life. My whole way of seeing things changed. Finally I knew to quit one day.)
[Gross 1995: 306]

(8) "**TSURAI** daroo ne, Dadii...sono---Mama ga inakunatta kara...." Orivaa ga unazuku. Musuko ni iubeki kotoba mo amari nakatta. Dare ni totte mo **TSURAI** no da.
[Steel 1994: 113]

(J <-- 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) "Demo, neesan wa watashi no hambun mo **TSURAI omoi o shi**te ya shinai yo, shocchuu yooji o iitsukete donna koto shitatte ki ni irikkonai ano yakamashiya no urusai obaasan to nanjikan mo issho ni itara, anta donna ki ga suru daroo, mado kara nigedasu ka, yokottsura demo haritsukete yaritai kurai iya ni naru yo."
[Alcott 1995 Vol. 1: 9]

(J <-- E: "You don't have half such a hard time [a **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 Ruusu ni zuibun **TSURAI omoi o** sasete kita wa" to Sarii wa iu.
"Kimi no tame ni shita koto da yo."
"Iie, watashi wa soo wa omotte inai. Anata wa gojibun de shitakatta kara, soo nasatta made yo. Datte, anata no tame ni, watashi mo zuibun **TSURAI omoi o shi**te kita wa."
[Updike 1988: 446]

(J <-- E: "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: 221]

(11) Purinsuton e hairu made, omae wa Yudayajin da toka, hoka no ningen to wa chigau no da to kanjisaserareta koto wa ichido mo nakatta. Tokoroga daigaku de wa, otonashikute, hidoku uchiki na seinen datta node, Yudayajin to iu koto de, zuibun **TSURAI omoi o shi**ta.
[Hemingway 1972: 6]

(J <-- 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, atashi wa medatanai-yoo ni shita. Guradisu wa nanijin demo tooru kara ne. Atashi wa doo mite mo Aborijinaru sa. Dakara ki o tsukenakya naranakatta.
"Kodomotachi ni wa Indojin tte oii yo." Atashi wa itta yo.
"Ano ko ni wa **TSURAI omoi o** sasetakunai daro."
[Morgan 1992 Vol. 2: 296]

(J <-- E: I tried to stay out the way after Bill died. Gladdie could pass for anythin'. You only had to look at me to see I was a native. We had to be careful. "Tell them they're Indian," I tole her. "You didn't want them havin' a bad time [feeling **TSURAI**].")
[Morgan 1987: 348]

(13) Ojisan, karejji de atashi ga **TSURAI omoi o shi**masu no wa, gakka de wa arimasen no. Atashi wa asobi-jikan ga **TSURAI** no yo. Mina no ohanashishiteru koto ga, nan no koto yara, sappari atashi ni wakaranai n desu mono. Ano hitotachi no iu joodan wa, atashi yori hoka no seito wa dare demo shitteru kako no dekigoto ni kankei ga aru-rashii n desu. Atashi wa marude kono sekai ni okeru ihoojin mitai desu. Minna no itteru kotoba ga, wakaranai n desu mono. Nasakenai kimochi ga shimasu wa. Mae kara koo iu kimochi wa shijuu arimashita. Atashi ga mada jogakkoo ni ita koro, itsumo mina ga achira kochira ni katamatte, atashi no koto o jitto nagameta mono desu. Atashi wa, *henchikirin* na yoosu o shite, mina to chigatteimashita shi, mina mo sore ni wa ki ga tsuite imashita. Atashi wa, jibun no kao ni, 'Jon Guuria kojiin' to kakarete aru no o, hakkiri kanjiru koto ga dekimashita.
[Webster 1950: 38-39]

(J <-- 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 1913: 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 psychological 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) Masuzoe:....(Haha ga) dandan otoroeteru na to iu no o mite iku no wa, hijoo ni taisetsu desu ne.
Hashimoto: **TSURAI** desu ne.
Masuzoe: **TSURAI** desu.
Hashimoto: Tairyoku-teki ni ochite iku no ga wakarimasu kara ne.
[Yooichi Masuzoe (international statesman) & Ryuutaroo Hashimoto (previous Prime Minister) "Ikishi haha no kaigo o kataru" pp. 32-43 in *Chuuoo Kooron* 1994 April: 34-35]

(MT: Masuzoe: ....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?
Masuzoe: 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, tanoshikatta?
Yumi: Ima omoeba tanoshikatta. Iya, tanoshikatta to omoeru-yoo ni natta. Tooji wa.... yahari **TSURAKAT**ta. Soo da yo, yappari **TSURAKAT**ta.
[Mutoo 1994: 188]

(MT: Mutoo: Did you enjoy West Germany?

Yumi: When I think of it now, I did. No, I am able to think I did. Of course at the time, I felt **TSURAI**. Yes, I felt **TSURAI**.)

(16) Choodo ichinen mae, watashi wa shufu no furin no shuzai o shite, KOI de kodokukan o iyasu kazu-ooku no tsuma ni atte ita. Shikashi KOI wa aite ga atte dekiru koto. Sonna aite ga mitsukatte, mi o yoseta toki wa ii. Keredo, sono handoo mo susamajikute, omou-yoo ni aenai to, "SABISHIKUte **TSURAI**".
[Hiroko Nohara (free-lance writer) in *AERA* 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 "SABISHII and **TSURAI**".)

(17) Naitoo: Kaku no wa tanoshikunai desu ka?
Hayashi: Hitori de yatteru kara, **TSURAI** desu yo. Urenakattarisuru to ochikomimasu shi....
[Takeshi Naitoo (actor) & Mariko Hayashi (writer) in *Shuukan Asahi* 1998 Feb. 20th: 46]

(MT: Naitoo: Don't you enjoy writing?
Hayashi: I feel **TSURAI** because I do it on my own. I get depressed when the book does not sell...)

(18) (Sensoo de utarete shinu magiwa no ani no kotoba o ani no sen'yuu ga tsutaete kureta.)
"....Shinde yuku jibun wa ii keredomo, ryooshin ya otooto, imooto-tachi no nageki kanashimu yoosu o omou to sono koto ga ichiban **TSURAI**."
Ningen ga *inochi* o oeru toki no kotoba ni *uso* wa nai to 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 **TSURAI**."
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 TSURAI. The woman in example (16) reports that housewives who have love affairs often feel TSURAI about not being able to meet their partners as they wish. The subject in example (17) confesses the work of writing makes her feel TSURAI. Example (18) tells how a soldier felt TSURAI when he imagined his family's sorrows upon hearing of his death.

The following is my explication for the subjective meaning of TSURAI.

TSURAI --- the subjective use
[(Watashi wa)[8] Y ga TSURAI ((I) feel TSURAI about Y)]

[8] When the speaker attaches 'the past tense suffix' or 'some formal evidential markers' to TSURAI, this describes an emotion feeling experienced by other people. Otherwise, the subject (experiencer) of the feeling is always "I" in Japanese.

(a) I felt something because I thought something about something Y
(b) sometimes a person thinks about something:
(c) "something bad is happening to me 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 felt something like this
(i) because I thought something like this about Y

Component (c) "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 (e) "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 TSURAI

In the case of TSURAI, its subjective use is more frequent than its attributive use. However, TSURAI also has an attributive use. For example, people might say:

(19) Entenka no nikutairoodoo wa **TSURAI**.
(Physical work under a burning sun is **TSURAI**.)

(20) Bimbooseikatsu wa **TSURAI**.
(Living in poverty is **TSURAI**.)

(21) Suki na hito to no wakare wa **TSURAI**.
(Separating from the person you love is **TSURAI**.)

The explication of the meaning of the attributive use of TSURAI 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 "sabushi" in ancient times, and changed into "sabishi" in the Heian era (792-1192 A.D.). Later, the alternative term "samishi" 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 example:

(1) Futari ga kaeru sato no michi mo kogurakatta.
"**SABISHII** wa ne," to haha wa itta. "Otoko wa **SABISHIKU**nai no?" Haha wa **SABISHII** to iu kotoba o nido tsukatta ga, mae to ato de wa nakami ga chigau-yoo de atta.
[Kawabata 1961: 134-135]

(J ~> 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 1975: 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).[9]

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) "Ofukuro ni totte wa sekkaku jibun te iu sonzai ga aru noni jibun no hoo ni kimochi ga mukatte konai, maa, chotto, **SABISHII** musuko datta to omoimasu ne.
[Tomomi 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) Seijitsu to wa makoto ni **SABISHII** kotoba da
Dare mo ga amari ni mo fuseijitsu dakara
Seijitsu to iu kotoba o mimi ni suru koto wa sukunai ga,
Shikashi sore koso anta kara hoshii mono na no da
[Billy Joel "Honesty" 1978 in *52nd Street* by CBS Inc.Translated by Akira Arai]

(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

9 Mitsui-ginkoo-gyoomubu-koohooka (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:

(4) Aawin: Izen, Akebono ga hajimete Nihon ni kita toki, totemo **SABISHIKAT**ta to iu hanashi o yonda koto ga arimasu. Koo shita suupaasutaa no puraibeeto na men o zuibun shitte iru to omou n desu ga, soo shita sumoo no oomono ni tsuite, hitokoto ka futakoto de setsumeisuru to, donna fuu ni narimau ka.
Matsuoka: Dekimasen yo. Sonna, tatta futakoto de nante, Akebono no mae ni Konishiki ga imashita kara, **SABISHII** nante, jissai, nakatta deshoo ne. Konishiki wa atta deshoo. Jeshii ga ichiban **SABISHIKAT**ta n ja nai kashira. Naze nara Jeshii Takamiyama ga hajimete kita n desu kara.[10]
["Greg no soko made yuu?" 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 Sumo giants?
Matsuoka: 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 **SABISHII**], because Jessie Takamiyama came first.)

(5) ".... Koko mo zuibun kawatta wa. Kishoo no awanai hito ga fueru bakari na no. Kikuyuu neesan ga inakunaru to, watashi wa **SABISHII** n desu. Nandemo ano hito ga chuushin datta 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 lonesome [**SABISHII**] without Kikuyu. She was at the centre of everything.")
[Kawabata 1957: 91]

(6) "**SAMISHII** yooo. Otoko hoshii yooo."
[Hayami 1987: 130]

(B [J-->E]: "I'm lonely [**SAMISHII**][11]. 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 shuuyoojo e modoru n da ne. Sofii, anta ga inai to **SABISHIKU** naru na."
"Atashi mo **SABISHII** wa."
[Styron 1991: 216]

[10] Akebono, Konishiki, and Takamiyama are non-Japanese sumo wrestlers who came to Japan from Hawaii.

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

(J <-- E: "And today you're going back to the barracks. Sophie, I'm going to miss you [feel **SABISHII** without you]."
"I'll miss you [feel **SABISHII** (without you)], too.)
[Styron 1983: 536]

(8) "Ano koro zutto, ano koro zutto, watashi wa Juudo ga inakunatta kara **SABISHII** no da to omotte ita noni." Ushinatta mono e no kanashimi ga mune o asshi, nodomoto ni komiagete kita. "Watashitachi wa, naka no yoi tomodachi datta." Kanojo wa, nanika o setsumeishiyoo to suru ka no yoo ni itta. "Aa, aa, Suura" to kanojo wa naita. "Anta, anta, anta-anta-anta."
Sore wa shinsoko kara no gookyuu -- oogoe de, nagai koto -- datta ga, okusoko mo nakereba itadaki mo naku, tada itsu made mo wa o kakitsuzukeru kanashimi dake ga atta.
[Morrison 1995: 209]

(J <-- E: "All that time, all that time, I thought I was missing Jude [felt **SABISHII** without Jude]." And the loss pressed down on her chest and came up in her throat. "We was girls together," she said as though explaining something. "O Lord, Sula," she cried, "girl, girl, girlgirlgirl."
It was a fine cry--loud and long--but it had no bottom and it had no top, just circles and circles of sorrow.)
[Morrison 1973: 174]

(9) Kimi ga inai doraibu wa totemo **SABISHII**
Bokutachi no wakare wa
Boku o **SABISHIKU** kanashii otoko ni shita yo
Kimi o aishite iru koto o aratamete kanjiru
[Dino Fekaris & Freddie Perren "Reunited" 1978
by Perren Vibes Music, Co. in Kawazoe 1995: 129]

(B (J<--E): Me minus you is such a lonely [**SABISHII**] ride
The break-up we had has made me
Lonesome [**SABISHII**] and sad
I realise I love you)

All examples (4) to (9) above describe SABISHII as the feeling which was caused by a physical distance between the subject and the object. However, even in the context where the subject is in a close physical 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) Osoraku aisuru ningen to issho ni iru to, aishiteru to omotte iru noni, amari ni sono ningen o aishite inai no ni ki ga tsuite, **SAMISHIKU**te ki ga kurui-soo ni naru no de wa nai daroo ka.
[Taeko Tomioka "Aishiteru, aishitenai" in Nakamura 1989: 30]

(MT: When we are with the person we love, we feel so **SABISHII** so that we almost go mad, probably because in truth we realise that we don't love the person very much, although we do think we love them.)

(11) Komiya: Ima no kekkon-seikatsu tte, rikonritsu mo takai kedo, kateinai-rikon mo ooi to kikimasu ne.
Tajima: **SAMISHII** yo ne. Watashi yoku hitorigurashi de **SAMISHII** desho tte iwareru kedo, watashi wa seiseishite iru. Sore yori futari de iru koto no kodoku no hoo ga kowai yo ne. Namaji ai ga atte, sore ga mazuku natta mama issho ni iru nante dooyatte taeru no ka ne."
[Etsuko Komiya (TVcaster) & Yooko Tajima (Professor at University) in Komiya 1996: 115]

(MT: Komiya: As for married life nowadays, I hear that although the divorce rate is high, there are also many people who are effectively divorced although they live together.
Tajima: That makes you feel **SAMISHII**, doesn't it? Although I am often told that I must feel **SAMISHII** living by myself, I feel reassured. I feel more scared of the loneliness you feel when you are with another person. I wonder how they put up with being together when their halfhearted love is lost.)

(12) Maagaretto: Kore kara, iu no yo. Atashi --- **SABISHII**. Tottemo, **SABISHII**!
Burikku: Dare datte, minna, soo sa....
Maagaretto: Namajikka, suki na hito to issho ni kurashiteru to --- hitorikkiri de kurashiteru yori mo, yoppodo, **SABISHII** mon yo! --- sono hito ni sukarenakattara, ne....
[Williams 1959: 35]

(J <-- E: Margaret: I was *go'n't'* say something: that I get-lonely [**SABISHIII**]. Very!"
Brick: Ev'rybody gets that....
Margaret: Living with someone you love can be lonelier [more **SABISHII**] than living *alone*! --- if the one that y' love doesn' love you...)
[Williams 1957: 26]

The trigger of SABISHII in above examples (11) and (12) are the lack of love between a couple who live together.

The trigger of SABISHII could be lack of consideration such as, for example, not having received a Christmas present from a boyfriend, as seen in the following example (13) :

(13) Sore ni shite mo **SABISHII** ki ga shite naranakatta. Mune ni chiisana ana ga aita-yoo na kanji da. Onna tte tsumaranai koto ni kodawaru doobutsu kamo shirenai kedo, suki na otoko kara, Kurisumasu ni nani mo moraenai no wa ajikenai koto na no da.
[Mori 1989: 160]

(J --> E: Even so, Kazuko couldn't help feeling depressed [**SABISHII**]. It was as though a small hole had opened up in her chest. Perhaps a woman is like a little animal that is scrupulous about small things, but not to receive anything at Christmas from the man she loves is wretched.)
[Mori 1993: 160]

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 hitotsu toshi o toru n desu mono ne. **SABISHII** desu wa."
[Kawabata 1961: 23]

(MT: "I feel **SABISHII**], when the bell tolls and you're another year older.")
[Kawabata 1975: 21]

(15) Isshoo no yuugure ni tadoritsuku to mayonaka nado kazoku ni mo wakaranu fukuzatsu na kanjoo o ajiwau-yoo ni natta.
"Nantomo ienu **SABISHISA** ni osowarete na" to ichido tsuma ni boyaitara, seimeiyoku oosei na kanojo wa seserawaratte, "Kudaranai koto kangaeru wa ne. Ningen, shinu toki wa shinu n dakara jitabatashitemo shikatanai ja nai no. Doose shinu nara sore made ooini tanoshinda hoo ga ii ja nai no" to itta.
Tashikani kanojo no kangaekata no hoo ga kenkoo de ari kenzen de aru ga, shikashi, fui ni komiagete kuru kono oi no **SABISHISA** wa Hori Hidehiko-shi no iwareru toori no nantomo ienu mono de ari ikan tomo shigatai.
[Endoo 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 **SABISHISA** [Noun] 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. Hidehiko Hori says, the suddenly arising **SABISHISA** 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, kami no ke ga.
Kuroyanagi: Ee, (ginkoo ni tsutomete ita toki) kore o kirinasai tte iwareta no? (....) Demo sono toki ni kore de kami no ke o kirette iwarete kore de kiru to, mata tsugi ni nanika iwareta toki ni mo mata zuutto kiite yukanakya ikenai tte fuu ni omowareta n desu tte?
Yamashita: Ee, soo yuu nante iu n desu ka nee. Zuutto koo iu jinsei na n ka na to omottara chotto **SAMISHIKAT**ta desu ne. (....) Nanka jibun no tamashii made kimerareru mitai de **SAMISHIKAT**ta desu ne.
[Tetsuko Kuroyanagi and Shinji 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 cut your hair? (...) I heard that you thought you would always have to accept their direction once you cut your hair as you were told.
Yamashita: Yes, well, I don't know how to put it, but I felt **SAMISHII** thinking that I had to lead a life like that all the time. (...) I felt **SAMISHII** 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) Kuroyanagi: Ja, anata no (Haga Kenji-san to kekkonsuru to iu) okimochi wa kawattenai....
Umemiya: Hai.
Kuroyanagi: Otoosama, sore ni tsuite wa nante osshatteru?
Umemiya: Yappari nanka senaka ga **SAMISHIKU** nacchau kamo shirenai desu kedo....
[Tetsuko Kuroyanagi and Anna Umemiya (model) on the TV programme "Tetsuko no Heya" June 28th, 1996]

(MT: Kuroyanagi: So, your feelings (that you will get married to Kenji Haga) have not changed....
Umemiya: No.
Kuroyanagi: 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:

Shuushoku-sensen ga ugokidashita sannen no owari goro, ryooshin to ima de terebi o mite ita toki, 'A'-kun wa, "Shuushoku yameyoo to omou n da kedo. Kaban-shokunin ni naritai n da" to uchiaketa. (...) Chichi wa terebi o mita mama mugon. Tada, sono senaka ga kanashi-soo ni mieta. "Chichioya wa senaka de kataru taipu. Nani mo iwanai dake ni kotaeta." to 'A'-kun.
["Muri shite shuushoku shinai" in *AERA* 1998 September 21st pp. 28-30: 29]

(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 bag maker" (...) 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 to me.)

Japanese often link some emotion other than SABISHII with their 'back' body part.

"...Otto no uwaki no mushi ga zorozoro ugokidasu to iu no ga yo. (....)
"Nanika itta kai?" to kare wa suidoo no mizu o tamenagara kiita.
"Mizu no oto de kikoenakatta kedo".
"Uso bakkari. Chanto kikoete ita kuse ni, soo SENAKA ni kaite aru".
[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 written on your back".)

(18) Mayumi: Kekkon suru tte ittara, otoosan no senaka ga chiisaku nacchatte.....
Rie: **SABISHII** n da yo, suggoku, sore.
Mayumi: Soo mitai.
[Mayumi Baba & 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 TANOSHII 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 nazeka 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 (experiencer) 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 this 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 kireru hito da ga, ne wa **SABISHIGARI-YA** da yo (He is very smart, but he is in fact a SAMISHIGARI-YA)" can be regarded as a compliment for the person, Misawa says that he has never heard a compliment like "Ano hito wa kireru hito de, zenzen SABISHIgaranai 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.

(19) Nijuunin bakari no kyaku o nosete shimau to basu wa sugu ni shuppatsu shi, Kamogawa ni sotte Kyooto-shinai o kita e to mukatta. Kita ni susumeba susumu hodo machinami wa **SABISHIKU** nari, hatake ya akichi ga me ni tsuku-yoo ni natta. Kuroi kawarayane ya biniiru hausu ga shoshuu no hi o abite mabushiku hikatte ita.
[Murakami 1991 Vol. 1: 168]

(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-tilted roofs and plastic greenhouses glinted in the early autumn sun.)
[Murakami 1989 Vol. 1: 173]

(20) "Kono michi,'**SABISHII** n dakara, ki o tsukenakucha."
[Akagawa 1985: 223]

(J --> E: "This road is so deserted **[SABISHII]**. You must be more careful.")
[Akagawa 1985: 179]

(21) Yukie Hattori: "...Kazoku no danran ga, sekai de ichiban tankikan ni keshitonde shimatta kuni ga Nihon desu."
Keiko Takeshita: "**SABISHII** desu yo ne."
Yukie Hattori: "**SABISHII**...."
[NHK-Sahoo-no-Gokui-Seisaku-Guruupu 1995: 78]

(MT: Yukie Hattori: "Japan is the place where time spent in the happy family circle has become the shortest in the world."
Keiko Takeshita: "It is **SABISHII**, isn't it?"
Yukie Hattori: "It is **SABISHII**.")

(22) Yoosuru ni ningen nante, jibuntachi no ikiteru shunkan dake yokereba ii to kangaete iru wake desu. Tadashi, "Ikimashita, shinimashita" to iu dake no jinsei de wa, amari ni mo **SABISHII**.
[Takafumi Matsui (a doctor of science) in Beat-Takeshi 1996: 9]

(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 **SAMISHII**.)

In the two examples (23) and (24) below, SABISHII is used in the Japanese translations of originally English texts.

(23) "Ningentachi wa, doko ni iru no" to, oojisama wa, yatto mata iidashimashita. "Sabaku tte sukoshi **SABISHII** ne."
"Ningentachi no tokoro ni itatte, yappari **SABISHII** sa" to hebi ga iimashita.
[De Saint Exupéry 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 Exupéry 1971: 70-71]

(24) Sore ni, anna ni **SABISHII** Amerika no tochi de wa naku, koohii no ki no haeta oka de shineru koto o omou to, kare wa hidoku shiawase de urami ya ikari mo ichijikan to wa motanai no datta.
[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.

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 SAMISHII. Moreover, we can also say "Ikura chii ya meiyo o etemo, aishite kureru 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]
[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 (Mitsui-ginkoo-gyoomubu-koohooka 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 okanemochi no shujin wa mono ni wa megumarete iru ga, kanoku 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 kashikoi to omou kedo, erakunai ne. Datte, kanso ni tsuite hontoo ni yoku shitte iru kedo, Papa jishin wa chittomo kanso ja nai mono." (....) "Papa, hontoo no kanso wa ne, chimmoku yo. Soshite ne, **WABISHISA** o shiru koto yo. Boku to Yuka, zuut to chimmokushitete, **WABISHIKAT**ta mono. Papa, enzetsushite, hashaide bakari de, chittomo kanso ja nai mon. Naa, Yukako."
[Toshio Ootsuka "Kokoro no amayadori" pp. 26-36 in *Perse* 1998 January 25th: 34]

(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 kinoo wa otetsudai ga inakatta node, "Yuube no gohan wa okayu de **WABISHIKAT**ta/***SABISHIKAT**ta 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 **SABISHI**kute/***WABISHI**kute ki ga kurui-soo da.

(I feel so **SABISHII/*WABISHII** that I might go crazy.)

Examine also the following examples to grasp the meaning of WABISHII.

(6) "Maman, anata wa dooshite itsu made mo Nihonjin na no?" to **WABISHI**-ge ni toitsumeru wa ga ko no 'ryooshin no iru katei' to umare sodatta 'jibun no ie' to o (rikon no sei de) dooji ni ushinawashimeta, Ivu to watashi no tsumi wa fukai.
[Kishi 1983: 148]

(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-ni ni naru haha wa tsui saikin chotto shita dansa ni tsumazuite koronda no o kikkake ni, ashi ga sukoshi fujiyuu ni nari, gaishutsu ga mamanaranaku natte kara, nanika ni tsukete, "moo shinda hoo ga mashi" to iidashite komatte orimasu. (...) Watashi datte sonna ni wakaku arimasen shi, haha no nakigoto o kiite iru to, watashi mo koo naru no ka to **WABISHIKU** narimasu.
[Shikita 1996: 76-77]

(MT: My mother, 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) Byooin de tsuma to issho ni ite mo kokoro ga omoku, ie ni kaette kitemo **WABISHII** no ga, boku no genzai no kyoogai da.
[Akira Kamibayashi "Sei-Yohane byooin 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 hito nanka ga, shigoto de nankagetsu mo kenshuu ni kuru deshoo. Okusan mo inakute kawaisoo da to omou kara, isshookemmei shokuji no mendoo mitari, sashiire shitari suru no yo ne. (....) Sorede kenshuukikan ga owatte kikokusuru to, hagaki no ichimai mo kurenakattari suru wake.... Nani mo orei o kitaishite yatta wake ja nai keredo, nando mo onaji koto ga tsuzuku to, nanka koo, **WABISHIKU** nacchau 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, (paatii kara) sugu kaeru tte iu no mo, nandaka **WABISHII** ki ga shita. To itte, kabe ni motarete bon'yari tsuttatte iru no wa, motto **WABISHII**.
[Akagawa 1997: 8]

(MT: I felt it would be **WABISHII** to leave the party so soon. Yet, I feel more **WABISHII** standing absent mindedly, leaning on a wall.)

(11) Annai sareta heya wa tondemonai shiromono datta. Ikura sudomari 3500 en de yasui to ittemo, chuugakusei no jibun demo wakaru-yoo na kitanai heya de, chiisana mado ga hitotsu to, furui kata no terebi to chiisana taku ga potsun to aru dake. (....) Furui koto wa furui ga, kofuu da to wa totemo iezu, hajime no Kyooto no yoru o sugosu ni wa amari ni mo **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 lonesome 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)[16] [Y ga] WABISHII ((I) feel WABISHII [about Y])]

[16] 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 (experiencer) of the feeling is always "I" in Japanese.

(a) I felt something [because I thought something Y]
(b) sometimes a person thinks:
(c) "something is not at this place
(d) this is not good
(e) this is not very bad"
(f) when this person thinks this, this person feels something
(g) this person doesn't feel something good
(h) X felt something like this
(i) [because I thought something Y]

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]"; (h) "X 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 "someone" (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 iu **WABISHII** machimachi da! Roogawa wa doko made mo, ie no atsumari de wa nai -yoo na kuro-isshoku no tsuranari, soko koko ni afureru roosoku no akari wa, hakaba de ugoite iru tomoshibi no yoo da. Shuumatsu no yoru no ima jibun wa, machi no kono atari wa, mattaku hitoke ga nakunatte iru koto ga wakatta.
[Melville 1977 Vol.1: 48]

(J <-- E: Such dreary [**WABISHII**] streets! Blocks of blackness, no house, on either hand, and here and there a candle, like a candle moving about in a tomb. At this hour of the night, of the last day of the week, that quarter of the town proved all but deserted.)
[Melville 1967: 18]

(13) Sakunen no Kurisumasu-ibu ni, watashi wa kaisha ga hikete kara Ginza o aruite mimashita. Kurai no ni odorokimashita. Sekiyu-kiki wa shinkoku da na, to omou ippoo de, hanayakasa no ushinawareta Ginza o **WABISHIKU** kanjimashita. Tentoo ni uzutakaku tsumareta kurisumasu-keeki mo, amari uretenai-yoo desu. Ikkoku mo hayaku, keeki o katte matte ite kureru hazu no haha no moto e kaeritaku narimashita. Kakeashi de kaette kita watashi wa, keeki o hoobarinagara haha ni mukatte, "Ginza wa kurakute **WABISHIKAT**ta wa. Watashi no chiisai toki kara akogarete ita Ginza no hanayakasa wa sukoshi mo nai no."
[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 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) Shoowa shonen no koro wa muron no koto, juunendai ni haittemo apaato to iu mono wa kazu ga sukunaku, attemo sono hotondo wa mokuzoo no chippoke na mono datta. Yanushi ga sono uchi no isshitsu ni sunde teinen-go no seikatsu o itonamu shudan ni shite iru to itta tei no mono de, **WABISHII** kanji ga tsukimatotte ita.
[Umihiko Itoo "Amaku niou heya" pp. 60-63 in Tsukamoto 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 Showa era but also ten years later. The owner of the building would live in one of the rooms, living on the rent, 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 1992: 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 iu no ga, watashi no jiron na n desu ne. Chie toka, chishiki toka, saikin wa nandaka atama no koto bakkari ittemasu kedo, isshookemmei benkyooshite, atama o migakiagete kanryoo ni nattemo, oshoku de shimbun ni notte shimau n ja shikata ga nai.
[Utsumi 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 mite, shimpai na wakamonotachi ga chika no musuko no heya ni gasshuku no yoo ni itsuzukete iru jootai wa doomo okashii. Shishi, kainyuu shiyoo to suru to, jinan kara hageshiku kyozetsu sareta.
"Ningen o sugata-katachi de handan shite wa ikenai. Yoku tsukiatte miru to, aitsura, **JOO** ga atte, minna ii ningen bakari na n dakara."
[Yoshiko Mita (actress) in *Fujin Kooron* 1998 March 22: 52-53]

(MT: As parents, we felt uncomfortable about young worrisome people companying 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 iu no wa, onamida choodai mono no kaiketsuhoo o toru tte koto de wa naku, ningen no shinri ni shitagatta ikikata o shinasai, to iu koto na n desu. (....) Atama ja nai yo, haato da yo, tte iu no ka. Tsumari, migi o toroo to, hidari o toroo to, ningen wa kekkyoku wa atama ja nai, **NASAKE** de ikite iku mono na n da yo, to iu imi no kotoba na n desu ne.
[Utsumi 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 kichitto yaru soshite tottemo yasashii **JOO** no hito na no. Dakara, itsumo warau no yo.
[*Fujin Kooron* 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) (Sadako-ane wa) kotoba wa kibishii ga, soko ni wa hontoo ni **JOO** no atsui, Edokko no chi ga nagarete iru n desu.
[Masahiko Tsugawa (actor) in *Fujin Kooron* 1996 November: 172]

(MT: Although my elder sister Sadako's words are harsh, in her flows the blood of the people of Edo, who have deep **JOO**.)

(6) Tsuma o metoraba Sai takete
Mime uruwashiku **NASAKE** aru
[Tekkan Yosano "Hito o kouru uta" in Kindaichi & 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
Ii ja nai no
[Jun Hashimoto "Ginza Buruu Naito" 1974 by Victor Ongaku Shuppan]

(MT: Women in the Ginza are good because they have **NASAKE**)

(8) Dakara, hontoo ni komatta hito o tasukeru toka soo iu **JOO** no komayakasa wa, Oosaka-jin ni wa zuibun arimasu.
[Madoka 1991: 170]

(MT: Therefore, for example, by helping people who are in serious trouble, Osaka people reveal quite a delicate **JOO**.)

All above examples show that a person who has NASAKE/JOO is valued as a warm-hearted person.

It should be noted here how the meaning of NASAKE has changed throughout Japanese history. According to Negoro (1982), in the classic poetry of the Kokin Wakashuu (914 A.D.) NASAKE was widely used for 'emotions' in general. Then in one of the most famous works of Japanese literature the Genji Monogatari (Murasaki-Shikibu, 1001 A.D.), a person who had NASAKE was held to be able to understand clearly the complex relationship between a man and woman as well as understand sexual passion. The main character in the novel, Hikaru-Genji was the most representative person in this sense (also Iizumi 1963: 294). At the time when Tsurezuregusa (Kenkoo Yoshida, 1331 A.D.) was written, NASAKE began to be used to mean 'warm-hearted' or 'humane' (Iizumi p. 294). Negoro (1982) points out that a person who was "NASAKE-nashi (lit. without NASAKE)" referred to a person who had no consideration or sentiment, and the meaning of NASAKE-NAI began to be used to signify a person's miserable feeling. The present meaning of NASAKENAI was discussed in detail in the previous chapter.

NASAKE is different from another Japanese key word, ON (cf. Wierzbicka 1997a: 254-262). Mitsubishi-shooji-koohooshitsu (1983: 158) explains both NASAKE and ON and thus highlights the difference between them as follows:

> In the old days, when a feudal samurai received an on from a lord, he repaid the favour by offering his service (military service). In this case, the on was the bestowal of a fief. On is the act of bestowing on another person something (usually goods) which makes the receiver feel grateful and arouses in him a sense of obligation. If the thing bestowed is spiritual it is called **NASAKE** or **JOO** (compassion). Whichever the case, the receiver is obliged to return the favour, and this sense of obligation is **girl**. [Emphasis added.]

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-joo (lit. love-JOO; roughly 'love/affection')" is only part of JOO/NASAKE. Similarly "on-JOO (lit. warm-JOO)" in the word "on-joo-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) Aitsu nara shimpai nai. Osoraku kimi wa suki ni naru yo. Tada hitotsu dake komaru no wa da ne, aitsu tokidoki choppiri aijoo o kakesugiru koto ga aru n da na. Totemo **JOO ni moroi** n da.
[Salinger 1984: 108]

(J <-- E: She's all right. You'd like her. The only trouble is, she's a little affectionate, sometimes. She's very emotional [**JOO ni moroi: delicate to JOO**], for a child.)
[Salinger 1991: 104]

(10) "Demo, watashi ga jibun no aisuru katatachi no koto o shimpaishinagara kangaeru toki ni wa, namida de iki ga tsumattari, keiren de hikitsuttari suru koto wa, nani mo ima hajimatta koto de wa arimasen. Watashi ga konna ni **JOO ni morokattari**, kanjiyasukattari shinakattara, motto shokuyoku ga dete, shinkei datte tetsu no yoo ni tsuyoku naru n deshoo keredo. Hontoo ni soo da to il n da kedo. Demo, yoru anta no koto o omowanai nante--maa, nante koto deshoo!" Koko de namida ga dot to afureta.
[Dickens 1966 Vol.1: 141]

(J <-- E: Chokings and nervous jerkings, however, are nothing new to me when I think with anxiety of those I love. If I could be less affectionate [**JOO ni moroi: sensitive to JOO**] and sensitive, I should have a better digestion and an iron set of nerves. I am sure I wish it could be so. But as to not thinking of you in the night -- the idea!" Here, a burst of tears.)
[Dickens 1965: 84]

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) ---Raishuu isshuukan, ryokoo ni ikitai n dakedo, nanika ii koojitsu wa nai ka na.
---Oya ga byooki da toka ieba, **JOO ni moroi** kachoo no koto dakara, yurushite moraeru to omou yo.
[Araso & 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/fragile to JOO)].)

There are other idiomatic expressions like "JOO ni atsui/usui (having thick/thin feelings of affection)", "haku-JOO (lit. thin-JOO)",[1] "JOO ga fukai (having deep affection)" "NASAKE-bukai (lit. NASAKE-deep)", as seen in the following examples:

(12) ---Kimi no tokoro no jooshi wa donna hito dai?
---Soo da ne, kibishii tokoro mo aru keredo, **JOO no atsui** hito da yo. Zangyooshita toki nanka, itsumo takushii de ie made okutte kureru yo. Kimi no hoo wa doo na no?
---Zannen nagara, seihantai da ne. Anna **JOO no usui** hito wa inai ne.
[Araso & 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 overtime he always sends me home by taxi. What about yours?
---Unfortunately, he's just the opposite. I've never known a more **cold-hearted [JOO ni usui** (lit. having thin JOO)] person.)

(13) Rochesutaa: Ea-joo, koi to wa hen na mono da ne. **Haku-JOO** de, zankoku de, musessoo de, kachi ga nai ningen da to shirinagara mo, sate uragirareta to naru to, niekurikaeru hodo, hara no tatsu mono da.
[Kita 1954: 144]

(B [J-->E]: Love's a strange thing, Miss Eyre. 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 she 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.)

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1 "Haku-" in "haku-JOO" is a Chinese way of reading the word "usui (thin)".

(15) Jiko de ryooshin o nakushita ato, watashi ga atatakai katei de nani-fujiyuu naku kuraseta no wa, **NASAKE-bukai** yoo-fubo no okage da.
[Murakami 1997: 16]

(B [J-->E]: I lost my parents in an accident, but I grew up in a good home where I basically had everything I could want, thanks to my foster parents. They were really good [**NASAKE-bukai** (lit. having deep NASAKE)] to me.)

(16) Watashi wa nyuugakushiki no toki kara, aru taisoo no sensei ni butareta. Watashi ga namaiki da to iu node atta. Kono kyooshi wa nyuugakushiken no toki watashi no kootooshimon no kakari de atta ga, otoosan ga nakunatte yoku benkyoo mo dekinakatta daroo to watashi ni **NASAKE**-bukai kotoba o kakete kure, watashi mo unadarete miseta sono hito de atta dake ni, watashi no kokoro wa issoo kizutsukerareta.
[Dazai 1971: 38]

(J --> E: From the first day of school the gymnastics instructor called me a smart aleck and began slapping me around. More than anything, my feelings were hurt, since this teacher had been so sympathetic [**NASAKE-bukai**: lit. having deep **NASAKE**] during the oral part of the entrance exam. I had even bowed for him when, referring to my father's recent death, he acknowledged how trying the exam preparation must have been.)
[Dazai 1983: 31]

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 utsuru (being soaked in JOO)" or "JOO ga waku (JOO flows out)". These occur in the following examples:

(17) "Kotori o juuni-wa kattete ne, sono uchi no doreka ni **JOO ga utsuru**-yoo ni naru to, otoosan to okaasan wa, kanarazu sono tori o ohiraibako ni shichau no yo. Ie ni kaette miru to, sono tori ga inai. (....) Sekkaku kattete, choodo **JOO ga utsuru** koro ni naru to, kago kara dete kite, yuka no ue ni ososo o suru desho. Suruto, otoosan tara, 'kitanai yatsu da' nante itte, jibun no onna-tomodachi ni agechau no yo."
[Friedman 1971: 51]

(J <-- E: "I had twelve birds, and each time I got to love [**JOO ga utsuru**] one, my parents would get rid of it. (....) They'd just give me enough time to love [**JOO ga utsuru**] it, 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) "Demo, (jibun no kanojo ga moto-kare ni) tegami ya TEL de no kontakuto wa totte hoshikunai. Datte, tegami ya TEL de, kooryuu shitetara, mukashi no koto o omoidashite, **JOO ga utsu**tte shimau kara."
[*Can Cam* 1994 January: 247]

(MT: "I don't want my girlfriend to have contact with her ex-boyfriend either by phone or by letter, because if she contacts him, she will remember the past, and her **JOO** will move [**JOO ga utsuru**] to him.)

(19) "Demo ne, shimo no sewa o ikkai demo suru to, donna shiwashiwa no obaachan demo **JOO ga waite** kichau mono na no yo. Yappari genki ni natte taiinsuru toki ga ichiban ureshii mon."
[Sakai 1996: 18]

(MT: "But if I take care of the lower part of the body (nappies/baths etc.) even if it's only one, however wrinkly 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 nichi yoru, kokyoo no Ishikawa-ken Nanao-shi ni haitta Wajima Hiroshi wa, yoku 13 nichi, bokoo Nanao-shiritsu-Kashima-chuugakkoo de sumoo-buin to tomo ni ippaku futsuka no gasshuku o hatta. (....)
Mijikai gasshuku o oeta Wajima wa itta.
"Sunao de ii ko tachi da yo. **JOO ga waite** kuru no o hishi-hishi to kanjiru ne."
[*AERA* 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.)

Once one's "JOO ga utsuru" 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) ---Yoku anna bimboo na otoko to kekkonsuru ki ni natta mono ne.
---Kare no kawaisoo na oitachi toka kiite, tsui **JOO ni hodasare**te shimatta no yo ne.
[Araso & 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: Byooki no haha o kakae, shigoto mo yamete tsukikkiri de kambyooshiteru tte iu kara, tsui **JOO ni hodasare**te nakenashi no hesokuri o yatte shimatta.
B: Demo, "**JOO** ni saosaseba nagasareru" tte iu yo. Hodohodo ni shitara?
[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.)

Harada & Koo (1987: 95) and Iguchi (1988: 48) say "hodasareru" in "JOO ni hodasareru" 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.

(23) "Tada, watashi ni **JOO** o kaketai tsumori nara, shokei made ni mikkakan no nichigen o ataete kudasai. Tatta hitori no imooto ni, teishu o motasete yaritai no desu. Mikka no uchi ni, watashi wa mura de kekkonshiki o agesase, kanarazu, koko e kaette kimasu."
[Dazai 1967: 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.")
[Dazai 1988: 117-118]

(24) Pippu: Boku o nakashita koto o oboete inai tte?
Esutera: Anata nazo atashi ni totte nan no imi mo nakatta n desu mono, oboeteru hazu wa nai ja nai no. Nee, Pippu, atashi ni wa **JOO** nante iu mono wa nai n desu no yo. Dakara kioku datte nai wake yo.
[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--ippunkan tomete--iki o tsugashite kudasai" to Arisu wa mata sukoshi hashitta ato, aeginagara iimashita. "Watashi wa honto ni **NASAKE**-bukai no ja" to oosama ga iimashita. "Shikashi, chikara ga tarande noo. Yoi ka, ippunkan to itte mo, monosugoi hayasa de sugite iku no ja. Sore o tomeyoo nado to wa, bandaasunacchi o tomeyoo to suru-yoo na mono ja." Arisu wa moo iki ga kirete, kuchi ga kikemasen.
[Caroll 1975: 102]

(J <-- E: "Will you--be good enough [give me **NASAKE**], Alice panted 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 Bandersnatch!" Alice had no more breath for talking.)
[Caroll 1976: 107]

(26) Tsugi ni dete kita toki, tsukuzuku nagameru to, kono isha wa guntai no shookootaipu datta. **NASAKE** nanka koreppakari mo nai, meirei ippon'yari no taipu. Meshita no mono o gomi ka nanka no yoo ni atsukau no da.
[Fowles 1984 Vol.2: 186]

(J <-- E: He came again and I could see he was the officer type in the army, they've got no sympathy [**NASAKE**] with you, they just give your orders, you're not their class, and they treat everyone else as though they were dirt.)
[Fowles 1976: 274]

(27) Edogaa sama no tsumetasa ni, watashi wa hidoku rakutan itashimashita. Oyashiki kara mukoo e tsuku made no tochuu, shujin no okotoba o otsutaesuru toki ni, donna fuu ni shite, mosukoshi **JOO** no komotta mono ni shitara yoi ka, Izabera-san o nagusameru wazuka suugyoo no tegami sura kotowarareta koto o, doo yawaragete hanashitara yoi ka, sore bakari ni atama o nayamashimashita.
[Brönte 1968 Vol. 1: 223]

(J <-- E: Mr Edgar's coldness depressed me exceedingly; and all the way from the Grange I puzzled about my brains how to put more heart [**JOO**] into what he said, when I repeated it; and how to soften his refusal of even a few lines to console Isabella.)
[Brönte 1976: 178]

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 hi, Ryooko ga kikimashita. "Watashi to okusan to docchi ga suki? Watashi o suki nara okusan to rikonsuru?" to. "Ryooko ga suki da yo. Shikashi rikon wa shinai." "Dooshite?" "Nengetsu ga tsukuridashita **JOO** to iu mono ga aru shi, gimu kamo shirenai. Ore wa isshoo kakete shiawase ni suru to yakusokushita koto o hogo ni wa shinai."
["Otto no rikon-soodan" in *Katei Gahoo* 1994 July: 297]

(MT: One day Ryooko 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 hajime kara attooteki na ai ga nakutemo, issho ni kurashite iru uchi ni **JOO** mo umare, aichaku mo fukamaru no de wa nai ka to kitaishite iru bubun mo arimasu.
[*Fujin Kooron* 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) Watashi wa hitorigurashi no totemo heta na onna da. Da to shitara, moo ichido setai o motte shikoshiko kurasu naka de, otoko ga doo kawatte iku ka, sore mo hibi saisai toshioiru naka de, ai kara **JOO** e, **JOO** kara awaremi e to utsuriyuku jinsei no owari made mitodokete miru no mo ikkyoo de wa nai ka to omotta no de atta.
[Tokizane 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) Tokoroga, saikin ni natte, futatabi kare (otto) ga okashiku natta. Itsu ni naku omoi hyoojoo ga ki ni narihajimeta yasaki, totsuzen mikkakan no gaihaku. (....) Kooshite sandome no bekkyo wa amari ni mo kantan ni yatte kita no datta. Are kara ikkagetsu amari, otto wa hayaku mo "Modoritai. Kimi to iru toki ga ichiban kokochi ii" to rei ni yotte abunai kotoba o sasayaite iru. Konna no ni damasarete naru mono ka to wa omou no da ga, mata mo watashi no "**JOO**" ga yurehajimeru. 'A' wa, **JOO** o tachikiranai to mae ni wa susumenai yo, to iu. Demo, sore ga muzukashikute, nakanaka dekinai no da.
[A company employee, 45 years old, in Kanagawa prefecture in *Fujin Kooron* 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 happened 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-dooshi wa moto yori, genzai no Nihon no arayuru ningenkankei o kangaeru ue de kiiwaado ni naru no ga, '**nin-JOO**', NASAKE' daroo to omoimasu. (....) Motomoto NASAKE to iu no wa, dantei dekinai aimai na bubun, asobi no bubun ga atte koso, hajimete kinoosuru mono datta hazu desu. Kihon wa 'peke' da ga, omae no jijoo o kiku to, sore wa kawaisoo da, ii yo, 'maru' ni shiyoo to iu no ga, NASAKE no hatarakasekata desu yo ne.
[Munenori Harada (writer) in *Fujin Kooron* 1998 March: 96]

(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 hibi ni utoshi to wa, takumi ni **nin-JOO** no kibi o ii atete iru. Tokiko wa koibito o wasurete shimatta-yoo ni mieta.
[Niwa 1965: 113-5]

(B [J-->E]: Out of sight, out of mind --- an apt description indeed of the hidden workings of the human heart [human-**JOO**]. Tokiko, so far as any one could tell, had forgotten her old lover.)

(34) Eki de chichi ga fuutoo o tewatashite itta. "Sora, samman-en haitteru kara na. Shinseikatsu no tashi ni shiro." Sono fuutoo o uketotta toki, watashi wa te ni hi ga tsuita kanji ga shita. Dekiru koto nara, yabutte sutete shimaitakatta. Tatoe hyakuen datte ii, naze kossori watashite kurenai no da to, harawata ga chigireru omoi datta. Jitsu no chichi ga, mina no mae de, kingaku o kuchi ni shite fuutoo o tewatasu koto wa nai. Naijitsu wa doo de aroo to, niizuma o tsurete no kadode de aru. Watasu nara, mae no yoru, kossori watashite oku no ga **nin-JOO** daroo.
[Hata 1974: 175]

(MT: At the station my father passed me an envelope and said, "Here's thirty thousand yen. Use it for your new life." When I took the envelope, I felt like I had fire in my hand. I wanted to tear it up if possible. Even 100 yen was good. Why could he not pass it to me secretly? I felt that my heart was wrung. My father did not have to give me the envelope in front of everyone and say out loud how much was in it. Despite the real situation, this was my departure with my new wife. If he wanted to give it to me, it would have been human-**JOO** to pass it to me secretly the night before.)

(35) Ittai tsuri ya ryoo o suru renchuu wa minna **fu-nin-JOO** na ningen bakari da. **Fu-nin-JOO** ja nakutte, sesshoo o shite yorokobu wake ga nai. Sakana datte, tori datte korosareru yori ikiteru hoo ga raku ni kimatteru. Tsuri ya ryoo o shinakuccha kakei ga tatanai nara kakubetsu da ga, nani fusoku naku kurashite iru ue ni, ikimono o korosanakucha irarenai nante zeitaku na hanashi da.
[Natsume 1978: 92]

(J --> E: I take it this way that generally those who are fond of fishing or shooting have cruel hearts [fu-ninJOO: lit. non-human-**JOO**]. Otherwise, there is no reason why they could derive pleasure in murdering innocent creatures. Surely, fish and birds would prefer living to getting killed. Except for those who make fishing or shooting their calling, it is nonsense for those who are well off to say that they cannot sleep well unless they seek the lives of fish or birds.)
[Natsume 1918: 90]

(36) Shi wa jinsei no tsune de, wa ga ko bakari ga shinu no de wa nai ga, shikashi jinsei no jooji de attemo, kanashii koto wa kanashii. Kanashinda tote kaette wa konai no dakara, akirameyo, wasureyo, to iwareru ga, shikashi wasureru-yoo na **fu-nin-JOO** na koto wa shitakunai to iu no ga oya no shinjoo de aru.
[Tetsuroo Watsuji "Hajimete Nishida Kitaroo no na o kiita koro" p. 40-45 in Kida 1998: 40]

(MT: Death is a natural phenomenon in life and it is not only my child who died, but it is KANASHII, even while it is a common occurrence. People say to me, "Though you may grieve, she won't come back, so give up, forget", but to not want to do such a **fu-nin-JOO** thing is a parent's true feeling.)

Araso and Moore (1989: 212) suggest that "Japanese personal relations are determined by *giri* and *ninjoo*", and that "*Ninjoo* is the natural affection that one feels for people, such as friendship, sympathy, and parental love". Lebra (1976) defines *ninjoo* as "human feeling" (p.46) or "an indulgence in sentimental desires" (p. 161). Doi (1981: 38) further says *ninjoo* exists as "spontaneous arising feelings".

From all the discussion above, the meaning of NASAKE/JOO can be explicated as in the following form:

NASAKE/JOO [X wa NASAKE/JOO ga aru (X has NASAKE/JOO)]

(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'

NASAKE (JOO ni atsui/JOO ga fukai (NASAKE-bukai)) is highly valued in Japanese society.

11.(I).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 fukakarikeru hito ya to tanomoshiku zo oboekeru (Ah! I feel secure with the person who has deep JOO and JIHI)" (in Yoshitsune-ki (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 emphasised **love** and elevated it to the level of religious psychology. European philosophers have pondered and argued the nature of love, which secularisation 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 ***jihi***, is a rendition in Chinese characters of two ancient Indian terms: *marti*, the giving of pleasure; and *karuna*, the elimination of suffering. (....)
>
> According to religious doctrines, 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" (Skrt. matiri 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 & Derbolav 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-Shimbunsha-Kyoogaku-Kaisetsubu 1994: 87; Umehara 1980: 63). Nakamura and Nara (1978: 374) further says that "hi" (karuna) refers to the feeling of sympathising 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 animate 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, ***jihi***, 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 passersbys, 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 tirelessly 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.

Itsuki'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. Itsuki (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.

Itsuki (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.[2] 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 shimainasai (Forget everything)" to a person

2 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, hayaku genki ni natte (Cheer up! Be cheerful as soon as possible)". ["Hanshin daishinsai kara 4-nen" pp. 36-40 in *Shuukan Josei* 1999 February 23rd: 40].

had the misfortune of suffering a miscarriage . It is reported that phrases like "Watashi 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 *Shuukan 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 its connection, 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 "Kawaisa amatte nikusa hyakubai (lit. (Excessive) love turns into hundred-fold hatred)" which implies that the greatest hate springs from the greatest love (Tokona 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.
[Pulverbs 1985: 63]

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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 10th, 1934) in Rubinstein 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* Mama! You just **love** him."
"I **hate** him."
"And he **loves** you."
"And he **hates** me."
"How can you **love** each other 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 Turlington. 'And always have.' It's **love-hate**. Not even **love**, just me, me, me. They're like sisters.)
[Gross 1995: 511]

(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 1963b: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]

5 The following examples show that one would sometime use an ironic expression when one wants to express one's affectionate feeling:

(1) **KIRAI** -- "**SUKI**" to iu kotoba no moo hitotsu no hyoogen-hoohoo.
[Chuubu-joshi-tankidaigaku 1990:65]
(MT: **KIRAI**(hate) --- another way of expressing the meaning of the word "**SUKI** (like)")

(2) Okaasan / Nooshukketsu de shinjatte / **Baka** (....)
Okaasan no suki na / omochi ga todoita no yo
Okaasan wa / omochi o kiru no ga / totemo joozu datta
Okaasan no **baka**
[Sachi Yoshida (elementary student) 1964 in Mikuriya 1996: 18-19]
(MT: Mother / You died because of cerebral haemorrhage / **baka** (fool)
Your favourite rice cake has come home
You were good at cutting rice cake
Mother, you **baka** (fool))

Mikuriya (1996: 18) comments that the word "baka" in the above phrase is a reversely stated expression of affection.

(7) Shinitai kurai akogareta
Hana no miyako "dai-Tookyoo" (....)
Koori-tsuku yoo na yoru o kazoe
Dakedo ore wa kono machi o **AISHI**, soshite kono machi o **NIKUN**da.[6]
[Tsuyoshi Nagabuchi "Tombo" 1988 by T. Nagabuchi]

(MT: "Great Tokyo", which I admired to death (....)
Counting the freezing nights ,
I **AISHI**ta[loved] and **NIKUN**da (hated)[7] 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 "Nikumu" 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) Watashi o konna ni muchuu ni saseru nante, anata ttara **NIKUI** hito ne!
[Murakami 1997: 147]

(B: You've made me crazy about you, you naughty **[NIKUI]** man.)

(2) Hanazono: "Demo, gonenkan zutto (wakareta otto no) sentaku o shite agete ita no. (....)
Demo, inai toki dake ne.
Emori: " Sore mo **NIKUI** ne. Kaette kitara, pantsu ga sentakushite aru to iu no wa."
[*Fujin Kooron* 1991 July: 97]

(MT: Hanazono: "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 Nikunda: nikumu (verb) + -ta (/da) (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'.[8] Umehara (p. 76) further says that Jesus tried to reconcile God[9] 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.[10] 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).

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8 However, the original Christian LOVE is not compatible with the concept of "hate" nor "anger" (Anna 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 as its original object the enabling of man through his ability, to cause his *Bodhi* 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 sadly 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 Buddhism 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
(j) 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 this 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

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11 Heider (quoted in Goddard 1996a: 450) points out that American English 'love' is closer to 'happiness' whereas the Indonesian equivalent of it is closer to 'sadness'. Japanese JIHI is connected to both 'love' and 'sadness' since JIHI means trying to eliminate 'sadness' and give the suffering person 'love/happiness'.

bad if something bad is happening to anybody" shows that the person who has JIHI wants everybody or anything which can be considered alive to be in a good condition of life. Therefore, the action of terminating the life of anyone/anything is regarded as the biggest crime/sin in Buddhism. Like NASAKE, the person who has JIHI does not expect to feel something good or have self-satisfaction about him/herself by doing something for some other person/people, nor does he expect any return. The resultant feeling is neutral "something" (component (h)). JIHI is the affection that the subject constantly tries to give towards not only human beings, but anything which is considered to be alive (e.g. 'animals', 'trees', and even 'mountains', or 'rivers' when we think of them as being alive). But in a case where the object is not a human being, the object is personalised and considered equal to human beings who are alive. Therefore, the last component (i) "X thinks about all living things like X thinks about people" is required in the meaning of JIHI.

11.(I).3. OMOIYARI

Wierzbicka (1997a: 275) is correct in saying that Japanese culture places very high value on empathy, on anticipating what other people might feel. OMOIYARI is a Japanese word which represents this Japanese way of thinking.

Lebra (1976: 39) explains OMOIYARI as follows:

> *Omoiyari* refers to the ability and willingness to feel what others are feeling, to vicariously experience the pleasure or pain that they are undergoing, and to help them satisfy their wishes. Kindness and benevolence becomes *omoiyari* only if it is derived from such sensitivity to the recipient's feelings. The ideal in *omoiyari* is for Ego to enter into Alter's *kokoro*, "heart," and to absorb all information about Alter's feelings without being told verbally.

Suzuki (1978: 167-168) refers to OMOIYARI as follows:

> We Japanese are not particularly good at expressing our own opinions and making our positions clear before we have considered the addressee's feelings and thoughts. Rather, we feel comfortable with other-oriented behaviour, that is, waiting for the other person to express himself first and then adapting our view accordingly. Moreover, it sometimes even happens

> that, before the other person states his opinion or wish clearly, we read his mind and adjust our behaviour to it. Common expressions such as *sasshi ga yoi* '[12]good at guessing another's feeling,' *ki ga kiku* 'quick to read another's mind,' and ***omoiyari** ga aru* '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.[13] Consider the following comment made by Prince Hironomiya before he got married.

(1) Kootaishi (Hironomiya) ga nozomu, okisaki ni tsuite, gohonnin wa kore made tsugi no koto o agete iru. (....)
"Hito no shinjoo, nayami ya kurushimi o oshihakatte yareru hito. Iroiro na keiken o tsundeireba hito no kurushimi ya nayami ga rikai dekiru no de, sonna hito ga nozomashii."
[Kawahara 1993: 338]

(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

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12 *Sasshi* is the noun form of the verb *sassuru* . Observe the following Lebra & Lebra's (1986: 376) comment on 'sassuru':

> *Sassuru* is to understand the other's feelings without relying on verbal communication or understanding. Parents train their children in the art of *sassuru*. 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 *sassuru* such a matter."

Matsumoto (1988: 64) mentions another expression connected to the concept of OMOIYARI; Japanese has an oft-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. [14]

The clinical psychiatrist, Tomooka (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. Tomooka 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 "Okimochi wa wakarimasu ga... (I understand your feeling, but...)" before voicing opposition to another person's opinion/reasoning.

14 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.

> "Keshigomu no kanashimi" to iu hyoogen o kangaete mimashoo. Hajime wa chotto hen na kanji ga suru kamo shiremasen. (....) shikashi, mattaku wake no wakaranai hyoogen ka to iu to, soo demo arimasen. (....)
> Keshigomu no mi ni natte kangaete mimashoo. (Sanzan tsukawareta ato, atarashii keshigomu ga araware) soshite jibun wa...., poi to gomibako ka nanika ni suterarete shimatte, dokoka e kiete iku.... Sono toki no keshigomu no kimochi wa donna mono deshoo ka. Kitto kanashii deshoo ne. Omoeba, keshigomu wa kawaisoo na mono desu.
> [Ikegami 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 & Beers 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-jookyuu-kaiwa* 1997 April: 69-70]

In order to OMOIYARU [verb] another person, one has to put oneself in another's shoes in Japan, too. The Japanese actor, Hiroshi Tachi, comments on OMOIYARI as follows:

> Kekkyoku aite no kimochi o kokoro ni egaku imajineeshon koso ga **OMOIYARI** de ari, sore sae motte ireba, donna koto to demo sokosoko umaku yatte ikeru no de wa nai ka, saikin wa sonna fuu ni omotte iru.
> [Hiroshi Tachi (actor) in *Fujin Kooron* 1999 January 22nd: 75]
>
> (MT: After all, having an imagination with which we figure out the other person's emotions to ourselves is **OMOIYARI**. 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, Kunihiro Masao 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 Itasaka, 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,

for they tend to put themselves in other people's places and take their points of view" (p. 45).

OMOIYARU has, however, further connotations in its meaning. To appreciate this, observe the following examples where OMOIYARI/OMOIYARU is used in the original Japanese texts:

(4) "Omae ni kuroo kakete gomen ne tte itawatte kurereba sore dake de bimboo nanka wasurerareta. Demo anata wa **OMOIYARI** no kakera mo motenakunatte shimatta n da wa."
[Tachihara 1985: 21]

(J --> E: "If you'd just say, 'I'm sorry it's hard for you,' and show a little sympathy, that's all I need. But you don't have one bit of consideration **[OMOIYARI]**. You've really become poor ... inside!")
[Tachihara 1989: 21]

(5) "Ano koto wa toonin wa shiranai deshoo ne" to koe o otoshite Isobe wa kanojo ni sasayaita. "Watashi mo damatte iru n desu. Yoroshiku onegaishimasu."
"Zonjite orimasu. Demo..." to Naruse Mitsuko wa shizuka na koe de, "demo okusama, okizuki kamo shiremasen yo. Makki-gan no kanja-san wa mawari ga soozooshite iru ijoo ni, gojibun no shi o gozonji na n desu."
"Koitsu, sonna koto, ichido mo kuchi ni shita koto wa arimasen" to Isobe wa tsuma no nemuri no fukasa o tashikamenagara koogishita.
Shikashi, Mitsuko wa akumade reisei na koe de, "Sore wa....**OMOIYARI** deshoo."
[Endoo 1996: 22]

(J --> E: "She doesn't know what's happening." He lowered his voice to a whisper. "I haven't said anything to her. I'd appreciate your co-operation."
"I understand. But..." Mitsuko said softly, "you wife may already know. Patients with terminal cancer are far more aware of their approaching death than people around them imagine."
"She's never said a word to suggest anything like that," he protested, making sure that his wife was still sound asleep.
Mitsuko's voice continued to run cold as she said, "That's just out of her consideration **[OMOIYARI]** for you.")
[Endoo 1994: 15]

(6) Tora: "Nanda, omae konna otoko suki na no."
Botan: "Suteki yo, seijitsu de **OMOIYARI** ga atte-----."
[Yooji Yamada 1977: 211]

(B [J-->E]: Tora: You mean that.... this man's your type?
Botan: He's wonderful. Sincere and full of sympathy **[OMOIYARI]**.)

(7) Anata ni moo sukoshi **OMOIYARI** ga attara, kanojo no tsurai tachiba ga wakatta hazu da.
[Murakami 1997: 16]

(B [J-->E]: If you'd been a little more thoughtful [had a little more **OMOIYARI**], you would have seen what a difficult position she was in.)

(8) Kimi wa roojin ni taishite motto **OMOIYARI** ga nakereba naranai.
[Hiejima 1995: 39]

(B [J-->E]: You should be more considerate [having **OMOIYARI**] of the old.)

In example (4) the wife wants her husband to have the OMOIYARI with which he could be more concerned about her. In example (5) a woman tells a man that his wife had OMOIYARI 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 OMOIYARI. In example (7) the subject criticises the object's lack of OMOIYARI, which put a girl in a difficult position. In example (8) the subject emphasises the necessity of OMOIYARI towards the old. As seen in the above examples, OMOIYARI is translated into various English words such as 'sympathy', 'consideration', 'thoughtfulness', 'kindness', or 'sensitiveness'. However, we cannot grasp the meaning of OMOIYARI from these English-specific words.

The following four are examples where OMOIYARI is given as the Japanese translation of originally English texts.

(9) "Anta wa tsumetai hito yo," kamisori o susuide iru musuko o mimamorinagara, kanojo wa itta. "Anta wa honto ni tsumetai hito da yo, Zooii. Moo sonna toshi na n da mono, hito ga mijime na omoi o shite iru toki ni wa, semete nanika, **OMOIYARI** o kakete yaroo to shite mo ii ja nai no."
[Salinger 1991: 119]

(J <-- E: "You're not kind," she said, watching him rinse his razor. "You're not kind at all, Zooey. You're old enough at least to try for some kind of kindness **[OMOIYARI]** when you're feeling mean.")
[Salinger 1962: 102]

(10) Shingata no BMW no joshuseki ni suwatte nagamete iru Masachuusettsu-shuu Nyuuton koogai no kookyuujuutakuchi ni aru utsukushii ie. Soba ni iru otto wa hansamu de **OMOIYARI** no aru shooni-geka-i. Kore ijoo ni megumareta jinsei wa soo wa nai ni chigainai.
[Fielding 1994: 92]

(J <-- E: She could have done a lot worse than to find herself sitting in a new-model BMW in front of a beautiful home in the tiny suburb of Newton, Massachusetts, married to a handsome and sensitive [having **OMOIYARI**] pediatric surgeon.)
[Fielding 1991: 74]

(11) Wakai koro, Sara o muzukashii ningen da to omou mono mo ita ga, Oribaa wa chigatte ita. Sonna koto wa omotta koto sae naku, Sara no kangaekata ga suki nara, iu koto mo, iikata mo suki datta. Tagai o sonkei shiai, **OMOIYARU** kimochi no ue ni fukamatta kankei datta kara, beddo no naka demo subarashii hitotoki o sugosu koto ga dekita.

[Steel 1994: 14]

(J <-- E: There were those who thought her difficult when she was young, but not Ollie. Never Ollie. He liked the way she thought, and the things she said, and the way she said them. They had a relationship built on mutual respect and caring [**OMOIYARU** (Verb) feeling] , and they had a very good time in bed.)
[Steel 1989: 12]

(12) Soo ieba mukashi, kamisama ni "Dooka matomo na okoto o, dekireba hitorizutsu watashi no moto ni oyokoshi kudasai" to onegaishita koto ga aru kedo, te ni haitta otoko to ittara, Robaato ya Sedorikku ya Reimondo ni Kenesu.... Watashi to shita koto ga, kamisama ni kanjin no jooken o iiwasureta rashii. Chotto shita **OMOIYARI** to, unubore de wa nakute tashoo no puraido o mochi, oohei de wa nakute tekido ni jishin no aru okoto, to kotowatte oku beki datta no da.
[McMillan 1993 Vol.2: 28]

(J <-- E: A long time ago, I asked God to please send me a decent man, and one by one, what I got was Robert, Cedric, Raymond, and Kenneth. Unfortunately, I left out some very important details: like how about a little compassion [**OMOIYARI**], some pride as opposed to cockiness, some confidence as opposed to arrogance.)
[McMillan 1993: 12]

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.

(13) Hantai ni, shuutome no hoo mo yome ni mukatte itte wa naranai kotoba ga aru n desu yo. Watashi wa kodomo ga dekinakatta n desu. Byooin ni mo kayotta shi, gankake mo shimashita. Zuibun doryoku wa shita n desu kedo ne, kamisama wa kodomo o sazukete kudasaranakatta. Tokoroga, watashi ga konna ni mo kurushinde iru toki ni, oshuutome-san ni, shinseki-ichidoo

iru mae de, "Kono hito ni kodomo ga dekinai hara Okuda no ie ga taechau" tte iwareta koto ga atta. (....) Kochira ga doryokushitemo doo shiyoo mo nai koto wa kuchi ni dasanai **OMOIYARI** wa motte ite hoshii. Kono toki bakari wa, kanari hara ga tatte, shinsoko soo omoimashita ne.
[Utsumi 1996: 57]

(MT: On the other hand, there are words which a mother-in-law should never say to a daughter-in-law. I could not have children. I went to hospital and also prayed to God. I tried repeatedly, but God did not give me a child. When I was suffering like this, I was told by my mother-in-law in front of all my relatives, "the Okuda family will end, since she won't have a child." (....) I wanted her to have **OMOIYARI** and not speak of something which I could not do anything about, despite all my efforts. I became angry then and I really wished from the bottom of my heart that she would understand.)

(14) Datte, issho ni kurasu to iu koto wa, otagai no kojin to shite no kyookaisen o ikikisuru to iu koto da to watashi wa omotte iru kara, **OMOIYARU** doryoku wa totemo hitsuyoo na koto da.
[Kuroki 1996: 177-8]

(MT: Because I think that to live together means that we come and go between our individual boundaries, it is very necessary to make an effort to **OMOIYARU** [Verb] the other.)

(15) Oyako no chi no tsunagari yori usui, fuufu no tsunagari. Soko ni, **OMOIYARI** toka yasashisa ga nakereba, soko ni wa nani mo nokoranai. Sonna ki ga shimasu.
[Tanimura 1996: 19]

(MT: The connection between a couple is thinner than the connection between a parent and child. If there is no **OMOIYARI** or tenderness there, nothing remains, I think.)

In example (13) the subject wanted her mother-in-law to have OMOIYARI or *sassuru* 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 explication for OMOIYARI:

OMOIYARI

(a) X often thinks 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 OMOIYARU 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.[15] 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

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.

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 "tsumetai (cold-hearted, unemotional)" (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-JOO), which is understood negatively, and "**uetto** na hito (lit. person who is **uetto** 'wet')" is a person who is warm-hearted, or a person who has deep/thick JOO', 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 absolutes, rely on subtlety and intuition, and consider sensitivity to human feelings all-important. They notice small signs of insult or disfavour and take them deeply to heart.

16 The colloquial use of 'wet' in English (UK, Australia) means "weak and miserable" (Ingrid Sighn; 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 this, 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.(I).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.(I).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) Asa ni natte, Shirayukihime wa jibun no minoue o sukkari karera ni katarimashita. Karera wa kanojo o **KAWAISOO** ni omoi, moshi kanojo ga subete no mono o kichin to shi, karera no tame ni ryoori o shi, sentaku o shi, amimono o shi, tsumuide kureru nara, ima iru tokoro ni todomattemo kamawanai shi, juubun ni mendoo mo mite agemashoo, to iimashita.
[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** datta. To iu no mo, minna hahaoya ga hoshikatta no desu. Haha to watashi ga shibafu ni suwatte iru to, kakeyotte kite, toku ni chiisana ko ga haha no soba ni suwattari, sawattari shitagarimashita.
[Morgan 1992 Vol.2: 164]

(J <-- E: 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) Roojin wa kyuu ni jibun no hikkaketa taigyo ga **KAWAISOO** ni natte kita. Yatsu wa subarashii, metta ni ome ni kakareru shiromono ja nai. Ittai dono kurai toshi totte iru n daroo. Ore mo kyoo to iu kyoo made, konna tsuyoi sakana ni butsukatta koto wa nai.
[Hemingway 1970: 42]

(J <-- E: 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 strongly.)

[Hemingway 1976: 40]

(4) "Usoo, Suzuki-kun, Akko ga suki da tte yutta no?"
"Fumi-chan **KAWAISOO**. Zutto suki datta noni."
"Atashi Akko ni wa chikazukanai no. Gaiken kuraberaretara son dakara."
[Ikezawa 1990: 11]

(MT: "What a story! Did Mr. Suzuki say that he liked Akko?"
"I feel **KAWAISOO** for Fumi. She has liked him for a long time."
"I won't get close to Akko, because it is unfavourable if my outward appearance is compared with hers.)

(5) "Kanojo, **KAWAISOO**. Yudaya-jin no haafu to kekkonshita kara tte, imada ni ryooshin kara iroiro iwarete iru nante."
"Hidoi oya da na."
[Conroy 1994: Vol.2: 166]

("Poor thing (The literal meaning of the above Japanese corresponding sentence is "I feel **KAWAISOO** about her")". He's half Jewish and her parents still give her a hard time."
"Fuck'em.")

(6) Dare mo boku o suki ni natte kurenai
Minna boku o kirai na n da
KAWAISOO na boku....
[Shulz 1969: n.p.]

(B [J<--E]: Nobody likes me!
Everybody hates me!
Poor, poor [**KAWAISOO** na] me!)

(7) **KAWAISOO** na Papa. Umaretsuki shoojiki datta kara, tanin ga fushoojiki o umaretsuki sonaete iru nado to wa shinjinakatta n da wa. Sore ni are hodo nesshin ni hataraite sekkaku te ni ireta mooke o sono mama jitto motte iru koto ga dekinakatta. Aru imi de wa jibun ga motte iru yori mo tanin ni kurete shimatte ita wa.
[Malamud 1969: 292]

(J <-- E: Poor Papa [The literal meaning of the above Japanese sentence is "I feel **KAWAISOO** about her"], being naturally honest, he didn't believe that others come by their dishonesty naturally. And he couldn't hold on to those things he had worked so hard to get. He gave away, in a sense, more than he owned.)
[Malamud 1967: 204]

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-

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) "Shoogaisha tte, **KAWAISOO** to iu kotei kannen ga, madamada aru-yoo ni omou. Ookubo no gaikokujinjosei mo, Takada-Baba no kowai ojisan mo, kitto (te to ashi no nai) boku no koto o **KAWAISOO** to kanjite, shinsetsu ni shite kureta no de aroo."
[Ototake 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 scary-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 ne
Banana ga daisuki — Honto da yo
Dakedo chicchai kara
Banana o hambun shika — Taberarenai no
KAWAISOO ne — Sacchan
[Yasuo Sakata "Sacchan" in Saitoo 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 tte **KAWAISOO** na mono na n deshoo ka. Wakai otoko wa, rokujuu no obaasan ni koisuru koto wa nai deshoo. Tokoroga, juudai no shoojo demo, gojuu, rokujuu no otoko ni koisuru koto ga arimasu yo ne. Yokutokuzuku de naku..... Nee, sensei."
[Kawabata 1961: 107]

(J --> E: "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. Danna mo kodomo mo inai. Kodomo no kawari ni doobutsu o kawaigatte iru no daroo tte. Demo, sore wa

chigaimasu. Sono ki ga areba, moderu o ato 4,5 nen wa tsuzukerareta to omoimasu ga, moderu-gyoo wa watashi ni totte toku ni taisetsu na mono de wa nakatta no desu.
[Gross 1995: 200]

(J <-- E: 'People think, "Oh, the poor [**KAWAISOO** na] bitch, she hasn't got a man; she's got no children; she's put everything into a child substitute." That isn't true, but I suppose some people might think it could be. I could have gone on modelling perhaps for another four or five years. But it just wasn't terribly important to me.)
[Gross 1995: 183]

(12) "Iistaa o uchikorosanaide ikashite oku no wa kaette **KAWAISOO** datta. Koroshite yareba, ironna kurushii me ni attari, ryuumachi ni kakattari shinaide sumu no dakara na."
[Steinbeck 1966: 75]

(J <-- E: "It's a shame [**KAWAISOO**] not to shoot Easter (horse)," he said. "It'd save him a lot of pain and rheumatism.")
[Steinbeck 1973: 45]

Hirose and Shooji (p.253) also say that KAWAISOO "may also be used when speaking of animals or plants" as seen in examples (3) 'fish' or (12) 'horse'. Comparing synonyms, Hirose and Shooji (p. 153) point out that KAWAISOO "expresses more of a sense of strong affection or concern for the person, as well as a desire to help", than does KI-NO-DOKU or AWARE. Illustrative examples for this comparison are (3) where dwarfs are deeply concerned over Snow White who ran away from the castle in order to escape the murderous intent of her step-mother, (4) which concerns the subject's friend's broken heart, and (6) which shows the subject's regard for a familiar small girl with a small appetite.

Before we posit an explication for KAWAISOO, it would be good to be aware of the difference between KAWAISOO and AWARE. In the next section, AWARE will be examined in order to validate that comparison. We have seen that KAWAISOO refers to a subjective feeling towards somebody's situation (Hida and Asada 1996: 167). It is clear that one cannot alternate the compassionate feeling word KAWAISOO with the rather detached feeling word AWARE in examples like (4), (6), or (9), where one expresses sympathetic feelings towards an intimately known person. Also in examples like (2), where the subject thinks about her friends who don't have parents and (5), where one worries about one's friend who is discriminated against since she has gotten

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 person/[18]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 (experiencer) 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. Iizumi (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) "Getsuyoo kara kin'yoo made hottokarecha samishii ja nai. Dakara disuko de shiriatta otokonoko to tokidoki hoteru e itteru no." (....) "Sonna koto wa shiranaide (maishuu tenkinsaki kara kaette kuru) kare mo **AWARE** na mon yo ne."
[Akagawa 1985: 66]

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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 fictive 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.

(J --> E: "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 kodomotachi wa ryooshin o kootsuujiko de ichido ni ushinatta.
[Yamada & Irabu 1986: 37]

(B [J-->E]: Tragically [**AWARE** ni mo], the children lost both their parents in the same traffic accident.)

(3) Iya, Takako datte, jibun no musume o "tokushu" da nado to omoitakunai. Omoitakunai keredo, tatoeba tsutomesaki de, Yuka to doonempai no musume o motsu kyaku ga musume no kekkonbanashi o shite itari suru to, hoka wa itatte kenkoo na noni seishinteki na hattatsu dake ga okurete iru jibun no musume ga yahari dooshitemo **AWARE** ni omoete kuru. Soo iu kimochi ga hataraite shimau no mo, hahaoya to shite wa doo ni mo naranai koto da to omou no de aru.
[Tango & Tatsui 1996: 17]

(MT: No, Takako doesn't want to think that her daughter is "special". Although she doesn't want to think so, if a customer, 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) Sengetsu kootsuujiko de ashi ga fujiyuu ni natta musume ga **KAWAISOO/?AWARE** de shikata 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)[21] 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 persons 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 suterareta AWARE na inu (The AWARE-na dog which was dumped by its owner)" or "500nen ijoo ikite kita kono taiju ga tochi-kaihatsu no tame taosareru 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)".[22] 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-daishinsai no ato no AWARE na yoosu no Koobe no machi (Kobe which looks AWARE after the great Hanshin earthquake)", or "Kono biru wa amari ni furukute AWARE na tatazumai da (This building is so old that it looks AWARE)", in such cases, the inanimate object is personalised.

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 (f) "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 KAWAISOO ("something bad"), but neutral "something" (component (g)) in AWARE . Unlike KAWAISOO 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.

(5) (Umejo wa) "Onaka ga suita yoo. Gohan tabesasete kudasai yo. Kesa kara nani mo tabete inai n desu yo. Himojii, tasukete kudasai yoo." **AWARE** na koe o tateta.
[Niwa 1965: 95]

(B [J -->E]: .... she [Umejo] raised a piteous [**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!")

(6) Dikku to washi wa kawaisoo ni Besu o utanakya naran katta. Ii uma datta n da ga, tabesaseru mono ga nani mo nakatta n da. Nokotteta kachiku mo hidoi arisama datta. (....) **AWARE** datta yo. Kuimono ga nai n dakara, moo teokure no yatsu mo ita shi na.
[Morgan 1992 Vol. 2: 35-6]

(J <-- E: Dick and me had to shoot poor old Bess. She was a good horse, but there was nothing' for her to eat. What stock there was 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]

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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 KAWAISOO and KI-NO-DOKU.

(7) Aitsu wa mazushii katei ni umareta **AWARE** na yatsu.
[Frey Glenn, D. Henly, R. Meisner "Certain Kind of Fool"1973
by Red Cloud Music Co. in Yamamoto 1995: 48]

(B [J<--E] : He was a poor [**AWARE** na] boy, raised in a small family.)

In example (5) the voice of the old woman Umejo is described as AWARE, since she doesn't recognise that what she is saying does not make sense. In example (6) the horse Bess is described as AWARE since she had to be shot. In example (7) a man is described as a boy who is AWARE since he was raised in a poor family.

The meaning of the attributive use of AWARE can be posited as follows:

AWARE ---- the attributive use
[Y wa AWARE da ((people in general feel) Y is AWARE)]

(a) I want to say 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 persons thinks this, this person feels something
(h) I say: other people can feel like this when they think about Y

11.(I).4.3. KI-NO-DOKU

Unlike KAWAISOO 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 Shooji (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 KAWAISOO. However, unlike KAWAISOO, 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 kenkoo kara itte, betsu ni doko mo warui tokoro wa nai-yoo ja arimasen ka."
"Joobu desu tomo. Nannimo jibyoo wa arimasen."
"Sore de naze katsudoo ga dekinai n deshoo."
"Sore ga wakaranai no yo, anata. Sore ga wakaru kurai nara watashi datte, konna ni shimpai shiya shimasen. Wakaranai kara **KI NO DOKU** de tamaranai n desu." Okusan no goki ni wa hijoo ni doojoo ga atta.
[Natsume 1968: 30]

(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) (Chaarii Buraun ga tegami o kaite iru); Boku no akogare no senshu e. Nigun ni okurarete o-**KI NO DOKU** desu.
"Gaman dekinai yo! Kusun."
[Schulz 1978a: n.p.]

(B [J<--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) "Ano ikka wa suunenmae ni Nyuu Yooku kara koshite kita n da. Ikka to iu no wa danna to tiin'eejaa no kodomo futari, sore ni yamome no ojiisan na n da ga ne. **KI NO DOKU** na koto ni kyonen no aki ni danna ga dete itte shimatta.
[Fielding 1994: 93]

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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 KAWAISOO, since he keeps a psychological distance from them when he utters this comment.

(J <-- E: "She and her family moved here a few years ago from New York. By family I mean a husband, two teenage children, and an elderly widowed father. Unfortunately [KI NO DOKU ni], the husband moved out again last fall.)
[Fielding 1991: 74]

In example (1) the wife feels KI-NO-DOKU towards her husband, whom she respects, because he/she 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) Endoo: Boku mo ne, mukashi Pari de, hoteru ni nekoronde uranai no hon o mite ita. Soko ni dete iru naka de ichiban bijin no uranaishi no tokoro e tazunete itta wake. Soshitara dete kita no ga hontoo ni obaasan de ne. Sanjuu nen ka yonjuu nen mae no shashin o tsukatte ita n desu ne.
Hayashi: O-**KI NO DOKU**.
[Endoo 1995: 63]

(MT: Endoo: A long time ago I was lying 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 using 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. Dooshitemo yoi ko tte iu kanji de kitaisareru no. Kodomo wa itsumo soo na no, de, itsumo kitaisareru koto yaroo to suru no yo.
[Taroo Gomi (illustrator) on the TV programme "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 desu ka."
"Iie, mae wa eigazasshi o dashite iru kaisha de hataraite imashita."
"Soko o yameru koto ni natta wake ka."
Nakaba hitorigoto no yoo ni tazuneru to, kanojo wa isshun hirunda hyoojoo o shita. "Yahari, otoko de kurooshita musume ka" to, sono hosoi kubi no atari ni me o mukeru to, fui ni **KI NO DOKU** na kibun 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?"

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 jooryuu-kaikyuu no fujin-tachi ga, Oosutoria kara yatte kita, Marii Antowanetto ni kansuru joohoo o kookanshiatte iru.)
"O-**KI NO DOKU** ni.....Furansugo wa amari, odeki ni naranai-soo desu yo. Obenkyoo no hoo wa, ochiisai koro kara osuki ja nakatta-yoo desu ne."
[Endoo 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 feels KI-NO-DOKU towards a girl he meets for the first time sine 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) "Izen ni wa ii musuko ga ita n da ga, sono koro hayatta mimi no byooki de shinjimatte ne."
"O-**KI NO DOKU** ni." Furanku ga hana o kanda.
Yasashii otoko da, Morisu wa me ni namida o ukabete omotta.
[Malamud 1969: 40]

(J <-- E: "I once had 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 watery eye.)
[Malamud 1967: 40]

(9) Imooto no Sheira ga Raioneru ni, aneki ni denwabangoo o oshienasai yo, to sosonokashita rashii. Raioneru wa koko Dembaa no juunin da shi, imooto no tansaiboo no otto to juuichi-nen mae ni Washinton daigaku de basuketto o shite ita naka dakara, imooto wa kore o mata to nai ryooen da to omotte iru. Dokushin no ane ga kawaisoo de shikata ga nai rashii. Yoninkyoodai no ichiban ue na noni, watashi dake imadani chaperu de "Hai, chikaimasu" to itte inai koto o hidoku **KI NO DOKU**-gatte iru.
[McMillan 1993 Vol. 1: 10]

(J <-- E: Sheila, my baby sister, insisted on giving me his phone number because he lives here in Denver and her simple-ass 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 [feel **KI NO DOKU**] about me.)
[McMillan 1993:1]

(10) "Ano onnanoko no koto kiita?"
"Nan datte? Ninshin shiteru n datte?"
"Soo yo. Demo, dare no ko ka wakaru?" (....)
"Chorii? Ano onnanoko no oyajisan no koto?"
"Soo" (....)
Watashitachi no odoroki wa, nagaku wa tsuzukanakatta. To iu no wa, kono kanjoo wa sugu ni, mamotte yaranakereba, to iu kimyoo na kutsujokukan ni totte kawarareta kara da. Watashitachi wa, Pikoora no tame ni konwakushi, kanojo no tame ni kizutsuki, owari ni wa tada kanojo o **KI NO DOKU** da to omou-yoo ni natta.
[Morrison 1994: 215-216]

(J <-- E: "Did you hear about that girl?"
"What? Pregnant?"
"Yes, but guess who?" (...)
"Cholly? Her daddy?"
"Uh-huh" (...)
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.)
[Morrison 1970: 147-148]

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.

(11) "Worutaa mo **KAWAISOO/* KI-NO-DOKU** ni", Redii Gureviru no kuchibiru wa furuete ita. "Anna ni doodoo to shite ita hito datta no ni...."
"**o-KI-NO-DOKU/* KAWAISOO** desu", Burakku ga shizuka ni itta. "Dekiru dake hayaku choosa o oeru-yoo ni shimasu."
[Harrison 1991: 167]

(MT: "How **KAWAISOO/*KI-NO-DOKU** Walter is", the lips of Lady Greville were trembling. "He was such a magnificent man for Anna".
"I feel **KI-NO-DOKU/*KAWAISOO**", Brag said quietly. "I will try to do my best to examine why he died, as soon as possible".)

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.

(12) Noboru: "Ima Tanigawa-san no musume-san kara denwa ga atte.... Ruushii o tsurete uchi ni kita yokujitsu ni shinkinkoosoku de Tanigawa-san ga nakunatta tte....
Kaori: "**O-KI-NO-DOKU** ni, Tanigawa-san.....
....**KAWAISOO** ni, Luushii."
[Hama 1998: 108]

[MT: Noboru: "I just got a call from Mr. Tanigawa's daughter.... She said that the day after Mr. Tanigawa brought Lucy to our veterinary hospital, he passed away from a myocardial infarction.....

Kaori: "How o-**KI-NO-DOKU** Mr. Tanigawa is....
....How **KAWAISOO** Lucy is."

The following example, (13), also illustrates that one uses KI-NO-DOKU when one's feeling towards the object is dispassionate. A boy anonymously called 'A', who brutally killed other children utters this word 'KI-NO-DOKU', as if he were not related to the murders, although it was he himself who committed those crimes.

(13) A wa Koobe no shoonen-kanbetusho de bengoshi no katagata no sensei-gata ni koo mo itta-soo desu.
<Nakunatta hito wa **KI-NO-DOKU**. (....)>
Jibun ga higaisha no katagata no inochi o ubatte oite, taningoto no yoo-ni "**KI-NO-DOKU**"....A no kono kotoba o, watashi-tachi wa hansei to wa, tootei omoemasen.
["Musuko 'Shooner. A' chichi to haha no shuki" pp. 26-35. in *Shuukan Bunshun* 1999 March 25th: 35]

(MT: 'A' also said to the lawyers in the Juvenile Classification Office in Kobe.
<I feel **KI-NO-DOKU** towards the dead children. (....)>
Although it was he who murdered them himself, he said "**KI-NO-DOKU**" as if someone else had done that....We can never believe that in saying this word 'A' is reflecting on his terrible conduct.)

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
((I) 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 (experiencer) 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 for 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 (Poyatos 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, kao ga donna ni wa[illegible]e mo, koe o tatenai. Keredomo, okyakusama to ohanashi shite iru toki ni wa, kao wa chittomo waratte nakute, koe bakari kandakaku waratte 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 Mehrabian'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-tto, kokoro ni mishiranu onna e no zoo-o no honoo o akaku moyashite isshun hashi o motsu te o hiku-hiku to furuwaseta Kikuko wa, kyuuni nikoyaka na hyoojoo o tsukutte otto o nagame, yasashiku tazuneta. "Motto otsuyu o meshiagaru?" (Koroshite yaritai wa.)
[Tsutsui 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 chopstick shook violently. But she immediately put on a smile, turned to her husband, and asked him sweetly if he wanted any more soup. *I'll kill him.*)
[Tsutsui 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 Winstein (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 Winstein 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 iu 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 *kotodama* (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 ancient 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' *miburi* (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 Bruneau (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 ritualised 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) Otoko wa 17 no toki, soozan, jisatsu-misui, sore kara futatsuki hodo nochi, seishinka no mado ni tetsugooshi no aru byooin ni irerareta. Ooki wa Otoko no haha ni shirasareta ga, au koto wa yurusarenakatta. (....)
"Watashi to iu koto ga wakaru n deshoo ka."
"Sore wa wakarimasu tomo..... Anata no tame ni anna ni natta n ja arimasen ka."
"....."
[Kawabata 1961: 30]

(J --> E: About two months after her suicide attempt Otoko 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 has to perform in such a way that hidden feelings are revealed nonverbally as seen in the following examples:

(2) Mika: "A. wakatta."
Mako: "E."
Mika: "Mako. Atashi ga okashiku natta to omotte n desho."
Mako: "**(dokit).....**"
[Shinario-sakka-kyookai 1991: 82]

(MT: Mika: "Oh, I see."
Mako: "What?"
Mika: "Mako. You think I am crazy, don't you?"
Mako: "(**dokit**: the sound of a heart beating).....")

(3) Mariko: "Daijoobu. Atama ii no yo. Mika wa."
Mika: "E...."
Mariko: "Mika no oneesan mitai ni ne."
Mika:"(ureshii) Sonnaa...."
Mariko: "Tada, tokidoki yume miru hito ni nacchau n da wa."
Mako: "Ieteru."
Mika: "**(kusaru).....**"
[Shinario-sakka-kyookai 1991: 82]

(MT: Mariko: "You are all right. You are clever."
Mika: "Eh?"
Mariko: "Like your elder sister."
Mika: "(happily) I'm not like that...."
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: "....."	(He stares at the woman)
Woman: "....."	(She stares at the man)
Man: "....."	(He tries to say something)
Woman: "....."	(She tries to say something)
Man: "....."	(Deep emotion comes up)
Woman: "....."	(Deep emotion comes up)
Man: "....."	(He decisively tries to open his mouth)
Woman: "....."	(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) Kotoba ja ienai
"Suki yo" Let me kiss you now
[Keisuke Kuwata "Umi" 1986 by K. Kuwata]

(MT: I cannot say it in words
"I SUKI ('love') you." Let me kiss you now)

(6) Kotoba ga modokashikute
Umaku ikanai keredo
Kimi no koto 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 tantalising
Only you are on my mind.)

(7) Kotoba ni naranai
Mune no atsui tagiri (....)
Ai ga subete sa

---

1 Morsbach (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 Wagatsuma (qut. in Morsbach 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:

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 koso chikau yo　　Ai o komete
[Yukiko Matsuo "fi" 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 dake shika ienai
Mune ni hirogaru omoi　　Kotoba wa tsutaekirenai
[Joo Rinoie "Sore dake shika ienai" 1996 by Yui Nishiwaki]

(MT: I AISHITteru ('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 kokusaikekkon. Kotoba no fujiyuu wa nai no desu ga, sore demo bunka no chigai o rikaishiau no wa yooi na koto de wa arimasen.
"Iitai koto wa hakkiri itta hoo ga, wadakamari ga nakute ii" to omou gaikoku shusshinsha no watashi to, "iitai koto o gaman suru no ga OMOIYARI" to omou Nihonjin no otto. "AISHIte iru" to uso demo ii kara itte hoshii watashi to, "kuchi ni wa dasazu, kokoro de tsuujiru" to iiharu otto.
[Garette Satoo 32 years old, housewife in *Fujin Kooron* 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 ('considerate') to be patient and not to say what I want to say." I want to hear the words "I AISHIteru ('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 mirage 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) Kanjita tokoro o sono mama kotoba ni suru no wa mutsukashii mono desu.
[Snowden & Doi 1982: 162]

(B [J-->E]: (lit.) It's hard to give mouth to how I really feel.)

(11) Jibun no hontoo no kokoromochi -- sore mo nakanaka tanin ni wa juubun ni hanaseru mono de wa arimasen. Dore hodo joozu ni hanashitemo, dore hodo ooku no kotoba o tsuiyashitemo, hanasu hodo son o shita-yoo na kimochi ni naru koto ga arimasu.
[Noe Itoo "Seichoo ga unda watashi no ren'ai-hatan" pp. 138-153 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 'Kurifu Hangaa' o) mitara, moo nani mo ienai gurai kandooshite shimatte" (....)
"Konna kandoo, koofun te imada katsute eiga de ajiwatta koto nakatta yo."
[*CanCam* 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 daita
Kanashimi o namida ni kae　　Kirei ni natte iku
Iitai koto nara　　Kusaru hodo aru noni
Nazeka hitotsu mo　　Kotoba ni naranai
[Shina 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 tetsudai o hajimete shite) Isshookemmei oshiemashita. Osoru osoru "Wakatta?" tte kiitara, "Un wakatta," tte (shoogakusei no seito ga) kotaete kureta n desu. Sono toki, kotoba de wa iitsukusenai nanika jiin to kuru mono ga atta n desu.
[Mainichi-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 imooto Sakura yaku no Baishoo Chieko-san mo "Amari ni totsuzen no koto de nan to itte yoi ka atama no naka ga masshiro de kotoba ga mitsukarimasen," to Atsumi-san no shi o itamimashita.
[Mami Yamase (TV personality) on the TV program "TBS TV Broad Caster: Otoosan no tame no waidoshoo kooza" on August 10th, 1996]

(MT: Ms. Chieko Baishoo, who performed the role of Tora-san's young sister, also mourned Mr. Atsumi's death, saying "Because it was too sudden, my head is blank, and I cannot find any words.")

(16) "(....) Tomodachi kara kiita, Okinawa de no sensoo no hanashi, jibun no nikushin ga, boku ni mo kankei no aru shinseki no obasan ya ojisan ga shinda hanashi. Ima, boku ga tatte iru koko de, juunammannin to iu oozei no hito ga shinda, koroshiai ga atta. Soo kanjita toki kara, sekai de okoru ironna sensoo ga, boku ni mukankei de wa nakunatta. (....)"
'Ikari' to iu no demo nai, 'kanashimi' to iu no demo nai, sonna kotoba de wa arawasenai kanjoo ga, fukaku kare no kokoro o yusabutta.
[Aruberuto Joomon "Hyuuman gekijoo" pp. 221-231 in *Ushio* 1996 September: 226]

(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 'IKARI (anger)' nor 'KANASHIMI (sorrow)', but some feeling which cannot be expressed by such words which touched his heart deep inside.)

(17) Nakitai kimochi wa kotoba ni dekinai
Kon'ya mo tsumetai ame ga furu
[Keisuke Kuwata "Manatsu no kajitsu" 1990 by Publisher House Amuse]

(MT: I cannot express my desire to cry in words
Cold rain is falling tonight, too)

(18) Owaru hazu no nai ai ga todaeta / Inochi tsukite iku-yoo ni
Chigau, kitto chigau / Kokoro ga sakenderu
Hitori de wa ikite yukenakute / Mata dareka o AISHite iru
Kokoro kanashikute / Kotoba ni dekinai

Hatasenu ano koro no / Ai wa kieta
Dare no sei de mo nai / Jibun ga chiisasugiru kara
Sore ga kuyashikute / Kotoba ni dekinai

Anata ni aete / Hontoo ni yokatta
Ureshikutte ureshikutte / Kotoba ni dekinai
[Kazumasa Oda "Kotoba ni dekinai" 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 / My heart is crying
I AISHite iru ('love') somebody again / Because I cannot live alone
I felt so KANASHII ('sad') in my heart / I cannot express it into words

The unfilled love that time has disappeared
It is not anyone's fault / to have met you
I feel so KUYASHII ('vexious') 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)

(19) Ii yoo no nai tamaranai sabishisa ga washi o osotte kita.
[Inoue 1964b: 193]

(B [J-->E]: An inexpressible feeling of loneliness came over me.)

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)" (Takashima 1981: 150), "Iwanu ga hana (Silence seldom does harm)" (Tokona 1982: 149), "Mono ieba kuchibiru samushi 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) Onnanoko ni wa / narete inai no ne
Demo ne sonna toko ni / hikareteru no
Kotoba ni suru no ga / umakunai no ne
Shai na anata ga / daisuki na no
[Kaori Kano "Anata no yarikata de dak[illegible]imete" 1997 by Kona Music entertainment & Aoni[illegible]ro]

(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" (Soneda & 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 & Enninger 1987: 275). However, Brosnahan (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] Kojio (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 Honna & 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, *ishin-denshin* ("heart-to-heart-communication") and mutual "vibrations," implying the possibility of semi telepathic communication. Words are paltry against the significance of reading subtle signs and signals and the intuitive grasp of each other's feelings.

Here we should note Morsbach'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:

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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".

(21) Shinjitsu o tsugezu, kyoo mo byoosha o tachisarinu
Ritsuzen to shite mezame, tsuma naki yosei o omou

Kore wa sono koro, densha o matsu aida, hoomu no benchi nado de techoo ni kakitsuketa Isobe no daku de aru. Keiba ya maajan no shumi no nai kare no kazu-sukunai tanoshimi wa, sake o nomu koto to heta na haiku o tsukuru koto to igo o utsu koto datta. Shikashi, kare wa jibun no ku o tsuma ni miseta koto wa nakatta. Kare wa jibun no kanjoo o nama ni kotoba ya kao ni dasu koto o hazukashiku omou otoko datta shi, nani mo iwanakutemo tsuma ga kochira o sasshite kureru kankei o nozomu otto datta.
[Endoo 1996: 17-18]

(J --> E: Not telling the truth
again today I went out
of the hospital

With a shudder, I
open my eyes and think of
life without my wife

Recently Isobe had written this wretched doggerel in his appointment book while waiting on a platform bench for his train to arrive. Since he didn't bet on horses or play mah-jong, his only meagre pleasures were drinking *sake*., composing miserable haiku, and playing *go*. He had never shown his poems to his wife. He was the kind of man who was embarrassed to reveal his own feelings openly in words or on his face, the kind of husband who hoped for a relationship in which his wife would understand him even if he did not utter a word.)
[Endoo 1994: 12]

(22) True Heart Tsutaerarenai
True Heart Wakatte
True Heart Mienai mono o
True Heart Mitsumete
[Komekome CLUB "Kimi ga iru dake de" 1992
by K2C Publisher & Fuji Pacific Ongaku Shuppan]

(MT: True Heart What I cannot convey
True Heart Please understand that
True Heart What we cannot see
True Heart Please see that)

(23) Chimmoku to wa futsuu kaishakusarete iru-yoo ni nasshingu no sekai to wa kagiranai no da. Watashi wa saikin cha no keiko ni kayotte iru ga, chashitsu no seijaku wa moo hitotsu no sekai kara no katarikata ga kikoete iru to iu koto ga zentei ni natte iru. Nihonga no kuuhaku wa okubukai mono no hyoogen ni hoka naranai. Onaji-yoo ni chimmoku no haigo ni wa sore o kiku mimi o motta ningen naraba, kitto kiku koto no dekiru X (ekkusu) ga hisoka ni ikizuite iru hazu da.
[Endoo 1994: 265]

(MT: Silence is not necessarily words of nothing as it is usually understood to be. Recently I have been taking Tea Ceremony lessons. It is considered that we can hear what another world is saying to us in the tranquillity of the tea room. The blank space in Japanese painting is the expression of something deep. Similarly, there should be some X existing behind the 'silence', which people who have certain ears can hear.)

Non-explicit verbal communication can be possible in Japan because, as mentioned earlier (cf. Clancy 1986) Japanese people are trained to guess other people's feelings, thoughts, and wants from the time of their childhood.[4]

Thus, the Japanese people's beliefs about silence is described in the cultural script <1> below:

<1> when I feel/think something
I do not always want to say it to other people
because I don't think I can always say with words what I feel/think
I don't think: when people hear my words they can know what I feel/think

Japanese people's expectation that others will understand their feelings without words can be expressed in the following cultural script <2>:

<2> if I cannot say to some other people what I feel/think
I can think: these people can know what I feel
because I think: they want to know what I feel/think without words

12.(I).3. Nonverbal Cues: Eyes

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

4 The following example illustrates well that Japanese people cannot expect non-Japanese people to "read" their minds without words.

> "Saisho ni Nyuu Yooku ni itta koro wa shigoto ga nakatta. Nihon ni itara taisaku no jokantoku ga dekiru noni to kangaete ochikonde ita. Nihon no otoko dakara, iwanakutemo wakaru daroo to busutto shite ita. Soshitara Furan wa, watashi wa kamisama ja nai n dakara, naze ochikonde iru ka setsumeishite kurenai to wakaranai. Setsumeishite kuretara, sapooto dekiru kamo shirenai to. Naze sairento komyunikeeshon ga dekinai no ka to haradatashikatta ga, hanasu to kudaranai koto de nayande ita no ga wakatta.
> [Katsusuke Kuzui (movie producer) in *Shuukan 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 glum. 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 realised that I was depressed only because of a trifle.)

order to understand the speaker's psychological state. In the following examples, other people's emotions are guessed at by observation of facial expressions.

(1) (Tsuriwa de Yuri Keki ga chakuchi seikoo no ato.)
"Itaria no Keki! Aaaat, kono hyoojoo da! Yatta zo to itta sono hyoojoo! Aa kanshuu ni kotaemasu." (....) "Tokuten demashita. 9.887. 9.887. Migoto na kimmedaru desu."
[Fujio Kariya in TV broadcast "Atlanta Olympic: Men Individuals (rings)" on July 30th, 1996]

(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, honnin mo kaishin no egao desu. Kono chakuchi wa hontoo ni migoto deshita. Demashita. 9.862. Yonin owatte toppu ni demashita, Shanon Miraa. Kore made wa owatta ato ni dochiraka to iu to, naitari desu ne, chotto fukigen na kao ga ookatta Shanon Miraa desu ga, kyoo wa goran no egao 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 muunsaruto desu."
Gushiken: "Aa, kimarimashita nee."
Akiyama: "Kiree na chakuchi desu."
Gushiken: "Yaa, kore wa honto ni manzoku. Kore ijoo no kekka wa nozomenai desu nee."
Akiyama: "Omowazu hyoojoo ga yurumimashita, Bekkaa."
Gushiken: "Yatta tte iu kanji, soo iu hyoojoo shitemasu nee."
[Kooji Gushiken & Hiroshi Akiyama in TV broadcast "Atlanta Olympic: Men (bar)" on July 30th, 1996]

(MT: Akiyama: "A new somersault."
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 behaviour from which people try to grasp the other's true psychological state is gaze; The eyes have symbolic

significance in many cultures.[5] 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 iu (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 (qut. 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) Ienai no yo Ienai no yo
Iitai koto nara dorekurai aru ka wakaranaku afureteru
Watashi kokoro wa oshaberi da wa
Iitai koto nara anata ni wa ato kara ato kara afureteru
Watashi igai to oshaberi da wa
Nanoni iza to naru to uchiki ni naru

Me to me de tsuujiau
Kasuka ni n iroppoi
Me to me de tsuujiau
Soo yuu naka ni naritai 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.

> Hahaoya wa, nanika kangaegoto o shite iru fuu ni mieta. Tokiori bishoo ga kuchimoto ni oyobu ga, sono bishoo wa me ni made wa oyobanakatta.
> [Steinbeck 1966: 41]
>
> (J <-- E: His mother looked after him for a moment and then went quietly back to her work. Her eyes were brooding and kind. Now and then her mouth smiled a little but without changing her eyes at all.)
> [Steinbeck 1973: 24-25]

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 & Roper & Hager (1980) found most people cannot perform voluntarily.

[Miyuki Nakajima "Mugo n..... iroppoi" 1988 by Ponny 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)

(5) "Kare no hoo kara sasotta no? Soretomo Mari no hoo kara?"
"Kare wa sasotte, watashi wa sasowaseta wa. Uun, dochira kara tomonaku tte kanji kanaa. Kare wa, jitto watashi o mitsumeteta. Watashi no koto o hoshii n datte, yoku wakatta wa. Watashi mo kare to onaji yoo ni me o tsukatta no. E? Doo iu fuu ni tte.....hoshii mono ga konna ni me no mae ni aru noni, mada te ni haitte inai tte iu kimochi o tsutaeyoo to shita no yo. Soshitara, namida ga ukande kita wa. Watashi, kare ni sore o shitte hoshikatta. (....)"
[Yamada 1989: 86]

(J --> 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 yet. And then tears came to my eyes. I wanted him to know that. (....)")
[Yamada 1992: 79-80]

(6) Kotoba sukuna ni Me o urumasete
Ore o mitsumete Unazuku omae
Kimeta kimeta Omae to michizure ni
[Kaoru Mizuki "Michizure" 1979 in Komota 1995 Vol.2: 268]

(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)

(7) Kotoba ni dekiru nara sukoshi wa mashi sa
Tagai no mune no naka wa Te ni toreru hodo na noni
Furueru hito mi ga katarikaketeta
Deai ga motto hayakereba to
[Toshiyuki 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 quivering 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 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.

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 Morsbach (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 "mejiri 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-jishi de aru] Subuyan kara denwa o uke, tachimachi mejiri o sageru kyaku bakari to wa kagiranu."
[Nosaka 1966: 20-21]

(J --> E: True, some customers had to only receive a call from Subuyan [a pimp] to begin salivating ....)
[Nosaka 1969: 27]

Here the customers feel 'pleased' to get a call from Subuyan, 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 hosomeru (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?"
Yooko wa mugiwara booshi o kaburinagara, aiso yoku Tamie ni kiita. Fumiyasu wa jimoto no kokuritsudaigaku o sotsugyooshi, Yokohama no gaishikei no kaisha ni tsutomete iru. Itte mireba Ichizoo to Tamie no jiman no musuko na no da. Hitobito ga yorokobi-soo na koto o shizen ni Yooko wa kuchi ni dekiru. Jijitsu, Tamie wa me o issoo hosomete,
"Aa, renkyuu ni wa kaette korenanda kedo," to nando mo unazuita.
[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 Ichizo and Tamie's eye. Yoko had a natural way of bringing up subjects people wanted to talk about. And indeed, Tamie's eyes crinkled with pleasure [lit. narrowed her eyes].
"Oh, Fumiharu? He's so busy he couldn't even come back for the holidays," she said, nodding again and again.)
[Hayashi 1996: 15]

(3) Kare wa, otokonoko dooshi no aima ni, hitori de soto o mite iru koto ga atta. Soshite, tokiori, aki no kaze ga fukikonde kitari suru to, totemo kimochi yosa-soo ni me o hosomeru no datta.
[Yamada 1989: 101]

(J --> E: Sometimes when the boys were talking among themselves, Saeki-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) ... "ii minori, sawattemo kimochi no ii ine da wa. Kyonen to wa taihen na chigai da wa," to ine no kanshoku o tanoshimu-yoo ni me o hosometa.
[Kawabata 1973: 104]

(J --> E: "See how it's headed. And how nice it is to the touch. Entirely different from last year's rice." She half-closed her eyes from pleasure.)
[Kawabata 1957: 121]

In the above example (2), for the English translation of the Japanese expression "me o hosomeru", 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

original Japanese nonverbal movement " me o hosomeru". The English translation in the examples (3) and (4) do not have to add anything, since in the context, one could know the characters are feeling "pleased" or "comfortable" when they make the facial expression of "me o hosomeru"; in (3) there is a phrase "kimochi yosa-soo ni (--> He seemed to luxuriate in it) and in (4) "tanoshimu-yoo ni (--> from the pleasure) conveys one's "pleased" feeling.

Apart from these expressions of eye-movement, there are the examples which point out the fact that linguistic coding of certain gestures and the meaning attributed to them is different in different cultures; Whereas the action of "drawing in one's chin" in Anglo culture refers to the emotion of "fear" (Morris 1994: 35), this action refers to the emotion of "surprise" in Japanese. Nonverbal expressions which are specific to the Japanese language include, for example, "Shita o maku (lit. roll up one's tongue)" which refers to an "amazed" feeling (Nakamura 1986: 27), "Hagayui (lit. tooth feels itchy)" which means an "irritated" feeling (Nakamura p. 30), "hiza o tataku (lit. tap one's knees)" which refers to one's agreement-like gesture (Endoo 1994: 187; Kita 1998: 46), and "me ga sankaku ni naru (lit. one's eyes become triangular)" which refers to one's angry-like feeling (Mure 1998: 194). Of course, there are nonverbal behaviours which refer to the same feeling between Japanese and English; e.g. the facial expression of "knitting one's eyebrows" refers to something like "acute anxiety" (Nonami 1996: 21).

Translators need to pay special attention to the connection between certain types of nonverbal behaviour and the meanings attached to these behaviours in both source and target cultures, so that foreign readers can get the exact or the closest meaning to the original text through a translated description of nonverbal behaviour. Otherwise the reader will remain puzzled, simply interpreting some types of described behaviour as 'strange' or 'mysterious' gestures, and will never begin to understand the author's original intention.

12.(II).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 behaviour 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)[3], 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,

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2 Endoo describes the different effect of eye-contact between Japanese and non-Japanese as follows:

> Mesen mo aite no kao o miru no wa gaikokujin o aite ni suru baai wa shinken to omowarete ii ga, Nihonjin ga okyakusama no toki wa keikaishin o okosaseru. Migamaesaseru. Mayu no atari o, fuwaatto nagamete hanasu no ga, watashi no keiken de wa ii yoo da.
> [Shuusaku Endoo "'Hanashi-joozu' 'Kiki-joozu'" in Michiura 1997: 175]
>
> (MT: As for eye contact, looking in 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 softly at the area around their eyebrows.)

3 Werner, A. and H. Reis. (1974) "Do the eyes have it? Some interpersonal consequences of the stare." Paper Presented at the meeting of the Eastern Psychological Association. (Qut. in Harper, Wiens, and Matarazzo 1978: 205)

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 Brosnahan (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 "usankusai 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':

(7) " 'Sanjuu ni natte mo mada hitori da to, usankusai me de mirareru mono'.
'Dare ni'.
'Dare ni tte, yononaka no hito-tachi ni...'."
[Yoshiyuki 1988:126-7]

(J --> 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) "Ima made no seikatsu o seken no hito wa kitto shiroi me de miru to omou to kanashiku narimasu."
[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.)

[4] This expression is not used for describing the speaker's/subject's own behaviour. This is used when describing somebody's watching gesture towards somebody else (a third person) or the subject himself.

(9) "Oretachi no taberu pan no nedan ga naze agaru ka. Naze zeikin ga takaku naru ka. Subete, ano onna no sei sa." (....)
Marii Antowanetto mo sonna kokumin no shiroi me o sukoshizutsu kanji hajimeta.
Mugon no hinan ga shidai ni wakatte kita.
[Endoo 1985 Vol.2: 11-12]

(MT: "Why does the price of the bread we eat rise? Why do taxes increase? All of these happen because of that woman." (....)
Even Marie Antoinette began to notice the common people's (lit.) white eyes little by little.
She came to gradually understand the unspoken critics.)

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:

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 kaotsuki wa nakisakebu 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:

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5 Yasutaka Watanabe (25 years old) who lived in Vietnam for a few years compares the expression of emotions between Japanese and Vietnamese people as follows:

"Soo desu ne. Vetonamu-jin tte ki-do-ai-raku ga sugoi aru n desu yo. (....) Nihon wa yokuatsu sarete iru na tte omou koto wa aru. Kanjoo o osaete iru to iu ka, soo iu kibun te no wa, Nihon ni iru toki wa itsumo ajiwatte imashita."
[Kobayashi 1996: 57]

(MT: "Well, yes, Vietnamese people express feelings of joy and anger [humour and pathos] 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.

(2) [Tomoko no chichioya wa] nigirikobushi ni shita katate o me ni atete, ano otokonaki to iu keiyoo no kotoba no yoo ni, te-he-he tto iu yoo na koe o tatete, nakidashita no de aru...ku-ku-ku-ku to inkoo e koe o nonde naku no de aru.
[Uno 1965:122]

(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 unrepressed crying is disdained, even at the funeral of the subject's own mother:

(3) Dokyoo ga owatta toki, Shintaroo no oetsu wa hitokiwa ookiku kaisoosha-tachi no zujoo ni nagareta. (...) Taihan ga Shintaroo no shuutai o waratte ita.
[Tsutsui 1975: 203]

(J --> E: Once the chanting was over, Shintaroo's hysterical sobbing could be heard throughout the room. (...) Most of [the guests] were laughing at Shintaroo's ridiculous behaviour.)
[Tsutsui 1990: 175]

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) "Otokonoko ga onnanoko o kanashimasete iru tokoro ni naru to,

(J <-- E: When they get to the part / Where he's breaking her heart)

Namida ga dete kichau."

(J <-- E: It can really make me cry.)

[Richard Carpenter & John Bettis 1973 "Yesterday Once More" by Almo Music Corp. Translated by Shiori Aoyama (1988) Doremi Music Pub. Co., Ltd.]

The gloss for the Japanese phrase '*namida ga dete kichau*' as the translation of the English phrase "...me (I) cry..." is as follows:

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 deru* (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 iiwatasarete.... Aruhi, futo jibun no tokoro e mawasarete kuru shorui ga shidaini hette kite iru koto ni ki ga tsuita toki no shoogeki. (Ano toki wa namida ga deta.)"
[Tsutsui 1975: 82-3]

(J --> E: After he had been told of his retirement, one day he was shocked to realise that the documents he had been asked to handle were gradually decreasing in number. *I broke down and cried.*)
[Tsutsui 1990: 77]

(6) "'Watashi wa kon'ya wa, ii kimochi deshita. Bunji-san to Eiji-san to anata to, rippa na kodomo ga sannin narande suwatte iru tokoro o mitara, namida ga deru hodo, ureshikatta'."
[Dazai 1967: 203]

(J --> E: 'I feel very good tonight. When I saw you and Bunji and Eiji sitting next to one 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".

(7) Ribinguruumu ni haittara, tsuma no Maki ga teeburu ni ryooude o nose, kao o fusete ita.
"Ara, shiranakatta. Okaerinasai" to kao o agetachikakeru. Sono kao ni namida o nagashita ato ga nibuku, nihon hikatte ita.
"Naite n no ka?"
"Naite nanka. Demo namida ga dechatta wa".
[Ikebe 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 realise 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) Josei no namida wa buki desu yo ne. Kanjoo to chokketsushiteru shi, "konna toki naite, waza to naite iru n chau ka?" to omottemo, otoko wa iu koto o kiite shimau yowasa ga arimasu. Josei wa chiisai toki kara, naite ishihyoojisuru koto o yurusarete kita shi.....
Sore ni kuraberu to, otoko wa "naitara ikenai, kakko warui," tte sodaterarete kite naku otoko wa yowai to iu kotejikannen ga aru kara, josei no yoo ni wa nakenai n desu.
[*Fytte* 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.)[7]

7 Henly (1977: 174) says that 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 growling isn't pretty.

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?" Shiraishi (1974: 113) also mentions that a mother may reproach her little son, who cries after tumbling 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 Yuunami konami
Anata no shima e Oyome ni iku no (....)
Osanai otooto Ikuna to naita
Otoko dattara Naitari sezu ni
Toosan kaasan Daiji ni shite ne
["Seto no hanayome" 1972 by Watanabe Music Pub. Corp.]

(MT: It gets dark at Seto 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, tsui saikin made, watashi wa sore wa atarimae no koto da to omoikonde ita. (....) Watashi wa, utsukushii 'otoko-naki' no jitsurei o, mawari no dooi o motomeru tsumori de katari hajimeta. Are tto omotte futo kuchi o tsugunda totan, onna-tachi ga issei ni wamekitatete kita. "Nanit, soreee!" "Otoko ga naku nante, mittomonai!" "Doko ni sonna yarashii no ga iru no yot. Yurusenait." (....) "Shakaiteki katagaki ga doo de are, sono otoko-tachi wa, yappari aho yo. Koibito ni nante shitakunai."
[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 thaaaat!?" "It is very shameful for men to cry!" "Where are those guys!? It is 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:

(11) Agawa: Taigaiku senkoku mitai na tegami dasarete dooshita n desu ka?
Kumakawa: Jiichan kara, nakinagara "Gambare, kaette kuruna" tte denwa kakatte kita.(....)
Demo, sasuga ni, jiichan naita toki wa bibirimashita. Datte saa, otoko ga naku sugata nante.
Dakara, kokoro o irekaeyoo to omotta.
["Agawa Sawako no kono hito ni aitai No. 220" Tetsuya Kumakawa (ballet dancer) pp. 50-54. in *Shuukan Bunshun* 1997 November 6th: 52]

(MT: Agawa: What did you do when you were given a letter of expulsion from school?
Kumakawa: I got a call from my grand-father saying "Hold out! Don't come home". He was crying. (....) I was indeed taken by surprise at that time. You hardly see men crying, do you? That's why I have decided to reform myself.)

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 eiga wa) nakasemasu ([This movie] will make you cry)" or "Eiga 'Nodo Jiman' no sambai nakemasu ([This movie] makes you cry three times more than when you see the movie 'An amateur singing context'" (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 kakuseizai-shiyoo de taihosareta joyuu, Mita Yoshiko-san ga kishakaikenshita. (...)

"Gen'in-kyuumei wa kore kara watashi ga jinsei o kakete kodomo to issho ni yatte yukitai...," to iu no ga seiippai no Mita-san wa, kesshite namida o misenakatta. Naite wabinai, oojoogiwa ga warui zo, kishatachi no iradachi ga te ni toru-yoo ni wakaru.
[*AERA* 1998 No.8: 65]

(MT: The actress Yoshiko Mita, whose second son (18) was arrested on suspicion of using stimulants, gave a press conference. (....)
"As for clearing this all up, I want to do that, together with my son, all my life from now on...". That was all she could say, but Ms. Mita did not show her tears. She does not apologise with tears, she does not readily resign herself to fate, and the irritated feelings of reporters were clearly expressed.)

In another instance, Katoo (1977: 15) reports that a Japanese audience would expect a singer who won the best record prize to cry in front of the audience so that they could empathise with him/her. Indeed, when the famous Japanese singer Seiko Matsuda despite her best efforts could not shed tears when she won a prize for singing, many in the audience criticised her as "namaiki (conceited)". It is said that she then practiced in order to be able to cry on given occasions.

Furthermore, as Satoo (1989: 21-23) observes, scenes of men crying can be found in Japanese movies more frequently than in American movies, although shedding tears is performed in a subtle or suppressed way. Haga (1979: 23) also compares the attitude towards crying in Western men and in Japanese men, and points out that men in Western countries make more effort to suppress crying and to smile instead, than Japanese men do. Also, the example below illustrates non-Japanese people's surprise towards the wailing of a Japanese president when his stock company, one of the biggest, went bankrupt:

(13) "Shain wa, warukuu, arimaseeen. Saishuushoku oooo, yoroshikuuuu onegaishimaaasu."
Shoroo no otoko no yuganda kao ga, kurikaeshi terebi ni utsushidasareta.
Yamaichi-shooken ga jishu-haigyoo o kimeta kishakaiken, Nozawa Masahiro shachoo wa sando naki, saigo wa ootsubu no namida o nagashita.
"Konnan ni tachimukau toki reisei de aru koto ga shidoosha no jooken na no da ga", Gaikokujin-kisha wa odoroite ita.
[*AERA* 1997 December 8th: 18]

(MT: "My employees are not baaad. Pleeease help them to find new jooobs."
The contorted face of the middle aged man appeared repeatedly on TV.
At the press interview about the voluntary discontinuance of business of the Yamaichi-securities-company, the president Masahiro Nozawa cried three times, and finally shed big tear drops.

"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.[8] 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-Kyookasho-Henshuubu 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

8 This appreciation of sympathising with another person's sorrowful feeling is linked to the Japanese people's favour of songs like 'naniwabushi'. Frost (1987: 85-86) says that "the term *naniwabushi* exemplifies this "wet" quality. (....) Many Japanese listeners are moved almost to tears by these age-old themes. In modern use, the term is applied to people who are open-minded, generous, and capable of appreciating another person's position, even when that position is neither logical nor rational".

tournament 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 [9]:

(14) (Nagano Orimpikku no sukii-jampu de) Tonda. 136 meetoru. Saichoo-kiroku datta. Harada wa naita.
"Ippon de ii kara jibun no jampu o shiyoo tte omotta. Ima made jibun no dekiru koto ga dekinakatta koto ga kuyashii," to umekinagara.
Koko zo to iu toki ni shippaishita kokoro no kizu (1994 Rirehammeru de shissoku no tame kin ga torezu doo-medaru ni owaru). Sono tsurasa o shiru hito wa ooi. Sore ni tachimukai kokufukusuru koto no muzukashisa o ooku no hito ga shitte iru. Dakara (jampu ga seikooshite) hooketa-yoo ni naku Harada o mite, kokoro kara yokatta o omou.
[*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.
Harada cried.
"I wanted to jump to my own satisfaction, even if only once. I felt KUYASHII ['vexed'] that I hadn't been able to fulfil my potential.
His heart was scarred by his inability to succeed when most important (At the Lillehammer 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 Harada 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) Aware na aware na Natsuko! Dooshite shinanakereba naranakatta no da. Amari ni hidosugiru. Jibun wa omoidasumai to sureba suru hodo, omoidasareru. Suruto kawaisoo de kawaisoo de shikata ga naku, tsui musebinaku no datta. Mittomonai otoko da to omou ga, shikashi iroioro no koto ga omoidasareru to, doo ni mo shimboo ga dekinakatta.
[Mushanokooji 1967: 99]

9 Takano (1995: 66-67) remarks that crying/weeping 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 extensor activity in laughing and flexor activity in weeping".

(J --> E: Poor, poor Natsuko! Why did she have to die? It was too awful. The harder I tried not to think the more I did think. Then, overwhelmed by the pity, the pity of it, I sobbed convulsively. I realised that I was not acting like a man, but when memories came crowding in I simply couldn't keep my self-control.)
[Mushanokooji 1958: 87]

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" ("Risutora de shiawase 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 Sakakura 1978: 70).

Nomura (1996: 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 namida 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 "bureikoo (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

12.(II).3. Japanese Smiling

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

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).

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 "*ekubo* (lit. smile hollow: a dimple)" on female babies faces corresponds to this view. It is believed that *ekubo* 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 Kyooto Shimbunsha 1974: 111), since Japanese dread having a grudge held against them by

11 The fact that females are expected to smile more than males seems to be a common phenomenon in many cultures. See, Heslin & Patterson (1982), J. Hall (1979: 46), and Henly (1977: 174).

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
people want to be with 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. Morsbach 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 part
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 people's 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.

it is not bad if people see this
if I know that they will not feel something bad because of this

12.(II).3.3. The Smile Accompanying a Request for a Favour

Another kind of smile which is often perceived by non-Japanese as 'inscrutable' 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. Morsbach (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 emphasise 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 not 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 yamai 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 1999b: 306).

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 consulter 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/he 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 baai, nanika mondai ga aru to mazu tomodachi ya kazoku ni soodanshimasu keredo, watashi ga Amerika ni ita toki, Amerikajin wa shitsuren shitari suru to, sugu serapisuto ni iku n desu ne. Kore wa ii koto na n desu ka?
Kawai: Ii koto ka warui koto ka wakarimasen kedo, kanashii jijitsu desu ne. Boku no shitte iru Nihonjin ga, Amerika no daigaku de "konogoro no Nihonjin no seinen wa, jibun no taisetsu na nayami o uchiakerareru yuujin ga inaku natte ki no doku da" to iu hanashi o shita n desu. Soshitara, mukoo no daigakusei wa zenzen rikai dekinai. Nayami o tomodachi ni iu aho ga oru ka to omotte iru n desu yo. Ukkari tomodachi ya, sorekara oya ni datte iu to son suru to.
Agawa: Son o suru!?
Kawai: Sonna sekai ni ikiteru n da kara, semmon-ka ni iu yori shikata ga nai. Sore wa, boku wa hijoo ni kanashii koto da to omoimasu.
["Agawa Sawako no kono hito ni aitai No. 215" in *Shuukan 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 sad 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 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 empatny, and to understand why and how they are suffering. However, in the United States, according to the article in *SPA!* (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 *SPA!* (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> [Japanese]
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 moved 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 shunned.

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 *rikutsu* 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 *rikutsuppoi* ("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 iyoiyo Devitto Booi no toojoo.
"Kyaaaaaaaaa!!!!!!!"
Watashi wa ano shunkan, naze tiin'eejaa ga aidoru ni mukete kansei o ageru no ka, karada de shitta. Moo, **riron mo rikutsu** mo nai. Karadajuu kara himei ga deru. Kandoo toka, kangeki toka, sonna kotoba ja iiarawasenai. Karada no oku no hoo kara wakiagari, watashi o tsukiageru-yoo na **kanjoo**. Tada hitasura "Kyaaaaaaaaa!!!!!!!" na no da.
[Kawazoe 1995: 197]

(MT: And finally David Bowie showed up.
"Kyaaaaaaaaa!!!!!!!"
At that moment I knew through my body why teen-agers shriek when confronted by pop stars. There was no longer any **logic [riron]** 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 "Kyaaaaaaaaa!!!!!!!".)

(2) Eiko: Koishiteru n desho, Koizumi Reiko ni. Ha, yappari ne. 3 nen mae ni wa nantomo omottenakatta ko na noni.
Daisuke: Totsuzen suki ni natta n desu.
Eiko: (....) Koo iu koto wa **rikutsu** nuki na no ka naa.
[Miyazaki 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: I suddenly came to like her.
Eiko: (....) I wonder whether this kind of thing happens without **reason [rikutsu]**.)

(3) Yasashiku saretemo, tsumetaku saretemo, itsumo kokoro wa yureugoiteru. Hitori omoinayandari, doo shitara ii ka hito ni kiite mitari shita kedo, kekkyoku koisuru kimochi wa **rikutsu** ja nai. Wakatte iru no wa, suki to iu koto dake.
[Tooko Furuuchi "Interview: How about You?" in *TARZAN* 1996 No.246: 84]

(MT: My heart shakes, whether he is tender or cold. Although I worried about it, and consulted other people as to what I should do, in the end, my feeling of love towards him cannot be dealt with by **reason [rikutsu]**. What I know is that I like him.)

(4) Reikai-kenkyuu o tsuzukete kita watashi da kara, tatoe tsuma no shi de aroo to, sonna ni shokku wa ukenai daroo, ookata no hito wa, soo oomoi ni naru kamo shirenai. (....)
Shikashi, kore wa reikai-kenkyuusha no daremo ga kanzuru mujun de aru ga, **riron rikutsu** de wa yoku wakatte itemo, genjitsu no munashisa ni wa taegatai. Tsurai. Hitasura kanashii.
Kanjoo to iu mono wa, **risei** de wa kontorooru no kikanai, jitsu ni yakkai na shiromono de aru. Atama de kangaeru koto to wa yuurishite katte ni hitoriarukishi, watashi no kokoro wa sugu ni kanashimi de ippai ni natte shimau no de aru.
[Tetsuroo Tamba (actor / researcher of the world of spirit) in *Fujin Kooron* 1997 July: 205]

(MT: Because I have continued to study 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 (riron-rikutsu)**, it is hard to bear the emptiness of reality. It is hard. I really feel sad from the bottom of my heart.
Emotion is a troublesome thing which cannot be controlled by the power of **reason (risei)**. It separates from what we think in the mind and acts of its own will, and then my heart becomes immediately full of sorrows.)

(5) Byooki no toki wa **rikutsu** de wa konna mono wa sootaiteki na mono da to kangaeyoo to shitemo, toojisha no byoonin ni wa "Kurushikutte, kurushikutte" shikata ga nai no de aru. Sore wa **rikutsu** ya seppoo de wa doonimo shoridekinai baai datte aru no da.
[Endoo 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 tortured". This is a situation where things cannot be dealt with only by **reason (rikutsu)** or moralising discourse.)

(6) **Atama** de rikai shite itemo, **kanjoo** ya karada ga nattokushinai koto tte, dare ni demo aru no de wa naideshoo ka.
[Shikita 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.)

The following examples (7) and (8) are taken from two different Japanese TV programs.

(7) Shoowa 20 nen 8 gatsu 15 nichi shuusen. Geshukusaki de gyokuon-hoosoo o Hanae Mori wa fukuzatsu na shinkyoo de kiite ita.
Mori: Nanka sonoo, **rikutsu** ja nakute, namida poroporo demashita ne.
Toyotome: Doo iu namida datta n deshoo ka ne.
Mori: Wakannai desu ne. Maa, kangekikan deshoo ne. Fukuzatsu na kimochi desu ne.
Toyotome: Fuan desu ka, andokan desu ka, docchi?
Mori: Nani ga okoru ka to iu kitai to fuan ga ryoohoo to.... Wakakatta kara desu ne.
[Mori Hanae (fashion designer) and Toyotome
on the TV programme "Itsu Mitemo Haran-banjoo" Chuukyoo TV on July 7th, 1997]

(MT: War ended on August 15th, 1945. In her lodgings Hanae Mori was listening to the broadcast of the Emperor's voice with mixed feelings.

Mori: Somehow, well, without **reason (rikutsu)**, 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.)

(8) Kagawa: Kasooba de nee, haitte dete kite hone tte no hajimete mita n desu yo, nikushin ga. (....) **Rikutsu** naku yappa namida shika denai desu yo nee. Nande ningen tte konna ni hakanai no ka na tte omotte.
[Teruyuki Kagawa on the TV programme "Tetsuko no Heya" on January 14th, 1997]

(MT: Kagawa: I went in and out of the crematorium, and for first time saw the bones of a relative. Without **rikutsu (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.)
[Conroy 1993: 432]

(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 Tooshiba 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 warau. Jampu ga seikoo shitemo, shippai shitemo.
Shippai jampu no ato, kuyashi-soo ni mienai, to shitekisareru to, "Kore ga boku no kuyashii kao na n desu," to Harada wa kotaeta.
Yukijirushi de Harada o koochi suru Tao Katsushi-san wa,
"Puresshaa ni tsuyoku naritai to iu kimochi ga atte, donna toki demo egao de iyoo to omotta n ja nai kana." (....)
Shitashii hito ni wa iya na koto wa iya to ieru. Shikashi, terebi ya fan no mae ni deru to egao o tsukuru.
Doo medaru ga kimari, yooyaku egao o miseta.
"Are ga hontoo no egao na n desu," to tsuma no Keeko-san wa tsubuyaita.
[*AERA* 1998 No.9: 13]

(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.
Katsushi Tao, who coaches Harada at the Yukijirushi 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.)

Example (1) shows that Japanese people try not to show negative emotions in public places. Brosnahan (1990: 99) says that:

> ...Japanese are traditionally, and still commonly, trained from childhood on to suppress external signs of high emotion and to control carefully expressions of pleasure or pain, anger, or joy, love, or hate. Japanese may then frequently maintain a neutral or even mildly positive, smiling facial expression while talking of extreme personal sorrow in an effort to keep from inflicting their sorrow on others.

Consider also the following comments by a Japanese counsellor:

(2) Iya na koto ga attari, tsurai keiken o shita toki, watashitachi wa, unto nakitai, okoritai to omoi nagara mo, jissai ni wa, soo dekizu ni iru koto ga ooi. "Naitari suru watashi wa yowai n da" "Okoru nante otonagenai" to, namida o gut to nomikondari, okoritai kimochi o osaetari shite iru.
To iu no mo, watashitachi wa kodomo no koro kara, "Hora, naicha dame deshoo" "Sono kurai gaman shinasai" to iu fuu ni, kanjoo o omote ni arawasu no wa ikenai koto da to, zut to oshiekomarete kita.
[Yuuho Asaka (counsellor) "Otona datte naite ii n da" pp. 40-43 in *Fujin Kooron* 1998 December 7th: 41]

(MT: When something unpleasant or bad happens, we think we want to cry a lot or get angry, but actually we often cannot do so. Thinking "I am weak if I cry" or "It is immature if I get angry", we suppress our tears or anger.
This is because we have been taught since our childhood that "Oh, you should not cry" or "You should be patient with such a thing".)

The counsellor here reports a case which emphasises the fact that Japanese people cannot express their emotions freely because they are too concerned with other people's views towards them. Japanese people are trained to believe that showing emotions, especially negative one, such as 'sad' or 'angry'-like feeling to others is unwanted. Apparent expression of unwanted emotions is interpreted as a proof of having a poor and naive personality. Honna & Hoffer (1989: 88) say that "in social interaction, Japanese people generally are expected to restrain, if not suppress, the strong or direct expression of emotion. Those who cannot control their emotion are considered to be immature as human beings". The linguist Kanayama (1977: 159) also says the explicit display of one's emotions is considered to be vulgar, and the suppression of emotions is refined.

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.

(3) Wakai sedai to naru to, ikari to iu kanjoo kara wa sara ni toonoku.
Ondai yonensei no C-ko-san (27) wa, kookoo ichinen de gakkoo ni ikenaku natte irai, ie ni tojikomotte soto ni derarenai jiki o nando ka kurikaeshita. (....) Ima mo taijin-kankei ni fuan o idaite iru.
"Tomodachi ni yakusoku o yaburaretari, hidoi koto o saretemo, okottari, fukigen na taido o tottari suru koto ga dekinai n desu yo. Aite no kibun o gaisu n ja nai ka to iu kangae ga saki ni tatte shimatte".
["Motto ikari o" *AERA* 1999 March 29th pp. 48-51:51]

(MT: In the younger generation, people put more distance between themselves and anger.
A woman 'C' (27 years old) studying at a music school had confined herself in the home several times, without going out at all. (....) She still holds an anxiety about human relationships.
"Even if my friend breaks a promise he/she has made, or does something terrible to me, I cannot get angry or show unpleasant behaviour. This is because my anxiety about the possibility of disturbing other people's feelings precedes my own feelings".)

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 itadaite, ureshikute ureshikute tobimawaritai-yoo na kimochi da kedo, gut to sono kimochi o osaete, taishite ureshiku mo nai-yoo na kao o shita koto.
Doko ka kara yakyuu no booru ga tonde kite, kao ni butsukatte, itai to omou to, hara ga tatsu. Soredemo, mawari ni oozei tomodachi ga mite itari suru to, terete shimatte, waza to fuzaketa kakkoo o shite waratte miseta koto.
Yorokobi ya kanashimi o hajime, kokoro no naka no hontoo no kimochi o, kaoiro ni dasanai no wa "okuyukashii" koto da. Oogesa ni warattari, hashaidari, mata naitari suru no wa "hashitanai" koto da to, kodomo no toki kara oshierarete ita node, otona ni nattemo, soo iu mono da to omotte 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 get 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) Hayashi: Osumoo-san wa motomoto mukuchi na kata ga ooi n desu ka?
Shikoroyama: Soo ja nai to omou n desu kedo. Katte intabyuu sareru toki mo, aite no hito no koto o kangaete, ammari yorokondara aite ni warui to omotte, "guuzen desu" toka "tamatama desu" toka itte, aite o kabau toka.
["Mariko no iwasete gomen No. 44" Kazuhiko Shikoroyama (former sumo-wrestler) in *Shuukan Asahi* 1998 July 31st pp. 46-50:50]

(MT: Hayashi: Are most sumo-wrestler 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". Brosnahan (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. Brosnahan (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 te[illegible] their children to control their expressions by example and, more directly, with statemen[illegible]ch 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 (1999b: 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 Morsbach (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.) (Nippon 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 diluted 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 *hito* '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 "Hito ni warawareru (You will be laughed at by other people)" , "okashii (strange)", or "hazukashii (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 (qut. 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 kao muke ga dekinai (unable to face the *seken*)" or "*Seken* ni awaseru kao 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 itemo, okaasan, watashi no kimochi o chanto wakatte anshinshite irashitara, ichiban ii no da. Watashi wa, donna ni, wagamama demo, kesshite **SEKEN** no monowarai ni naru-yoo na koto wa shinai no da shi, tsurakutemo, sabishikuttemo, daiji na tokoro wa kichin to mamotte....
[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 [**SEKEN**'s] ridicule, 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) Kyuushuu no hito de, musuko-san ga sekigun-ha ni haitte dokoka de hade na koto o shita. Shimbun ni kakitaterare, sono otoosan ga heifukushite iru shashin ga dete imashita.
"**SEKEN** ni mooshiwake nai" to ii, otoosan mo okaasan mo jisatsu demo shikanenai hodo deshita. Okinodoku deshita ga, sore kurai **SEKEN** to iu mono ga aru-rashii.
SEKEN to iu kotoba wa, doomo Nihon dake no kotoba de aru-yoo desu.
Kore wa bukkyoo no kotoba kara dete iru no desu ga, Nihongo no naka ni tokekomimashita. Nihonjin no shakaiseikatsu no naka de, juuyoo na, maryoku to itte ii hodo no chikara o motte imasu. Kono **SEKEN** to iu mono wa, gaikokujin ni setsumeishigatai mono ga arimasu.
[Ryootaroo Shiba "Seken ni tsuite Vol.2" pp. 50-55. in *Shuukan Asahi* 1999 Feb.19th: 52]

(MT: The son of someone from Kyushu entered the Red Army Faction and did something outrageous somewhere. It was written about in a newspaper, and the paper included a picture of the son's father prostrate on the ground.
"I don't know how to apologise 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.

It seems **SEKEN** is a word which is used only in Japan.
The word was originally a Buddhist one, which entered into regular Japanese. It has an important, almost magical power in Japanese society. This **SEKEN** is something we find difficult to explain to non-Japanese people.)

(7) Katoo: De, anata wa koo yuu fuufu-kankei ni nattemo wakaretai to wa omowanai wake?
Soodansha: Fuufu to shite no are wa, moo mattaku arimasen nee.
Katoo: Shinriteki ni wa moo fuufu ja nai nee.
Soodansha: Soo desu nee.
Katoo: Hooritsujoo fuufu demo nee.
Soodansha: Ee, tada yappa shuunyuugen ya nanka dee, **SEKEN**-tei ya nanka dee, maa ima kono toshi ni natte wakarenakutemo watashi wa.... Aijoo nakutemo ii to omotteru n desu kedo.
Katoo: Ano ne, 55 sai desho, ima. Kore kara mada nagai yo nee. Sore o **SEKEN**-tei to iu koto de kono seikatsu o anta kore kara moo 30 nen mo tsuzukeru tsumori? Datte chotto hidoi kaiwa da yo, daisansha ga kiite iru to. "Anta nanka konna manshon ni sumeru kota nai n da" toka ne. "Teishuzura suru na" toka nee. (....) Chotto omowanai? Koo iu kotoba hidoi to.
[Conversation between Taizoo Katoo (Consultant) and a man (55 years old) in Radio programme "Telephone Jinsei Soodan" on November 25th, 1996]

(MT: Katoo: Then, don't you think you want to separate from her even though you are in this unusual kind of a husband-and-wife relationship?
Caller: We don't have a physical relationship any more.
Katoo: You are not keeping a husband-and-wife relationship any more.
Caller: No.
Katoo: Although you are a couple legally.
Caller: Yes. But because of the source of income, and because of the **SEKEN**-tei (appearance to the public), well, we don't have to separate at this age....I think I don't mind even if there is no affection between us.
Katoo: Listen, you are 55 ye[illegible]old, aren't you? You still have a long life ahead of you. Are you going to lead this kind o[illegible]another 30 years because of the **SEKEN**-tei? Well, to the ears of a third person it is a pretty terrible conversation . She says "You don't have a right to live in this kind of flat" or "Don't behave like a husband". (....) Don't you think these words are just terrible?)

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 "kojin" 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 odd 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 iu mono de wa nai. Kore wa otoko, onna dochira ni mo atehamaru. Yuushika no kanojo wa sono hen no kyoochoo-sei ni kakete ita. Tsune ni mai-peesu de, enkai ni mo deyoo to wa shinakatta. Shikashi ne, shokuba no enkai mo shigoto no ikkan na n da. Yoshi ashi wa betsu ni shite, kore ga Nihon no kigyoo no taishitsu. Sore o hihansuru no wa tayasui. Tayasui ga, kore ga genjitsu da.
[Toodoo 1994d 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 criticise 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-depreciation 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:

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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, taming, or otherwise conditioning internal desires or wishes so as to facilitate the ever-important interpersonal harmony and unity.

WA
(a) these people want to be like one thing
(b) they all want the same
(c) they don't want this:
(d) one of them says: "I want this"
(e) another one says: "I don't want this"
(f) they don't want to say about some of them:
(g) "these people did something good,
(h) these people did something bad"
(i) they don't want to do some things because of this
"this person did something very good"
(j) they want to do some things because of this
(k) they all feel something good because of this
(l) they can do many good things because of this
(m)they couldn't do these things if they didn't all want the same
(n) people think this is very good

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 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, ITOOSHII, IJIRASHII, 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 main-stream 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: "(Watashi 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 : "Y 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, ITOOSHII, URESHII, SHIAWASE, UCHOOTEN, NATSUKASHII, 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.[1]

OMOIYARI is another Japanese word which represents this Japanese way of considering other person's/people's thinking. English also has expressions like "put

[1] 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.

oneself in someone else's shoes" which refer to the importance of thinking of other people's positions. However, OMOIYARI has another component in its meaning. People who have OMOIYARI 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 "seken") 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 experiencer 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 TEREKUSAI, 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, JIHI, OMOIYARI, laughing or scratching their heads when they feel TEREKUSAI, 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 ('*sassuru*') 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 not 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. SETSUNAI, 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 appal 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, psycho-therapy 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 counsellors 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 lexicon, 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 describing "emotions" is by means of adjectives (e.g. He was angry/sad/happy/afraid.) and quasi-particles (e.g. She was worried/disgusted/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".[2] 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 morpho-syntactic devices that are available in Eve, 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), TEREKUSAI (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 1994a).

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

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2 However, emotion verbs in contemporary English are rare and tend to develop pejorative connotations. On the other hand, Wierzbicka (1999b: 263) observes that Polish has an abundant amount of voluntary patterns for talking about emotions, which forms suggest that "the experiencer is giving into a feeling" or "the experiencer is acting out an involuntary impulse, amplifying it, and giving it full vent".

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 emotions 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(TSUKU)). 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

In this thesis, I mainly discussed on emotion expression as to data of how Japanese is translated into English or vice versa. However, when comparing the synonymous emotion expressions in many different cultures, this may not be enough, since emotional expressions and their degrees of limitation vary from language to language.

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.[3]

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 formulate" (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. (Harré 1983: 129; Harré, Finely and Jones 1986: 222).

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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[1] When examples are taken from literature, full details are given here 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.

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