

日本語の感情表現文の構造 及び語彙の特徴

—主に英語と比較して

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この論文では日本語の「感情を表す文構造と語彙の特徴」を、主に英語と比較して考察する。

二言語間の感情表現構造の違いは、母国語を英語とする日本語学習者が日本語で感情表現をする際の誤りの原因と関連するものも多い。

日本語では通常話者の主観的感情表明には「うれしい」などの‘感情形容詞’を使い、「(私は)喜ぶ」などと‘感情動詞’では言わない。また他人の感情を表現する際は自身の感情を表現するのとは異なった語彙・統語表現を使用し、自己と他人の感情表現の仕方を明確に区別する事に敏感である。この点を理解していないと日本語学習者は不自然な文を作ってしまう。

又、日本語の傾向として自分の感情を表す際は主語を省略する事が多いが、主語を明らかにすべき英語圏の人々にとって、例えば「あの先生が恐い」という文は“主語「私」が省略されている”事をふまえていないと、「あの先生が恐い」VS「あの先生は恐い」という助詞一つだけが違う2文は構造も意味も全く違う（前者は(a) 主観的感情形容詞：後者は一般の人々が同じ感情を持つ(b) 帰属的特質を示す感情形容詞) ことに混乱する。またある語彙その意味特性により(a)か(b)のどちらかだけに使われがちなものもある。

こういった言語構造・語彙の特徴は、その言語を使用する人々の思考様式に関係づけられるものがある。例えば日本語で他人の気持ちを表現する時には「何を根拠に自分自身のものではない他人の感情がわかるか」を示す様々な手段を使って文を記述しなければならないが、それは英語圏の人々と比べ日本人は「他人への心身接触到比較的距離を置こうとする傾向」がある事と関係するとも考えられる。

更に日本語では感情表現で表される概念範囲が英語では感情表現として捉えられて現象も例に挙げている。このように言語によって異なる概念のとらえ方が人々の思考傾向とどう関連があるのかも興味深い点である。

Grammatical and Lexical Characteristics of Japanese Emotion Sentences¹

Rie Hasada

In this article, significant differences that can be observed between the structure of emotion expressions in English and Japanese will be discussed. In this discussion and comparison of structural differences of emotion expression between these two languages, we can find lexical and syntactical characteristics which are peculiar to emotion expressions in the Japanese language. These characteristics reflect some aspects of the psychic structure of Japanese people and their perspective on the outer world.

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 a list of possible inflections for the two types of adjectives (here “itoshii [roughly ‘lovely’]” *I-adjective*; and “suki [roughly ‘like/loving’]”: *Na-adjective*) and verbs (here “aisuru” [roughly ‘to love’]).²

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

	I-adjective	Na-adjective	Verb
	“itoshii”	“suki”	“aisuru”
Non-past indicative	itoshi-i	suki da	ais-uru
Past indicative ³	itoshi-kat-ta	suki dat-ta	ais-hi-ta
Infinitive	itoshi-ku		
Gerund	itoshi-ku-te	suki de	ais-hi-te
Gerund + auxiliary	ais-hi-te iru ⁴ (progressive/stative)		

To nominalise 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 also have derived nouns with the suffix ‘-mi’. For example; the adjective “tanoshii” has two noun forms: “tanoshi-sa” and “tanoshi-mi”.⁵ “Ai” and “koi” are the noun forms derived from verbs “aisuru” and “koisuru” respectively where “-suru” is omitted from the verb form. The nominalised form of verbs such as “tereru” or “akogareru” is “tere” and “akogare” where it can be observed that the last part is omitted.⁶

2. Grammatical Features of Emotion Expression Sentences

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

For example, English speakers may at times utter unnatural sentences such as “watashi wa yorokobu (lit. I feel glad)”, without realizing that emotional verbs, such as “yorokobu”, are not usually used to express 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 recognize the difference in meaning between sentences such as “ano sensei ga kowai (I am afraid of the teacher)” and “ano sensei wa kowai (The teacher is fearful)”, where the only formal difference is the particle “ga” and “wa”.⁷ It would seem that in the syntactic and morphological behavior

of emotion expressions, there are certain rules at work, which are characteristic of the Japanese language.

2.1. Emotion Adjectives and Emotion Verbs

Verbal emotion predicates, such as “*yorokobu* (feel glad)”, “*kanashimu* (grieve)”, are different from adjectival emotion predicates such as “*kowai* (be in fear of)”, “*ureshii* (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 emotion 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 behavior. 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 when the verb is in the progressive aspect (indicated by its gerundive form followed by the auxiliary ‘iru’). This is because one can describe one’s emotional state dispassionately if the emotion is one when it 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 at hearing that.)

Still, we should note that the two verbal sentences above 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

emotion 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 one's grandfather. In order to express the imminent 'sad' emotion, Japanese 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, he/she would cry:

(7a) “A! Itai! (Oh! Ouch!)”

with the adjective 'itai (painful)!'. One would never cry:

(7b) *“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:

(7c) “(ashi no) koko ga itamu no desu (This part [of the foot] hurts”.

The similar phenomena can be seen with the following sets of words: ‘urayamashii (adj.) vs. ‘urayamu (verb); ‘wazurawashii (adj.) vs. ‘wazurau (verb)’. Examine the below to confirm the point discussed so far. Although one could convey his/her instinctive subjective feeling with the adjective in the sentence like below where the sentence is finished with final particles such as ‘-naa!’, ‘-nee!’, ‘-waa!’ which show the subject’s exclamatory feeling:

(8a) Aa, kare no koto ga urayamashii/urameshii/wazurawshii
naa/nee/waa!!

(Oh! (I) really feel envious/regrettable/annoying about him!)

It is adequate or sounds strange to exchange the above underlined adjectives with the corresponding verbs. They are incompatible with subjective exclamatory expressions marked by ‘-naa/nee/waa!’.

(8b) Aa, kare no koto o *urayamu/?uramu/*wazurau
naa/nee/waa!!

Some might say the sentence would be correct if we change the verb to

the progressive aspect [indicated by its gerundive form but the auxiliary ('iru') as the sentence below (8c)].

- (8c) Aa, mada kare no koto o urayan-de iru/urann-de iru/wazurat-te iru **naa/nee/waa!!**

However, as we have seen before in this section, this type of expression with the progressive '-iru' form does not express the spontaneous feeling of sentence (8a); pattern (8c) rather represents the subject's feeling which he/she has had for a while, thus it sounds relatively objective compared with the corresponding adjective sentence (8a).

2.2. Third Person Emotion Adjectival Sentences

In the previous section it was observed that the distinction between the use of emotion verbs, such as "yorokobu (rejoice)", and the use of emotion adjectives, such as "ureshii (be glad)" is important in Japanese.

The second significant characteristic of Japanese emotion sentences is that: the emotion adjectival sentence cannot take the third person as a subject when the sentence is a simple clause and the adjectival predicate is in a non-past indicative form. When describing a third person's emotion, we should use verbal emotion predicates which represent the speaker's objective description of the fact or event in order to convey an objective manifestation of emotion.

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 (1b) and (2b), with a third person as subject,

are incorrect. Sentences (1a), with a first person as subject (in a declarative sentence), and (2a), with a second person as subject (in an interrogative sentence), are correct.

(1a) Watashi wa mainichi ga tanoshii. (I am happy everyday.)

(1b) * Kare wa mainichi ga tanoshii. *(He is happy everyday.)

(2a) Anata wa mainichi ga tanoshii desu ka?

(Are you happy everyday?)

(2b) * 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)

She elaborates:

“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 as below:

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

The above sentence could be grammatical, if the tense were changed to the past:

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

However, a sentence like (4) is particularly representative of, and restricted to, a written, narrative style. Thus, in the ordinary conversational style, the third person subject cannot co-occur with an emotion adjective.⁸

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).

- (5) Kare wa mainichi o **tanoshi-gat-te iru.**
 he TOP everyday OBJ happy-Verbalizer-Gerund PROG
 (He shows signs of being happy everyday.)
- (6) 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.)
- (7) Kare wa mainichi ga **tanoshii-soo da.**
 he TOP everyday SUB happy-[they say] COP
 (They say he is happy everyday.)
- (8a) Kare wa mainichi ga **tanoshi-soo da.**
 he TOP everyday SUB happy-[inferential] COP
 (It looks like he is happy everyday.)
- (8b) 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)
- (8c) Kare wa mainichi ga **tanoshii-rashii.**
 he TOP everyday SUB happy-[seem]
 (I infer from what I heard that he is happy everyday.)

Sentence (5) is grammatical, since the adjective “tanoshii” takes the verbalize/indirect evidential marker ‘garu’, which “converts inner

sensations and desires into a verb which expresses externally observable changes” (Aoki 1986: 225). The verb derived by the addition of ‘-garu’ receives the further addition of ‘te iru’ to express a state. Sentence (6) is also grammatical with an evidential ‘no/n da’ (nominalize ‘no’ and its informal 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)⁹. Sentence (7) is grammatical with the special “hearsay” nominalizer ‘soo’ followed by a copula ‘da’, which adds the meaning of “they say”. Sentences (8a), (8b), and (8c) 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 (8a) is “used when the speaker believes in what he is making an inference about” (Aoki: 232). ‘Yoo-da’ in sentence (8b) 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 (8c) 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 above modified 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 modified sentences should show “on what basis they are presenting the statement about other people’s emotions”, by using the evidential marker ‘-garu’, ‘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 who specialized in the Japanese language, concludes that “culturally we are much less reluctant than the Japanese to describe the feeling of others in definite statements (‘She is happy’, ‘He is sad’, etc.)” (Jorden 1987: 140). In contrast a 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 on the world. In Japanese culture, where interpersonal involvement is restricted and the disclosure of self is limited (when compared with English speaking nations: cf. e.g. Barnlund 1975), people may avoid describing the feelings of others in definite statements.

2.3. Emotion Adjectives that are Exceptions to Restriction Rule

It should be noted here several emotion adjectives which CAN take a third person as the subject in sentences in a definite conclusive form. For example, the subject of ‘shiwase (na-adjective; roughly ‘happy’)’ is not restricted to the first person “watashi (I)”. This is because the emotion represented by ‘shiwase’ is usually someone’s continuous emotional attitude. Mizutani and Mizutani (1990: 40) say the ‘ureshii’ feeling is “used to describe joy felt over a specific incident”, whereas a

feeling like ‘shiwase’ refers to “a state which lasts for some time”. Therefore, this emotion is rather objective (it can be observed outwardly), so ‘shiwase’ can be used to describe the feeling of a third/second person.

The subject of another emotion term ‘uchooten’ is also not restricted to specific type of subject. This is because the attitude of the person feeling ‘uchooten’ is obvious, and it can be observed outwardly. In Hiejima’s Dictionary *Nichi-Ei Taishoo Kanjoo Hyoogen Jiten* (*Contrastive Dictionary of Japanese-English Emotion Expressions*), “Uchooten” is translated into the expressions like ‘be on cloud nine’ or ‘mad with joy’. The following are examples of where UCHOOTEN appears.

- (9) 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]

MT¹⁰: 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.)

(10) 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.)

(11) Kare wa umaku itta koto de **UCHOOTEN** datta.

[Hiejima 1995: 2]

(B [J→E]: He was mad with joy [**UCHOOTEN**] at the success.)

As seen above, when one feels ‘uchooten’ he/she gets carried away and feels triumphant over everything.¹¹

Unlike ‘shiwase’, ‘uchooten’ does not necessarily carry the connotation of a long-lasting feeling. However, since some signs or symptom which suggest these emotions tend to appear as attitudes or outward behaviors, they can be easily recognized by other people. Therefore, the third person subject can be used in the subject position for this predicate ‘uchooten’.

Similarly, predicates like “suki (na-adjective: like)” can also take the third person as a subject in the definite conclusive form, since this is a relatively continuous attitude towards something which can be also observed objectively by other people.

Thus the exception to the restriction rule discussed in this section can all be easily observed outwardly since they are either relatively long lasting emotions or the emotion can be easily guessed objectively from behavior or attitudes.

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 emotion expression, the ‘experiencer of emotion’ complement appears as a phrase with the topic particle “wa” in a simple sentence as (1).

- (1) {Watashi **wa** (**ni-wa**)}¹² ano sensei ga kowai.
 I [experiencer] TOP (DAT-TOP) that teacher
 SUB be in fear of
 (I **am afraid** of the teacher.)

Since it is evident in such adjectival sentence 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 (2).

- (2) Ano sensei ga kowai
 ({I} am afraid of the teacher.)

The adjective “kowai” in both sentences (1) and (2) 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 (3), 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.

- (3) Ano sensei wa kowai.
 that teacher TOP fearsome
 (That teacher is fearsome.)

Sentence (3) implies that the attributes of the topicalized subject “ano sensei (that teacher)” causes ‘people in general’ to feel fear-like feelings. Thus the same adjective “kawai” has in (2) a subjective use, and in (3) 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) sense (cf. Teramura 1982):

<u>[Subjective use]</u>	<u>[Attributive (descriptive) use]</u>
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)”.¹³ (...) 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 unanalyzed form”.

However, as we see in the following section, we should note that there are some emotion words which are used only subjectively, while some emotion adjectives are used only attributively.

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

[Subjective use]	[Attributive (descriptive) use]
<u>nikui</u> (have a feeling of hate for) →	<u>nikurashii</u> (hateful)
<u>iyā</u> da (feel bad of) →	<u>iyarashii</u> (unpleasant)
<u>kawaii</u> (love) →	<u>kawairashii</u> (lovely)
<u>ureshii</u> (feel happy) →	<u>orokobashii</u> (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 change their meanings from that of their subjective use into that of their attributive (descriptive) use. The emotion adjectives in the attributive use define the attributes of the focused object with emotion connotation.

3. Lexical Features of Japanese Emotion Adjectives: Their Meaning and Usage

3.1. Adjectives Used Only Subjectively

Some Japanese emotion adjectives, such as "koishii ('miss')", "kuyashii ('vexed')", "terekusai ('embarrassed')", are predicates which describe an individual's emotions. They occur only in the subjective use. While they are used to refer to individual subjective feelings, they are not used to refer to the attributive disposition of the stimulus object of the emotion. Therefore, one cannot say, for example:

Mary wa *terekusai/*kuyashii (hito da).

(<people in general feel> Mary is an embarrassed/vexed (person).)

Accordingly, these adjectives can not be transformed nor do they have a specific form for the purpose of attributive description.

3.2. Adjectives Used Only Attributely

On the other hand, adjectives such as “kenage (roughly ‘pathetic’ + ‘admirable’)” tends to be found only in its attributive use and not in the subjective use. Unlike its adjectival synonym ‘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 honors 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 very hard

in everything, he was what is called a **KENAGE**-na child.)

As seen below, one also feels KENAGE about the attitude/behavior of the object.

- (2) 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, Mariko. (1994) Jinsei no Kim-medaru ni naru tame ni Tokyo: Chuuooo Shuppan: 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....)

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/behavior 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 specifically refers to a positive evaluation of mental strengths, such as patience or diligence inherent in the object's effort whereas **IJIRASHII** emphasizes '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 being used subjectively. Therefore, in the following examples **KENAGE** is more appropriate than **IJIRASHII**.

(3) 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?)

(4) “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.”

(“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 emphasizes one's admiration for the object's strength rather than the subject's sympathetic feeling towards the object. Therefore, this word tends to be used only attributively. Another example which is used only attributively is 'ki-no-doku (lit. feel sorry; na-adjective)' since this word is never used for describing one's subjective feeling.

4. Different Attitudes and Ways of Expressing Feeling towards Certain Concepts: A Contrast between Japanese and English.

It is interesting to consider how the word "tsurai" is differently conceptualized from the point of contrastive analysis between Japanese and English. Significant differences in ways of dealing with concepts covered by this word 'tsurai' can be found between Japanese and English.

Japanese emotion adjective 'tsurai' is used to refer to intolerable psychological pain. As seen in the following examples (1) and (2), the psychologically painful **TSURAI** feeling can be caused by physical pain. Example (1) is from an original Japanese text. Example (2) is the Japanese translation of an original English text where physically 'hard' work is translated as work which made the subject feel **TSURAI**.¹⁴

- (1) 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... Sleepy and cold....) [Abe 1975: 41]

(2) 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]

While TSURAI has both a subjective use and an attributive use, its subjective use is more frequent than its attributive use.¹⁵

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 both in English and Japanese.

[English] (1a) I feel ***HARD**.

(1b) I have a ***HARD** feeling.

- [Japanese] (2a) *Watashi wa TSURAI to kanjiru.*
 I TOP TSURAI quot. feel
 (lit. I feel **TSURAI**.)
- (2b) *Watashi wa TSURAI kimochi ga suru.*
 I TOP TSURAI feel SUB do
 (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**:

- (3) *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, ootoo 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 inochi 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:

(4) “(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**.

(5) 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 fell as in those days.)

[Morgan 1987: 181]

(6) “**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.

- (7) “Demo, neesan wa watashi no hambun mo **TSURAI omoi o shite** 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]

- (8) “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 shite** 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]

- (9) 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 shita.**

[Hemingway 1972: 6]

(J ← E: No one had ever 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]

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 is it that English-speaking people are not aware of emotional links in the concept? ‘Hard’ in English means ‘difficult to cope with’ in a colloquial sense. 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 do not have a complete response as to why these difference exist.

Compared with Western countries, people in Japan need not hesitate

to openly express their painful feeling with the emotion word **TSURAI**. As we can see in the following example (10), when the speaker says **TSURAI**, he means not the physical ‘hardship’ but more an emotional sense of ‘hardship’. In Japan, situations often occur like the one below, where another person tries to share the other person’s **TSURAI** emotion.

(10) 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....)

This issue calls for the future consideration.

Conclusion

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 the affirmative form or the second person 'you' in the interrogative form. This structural characteristic of sentences with emotion adjectives in Japanese is something which 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 'shiwase' 'uchooten' or 'suki' confirm this rule. 'Uchooten' can take a third person as the subject in a definite conclusive form, since the signs or symptoms of this emotion appear as attitudes or behaviors that can be easily recognized by other people. 'Shiwase' and 'suki' can also take the third person subject since these express relatively "continuous" emotional attitudes towards something, so they can be objectively observed by other people.

We have seen that 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 adjectives: “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 emotion adjective is used attributively, and it defines the attribute of the focused object with an emotional connotation: Y is someone/something which makes people in general feel in a certain way (as described by the **adjective**) about Y.

It is noteworthy that while adjectives like KENAGE are likely to be found only in the attributive use and not in the subjective use, some adjectives such as KUYASHII or TEREKUSAI 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 (cf. Hasada 2000).

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 consideration.

As a whole we could see certain syntactic/lexical features of Japanese emotion expressions are related with the way of thinking of Japanese people. I hope further investigation in this field will yield more significant findings for the study of relationship between language and culture.

Endnotes

- 1 I am grateful to Prof. Arra Wierzbicka, Prof. Cliff Goddard, Prof. Masa Onishi for their comments on the first rough draft and to Dr. Eton Churchill for his careful proofreading.
- 2 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.
- 3 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”:

(1a) Kare wa konomi da.
 he TOP Noun (favorite) COP
 (He is (my) favorite.)

(1b) Kare ga suki da.
 he SUB na-adj(like) COP
 ((I) like him.)

(2a) Konomi **no** hito
 Noun **GEN** person
 ((my) favorite person)

(2b) Suki **na** hito
 na-adj **COP** person
 (person I like.)

- 4 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.
- 5 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.
- 6 ‘akogare’ of “akogareru” or ‘tere’ of “tereru” is a verb root.
- 7 cf. Previous studies of ‘wa’ and ‘ga’ can be seen in Shibatani (1990).
- 8 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.)

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.

- 9 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 behavior, *noda/nodesu* is selected, indicating that ‘I know it is true. I can say why I know it is true’”.

- 10 **MT** is the abbreviation for ‘my translation’. **J→E** indicates English translation from original Japanese text. **J←E** refers to Japanese translation from English text. When examples are taken from literature, only the author’s name and the year of publication are provided below each example; full details are given in the ‘Work Cited’ at the end. When the example comes from magazines, TV or radio programs, popular songs, or advertisements, the full details are given in brackets below each example.
- 11 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 1978: 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 (1), the subject feels ‘uchooten’ as if she is away from the ground, floating in the air.

‘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.

- 12 As Uehara (1998: 284) also mentions, since no third person subject can come to the subject position of emotion predicates like “kawai” 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.
- 13 “Samishii” is a form of “sabishii” which is often used in the colloquial style (Bunkachoo 1993: 45).
- 14 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.)

- 15 While TSURAI is more frequently used subjectively, it also has attributive use in some cases. For example, people might say:

Entenka no nikutairoodoo wa **TSURAI**.

(Physical work under a burning sun is TSURAI.)

Bimbooseikatsu wa **TSURAI**.

(Living in poverty is TSURAI.)

Suki na hito to no wakare wa **TSURAI**.

(Separating from the person you love is TSURAI.)

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