

**THE SEMANTIC ASPECTS OF ONOMATOPOEIA:  
FOCUSING ON JAPANESE PSYCHOMIMES**

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## **Declaration**

Except where otherwise indicated  
this thesis is my own work.

Rie Hasada  
March 1994.

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# ROMANISATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

## 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/. Also, for the final mora obstruent in onomatopoeic words, /Q/ is used instead of /t/:

e.g. jit-to --> jiQ-to, mukat-to --> mukaQ-to

## Translation and abbreviations

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

@ MT : My translation.

(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 onomatopoeic expression by inserting Japanese onomatopoeia in brackets [ ]. I have marked the gloss for each referenced example as follows:

@ J --> E : This indicates a translation into English of a Japanese piece of text or speech. (The translator's details are cited in the list of sources.) (Data sourced from JEOMTD can be found referring to that dictionary.)

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

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

(3) The source of each example is given in brief below the example and full details are given in the 'Index of Sources.' Unreferenced examples are my own.

(4) This thesis aims to explicate the exact meaning of onomatopoeia; however, the approximate meaning or gloss will on occasion be given for the convenience of discussion.

During this work, I have often experienced the emotions represented by the psychomimes examined in this thesis: I was feeling **IRA-IRA** about myself as I could not put myself into writing mode for a long time. I started writing as I felt **GYOQ** to realise how little time was left before the deadline. Sometimes ideas suddenly came upon me when I felt **HAQ**, but other times ideas failed to develop from the rubbish, which made me feel **MUSHA-KUSHA**. I had to keep working feeling **DOKI-DOKI**, wondering if I could really finish. Feeling **SOWA-SOWA** while waiting for feedback from my supervisors, I sometimes experienced **DOKIQ** with comments which hit the mark. Coming close to the completion of this work, I am now feeling **UKI-UKI** and **WAKU-WAKU**, thinking about what I can do after this work.

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## O. INTRODUCTION

This thesis aims to examine the semantic aspects of Japanese onomatopoeia, which is among the least studied of the language phenomena in Japanese linguistics. While there have been a certain number of works written on Japanese onomatopoeic words within the last twenty years, one may be struck by the rarity of linguistic works done on the semantic analysis of those words.

There are many onomatopoeic dictionaries, both monolingual and bilingual, and some theses (cf. Hirose 1981; Hamano 1986) available for helping non-native speakers understand the meaning of Japanese onomatopoeic words. Nonetheless, further exploration of the semantic aspect of these words is indispensable, as the above works do not offer satisfactory definitions or explanations to make foreign learners competent users of them.

The focus of this thesis is placed on explicating the meaning of psychomimes, the onomatopoeic words which refer to emotions. Among Japanese onomatopoeia, psychomimes are the hardest for non-native speakers to acquire. This is because their meanings are more abstract and more culturally embedded than other types of onomatopoeic words. This thesis will also consider some cultural aspects which are linked to Japanese onomatopoeic words, since their explication would facilitate a deeper understanding of the use and meaning of those words.

### 0.1. WHAT IS JAPANESE ONOMATOPOEIA?

Words which imitate certain sounds or acts are described as onomatopoeia (from the Greek *onoma*, "a name" and *poiein*, "to make"; that is, "name-making"). It has



often been noted that the Japanese language is rich in onomatopoeic or sound-symbolic words, which form a conspicuous group in the Japanese lexicon (cf. Shibatani 1990: 153).

Japanese onomatopoeic words are generally referred to as 'giongo-gitaigo', and divided into three classes. The first class is PHONOMIMES (giseigo/giongo), which imitate sounds. The second class is PHENOMIMES (gitaigo) which describe appearances, states, conditions of the external world. The third class is PSYCHOMIMES (gijoogo) which express one's inner feelings or mental conditions. Phenomimes and psychomimes are often called mimetic words, as opposed to phonomimes which are called (sound-) onomatopoeia (cf. Shibatani 1990: 154; Martin 1975).

The following passage is extracted from a modern narrative (Dazai "School-girl" 1967 in RM) to illustrate the different classes of onomatopoeia. The narrator is a school-girl.

Asa, me o samasu toki no kimochi wa omoshiroi. Kakurembo no toki, oshiire no makkurai naka ni **JIQ** to shagande kakurete ite, totsuzen, Deko-chan ni, **GARAQ to** fusuma-o akerare, hi no hikari ga **DOQ to kite**, Deko-chan ni, "Mitsuketa!" to oogoe de iwarete, mabushisa, sorekara, hen na ma no warusa, sorekara, mune ga **DOKI-DOKI shite**, kimono no mae o awasetari-shite, chotto, terekusaku, oshiire kara dete kite, kyuuni **MUKA-MUKA** haradatashiku, ano kanji... [HM: 70]

(Waking up in the morning is such a funny feeling. Like when I'm playing hide-and-peek with Deko-chan and hiding in some pitch-dark closet, crouching down, keeping perfectly still (JIQ to), and suddenly she slides open the door with a clatter (GARAQ to) and yells "Gotcha!" and the sunlight comes pouring (DOQ to) in, and it's so bright, and I feel so self-conscious in a strange sort of way, and my heart is pounding (feeling DOKI-DOKI), and I adjust the front of my kimono and come out of the closet, a little embarrassed at first and then, suddenly, angry (MUKA-MUKA) at being discovered -- it's like that.) [RM: 43]

In the above example, "GARAQ" is a phonomime which describes the sound of opening the door of the oshiire (closet).

"JiQ" and "DOQ" are phenomimes: "JiQ" depicts the manner of maintaining the same state; "DOQ" describes the mass of sunlight coming towards her. "DOKI-DOKI" and "MUKA-MUKA" are psychomimes: "DOKI-DOKI" here indicates that her heart rate

increases as a result of her being surprised; "MUKA-MUKA" indicates that she is irritated to the point of feeling nauseous.

It was Haruhiko Kindaichi (in Oono 1967: 29-30) who put forward the term and concept of 'gijoogo' (psychomimes). However, Kindaichi's classification (in Asano & Kindaichi 1978) is often arbitrary. For example, while he classifies words such "yaki-moki (be impatient)", "sukkiri (refreshed)", "iso-iso (light-heartedly)" as psychomimes, he does not include words such as "jiri-jiri (be impatient)" and "sappari (refreshed)", "uki-uki (light-heartedly)" among them. On the other hand, he includes words such as "kyoton (dumbfounded)", "iji-iji (diffident)", which are not used for referring to speaker's internal feelings, but are used only for referring to the speaker's subjective impressions of another person's emotional states which are manifested in the latter's attitudes. As another example, Kindaichi includes no sensation words such as "chiku-chiku (stingingly)", "zuki-zuki (throbbingly)", "muzu-muzu (itch)" among psychomimes. Other linguists such as Martin (1975) and Shibatani (1990) list these sensation words as examples of psychomimes. Moreover, Kindaichi includes the non-reduplicated "dokiQ", but not the reduplicated "doki-doki", among psychomimes, in spite of the fact that both of them are used for referring to sensations as well as emotions. I will refer to sensation onomatopoeia as psychomimes if they describe one's inner feelings which are inseparable from emotions.

Indeed, Japanese everyday conversation is full of these onomatopoeic words. In contrast to the Indo-European languages whose onomatopoeic words are mostly phonomimes (sound-onomatopoeia), Japanese has more mimetic words than sound-onomatopoeic words (cf. Tamamura 1982). It has also been noted that Japanese is rich in psychomimes which describe various emotional/sensation states.

## 0.2. IS ONOMATOPOEIA WORTH STUDYING?

Onomatopoeia is regarded as a somewhat discredited area in language study. Many modern linguists (cf. De Saussure 1956; Ikegami 1975) seem to think it does not deserve serious analysis. This attitude is partly a reaction against the excessive attention given to onomatopoeia by earlier philologists, who found in it the origin of all languages and the key to understanding the mystery of human speech (e.g. the "bow-wow" theory by Max Müller which held that language began with the imitation of natural sounds through human speech-organs).

However, in the Japanese language, onomatopoeic words occupy an indispensable part of the lexicon and serve to furnish minute and vivid descriptions of various actions or physical and psychological states. It is said that the usage of onomatopoeia is limited to informal styles of speech or writing, such as intimate conversation, novels, and poetry and seldom used in scientific literature, newspaper editorials, and other formal analytical discourse (Makino 1982: 130). Onomatopoeic words are rarely used in business letters or legal documents. However, as Yamaguchi (1986: 348) points out, even at the academic level, onomatopoeic words are indispensable: for example, in natural science onomatopoeic words like 'beto-beto' or 'beta-beta' are used as in "**beto-beto/beta-beta** no busshitsu (substance which is **beto-beto/beta-beta** (sticky))": there is no alternative non-onomatopoeic word which conveys the same meaning.

Newspapers often use onomatopoeia in order to give a realistic depiction of the scene of a particular action or event. For example:

- (1) Chikazei kooji. "Shisanka" kigyoo ni zei **ZUSHIRI** [AS: 1/4/1993: 10]  
([Public announcement of the tax on land prices.]  
Wealthy enterprises will be taxed **ZUSHIRI** (heavily).)
- (2) Soosenkyo-go o **ZUBARI** shindan. [AS: 14/7/93: 13]  
(Forecast **ZUBARI** (directly to the point) what it will be after the general election.)

The reader feels as if something is missing when he/she does not find any onomatopoeia in the reports on big events or current affairs. Many onomatopoeic words are used in advertisements in order to convey to the consumer the type of feeling that the product will bring them.

- (3) Asa dakara **SAPPARI**. Araeru kara **SUKKIRI**. [AS: 6/5/1993: 8]  
(It is **SAPPARI** (refreshing) because it is linen, it is **SUKKIRI** (refreshing) because it is washable.) -- Advertisement for a pull-over
- (4) **JUWAQ** to yaketa atsu-atsu no okonomiyaki-o, **KIRIRI** to hiyashita mizuware de .... **KUUUQ**. SUNTORY WHISKY RESERVE [AS: 10/4/1993: 15]  
(I will eat hot okonomiyaki baked **JUWAQ** (sizzlingly), with a whisky-and-water cooled **KIRIRI** (nicely).....**KUUUQ** (the sound of drinking) SUNTORY WHISKY RESERVES) --Advertisement for whisky.

Onomatopoeia are abundant in spoken language. As Reinelt (1990: 276) points out, "it is, except within very formal or heavily routinized situations, very difficult to talk in Japanese for a long time without using ONPOS (onomatopoeia)". Thus, onomatopoeia deeply permeate Japanese everyday life.

However, onomatopoeic words are very difficult for foreign people to understand. For example, an Australian medical doctor learning the Japanese language claims that he would be in trouble should a Japanese patient explain his/her physical condition with onomatopoeia such as "zuki-zuki", "chiku-chiku", "shiku-shiku" since he does not understand what kind of pain these words describe ("a symposium of foreign learners of Japanese" in *Nihongo* December 1992: 28). According to Ching (1989: 84), the conversation of Chinese learners of the Japanese language, who are competent enough to make themselves understood, often sounds stiff and unnatural, partly because they fail to use onomatopoeia in appropriate contexts. For example, although they can say "Watashi wa hijoo ni tsukare-mashita (I am very tired)", they do not say "Moo tsukarete heto-heto (I am tired and heto-heto)".

Teachers of the Japanese language have for years noted various difficulties encountered by foreign language learners, who try to master this particular aspect of the

language. They especially find it difficult: (1) to choose appropriate onomatopoeic words for a given situation; (2) to use onomatopoeic words properly in idiomatic expressions; (3) to distinguish the different meanings of a single onomatopoeic word in different contexts (cf. Amanuma 1974; Martin 1975: 1025). The third point concerning polysemy among onomatopoeia is especially problematic. Many phonomimes have developed secondary meanings or uses as mimetic words (phenomimes, psychomimes).<sup>1</sup> For example:

- (5a) Nezumi ga **KARI-KARI** to hashira o kajiru.  
(A Mouse bites the pillar with the sound **KARI-KARI**.)
- (5b) Pan o **KARI-KARI** ni kogashite shimatta.  
(I burned the toast to **KARI-KARI** (a crisp).)
- (5c) Ani wa kesa kara **KARI-KARI** shite iru.  
(My elder brother is **KARI-KARI** (worked up) from this morning.)

'KARI-KARI' in sentence (5a) is a phonomime. The image of this sound, which is produced when something hard is bitten or scraped, is transferred to a visual image of the hardening of some object in sentence (5b). The meaning of 'KARI-KARI' is more abstract in sentence (5c) where it refers to the emotional state of being nervous: i.e. one's nerves are brittle to the breaking point. Polysemy of this kind is quite commonly found in Japanese onomatopoeia, and creates further difficulties for non-native speakers.

As Ching (1989: 93) suggests, non-native speakers find psychomimes which express emotions and sensations perhaps the most difficult to learn among Japanese onomatopoeia. In fact, even native speakers acquire the meaning of psychomimes at a later stage of their growth, in comparison with those of other types of onomatopoeia. Ishibashi (in Ootsubo 1989: 522-523) conducted research on the use of onomatopoeia in the diaries of first to sixth year elementary school students and found that psychomimes were used only by students of the third year and older, while other onomatopoeia (particularly phonomimes) were

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<sup>1</sup> The direction of transfer is always from phonomimes to mimetic words (phenomimes/psychomimes), and not vice versa (Takehi 1992: 18).

prominently used by all including first year students. Yasui (1989) sought to measure the correct usage of onomatopoeia amongst first year junior high school students; she found that it was psychomimes, such as 'dogi-magi (be flustered)", "biku-biku (feel nervous)", which registered the lowest percentage of correct use. It was further found that some phenomimes, which express certain appearances or behaviours linked to people's emotional states, also registered a low rate of correct use. Yasui concludes that a child's ability to comprehend and use psychomimes is poorer than his/her ability to comprehend and use other types of onomatopoeia. These two reports clearly show that Japanese psychomimes are not easily acquired even by native speakers. There seems to be a rather lengthy learning process involved in gaining an ability to correctly use psychomimes.

While non-native speakers of the Japanese language will certainly face difficulties in acquiring onomatopoeic words, they need to master the correct use of them if they wish to communicate effectively with Japanese people. Onomatopoeic words play a vital role in Japanese everyday language life, and thus they are an indispensable key for outsiders to understand the Japanese people and culture.

### 0.3. OBJECTIVES OF STUDY

This thesis has two main objectives:

1. **Explication of the meaning of selected psychomimes:** Japanese onomatopoeic words are very difficult to translate directly into another language (e.g. English), and likewise are difficult for non-native speakers to learn. Indeed, many advanced students of the language do not fully understand where and how to use them correctly. Among them, psychomimes are the most difficult, although they are important in order to grasp the essential emotions of Japanese people.

The real meaning and the range of usage for each psychomime can never be captured from bilingual dictionaries. This is because the dictionaries are merely offering only loosely equivalent English emotional words or phrases, instead of explicating the meaning. Sometimes they give the identical English gloss for more than one psychomime. For example, the present biggest Japanese-English dictionary Kenkyuusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary [KNJED] provides "startled" for both 'gyoQ' and 'dokiQ'; "irritated" for both 'ira-ira' and 'musha-kusha'; "be afraid" and "be in fear" for both 'hiya-hiya' and 'biku-biku'. However, the meanings involved in different psychomimes are not identical, and accordingly their ranges of use are different. As shown in the following sentences, different psychomimes can not always occur in the same context, even though they seem to have almost identical meanings.

(6) a) **HAQ/\*GYOQ** to shita shunkan meian ga ukanda.  
(A good idea occurred to me when I felt **HAQ/\*GYOQ**.)

b) **\*HAQ/GYOQ** to shite sono ba ni tachisukunda.  
(Feeling **\*HAQ/GYOQ**, I stood there paralysed.)

(6) a) Kimi no kuru no ga osoi node, **IRA-IRA/\*MUSHA-KUSHA** shite ita.  
(I was feeling **IRA-IRA/\*MUSHA-KUSHA** at your delay.)

b) Keiba de makete, **\*IRA-IRA/MUSHA-KUSHA** shita node hooka shita n da.  
(I committed the arson, since I was feeling **\*IRA-IRA/MUSHA-KUSHA** after blowing all my money at the horse races.)

(7) a) Uso o tsuita no ga baresoo na n de, **HIYA-HIYA/?BIKU-BIKU** na n da.  
(I feel **HIYA-HIYA/?BIKU-BIKU** since it seems that my lie will be found out.)

b) Uso o tsuita no ga bareta node, **\*HIYA-HIYA/BIKU-BIKU** na n da.  
(I feel **\*HIYA-HIYA/BIKU-BIKU** since my lie was found out.)

The 'definitions' given in the above dictionary cannot explain these differences between analogous psychomimes.

The purpose of this thesis is, therefore, to explicate the meaning of a number of psychomimetic words, so that learners can actually use them correctly. I have limited myself to the examination of seventeen psychomimes for want

of space. They were chosen, because: (1) they are very commonly used, and thus deserve to be studied; (2) because they are, in various ways, related to each other semantically and it is interesting and revealing to compare them; and (3) because they reflect important characteristics of the Japanese way of conceptualising emotions. I will employ the "semantic metalanguage" developed by Wierzbicka as a tool to define these words. This metalanguage enables us to explicate complex concepts such as psychomimes by means of simple words and grammar which are understandable to anyone, and thus clarifies the similarities and dissimilarities between the components involved in different psychomimes.

**2. Examination of the relationship between the characteristics of Japanese onomatopoeia and the aspects of Japanese culture:** Throughout the course of this thesis, the characteristics of Japanese onomatopoeia and their link with Japanese culture and social patterns as well as Japanese perspectives, will be analysed. Moreover, since it seems that the Japanese preference for extensive use of onomatopoeia is somehow related to their ways of thinking, this point will be discussed in Chapter 3.

## 0.4. DATA

In order to comment on the great variety of onomatopoeic vocabulary it has been essential to refer to a varied range of sources.

Most of the Japanese examples are from actual materials: newspapers, journals (mainly interviews), novels (most of which are written in the first person spoken style), magazines, advertisements, TV commercials, popular songs, scholarly papers, etc. I have also taken examples from English texts or books, in order to show how Japanese onomatopoeia are translated into English, as well as what kind of English expressions have been translated into



Japanese onomatopoeia. Examples are also taken from several dictionaries in order to supplement my data, particularly from the Japanese-English Onomatopoeia & Mimesis Translation Dictionary [JEOMTD], whose examples were all taken from novels or film scripts.

The source is indicated in abbreviation in square brackets at the end of each example. Details of abbreviations are given in the "Index of Sources". Unreferenced Japanese examples are made by the author who is a native speaker.

## 0.5. ORGANISATION

Chapter 1 reviews the literature concerning sound-symbolism and onomatopoeic words in general, and the use of onomatopoeia in other languages other than Japanese.

Chapter 2 shows a brief outline of the historical, formal and semantic characteristics of Japanese onomatopoeic words.

Chapter 3 considers the possible relationship between the Japanese people's frequent use of onomatopoeic words and their way of thinking, culture, and social patterns.

Chapter 4 discusses the problems of teaching and learning psychomimes as well as their translatability into other languages. I propose the use of the Semantic Primitive approach as a possible solution to those problems.

In Chapter 5 and 6, the meanings of selected psychomimes are examined in detail. Chapter 5 discusses the semantic aspects of six psychomimes which express momentary emotions. Chapter 6 will attempt to explicate the meanings of eleven psychomimes which express continuous restless emotions.

# 1. LITERATURE REVIEW

## 1.1. SOUND SYMBOLISM

The following passage from Lewis Carroll's "Through the Looking Glass" questions the relationship between sound and meaning:

"Must a name mean something?" Alice asked doubtfully. "Of course it must," Humpty Dumpty said with a short laugh: "my name means the shape I am --and a good handsome shape it is, too. With a name like yours, you might be any shape, almost." [TLG: p.192]

Is the sound image of a word related to its meaning? In a well known work, de Saussure (1959: 67) said that linguistic signs are arbitrary in that the relationship between the signified (concept) and the signifier (sound-image) is arbitrary (non-iconic). However, some linguists such as Jespersen (1922: 397) argue that "sounds may in some cases be symbolic of their sense, even if they're not so in all words". Jespersen shows that, as an example of his claim, the vowel [i] is particularly appropriate to express what is small, weak, insignificant, or, refined or dainty (cf. 1922: 402).

There have been many other attempts to prove the relationship between sound and meaning. For example, Sapir's (1929a) experiment on sound symbolism found a strong tendency to associate the [a] sound with 'largeness' and [i] with 'smallness'. In regards to the [i] sound, Jacobson & Waugh (1979: 183) affirm its associability with 'smallness and lightness', saying that "the feeling for the expression of relative smallness and bigness was documented by Swift's Gulliver; who called the land of dwarfs *Lilliput* and that of giants *Brobdingnag*, while Gulliver himself in the latter country was reduced to *Grildrig*...". On the other hand, Whorf (1941 : 268), in a laboratory test, made

an association between "the vowels a (as in 'father'), o, u" and the 'dark-warm-soft series', and "e (English a in 'date'), i (English e in 'be')" and the 'bright-cold-sharp set'. Swadesh & Sherzer (1971: 200) claim that alternation of phoneme type or manners of articulation express emotional overtones: simple nasality expresses 'relaxation and contentment'; laryngeal constriction signifies rather 'displeasure or frustration', etc.

Onomatopoeic words are often seen as a particular example of linguistic signs having a link between the sound and meaning. The following are some typical comments from linguists on the sound symbolism of Japanese onomatopoeia. Tamori (1990: 300-304), for example, says that Japanese onomatopes have concrete expressiveness, stemming from systematically contrasting pairs: 1) reduplicated and non-reduplicated pairs differentiate between single and repeated or continuing action, and 2) voiced and voiceless pairs imply differences of the loudness of the sound, the size of the object, the continuity or vigorousness of the action, quantity, volume, degree of intensity, and positive or negative connotation.<sup>2</sup> Suzuki (1962: 30) also points out that the emotive attitude towards an event is reflected in a voiced and voiceless sound pair (e.g. /gira-gira/ 'garish' vs. /kira-kira/ 'twinkling'): the speaker regards the former as unfavourable, and the latter as favourable. Hirose (1981: 24), quoting Kobayashi's (1933)<sup>3</sup> suggestion that the imiryoo (lit. 'semantic volume of vowels') increases in the order of i-e-u-o-a, says that "hara-hara" suggests a psychological state, anxiety, which is caused by a stimulus in a distant place; "hiri-hiri" suggests the burning sensation caused by scraped off skin, burned skin, etc., which is a very close, subjective sensation. Moreover, Morishita (1988: 115) says the initial [g], [dz], [dʒ] sounds are used for violent pain onomatopoeia, and [k][tʃ]

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<sup>2</sup> Tamori (1990) points out that in general, these differences cannot be expressed systematically by English verbs alone, but the differences can be made by other syntactic devices instead, such as the use of adverbials, aspectual expressions, verbal particles, nouns, and adjectival modifiers

<sup>3</sup> Kobayashi, Hideo. 1933. "Kokugo-shoochoo-on no kenkyuu" (A study of symbolism and dialectology). *Kokugo to Kokubungaku* 9, no. 3.

[m] are used for general or lesser pain; the sounds [g] [dʒ] feature in onomatopoeia describing a headache; [dʒ] and [tʃ] likewise for toothaches.

However, as Lyons (1977: 109) states, there is some arbitrariness, or conventionality, even in onomatopoeic forms, since they are made to conform to the phonological systems of particular languages, rather than being directly imitative of what they stand for: "Many of the onomatopoeic forms of spoken language...are only weakly iconic... We can see that there is some resemblance of form and meaning but we could not deduce the meaning solely on the basis of their form" (Lyons 1977: 102-3).

Although onomatopoeic expressions are more or less iconic in a single linguistic community, they are quite arbitrary to strangers who learn that language as a foreign language due to the imperfect reproduction and different categorisation of real-world sound. Wierzbicka (1991a: 315-6) suggests that the meaning attached to a sound in interjections is different depending on the language and that it would probably be crude and naive to say that an [f] sound, for example, is linked cross-linguistically with a meaning of 'disgust'. Thus, we should not overestimate the importance of sound symbolism: "Sound symbolism is not imaginary, but neither is it very powerful" (Langacker 1973: 25).

## 1.2. IS THERE A CLEAR BOUNDARY BETWEEN ONOMATOPOEIC AND NON-ONOMATOPOEIC WORDS?

A clear boundary between onomatopoeic words and non-onomatopoeic words can not be drawn, since it is difficult to judge whether a word is symbolic or non-symbolic. For example, are words such as "uki-uki" or "hiya-hiya" onomatopoeia or just the repetition of the continuous form of the verb "uku (float)" or the stem of the verb "hiyasu (cool)"?

Some general words have over time become onomatopoeia, gaining sound symbolism, while some onomatopoeia have lost their sound symbolism and have become recognised as general words. This changing nature of onomatopoeia has led to some discussion as to its linguistic identity. Gomi (1989: preface), for example, says that: "After all, onomatopoeic expressions are not really language; they are, in a sense, raw language....they represent a world of their own -- a group of expressions on the verge of becoming words if necessary".

Some words we imagine to be onomatopoeic today actually developed from entirely different sounds which would appear to us to be far less expressive. For example, Oono (1974: 90-92) notes the change over time of the word "kon-kon", as seen in a Japanese children's song "Yuki-ya **kon-kon**, arare-ya **kon-kon** (snow falls **kon-kon**, hail falls **kon-kon**)", now regarded as a word imitating the manner of snow falling, derived from the verb 'komu (old style of "kinasai ('come' in the imperative form)'. A further example is the word "shimi-jimi (to sink deeply into one's mind)" which has the appearance of an imitative word and is etymologically derived from the verb 'shimiru (to soak into)' (Herlofsky 1990: 218). Other words, such as "kuyo-kuyo", "waku-waku", "iso-iso", which have linkages to the standard verbs 'waku (to spring up)', 'kuyamu (to regret)', and 'isogu (to hurry)', are now usually regarded as onomatopoeia.

A similar phenomenon is seen also in languages other than Japanese. For example, according to Schlauch (1955: 9), the German word for "anger", spelled *Zorn* and pronounced [tsɔ:n], would by way of the hissing explosion of the initial sound seem to suggest a disagreeable emotion. Historically, however, it developed from a milder pronunciation like the one preserved in the English "torn". Also, the French verbs *gémir* 'to groan, to moan, to wail' and *geindre* 'to whine, to whimper' have more onomatopoeic effects than the Latin *gemere* from which they have developed (Ullmann 1962: 101).

On the other hand, there are some words which, over time, have ceased to be symbolically expressive,

phonetically, semantically or both. These words have been so highly lexicalised that the average native speaker of the language would no longer be aware of their etymological sound imitative value. The Japanese language has many such words which have developed in this fashion. For example, according to Kogojiten [Dictionary of Classical Japanese] (Oono & Maeda 1974), the verb 'odoroku' (to be surprised or amazed) came from the phonomimes 'doro-doro' and 'goro-goro'. Other similar Japanese examples include: verbs such as *sawagu* (to make a fuss), *sosogu* (to pour), *haku* (to vomit), *fuku* (to blow), *suu* (to suck), *kamu* (to bite), *nameru* (to lick); nouns such as *uguisu* (Japanese nightingale), *hototogisu* (cuckoo), *kiji* (pheasant), *tsubame* (swallow) (cf. Miller 1967: 295; Kojima 1972: 17); and adverbs such as *chotto* (a little), *motto* (more), *kitto* (certainly), *chanto* (properly); *hakkiri* (clearly), *yukkuri* (slowly) (cf. Martin 1975: 1025). All of the above words originated in mimetic or quasi-mimetic morphemes but are no longer considered a part of any special vocabulary, their meanings having been widely extended.

Similarly, as Ullmann (1962L 87) states, the French word for 'poppy', *coquelicot* was originally "an onomatopoeic imitation of the cock's crow. It denoted first the cock itself and then by metaphor, the flower whose red colour reminded people of a cockscomb". At present only this secondary meaning has survived, and the word is no longer onomatopoeic since the sounds bear no relation to the sense. Similar examples of words which have ceased to be onomatopoeic in English include: *baby*, *clock*, *crow*, *flag*, *pigeon*, *soap*, *laugh*, *ghost*, *loaf*, *moody*, *silly*, *sullen*, *miniature*, etc. (cf. Nishihara 1979: 49).

Because of this very changing nature, over time, of onomatopoeic and non-onomatopoeic words, no clear dividing line can be drawn between the two forms.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, as

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<sup>4</sup> Although there are said to be some criteria, such as "the absence of the *rendaku* process" (onomatopoeic words do not voice the initial voiceless consonant of the second component of a reduplicated form) for identifying onomatopoeia in Japanese (cf. Miyaji 1978), there are exceptions, such as 'hono-bono', 'same-zame', and 'shimi-jimi', which are still commonly considered as mimetic words.

Ootsubo (1982: 233) concludes, the distinction between sound-symbolic and non-sound symbolic is ultimately built upon our own linguistic consciousness. Maurice Grammont, writing almost a century beforehand, makes a similar comment: 'Un mot n'est une onomatopée qu'à condition d'être senti comme tel' (A word is onomatopoeic only if it is felt as such) (1901: 125 "Revue des Langues Romanes", xiv pp. 97-158 qtd. in Ullmann 1962: 89).

In spite of this vague boundary of onomatopoeia and general words, the Japanese are aware that their vocabulary contains a certain group of lexical items called 'onomatopoeia'. Although some onomatopoeia more closely resemble general words in the Japanese language, there are a great many which may only be categorised as onomatopoeic. Jugaku (1956: 50) sees a continuing richness in the Japanese language of onomatopoeic words, as an important source of energetic expressions in the everyday Japanese language.

### 1.3. ONOMATOPOEIA IN OTHER LANGUAGES

Does Japanese onomatopoeia have any characteristics comparable to that of onomatopoeia in other languages? Are there languages which are similarly rich in onomatopoeia or significantly lack such words? This section briefly looks over some aspects of onomatopoeia in other languages.

#### 1.3.1. LANGUAGES ABUNDANT IN ONOMATOPOEIA

Japanese is not unique in its recognition of a rich onomatopoeic lexicon. Okamoto (1988: 148-9) reports that many languages such as Korean, Ainu, and Malay, the Niger-Congo family of languages, the Nile-Sahara family of languages, and Tamil (a Dravidian language) also have a wealth of onomatopoeia. Oono (1978: 69) also mentions that

Korean, Ainu, and Malay are particularly rich in onomatopoeia and that the sound and meaning of some of their onomatopoeia are similar to those of Japanese onomatopoeia.

e.g. Korean: tarlangtarang	---	Japanese: darari (lax)
darangkarang	---	kara-kara (laughing sound)
Malay: robak-robak	---	boro-boro (torn)

Ullmann (1962: 88) mentions that onomatopoeia flourishes in "emotional and rhetorical speech whose general effect it helps to reinforce". Is it possible to say that a culture which values emotional speech has a lot of onomatopoeic words?

According to Martin (1964: 407), Korean "has perhaps the richest and most extensive system of SOUND SYMBOLISM in the world... The Japanese system is feeble by comparison". The richness of onomatopoeia in Korean may be related to the Korean people's preference for affective expressions: "Many words of [Korean's] daily usage...have deep emotional connotation in addition to their denotative meanings, attesting to Korean's value of emotionalism" (Sohn 1983: 128). Similarly, modern standard Tamil, which has such numerous onomatopoeic words (*olikuRippu*) that they fill an entire dictionary, possesses a variety of grammatical devices which are conventionally used to "express the speaker's affective or emotional state" (Steever 1987: 743). Nida (1964: 169) further reports that onomatopoeic expressions are used with great frequency in Waiwai, a language of British Guiana, in order to "communicate the emotional tone of the speaker's attitude towards the events he narrates".

In addition to the languages stated above, the following languages are reported as rich in onomatopoeic words: Telugu (a Dravidian language) (Bhaskararao 1977: 1), Thai (Oonishi 1989: 111), Marathi (Indo-Iranian) (Apte 1968: 55), Persian (Rajabzadeh 1988: 17), Pitjantjatjara (Australian aboriginal language) (Ellis *et al.* 1978: 78).

The possible relationship between a culture's attitude toward emotional expressions and the use as well as



permeation of onomatopoeic words in that culture is an interesting concept that deserves further studies. Likewise, the lexical and grammatical characteristics of other onomatopoeia and how they differ from Japanese onomatopoeia is an interesting subject worth pursuing, however, it is beyond the scope of this present study and will not be discussed here.

### 1.3.2. LANGUAGES POOR IN ONOMATOPOEIA

In general, most of the Indo-European languages are said to be relatively poor in onomatopoeia and their speakers do not regard them as having a fixed systematic structure, or as making an independent group in the lexicon.<sup>5</sup> Further, as their onomatopoeia tend not to be fully lexicalised nor take only one set pronunciation, as Brochlos (1990: 209) mentions, when German and other Indo-European speakers express certain sounds, movements or appearances by means of language, they often "fall back into ad hoc formations which vary from speaker to speaker" (cf. also Okamoto 1988: 162).

Amongst Indo-European languages French perhaps contains the least onomatopoeia even when compared to English and German (cf. Ullmann 1962: 258; also Tamamura 1989: 4). Although onomatopoeia might be used in comic books, for example, they are rarely used in everyday conversation (cf. Okamoto 1991). Okamoto, a linguist of the French language, states that the French regard onomatopoeia as equal to noises or something like instinctive cries which hardly constitute communication in any sense. Okamoto (1991: 23-33) points out that French people believe that right-minded people would not use onomatopoeic expressions which appeal

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<sup>5</sup> As mentioned in the following section, those languages also have a rich set of sound imitative words. However, unlike the language such as the Japanese, they do not significantly feature 'onomatopoeia' morphologically or syntactically as an independent group of lexicon. They often mask the phonological features of onomatopoeic words by heavy conjugation.

to sound impressions but should rather use more "logical" expressions. Okamoto (1990: 96) further reports his French friend's utterance that French children usually stop using onomatopoeia when they are around ten years old, as onomatopoeia are not regarded as an established lexical form, but something rather like baby words or interjections. By contrast, while the Japanese people stop using some onomatopoeic words (e.g. wan-wan (dog), buu-buu (car)) as they grow up, they still continually acquire and use a rich set of onomatopoeic words thorough their lives.

### **1.3.3. IS ENGLISH RICH OR POOR IN ONOMATOPOEIA?**

It has often been mentioned that English is poor in onomatopoeia or sound-symbolic words in comparison with Japanese (cf. Tamori 1990, Kakehi 1986). However, the following opinions from English linguists make us wonder whether we can simply say so. Bloomfield (1933: 156) writes in his famous book Language that English is rich in sound-symbolic forms. Also Chapman (1984: 253) mentions that "English is rich in words of onomatopoeic origin, fully assimilated into its lexis and readily used in speech and writing: bang, pop, crack, tinkle, and many others". Herlofsky (1990: 216) also says, "English has nearly as many imitative words as Japanese", if 'imitate words' is defined as "a word in which there is some direct, non-arbitrary imitative relationship between sound and meanings".

Schourup (1993: 55) emphasises the importance of distinguishing between the concept of sound symbolism and the concept of onomatopoeia when comparing Japanese and English onomatopoeia. The real difference between English and Japanese, according to Schourup, is that, while both languages utilise sound symbolism effectively, only Japanese sound-symbolic words form an independent group of lexicon known as "onomatopoeia". English onomatopoeia, however, do not have sufficient formal characteristics or grammatical functions with which to distinguish them from the general

lexicon. For example, Japanese onomatopoeia cannot take phonological structures such as /CVCV/, /CV/, /CVCV:/, which are common in the general lexicon. English does not have such clear phonological restrictions to distinguish onomatopoeia from the general lexicon (cf. Schourup 1993: 50).

There are two main reasons why English onomatopoeia do not show a characteristic form of their own. Firstly, like other Indo-European languages, English onomatopoeia are "covered with the armour of conjugation, making it more difficult to notice if a word has onomatopoeic origin" (Jugaku 1970: 35; also cf. Herlofsky 1990: 217). Japanese onomatopoeia, on the other hand, do not inflect, although they often take the quotative particle "to" after them.

Secondly, while Japanese onomatopoeia take reduplication as their most characteristic form, English onomatopoeia do not do so since reduplication is not widely used in English. For this reason, as Schourup (1993: 49) observes, an onomatopoeic word imitating the cry of pig in English, for example, is listed in the dictionary in the single form 'oink', and not 'oink-oink'. By contrast, in a Japanese dictionary, the same cry is described in the reduplicated form 'buu-buu', and the single form 'buu' usually refers to the sound of a car.

In general, repetition of words is avoided in English. While English does have reduplicated forms (e.g. zigzag, chitchat, whim-wham, splish-splash), it is in many cases regarded as "redundant because it expresses what the main word already expresses, or because two words which are similar in both form and meaning are used to mean the same thing" (Kimenyi 1989: 348; emphasis mine). Therefore, as Herlofsky concludes, English-speaking people prefer the non-reduplicated form of onomatopoeia as opposed to the reduplicated one. This conclusion is illustrated by Herlofsky (1990: 217), noting English speakers' inclination to use the word 'patter' when describing a continuous 'pat'-like sound rather than a word like 'pat-pat'. Further, unlike Japanese onomatopoeia where reduplication involves mostly identical elements (e.g. doki-doki, gan-gan); there

is an alternation made to the initial consonant (e.g. humpty-dumpty, boogie-woogie), or the stem vowel (e.g. chitchat, dingdong).<sup>6</sup>

Identical reduplication, however, is not considered as 'redundant' in Japanese, and is used not only in imitating sounds, but more extensively within the general lexicon. Therefore, words in various parts of speech occur in identical reduplicated forms. Examples are: iro-iro (variety), tsugi-tsugi (next by next) from nouns; shibu-shibu (reluctantly), yuru-yuru (very loose) from adjectives; iya-iya (unwillingly), raku-raku (easily) from nominal adjectives; iki-iki (lively), masu-masu (rapidly) from verbs (Hyuuga 1989: 157). The reduplication process has been introduced even into words used in the Imperial Palace such as 'aka-aka = azuki (red beans)', 'iri-iri = irimame (parched beans)', 'yawa-yawa = ohagi (rice dumpling)' (cf. Kawasaki 1976: 72-3).

English onomatopoeia or sound-symbolic expressions, like French, are normally considered childish and are not fully integrated into the language used by adult English people (cf. Makino & Tsutsui 1986: 50).<sup>7</sup> This especially applies to writing. Sullivan, a Japanese-English translator, writes that most of the onomatopoeia found in English serious literature are highly lexicalised, "car crash", "economic boom", for example, and do not evoke a particularly vivid sound-imitative image. This lack of

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<sup>6</sup> This segment alternation in English reduplicated forms is not arbitrary, as seen below. If the consonant of the first component of the reduplicated form changes, it always changes into *h*, but if the second component changes, then it changes into *w*.

1. H-C alternation: humpty-dumpty, handy-dandy.

2. C-W alternation: boogie-woogie, teeny-weeny.

In the case of the change of the stem vowel, the stem vowel of the first component is always the high front vowel *i* which alternates with either *a* or *o*.

3. i-a alternation: chitchat, pitpat, zigzag, click-clack

4. i-o alternation: dingdong, tiptop, wibble-wobble.

(cf. Kimenyi 1989: 347-8)

<sup>7</sup> Poyatos (1983: 120) says from his experience the North American English-speaking mechanic seems to resort to a richer echoic repertoire of established lexical forms. Therefore, for example even when a Spaniard would come close to English lexicalisation by explaining that his engine goes tic, tic, tic, tic, the North American would use the construction 'ticking noise' or a true verb, like 'it whirrs'.

accepted sound-imitative words creates somewhat of a dilemma for translators like Sullivan who speaks of the problem: "I would like to use more lively onomatopoeia or mimetic words, such as 'There was a loud boom' for the Japanese sentence 'Don to iu oto-ga shita'. However, I don't want the English reader to think my translation is 'like a comic book'" (Sullivan 1992: 22).

Thus, when compared with the Japanese language, onomatopoeic words do not feature as a significant or widely accepted group of words in the English language. While English has many sound-symbolic words, there is no real set of conspicuous characteristics, such as a reduplicated forms, which would readily identify them as onomatopoeia. Indeed, English onomatopoeic expressions are often considered childish or redundant. English underestimates onomatopoeic words and reserves clear examples of onomatopoeia to some specific register such as children's language. Perhaps that is why onomatopoeic words have lost their appeal as a subject of serious study in English.

## 2. JAPANESE ONOMATOPOEIA

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the historical, formal, and semantic background of Japanese onomatopoeic words, as well as to review the related literature.

### 2.1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

According to Maejima (1967: 46), during the Middle ages in Japan (1192-1603 A.D.), popular literature for the common people came into prominence. Onomatopoeic words have been increasingly popular since that time, and the variety and use of them has been particularly enriched since the Edo period (1603-1868 A.D.). Some onomatopoeic words created in the Edo period, such as *kyoro-kyoro* (look around curiously), *nuke-nuke* (shamelessly), *sowa-sowa* (restlessly), *oro-oro* (be flustered) are still in use today (cf. Ooshima 1971: 745).

Before the Edo period, the Chinese language was a main source of loanwords in Japan, including onomatopoeic words and other lexical items. Some of these onomatopoeic words, such as "*kotsu-kotsu* [*tameru*] ([save] untiringly)" or "*moo-moo* [*to shita kemuri*] (volumes of [smoke])", are no longer recognised as loans from Chinese, and thus are usually written in Hiragana. Further, the adoption of Chinese onomatopoeic words enriched the phonological pattern of onomatopoeic words in Japanese. For example, onomatopoeic words such as '*mun-mun*', '*tsun-tsun*', '*zaku-zaku*', '*shiku-shiku*', are all created by applying the Chinese phonological forms /*(C)VN-(C)VN/*, /*(C)Vku-(C)Vku/* to Japanese. These forms are typical of Chinese origin onomatopoeic words. In addition, words such as '*ton-chin-kan*' (inconsistent) and '*chin-pun-kan-pun*' (gibberish) were also created under the

influence of such Chinese phonological forms <sup>8</sup> (cf. Suzuki, S. 1978: 167-9, 177-9).

All the onomatopoeic words used in this thesis are understandable by contemporary speakers of standard Japanese. It should be noted that the meaning and form of onomatopoeic words vary in terms of both time and place. Many onomatopoeic words used in the past are now incomprehensible. For example, in the Muromachi period (14c-16c) the onomatopoeia 'tsuru-tsuru' was used for describing the rising of the sun as in "Asahi ga **tsuru-tsuru** to detareba (The morning sun appeared **tsuru-tsuru**)" (Jugaku 1951: 45). 'Tsuru-tsuru' now refers to 'slippery' as in "Yuki ga futte, dooro ga **tsuru-tsuru** shiteiru (The road is **tsuru-tsuru**, because it snowed.)", and would therefore sound strange if used to describe the rising sun. In regard to the dialectal difference of onomatopoeia, according to Kindaichi (1976: 248), for example, in the Aomori dialect, a handsome man with clear features is described as "**gure-gareQ** [to shiteiru]", which is meaningless in other dialects. Further, Yuzawa observes that while a person new to a certain region may acquire the general features of its dialect in time, it is not so easy for him/her to be a competent use of its onomatopoeic expressions (Yuzawa 1931 "Giseigo-no shuushuu (Collection of onomatopoeia.)" in Yamaguchi 1986: 358).

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<sup>8</sup> "Ton-chin-kan" = Derived from the sound of a blacksmith's hammer followed by that of his helper as they strike an anvil slightly out of time.

"Chin-pun-kan-pun" = From making fun of the sound of difficult Chinese words used by the Confucianists or from mimicking Dutch people heard in Nagasaki. (cf. Suzuki, S 1978; Yonekawa 1993: 129)

## 2.2. FORMAL PROPERTIES

### 2.2.1. THE BASIC FORM OF JAPANESE ONOMATOPOEIA

Phonologically, roots of onomatopoeic words in Japanese should be either monosyllabic /CV/ (C = consonant, V = vowel) or bisyllabic / $(C_1)V(C_2)V$ / (where  $C_1 \neq C_2$ ). (cf. Hamano 1986: 20) In many cases, these roots are bound forms. They usually require one of the suffixes /N/, /Q/ or /ri/ to function as words.<sup>9</sup> Otherwise, a vowel in the root may be lengthened, or the whole root may be reduplicated. New creative forms of onomatopoeic words are not made totally arbitrarily, but are formed at least partially according to the phonological processes discussed above (cf. Hirose 1981: 18).

According to Maejima (1967: 50-51) and Izumi (1976: 128), the most common forms of onomatopoeic words found today are reduplicated bisyllabic roots / $(C)V(C)V-(C)V(C)V$ / (e.g. muka-muka, odo-odo). Onomatopoeia of this type account for 40% of all onomatopoeic words. The second most common forms are the combinations of bisyllabic roots and one of the suffixes mentioned above: /CVCVQ/ (or /CVCVN/, /CVCVri/) (e.g. dokiQ, [dokiN, dokiri]).

These three suffixes /Q/, /N/, and /ri/ are claimed to express meaning in an iconic way. The mora obstruent /Q/ represents a "sudden cessation of action, quickness, or the single occurrence of an action"; the mora nasal /N/ refers to "a sense of prolonged resonance or that of rhythmicity"; and /ri/ symbolises "softness, or slowness". Similarly, the lengthened vowel /V:/ and reduplicated form / $(C)V(C)V-(C)V(C)V$ / represent iconically "prolongation or

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<sup>9</sup> Takao Suzuki (1984) states that, the mora obstruent /Q/ and the mora nasal /N/ did not exist in native Japanese words, but were borrowed from Chinese. These sounds began to be used for the Japanese onomatopoeia from the Middle Ages, and became remarkably widespread in modern times. (Tamori 1993: 75)



continuity" and "repetitive sounds or movements" respectively (cf. Shibatani 1990: 155).

Thus, for example, /dokiQ/ roughly means "(be startled) with a jerk", while its variant /dokiN/ means "(be startled) with a heavy pounding of the heart", /dokiri/ denotes "with a shock, to a lesser degree than dokiQ", /doki-doki/ suggests "with the heart pounding at regular intervals" (cf. Chang 1990: xvi). The lengthening of the vowel of the original onomatopoeia yields an emphatic meaning. For example, /mu:Q/ is an emphatic form of /muQ/ which roughly means "feel offended".

In this study, I will focus on psychomimes of the two most common forms; those in the reduplicated forms such as 'biku-biku', 'hiya-hiya' and 'waku-waku', which describe continuing emotional states; and those with the suffix /Q/ (or its variation /N/ or /ri/), such as 'haQ', 'gyoQ', 'hiyaQ', 'bikuQ' (or bikuN/bikuRI) which describe momentary emotions.

## 2.2.2. SYNTACTIC USAGE AND STRUCTURE

Japanese onomatopoeic words can be used mainly in the following ways: 1. as adverbs (often with the particle 'to' or 'ni'); 2. as nominal adjectives (with the inflectional morpheme 'no' or 'na' in attribution, and 'da' in predication); 3. as verbal predicates in combination with the verb *suru* (do); 4. as nouns. <sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> According to a study of everyday conversation conducted by the National Language Institute (from July to September in 1952), 36% of Japanese adverbs were onomatopoeic adverbs. While Japanese onomatopoeic words in general are most frequently used as adverbs, some of them can transfer to different parts of speech. (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujo 1955)

Umegaki (1961: 252) compares the transfer process of parts of speech among onomatopoeic words in English and Japanese as follows:  
--English: imitated sounds --> Verbs --> Nouns --> Adverbs or Adjectives.  
--Japanese: imitated sounds --> Adverbs --> Verbs --> Adjectives --> Nouns.

### 2.2.2.1. ADVERBS

In general, onomatopoeic words, in their bare forms or with the particle 'ni' or 'to', can function as adverbs. It has been noted (Kindaichi 1978: 13, 24; also Ono 1989: xxvv) that onomatopoeic adverbs are required in the Japanese language in order to specify the meaning of verbs. When compared to verbs in the Indo-European languages, many verbs in Japanese are less specific in meaning. For example, with different onomatopoeic adverbs such as "maji-maji", "jiiQ to", "shige-shige", and "jiro-jiro", the verb "miru" can express the meanings equivalent to those expressed by the English verbs: "to see, look at, to watch, and to stare" respectively.

Onomatopoeic adverbs often take the particle 'to' or 'ni'. 'To' is obligatory in the case of onomatopoeic words ending with the suffix /Q/ or /N/. (See 2.2.2.3.)<sup>11</sup> 'To' represents the "manner" of a particular action or state indicated by the co-occurring verb. The particle 'ni' represents "to what degree an action is done" or "the state which emerges as the result of some action" (cf. Takahara 1975: 169). For example:

(1) Ane wa sore o kiite **PUN-PUN (to)** okotte iru.  
sister TOP that Obj to hear is angry  
(My sister is angry [**PUN-PUN to**] to hear that.)

(2) Ane wa sore o kiite **PUN-PUN ni** okotte iru.  
(My sister is angry [**PUN-PUN ni**] to hear that.)

'pun-pun' with 'to' in sentence (1) focuses on the manner of anger the speaker's sister is showing. On the other hand, 'pun-pun' with 'ni' in sentence (2) focuses on the speaker's sister's state of being as a result of getting angry.

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<sup>11</sup> For a detailed explanation of phonological/semantic restrictions on the obligatory/optional co-occurrence of the particles 'to' and 'ni' with onomatopoeic words as adverbs, see Tamori (1980).

### 2.2.2.2. NOMINAL ADJECTIVES

When onomatopoeia function as nominal adjectives modifying nouns, they are accompanied by the inflectional morpheme 'no'.

- (3) Okotte **PUN-PUN no** ane.  
angry sister  
(My elder sister who is angry **PUN-PUN**.)

When an onomatopoeic word forms a nominal adjective predicate, they take the inflectional morpheme 'da'.

- (4) Ane wa okotte **PUN-PUN da**.  
sister TOP angry  
(My sister is angry, so she is **PUN-PUN**.)

This reduplicative combination "onomatopoeia + da" is rather new, and first appeared in the period of Modern Japanese (from 1867) (Morita, M. 1953: 57).

### 2.2.2.3. VERBAL PREDICATES (WITH 'SURU (DO)')

Some onomatopoeic words combine with the verb 'suru (do)'. These combinations began to appear in literature towards the latter half of Kamakura and Muromachi period (1192-1603); and the frequency of their use became markedly higher in the Edo period. At first, onomatopoeic words in this function required the particle 'to'. "Onomatopoeia + suru" without 'to' has become more common in the modern period (from 1867) (Morita, M. 1953: 58). Therefore, if we insert 'to' between onomatopoeia such as 'gakkari' or 'bikkuri' and the verb 'suru' they sound awkward, since these combinations form a tight syntactic unit (cf. Kakehi 1981: xi). However, onomatopoeia in its unreduplicated form or onomatopoeia ending with the suffixes /Q/ and /N/ still require the particle 'to' between them and the verb 'suru': e.g. "suQ.to suru (feel refreshed)", "kyoton to suru (look bland)", "muka-mukaQ to suru (feel nauseous)".

Most psychomimes can combine with the verb 'suru' except for a few items such as 'hishi-hishi' or 'heto-heto' (\* hishi-hishi/heto-heto suru). While Nishio (1988: 213) mentions that 31% of such combinations are stative words, most psychomimic verbs refer to an emotional "activity" such as 'waku-waku suru (feel excited)' or 'kaQ to suru (lose one's temper)'.<sup>12</sup>

It should be noted that most psychomimes are non-volitional. Therefore, they cannot take the volitional or positive imperative form: "\* sowa-sowa shiro! (\*Feel fidgety!)" or "\* uki-uki shiyoo (\*Let's feel light-hearted!)" are for this reason ungrammatical. On the other hand, negative imperatives can be applied to some psychomimes, when cessation of emotions represented by these psychomimes is viewed as controllable: "sowa-sowa suruna! (Don't be restless!)", or "yaki-moki suruna! (Don't get overanxious!)".

Although less common than 'suru', verbs such as 'kuru (come)' or 'naru (become)' can also combine with onomatopoeic words. For example, "jiin to kuru (come to feel jiin [touch to the heart])" or "kaQ to naru (become to feel kaQ [to flare up])".

Certain suffixes can be employed to derive verbs from the roots of onomatopoeic words. The most typical is the suffix /-tsuku/ which refers to 'overt exhibition of the mimetically expressed condition (usually with a negative connotation)': e.g. muka-tsuku (to get angry), ira-tsuku (to get irritated). Another suffix is /-meku/ which refers to 'the fashionable/elegant/appropriate exhibition of the condition expressed by the mimetic words': e.g. kira-meku (sparkle), doyo-meku (reverberate) (cf. Hamano 1986).

#### 2.2.2.4. NOUNS

There are a number of nouns which are formed from the roots of onomatopoeic words. Some of these are nursery

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<sup>12</sup> While the literal meaning of 'suru' is "to do", 'suru' when coupled with psychomimes in fact refers to a human feeling. Therefore, I have used 'feel' for the gloss of psychomimes.

words such as 'wan-wan (dog)', 'buu-buu (car)', 'pon-pon (stomach)' or 'gara-gara (a rattle)'. However, there are also many onomatopoeic nouns which are used by adults. For example: moya-moya (ill-feelings), ira-ira (irritated feeling), muka-muka (nauseous feeling), shabu-shabu (food), pachinko (pinball [with '-ko' suffix]), gota-gota (trouble), etc. These nouns can function as subjects or direct objects of verbal predicates taking the particle 'ga' and 'o' respectively.

## 2.3. SEMANTIC GROUPS

The sources from which Japanese onomatopoeic words are created are not just auditory impressions. Many onomatopoeic words symbolise visual, sensual (smell, taste, touch, temperature, pain, etc.), and emotional phenomena. In this section, I will survey briefly the semantic characteristics found in Japanese onomatopoeic words derived from each of these phenomena.

### 2.3.1. AUDITORY IMPRESSIONS

Kindaichi (1978: 17-8) observes that Indo-Europeans make finer distinctions when describing the cries of domestic animals than do the Japanese. This can be attributed to the fact, Kindaichi argues, that Indo-Europeans have a deeper history of stock farming and as such are more familiar with those animals. For example, while in English there are various words which describe a horse's cry such as "snicker, sniff, snuffle, snort, snuff, snuffle, spit", in Japanese, this is solely described as "hi-hiin" as in "Uma-ga **hi-hiin** to naku (Horse cries **hi-hiin**)" (cf. Matsuda, ed. 1985: 298).

On the other hand, the Japanese have a large glossary of onomatopoeia for the sounds of insects, such as 'chin-chiro-rin' for a pine cricket, 'rin-rin' for a bell cricket, as well as the sounds for various cicadas, which have no established terms in Indo-European languages. Japanese also has numerous sets of phonomimes describing the sound of water: e.g. sara-sara, chapu-chapu, zabu-zabu, etc. Furthermore, the Japanese have words which attempt to describe the impression of silence: e.g. shiin, hissori. For example:

- (5) Futari no sugata ga mienaku naru to, ichiza wa **SHIIN to** shizumarikaetta ga... [KWK: 143]  
 (J <-E : Out of the long moment of intense silence that followed the couple disappeared from view,...) [ cf. PFM: 80]

Here the original English phrase of 'intense silence' is changed to the sound of 'shiin' in Japanese.

- (6) Futari (Nanja and Monja) ga janguru o wakeitte iku to, atari wa aikawarazu **SHIIN to shite iru.** [FKB: 114]  
 (J --> E: Nanja and Monja were working their way through the eerily silent jungle.) [AKS: 105]

In the above sentence, the Japanese phomime 'shiin' which describes the impression of silence is translated as 'eerily silent' in English. It seems that greater importance is placed on sound description in Japanese when compared to English. As a further example, in the Japanese story "Toka-ton-ton" (Dazai 1947 in VT), the sound 'toka-ton-ton' is very important as it symbolises the moment when the protagonist falls into a sense of nihilism. However, in the English version of this story this sound 'toka-ton-ton', which is extremely important to the theme of this story, is translated, both in the title and main text, as "the sound of hammering".

- (7)...Nanika dappi ni nita sawayakasa ga kanzerare, kore da to omotta totan ni, yahari ano **TOKA-TON-TON** ga kikoeru no desu. Ano **TOKA-TON-TON** wa, kyomu no joonetsu o sae uchitaoshimasu. [VT: 51]  
 (J --> E: And just when I felt as though I had shed something of myself, the sound of hammering would arise. That sound demolished even the passion for Nothing.) [CM: 197]

However, this kind of English translation clearly lacks the graphic character intended in the original Japanese text.

### 2.3.2. VISUAL IMPRESSIONS

Many phenomimes denote visual impressions. One of the main characteristics of these phenomimes is that they often describe people's attitudes and gestures. Ono (1989: xix) explains that the reason for this is that the Japanese pay great attention to what is considered "proper" behaviour in the company of others. Japanese society is structured along vertical-line relationships of superiors and inferiors. The sociologist Nakane (1972: 83) points out that the individual Japanese "regulates the ideas and actions of others by such statements as 'One should not do such a thing', 'It is wrong to think that way' or 'The idea is old fashioned...'".

Indeed, in Japanese society, one's behaviour is continually being suppressed or otherwise altered with regard to those around one. 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. Therefore, especially from the view of people in other cultures, the Japanese tend to look "terribly concerned about what other people will think of them" (Benedict 1947: 2) or to "show a unique subtlety or degree of sensitivity to what others might consider a minor assault or social presence" (De Vos et al. 1973: 484).

There are a great many onomatopoeic phenomimes which describe manner, facial expression, appearance, attitude, and people's movements. For example, there are a number of onomatopoeic words which can be used to describe a person's appearance when placed in the following format;

"[onomatopoeia] shita hito (people who look

[onomatopoeia]): e.g. gasshiri (sturdy), surari (slim); saba-saba (frank), jime-jime (gloomy); seka-seka (fidgety), nonbiri (relaxed), or "[onomatopoeia] shita kao/taido (face/attitude which looks....)": e.g. kiriQ (smart), booQ (absent-minded).

Such phenomimes are more used when talking about a third person, rather than in reference to the speaker or the listener. This is perhaps due to the fact that Japanese are cautious about not disturbing the feelings of others; they tend to avoid saying subjective opinions or feelings about themselves or the conversation partner, which might embarrass or make the listener feel uncomfortable. However when talking about an external event, phenomena, or third party, Japanese often express their inner feelings or thoughts openly and explicitly. Japanese onomatopoeic words are particularly effective in doing this as they permit the speaker's affective expression of their opinions and thoughts.

### **2.3.3. SENSATION IMPRESSIONS**

#### **2.3.3.1. TASTE AND SMELL**

A number of linguists have noted that Japanese onomatopoeic words which refer to the sense of taste are remarkably lacking (Kindaichi 1978, Izumi 1976, Ono 1989). Further, those onomatopoeic words which do apply to the sense of taste such as 'torori (thick)', 'mattari (thick)', 'kotteri (heavy)', 'shaki-shaki (crispy)' are basically words which describe the textual touching sensation felt by the teeth or the tongue when eating or drinking. According to Ishige (1983: 17), the sense of taste is not distinctively lexicalised in any language, and so very few languages would have many words for the expression of taste.

Similarly, there are only a few onomatopoeic words which apply to the sense of smell, such as: puun, pun-pun, (smell prominently), tuun, tun-tun, (smell pungently).



Generally, descriptions of smell and taste are expressed by analogy as in "...no yoo na nioi (a smell like ....)" or "....no yoo na aji (a taste like ...)".

### 2.3.3.2. TOUCH

In contrast to the lack of onomatopoeic words referring to the senses of taste and smell, there are numerous onomatopoeic words relating to the sense of touch. For example, there is a great variety of onomatopoeic words for 'sticky' sensations: e.g. 'nuru-nuru', 'neto-neto', 'neba-neba', 'beto-beto', 'beta-beta', etc. While physical contact between persons is generally avoided in public (cf. Barnlund 1975a), the Japanese do enjoy touching objects to experience the reality of them. Itasaka (1971: 118), for example, mentions that during the World Fair in Tokyo the Japanese insisted on touching all the foreign exhibits despite the many signs in Japanese saying "do not touch". Itasaka, who calls the Japanese 'a shokkaku minzoku --a tactile race' believes that the reason for Japan's wealth of onomatopoeic words is the people's enjoyment of touching and experiencing things and then being able to accurately describe the feelings provoked by the experience.

### 2.3.3.3. INNER SENSATION IMPRESSIONS

The Japanese have a rich and frequently used set of onomatopoeic words which refers to pain. A medical doctor, Sakurai (1977: 5), who had worked as a sergeant in an American hospital has written of the difficulty encountered by Japanese patients in explaining their physical or mental symptoms in English, as they could not use onomatopoeic pain expressions such as "zuki-zuki" "shiku-shiku", "hiri-hiri" for physical pain, or "moya-moya", "kusa-kusa" for mental illness. There is even an onomatopoeic formation used to describe a strained back, "gikkuri-goshi (gikkuri-back)", where gikkuri (an emphatic form of gikuQ) refers to the pain caused by a sudden bend or twist of the back.

Hirose (1981: 34) compares Japanese pain expressions with English ones and finds that "while Japanese offers a rich repertory of mimetic words that signal subtle distinctions among experiences of physical pain, English has a relatively small number of monomorphemic pain words, and must resort to metaphor and explanations...".<sup>13</sup>

There are also other sensory onomatopoeia which describe one's feelings related to humidity. Kindaichi (1987: 164) points out that there are a number of onomatopoeic words can be used in relation to dampness. There are onomatopoeia which describe the pleasant refreshing feeling without any excess damp, such as "sappari", "saba-saba", "saraQ", "sukkiri". By contrast, there are onomatopoeia which describe feelings of dryness such as "kara-kara", "suka-suka", "pasa-pasa". Further, words such as "jime-jime", "zuku-zuku" can be used to describe the feeling of excess moisture.

#### **2.3.4. EMOTIONAL IMPRESSIONS**

As mentioned briefly in the Introduction, Japanese is quite rich in onomatopoeic words which refer to states of emotion or feelings (psychomimes), especially when compared with other languages, such as Indo-European languages. The German linguist Reinelt (1990: 274-5) compares Japanese and German onomatopoeia and reports that although German has a large number of onomatopoeic words for sounds, it has a smaller number of onomatopoeic words for visible things, and considerably less for sensory impressions such as touching, smelling, tasting, etc. Further, words representing feelings or attitudes are very few. According to his research, the number of Japanese onomatopoeic words for feelings amounts to more than five times as many as that in German. Tamori (1990: 288) observes that English has a few

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<sup>13</sup> Another onomatopoeia-rich language, Korean does not express pain with onomatopoeic words, but rather analogously or metaphorically.

possible psychomimes such as "the heebie-jeebies" meaning 'nervousness', and "jittery" which means to be 'nervous' or 'frightened'.

Yamaguchi (1982: 207) has classified Japanese sensation and emotional words, defining sensation words as those which represent a physiological response to a stimulus, and are straightforward and concrete feelings; while emotional words represent a mental response to a stimulus, and are indirect and abstract. However, in many cases, a clear distinction cannot be drawn between sensation and emotional words. Especially inner sensation onomatopoeic words, for example, such as 'zoku-zoku' can describe both an emotion and a sensation: 'zoku-zoku' expresses a thrilling feeling, which is often accompanied by a physical sensation of feeling chilly. Similarly, the word 'muka-muka' describes a feeling of physical nausea brought on by feelings of something like 'anger' or 'disgust'. Other onomatopoeic words such as 'doki-doki', 'muQ', 'kaQ' 'jiin', can also be used simultaneously for emotional and sensation feelings. Wierzbicka (1992a: 178) also remarks that "natural languages rarely draw a similar distinction between 'emotions' and 'sensations', the two being usually subsumed under one category of feelings. In fact, even in English the verb *feel* applies to both bodily and mental phenomena".

Among the Japanese onomatopoeia for emotional phenomena, there is a tendency toward less variety for certain emotions and more variety for others. For example, psychomimes for 'sad' feelings are conspicuously lacking. Some onomatopoeic words which are related to 'sad' feelings are those referring to ways of crying such as 'same-zame ([cry] bitterly)', 'meso-meso (to whimper)', 'shiku-shiku (to sob)' or those used for referring to a third person's state of being such as 'shonbori ([looking] dejected)'. However, there are no psychomimes which refer to the speaker's own 'sad' feelings. This fact may be linked to the Japanese tendency to suppress the expression of 'sad' feelings in order not to bother others. For example, Lafcadio Hearn (1893: 122-127) observed one century ago that the Japanese people showed a smile to others in public

places even when they were in a desperately sad state, for example, confronted with the death of their family member. This attitude still applies to the Japanese people today.

On the other hand, there are a variety of onomatopoeic words for emotions relating to 'surprise' or 'anger'. There are also various onomatopoeic words for describing restless feelings caused by some emotions such as 'annoyance', 'fear', or 'excitement'. The frequently used psychomimes for these emotions are selected for study in this thesis, and their meaning and use will be examined in detail in Chapters 5 and 6.

### 3. CULTURAL CONSIDERATIONS

#### 3.1. LANGUAGE AND THINKING

In the nineteenth century, Wilhelm von Humboldt maintained that "the true difference between languages is not a difference of sounds or signs but one of 'world-perspective' (Weltsichten)".<sup>14</sup> The close relationship between language and thinking was further upheld by Edward Sapir and later by Benjamin Lee Whorf.

Sapir pointed out that language is related to people's world view or culture: "Language is a guide to 'social reality.' .... Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, not alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for society..." (1929b: 209) "People who speak different languages will have different 'views of the world' or different 'cultures'" (1931: 578).

Whorf (1940) more clearly articulates the view that language influences people's perceptions: "We dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages. ...the world is presented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions which has to be organised by our minds --and this means largely by the linguistic systems in our minds. We cut nature up, organise it into concepts, and ascribe significances as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement to organise it in this way --an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language" (Whorf 1940: 213). Moreover Whorf maintains 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

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<sup>14</sup> Humboldt, Wilhelm von (1901) "über die Verschiedenheit des Menschlichen Sprachbaues", Werke, 6, No.1. 119ff. [qtd. in Ernst Cassier 1944: 120]

systematisations of his own language --shown readily enough by a candid comparison and contrast with other languages, especially those of a different linguistic family" (Whorf 1941: 252).

This hypothesis of linguistic determinism has been met with mixed reactions by various linguists, and the question of the exact relationship between language and thinking will probably remain unclear until there is a significant breakthrough. However, we cannot deny that language does have, at least subtly, something to do with man's unconscious way of thinking. The "Moore" language of the Niger-Cordfan family, for example, has a large set of onomatopoeic words which refer to different manners of walking. Kawada (1990: 17-8) argues that this is related to the fact that the manner of walking is an important criterion in evaluating people in that society. Recognition of this kind of aspect of languages, such as that described above, is an invaluable aid in the understanding of other cultures and societies.

In this chapter, I will examine the relationship between the extensive use of onomatopoeic words by the Japanese in daily life and some particular aspects of Japanese people and culture. This is because, as Jugaku (1970: 42) points out, "unless foreigners understand why there are so many onomatopoeic words in the Japanese vocabulary, they cannot understand the essentials of the Japanese language or the Japanese people".

I hypothesise that the following points are possibly relevant to the frequent use of onomatopoeia by the Japanese: that is, Japanese people favour (1) concrete, (2) impressionistic, and (3) emotional expressions.

### 3.2. CONCRETE EXPRESSIONS

Generally, the Japanese people prefer a concrete image to an abstract concept. Traditionally, the Japanese have

always employed concrete images which appeal to the actual senses in their expression. For example, Nakamura points out (1964: 556) that when the Japanese translated an Indian hymn into Japanese "Iroha-uta (the alphabet verse)", the abstract expressions in the original Indian text were replaced by concrete expressions, i.e. words or phrases which evoke colourful and pictorial images such as 'gay', 'hue', 'crossing', 'dreams', and philosophical concepts expressed by the original hymn were lost in the background.

Makino (1978: 92, 101) points out that the Japanese people do not normally express abstract ideas or thoughts directly. They prefer instead to replace them by concrete images which evoke something that can be seen, heard, touched, etc. Similarly, Nakamura (1964: 575) reports that Frois, who came to Japan as a Christian missionary in the sixteenth century, said that the common Japanese people "will accept nothing but the concrete demonstration which can be seen by eyes and taken by hands". Yukawa (1967: 56) also acknowledges a similar point, saying "the Japanese mentality is, in most cases, unfit for abstract thinking and takes interest merely in tangible things". Kishimoto (1967: 112) further argues, "Immediate experience plays a very important role in Japanese life. ... If conceptual speculation goes too far into abstract thinking, a Japanese quickly loses interest. And he wants to be less abstract and more concrete and realistic". Thus, Japanese have always placed great value on real and concrete images in verbal expressions.

One of the reasons why onomatopoeic expressions play an essential role in Japanese daily conversation is that onomatopoeic expressions particularly provide a concrete or vivid impression of a spoken event.<sup>15</sup>

For example, onomatopoeic adverbs of degree, such as 'bari-bari' or 'doon' in the following sentences, evoke much more concrete images than the possible corresponding non-onomatopoeic expressions:

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<sup>15</sup> Martin (1975: 1025) mentions that Japanese mimetic adverbs frequently correspond to expressive gestures by speakers of European languages.

- (1) Yappari **BARI-BARI** shigoto shitenai to, onna ni wa moten. [S:12]  
 (Men cannot be popular among women, unless they work **BARI-BARI**.)
- (2) (Kekkon-shite), kazoku mo shinseki mo totsujo to shite,  
**DOON** to fuemashita ne. [FK October 1993: 103]  
 (The number of family and relatives suddenly increased **DOON-to**  
 after marriage.)

If the onomatopoeic adverb 'bari-bari' in (1) is replaced by a non-onomatopoeic adverb such as "takusan (very much)" or "isshookenmei (for all his worth)", the concrete image of the energetic manner of working expressed by 'bari-bari' cannot be conveyed. Likewise, the image of the sudden and drastic change in number evoked by the adverb 'doon (to)' in (2) cannot be conveyed, if it is replaced by other adverbs such as "ichido-ni (at once)", "ikinari (suddenly)", and "sugoku (extremely)".

Similarly, the meaning which is conveyed by psychomimes, such as 'oro-oro' in the next sentence, cannot be easily replaced by other non-onomatopoeic words.

- (3) ...Samusa no natsu wa **ORO-ORO** aruki....  
 (In the cold summer, I will walk **ORO-ORO**...)

This phrase with the psychomime 'oro-oro' is taken from the famous poem "Ame ni mo makezu (Not beaten by rain)" by Kenji Miyazawa (1976: 353). Kenji, a farmer as well as a writer, was engaged in improving production for other farmers in his region. Kenji's worries and unsettled feelings in facing the cold summer are vigorously described by the psychomimic adverb 'oro-oro'. Only from this one word 'oro-oro' can Japanese readers imagine clearly how Kenji felt, and how he walked with such feelings. If the same concrete image has to be evoked by non-onomatopoeic words, several adverbs or adverbial phrases would be required, such as "dooshite yoika wakarazu-ni (not knowing what to do)", "shimpai-shite (anxiously)", "ochitsukazu (restlessly)", etc.

Words describing emotions are relatively abstract in nature, since they refer to the inner activities of human



beings. However, psychomimic expressions in Japanese are relatively concrete compared with other non-onomatopoeic expressions describing emotions. This is because they are often associated with concrete images evoked thorough auditory, visual, and other sensory impressions. For example, some psychomimes are linked with sound images. The example below illustrates the use of a sound-related psychomime.

- (5) Isshookemmei tatemae o itte iru hito kara, poroQ to honne ga deru to, **KACHIN** to kuru. [AJ: 16/4/1992 : 87]  
(I feel **KACHIN** when a person inadvertently reveals his/her true feelings while engaged in taking the official stance about a matter.)

"Kachin" in the above sentence represents one's momentary feeling of annoyance. However, this word also functions as a phonomime which represents the sound of a hard object hitting something strongly. This concrete sound image is linked to the momentary feeling of 'kachin' when one is disturbed. With this sound image the relatively abstract feeling of annoyance is expressed more concretely and realistically than when it is expressed by non-onomatopoeic words or phrases, such as "shaku ni sawaru (feel vexed)". Further examples of psychomimes associated with sound images are: 'kari-kari (imitation of the sound produced when something is bitten, broken, scraped --> nervous feeling)', 'jiri-jiri (imitation of the sound of burning little by little--> feeling of impatience while waiting for something)'.

Some psychomimes are associated with concrete visual images.

- (6) Hontoo ni wasurete shimatte **SUKKIRI** dekitara saikoo na noni.  
[KY: 52]  
(It would be wonderful, if I could forget it and feel **SUKKIRI**.)

'Sukkiri' in sentence (5) denotes a feeling of relief from all the trouble which bothers the speaker. This word is associated with the visual image of something that is free from any unnecessarily complications as in the following sentence (7).

- (7) Shikkari gijutsu, **SUKKIRI** dezain. (Advertisement of house)  
(Excellent technique, **SUKKIRI** (clean-cut) design.) [AS: 1/5/1993: 16]

Other examples of psychomimes which are associated with visual images are: 'hara-hara' (describes small thin object such as a piece of leaf falling down --> (feel) afraid), 'kusha-kusha' (describes those objects such as paper being crumpled or hair being dishevelled --> (feel) confused, depressed), 'karari' (describes a condition of being completely free from moisture --> (feel) cheerful, open-hearted).

Some psychomimes are associated with sensations. Yamaguchi (1982: 209) says that historically some sensation words are now used as emotional words, while the opposite transfer hardly occurs. She explains that this is because sensations are more concrete than emotional feelings. For example:

- (8) [Shoo o itadaite] ...hontoo ni **JiIN** to kichatte. [FK Jan. 1993: 342]  
(I really felt **JiIN**... [to have received the prize].)

'jiin' in the above sentence (8) refers to an actress's feeling of being moved when she was awarded a prize. This psychomimic expression 'jiin-to kuru (come to feel jiin)' evokes a more vivid image than non-onomatopoeic words such as "kandoo-suru (feel moved)". This is because this emotional sense of 'jiin' which refers to the prolonged deeply moved emotion is accompanied by the concrete image of the sensory sense of 'jiin', which refers to a strong feeling to the point that one becomes numb, such as 'jiin' in "**Jiin** to shimiru yoo na itami desu (It is a **jiin** [steady piercing] pain)" [GB: 182]. Further examples of psychomimes associated with sensory images are: 'kaQ' (feel hot --> flare up), 'muka-muka' (feel sick --> feel offended), 'muzu-muzu' (feel itchy --> feel impatient).

Furthermore, some psychomimes whose forms are identical to a part of non-onomatopoeic words are associated with the concrete referential image evoked by meaning of those words. For example, 'uzu' in the psychomime 'uzu-uzu (have an itch

to act)' as seen in the following sentence, is linked to the meaning of the verb 'uzuku (rankle)':

(9) Benkyoo yori onnanoko to asobitakute, **UZU-UZU** shiteru ga na.

[Miura "Shiogari-tooge": 101/83 in JEOMTD]

(J --> E: Rather than wanting to study I just can't wait [feel **UZU-UZU**] to play around with girls.)

Other similar examples of psychomimes which are associated with the concrete referential meaning of other non-onomatopoeic words are: 'hiya-hiya' ('hiyasu [to cool]' --> be in fear), 'uki-uki' ('uku [float]' --> feel light hearted), 'waku-waku' ('waku [spring up]' --> feel excited).

The Japanese language has a great range of this kind of onomatopoeic words which express human emotions with concrete images. According to Cassirer (1944: 135), human speech usually evolves from a first comparatively concrete state to a more abstract state. However, the Japanese much prefer to build up abstract ideas from concrete images. Therefore, as Sakakura (1972: 15) points out, it is unlikely that the Japanese will eventually replace these psychomimic expressions by more abstract non-onomatopoeic words. In fact, Japanese has a relatively small variety of adjectives or verbs for emotional expressions.

### 3.3. IMPRESSIONISTIC EXPRESSIONS

Japanese people tend to use onomatopoeic expressions more frequently, even when alternative metaphorical expressions are available. For example, when they express pain, they prefer to use onomatopoeic expressions such as 'hiri-hiri' for "yakeru yoo na (like burning)" or 'chiku-chiku' for "[hari de] sasu yoo na (like piercing [with needle]). Metaphorical expressions also evoke concrete images: concrete referential images of some object such as 'hari (needle)', or of some action/event such as 'yakeru (burning)', or 'sasu (piercing)'. Why, then, do the

Japanese choose to use onomatopoeic expressions rather than alternative metaphorical expressions?

The reason for this lies in the fact that the Japanese prefer to use impressionistic expressions which convey shades of meaning with images of different sounds rather than analytic/explanatory expressions which appeal to the referential images of words.

Onomatopoeic words can be uttered intuitively without analysing phenomena with words, if there is some agreement between the speaker and the listener about the common feeling and reactions which the sound impressions of onomatopoeic words convey.<sup>16</sup> For example:

- (10) Bokura ryoo-hoo-tomo oogata da kara na no ka, **HOWAN-HOWAN** shite iru na. [MO May 1993: 30]  
(Both of us are **HOWAN-HOWAN**, maybe because we have the O blood type.)

the onomatopoeic word 'howan-howan' used to describe a personal characteristic in the above sentence conveys multiple images such as 'soft', 'light', 'easy-going', 'elusive', 'mild', etc. by its sound impression. This is because the sound 'howan-howan' is linked to the sound image of phenomimes such as 'fuwa-fuwa' or 'hwa-hwa' which refer to something light and extremely soft and fluffy.

If we try to express these connotations conveyed by the sound impression of 'howan-howan' with non-onomatopoeic words, we have to enumerate several words or phrases such as 'hito atari no yawarakai (have a gentle manner toward people)', 'kuuki no yoo ni toraedokoro no nai (elusive like the air)', etc. Moreover, although we manage to express these connotations with non-onomatopoeic words, such analytical expressions which explain things by appealing to

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<sup>16</sup> The Japanese onomatopoeic word "pin-to", which refers to the mental awareness of something intuitively by a sixth sense is often used in everyday life. For example, wanted posters at police stations use this word as in:

Kono kao ni **PIN** to kitara hyakutooban.  
(Please call 110 (report to the police), when you feel **PIN** [a sixth sense putting you on guard] in seeing this face.)

referential images of words sound too explanatory and insipid to the Japanese ears.

I submit that this Japanese tendency to prefer impressionistic expressions to analytic ones is closely related to their belief that the dense complex blend of human feelings cannot be neatly expressed in words. The following passages from popular Japanese songs illustrate this view.

(11a) "Kotoba ni dekinai no ga ai sa, kotoba de wa kimi o tsunagenai." [Man]  
(It is the feeling of love which cannot be expressed into words, as words cannot tie you to me.) [Nakanishi "Saigo no ame (last rain)"]

(11b) "Kotoba ja ienai....suki yo...." [Woman]  
(I cannot express (my feelings) in words.....I love you.)  
[Kuwata "Aisuru hito to no surechigai (passed by a loved-one)"]

Phrases of this kind frequently appear in Japanese popular songs. They illustrate the Japanese belief that words are not powerful enough to convey one's true feelings. Ozaki (1978: 231) also points out 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". He illustrates this fact by citing the utterance of a 19th-century English linguist-diplomat: "at the sight of beautiful and awe-inspiring objects, the Japanese tend to sigh 'Ah!' in lieu of verbalising their feelings" (William George Aston "History of Japanese Literature" in Ozaki 1978: 235).

In spite of this less explanatory style of speaking, the Japanese people can still understand each other. This is because in Japanese society, people are expected to understand the mind or feelings of others from minimal verbal clues in view of the situational context even when these are not spelt out.<sup>17</sup> Clancy (1986: 232-235) says

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<sup>17</sup> An extreme case of this is that the Japanese expect others to understand their silence. For example, as Morsbach (1988: 211) also points out, in Japanese novels there is often a response of silence to somebody's remark, and this is described as "...". It expresses the character's complex feelings,

that the Japanese teach their children to "read the minds" of other people. In this common Japanese style where the main responsibility for successful communication lies with the listener, who must know what the speaker means regardless of the words used, the speaker does not have to make an effort to "get their ideas across" (cf. Reddy in Barnlund 1975: 217). In this mind-reading style of Japanese communication, the Japanese can use onomatopoeic words to a great extent when they speak, since other people would understand them in spite of their impressionistic and less explanatory expressions.

### 3.4. EMOTIONAL EXPRESSIONS

Every language has expressions which focus on affective aspects. Cassirer (1964: 158) says: "Like cognition, language does not merely 'copy' a given object; it rather embodies a spiritual attitude which is always a crucial factor in our perceptions of the object". Native speakers of a language regularly use these affective expressions to flavour their speech. Onomatopoeic words are one of the most effective means for affective expressions. For example, Charleston (1960: 34) states that onomatopoeia are often employed to express certain emotions, when words are "too neutral, too colourless, too insipid, too little suggestive" to convey the speaker's affective attitudes.

The Japanese regard affective expressions highly. They like to use a wealthy set of onomatopoeic words when they speak, as they are one of the most powerful tools for conveying the speaker's emotive attitudes or evaluation.

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which cannot be expressed in words. The Japanese reader is expected to assume and read this unarticulated feeling of character from the context or situation in which it is embedded. The feeling of the character always has to be articulated somehow for the reader to understand it in English. Therefore, English translations of the Japanese "..." expression are often described as "she could not speak" or "she said nothing".

Some people think onomatopoeic words should not be used because these affective expressions interfere with logical thinking. For example, Yukio Mishima (1975: 530-2), a famous Japanese novelist, advocates minimising the use of onomatopoeic expressions. He says that although onomatopoeic expressions make daily conversation vivid and expressive, they often sound raw and vulgar. They merely describe the perceived impressions of things or events as they are, and do not express any abstract concepts, which is the primary function of the language. Mishima regards onomatopoeic words as "the corrupted form of the language", and remarks that one female writer's abundant use of onomatopoeic words is "the violent means" of conveying emotional quality in her story. The parents of another writer Kanna Koozu also say that they trained Kanna not to rely on the use of intuitive and affective expressions such as onomatopoeia in her speaking but to use expressions "that come from some thought" (Atoda & Hoshino 1989: 35).

However, logic has not been highly valued as emotionality has in Japanese tradition. According to Ishida (1974: 177), "Respect for logic is an attitude that entered Japan only after the Meiji Restoration, along with standards of Western civilisation". According to Taylor (1983: 125-6), "In all areas of daily life Japanese resist any appeal to cold reason that ignores human reactions. Many Japanese distrust eloquence and pure logic because they may not take proper account of feelings....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 'to argue' or 'find fault'. Logic is useful, but it can be thrust aside when straight forward reasoning might bruise feelings" (Taylor 1983: 126). Nakane (1970: 125) also notes that the essence of pleasure in Japanese conversation lies "not in discussion (or logical game) but in emotional exchange".

It is often said (Jugaku 1970: 39; also Kunihiro 1977: 17) that the Japanese are not good at expressing emotions

outwardly. This may be true. However, the fact that Japanese people are less likely to express their emotions outwardly does not mean that Japanese people are less emotional or insensitive to the emotions. In fact, strong and powerful emotions are hidden behind their expressionlessness.

The Japanese expressionless appearance is probably the product of a deep cultural tradition which regards outward expression of emotion as taboo. For example, Kaibara, a philosopher in the early eighteenth century, stressed the importance of not expressing emotions: "If you could subdue all your anger and avarice, you would be peaceful at heart, feel at ease, have no worries, give no trouble to others, have no shame, have no suffering, have no anxiety about your future, and have no misfortunes" (Kaibara Ekiken "Rakukun [Instructions for Ease]" 1710 in Minami 1971: 50). In Japan, learning to suppress one's true feelings and emotions is regarded as an indispensable part of one's growth, and the direct display of uncontrolled emotions, especially on the face, is regarded as "a sign of weakness and is always in extremely bad taste" (Zimmerman 1985: 57). When the Japanese want to express their emotions outwardly, "it is in a form that is neither offensive nor aesthetically unrepresentative" (March 1988: 152).

Today, outward strong emotional expressions such as crying or showing tears in public are disdained and are not seen by others without some embarrassment. This especially applies to men. For example, Matsumoto (1987: 96) describes that in a public bath a father scolded his 3 or 4 years old son who was crying after tumbling down, "Don't cry! You are Japanese, aren't you?" It is interesting to see that when men's crying was regarded as evidence of being a warm-hearted person, men used to cry more freely. For example, Yamaguchi (1984: 372) finds many noblemen crying outwardly in public places in the writings of the Heian period (794-1192 A.D.). She says that the ethics of suppressing one's emotions began to be codified from the Middle Ages (1192-1609 A.D.), when the feudal-military Japanese code of behaviour was highly valued.



The suppression of overt emotional expressions by Japanese people is not only due to this kind of external moral precept, but also due to their own inner spontaneous motivations. The Japanese do not express their emotions outwardly, as they think that would hurt or disturb other people's feelings. Honna and Hoffer (1989: 88) say that "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. Expression of even happiness should be controlled so that it does not displease other people". Similarly, Lebra (1976: 2) says that "the Japanese seem most sensitised to 'social' objects, namely other human beings, *hito* in Japanese (*hito* mean both "person[s]" and "other person[s]"). When the individual experiences inner pleasure or pain, joy or suffering, hope or despair, he tends to be preoccupied with his relationship to some *hito*". With this what she calls "social preoccupation" it is thought in Japan 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). Thus, in Japan consideration to others would outweigh one's own individual emotions.

Thus, Japanese people often avoid showing their emotions from both external and internal motivations.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, some linguists such as Barnlund (1975b:64, 144) claim that, in comparison with the Americans, the Japanese appear to be "more formal and cautious in expressing themselves, communicate less openly and freely," and furthermore that the Japanese "communicate significantly less of their inner feelings and thoughts even with their most intimate acquaintances".

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<sup>18</sup> In fact, these external and internal motivations cannot be distinguished from each other: 'external' cultural moral precepts are originally derived from one's internal motivations; 'internal' motivations are more or less culturally shaped.

However, these claims are justified only in limited circumstances; they are relevant mainly to formal situations and not to informal situations. The behaviour of Japanese people in formal or public situations is very different from that in informal or private situations. Indeed, quite significant differences in behaviour can be observed in accordance with the social situation in which the people find themselves (cf. Morsbach 1983: 51; also Nishio 1988: 139). Nakane (1974: 124) also argues that, "Japanese themselves make clear distinctions according to the following three categories: 1. those people within one's own group; 2. those whose own background is fairly well-known; and 3. those who are unknown -- the strangers".

Therefore, although there are occasions when the Japanese suppress their personal feelings, there are also occasions when they are unreservedly expressed since in fact the Japanese are internally very emotional. Suzuki (1975: 152), a Japanese sociolinguist, has stated that an ordinary Japanese always aspires to 'opening up' and talking about everything with an appropriate person/people who will listen to and "understand" him/her. Those who would not understand others' emotions, or those who are lacking in rich emotionality are disdained as "joo ga usui (cold hearted)" or "nasake shirazu (unfeeling)".

The positive view of Japanese people toward being emotional is also illustrated by the fact that the Japanese psychomimes with the verb 'suru (do)' as well as other general emotional verbs take the intransitive form. Wierzbicka (1992a: 401) points out that there are only a very limited number of intransitive verbs of emotion in English --worry, grieve, rejoice, pine, and a few more-- and that the whole category seems to be losing ground in modern English (*rejoice* being somewhat archaic and elevated). Wierzbicka argues that this fact reflects "an important feature of Anglo-Saxon culture -- a culture which tends to view behaviour described disapprovingly as 'emotional' with suspicion and embarrassment". In English, most of the emotional verbs are transitive and they are expressed in the passive form, which implies that those emotions were caused

by some external trigger. By contrast, Japanese emotional verbs or psychomimic verbal predicates are intransitive. The following sentences illustrate this difference:

[English] I am surprised (by/with....).  
(passive of transitive V)

[Japanese] (Watashi wa) odoroita/bikkuri shita.  
I TOP surprised (intransitive V)

This fact is linked to the Japanese people's positive view about feeling emotions, when they see those emotions as brought out by their own internal emotional activity.

Onomatopoeic words especially play an important role when people would like to express their feelings freely. Jugaku's following observation supports this view:

when we listen to a politician's speech on administration policies on TV or a great man's congratulatory address and when we see his face, we are surprised how expressionlessly the Japanese speak. On the other hand when we see, say, a local train, a group of middle aged women deep in conversation, ardently using their dialect, their speech is so expressive that they make us bystanders happy. One of the constituents of the happiness is, together with their gestures and expressions, the onomatopoeia which they use in quantity. (Jugaku 1970: 39)

As Jugaku indicates above, Japanese onomatopoeic words are used extensively in spontaneous spoken language, for "emotional intentions of giving emphasis to contents of utterances by using situation-immanent expression" (Haarmann 1990: 55). The onomatopoeic words thus play a vital role in conveying the speaker's emotional tone in his/her speech.

## 4. METHOD

### 4.1. PROBLEMS IN LEARNING & TEACHING ONOMATOPOEIA

As briefly mentioned in the Introduction, foreign learners find the meanings of onomatopoeic words hard to acquire.

Japanese teachers also say that they have difficulty in explaining the meanings of onomatopoeic words, since they cannot be simply replaced with a foreign word or phrase. Therefore, Jugaku (1970: 38), for example, says that "It often happens something which instantly comes home to a Japanese heart is impossible for a foreigner to understand". Ikeda (1977: 172) even says that it is almost impossible to teach the onomatopoeic words in the class to the extent that the students would be able to use them automatically.

Among onomatopoeic words, psychomimes, in particular, cause the most trouble. In a discussion of English and Japanese imitative words on a Japanese Broadcast Network (NHK) program, a veteran teacher of Japanese as a second language complained that "these words had to be explained in depth, one at a time, describing all the complicated meanings by using different words of similar meaning", then she concluded that "it was almost impossible to teach these words to foreigners, since they do not have an understanding of these types of words from their own experiences, and they have different emotional responses than do Japanese" (Herlofsky 1990: 223).

Although it has been a continuing problem for foreign language learners to master the use of Japanese onomatopoeic words, there has been no concerted effort in the past to find a significant way to solve this problem. The currently available Japanese textbooks are deficient in their coverage of Japanese onomatopoeic words: they often omit onomatopoeic expressions in order to concentrate, instead, on grammatical

explanations or other expressions which are more directly translatable into English; or they give only partial or confused explanations for those onomatopoeic words which carry a range of meanings, and which are dependent upon particular types of social situations for their proper usage.

Thus, developing a way of explicating the meaning of these onomatopoeic words is an urgent task. I will show in this chapter that the employment of the Natural Semantic Metalanguage proposed by Wierzbicka will offer a tool for realising this task.

## 4.2. DEFICIENCIES OF DICTIONARIES AND NEED FOR NATURAL SEMANTIC METALANGUAGE

As we have seen, Japanese has a great range of onomatopoeic expressions which denote human emotions or feelings, such as "hara-hara", "doki-doki", "waku-waku", etc. Each of these psychomimes carries individual meanings, which are subtly different from each other. These subtle differences of meaning between psychomimes are often said to be impossible to translate appropriately into a foreign language. Furthermore, the difference of emotions, for example, between "hiya-hiya" and "biku-biku", which are usually identically explained as "be afraid" or "be in fear" in Japanese-English dictionaries, is hard to explain even for the Japanese. Nevertheless, these words are not synonymous and the Japanese people use them distinctively in different situations.

In spite of the great frequency of use of these psychomimes as well as their significance in the Japanese emotional expression, adequate explanations for the use and nuances of these words are rarely found in dictionaries. Although it is the purpose of dictionaries to give a definition which captures the invariable semantic aspects of a word, they do not usually succeed in doing this.

Many Japanese-English dictionaries often do not even try to give a definition, but instead only give a single or a list of possibly analogous English synonymous words. For example, Nichiei-Taishoo: Giseigo Jiten [Japanese-English onomatopoeia dictionary] (Mito & Kakehi 1981) gives "feel nervous, be afraid" for the meaning of 'hara-hara'. However, 'feel nervous' or 'be afraid' cannot indicate the proper meaning and usage of 'hara-hara' since the range of meaning which 'hara-hara' covers is not only something like 'feel nervous', not only something like 'be afraid', but both of them plus the feeling of something like 'be frightened' and more than that. Thus, the list of synonymous words given by the dictionary as a definition is in fact far from a meaningful explication of the meaning of 'hara-hara'.

Some Japanese-English onomatopoeic dictionaries offer paraphrasal explanations for the meaning of words. For example, in Practical Guide to Japanese-English Onomatopoeia and Mimesis [PG] (Ono 1989), a phrase such as "to be frightened, nervous, or anxious about something" is given for the meaning of 'hara-hara'; and the phrase "expression of nervousness, irritation, annoyance, etc." is offered for the meaning of 'ira-ira'. This kind of explanation is problematic in several respects. First of all, these explanations are not capturing the semantic invariant of the meaning of these words. The given definition with the disjunction 'or' does nothing but enumerate the different possibilities covered by the concept of 'hara-hara', instead of capturing its invariant meaning. The use of the words like 'etc.' for "ira-ira" is also problematic, since it allows variations, which makes its definition applicable to words other than 'ira-ira'. In order to capture the semantic invariant, the definition should be minimal (not too broad, not redundant, not using elegant variation), but sufficient.

Moreover, the biggest problem is offering English emotional words for the meaning of Japanese psychomimes. This is because, for example, saying "nervous" for 'hara-hara' or 'ira-ira' means interpreting these Japanese

concepts through the prism of the English language. Wierzbicka (1991b: 333) clearly articulates this problem of explaining the concept of foreign words in terms of English words. She says such an explication in fact obfuscates the meaning of words rather than clarifying them:

"Of course, English words of this kind are usually offered as approximate glosses, not as exact equivalents, and the use of such glosses is often unavoidable, or at least quite understandable, as a first approximation. But if one does not move from these approximations and vague analogies to something more precise, one remains locked in one's ethnocentric perspective and cannot achieve a true insight into the conceptual artefacts of a foreign culture" (Wierzbicka 1991b: 334).

Some people like Kimizuka (1967: 16) suggest that giving many sample sentences with the appropriate sample context is important for teaching onomatopoeia so that the student can learn the appropriate semantic situation in which it is used. In fact, most Japanese-English dictionaries or onomatopoeic dictionaries list many sample sentences in order to illustrate the actual use of those words. However, as Wierzbicka points out in mentioning Leibniz' saying, "an accumulation of examples cannot replace a general or formal signification for them" (Leibniz 1949: 365-366 in Wierzbicka 1986b: 522). Wierzbicka (1986b: 522) says that "if a series of examples provides a shortcut to a purely intuitive knowledge acquired by lengthy 'immersion in a language', a clear and general explanatory formula may provide a shortcut to a semi-intuitive knowledge acquired through lengthy study of examples, supported by time-consuming exercises".

Neither vague analogous words from an other language, nor lengthy explanations, nor accumulations of sample examples can show us clearly and precisely the unique nature or concept of Japanese psychomimes.

If we want to define Japanese psychomimes in a way which is truly free of ethnocentrism and explanatory, we must do so by means of explicit semantic formulas, such as those offered by the "semantic primitives" approach proposed

by Wierzbicka (1986b: 530; 1992a). In this approach, a "natural semantic metalanguage (NSM)" is used as a tool for explicating the meanings of words in foreign languages. These words are "maximally clear, maximally simple, and maximally universal" in the sense of having absolute equivalents in all the language of the world, and thus are intuitively understandable (non-technical). By using these words which themselves are not names of emotions in specific languages, we can also avoid ethno-centric 'definitions' of words.

In this thesis, I will attempt to explicate the meaning of Japanese psychomimes by using this metalanguage, which has been developed by Wierzbicka and her colleagues over many years. Wierzbicka and Goddard (in press) propose the following list of words at present as the most likely candidates for this metalanguage:

- \* [Substantives] --- I, you; someone, people; something
- \* [Mental Predicates] --- think, know, feel, want, see, hear
- \* [Speech] --- say
- \* [Actions, Events, and Movement] --- do, happen (to), move
- \* [Existence and Life] --- be (there is/are), live
- \* [Determiners and Quantifiers] --- this, the same, other; one, two, some, much/many, little/few; all
- \* [Evaluators] --- good, bad
- \* [Descriptors] --- big, small
- \* [Space] --- where, under, above; side, inside; far, near
- \* [Time] --- when, after, before, a long time, a short time
- \* [Taxonomy and Partonomy] --- kind of, part of
- \* [Augmentor] --- more
- \* [Intensifier] --- very
- \* [Similarity] --- like
- \* [Clause linkers] --- if, if...would, because
- \* [Clause operators] --- not, maybe
- \* [Meta-predicate] --- can

In my explication of Japanese psychomimes, however, in order to avoid long and unwieldy definitions, I have used an expanded list, including words which, although not universal, recur widely in the languages of the world as separate lexical items. All the words used in this thesis are listed in Appendix A.



For the framework of the explication of psychomimes, I will employ the "prototype scenario" proposed by Wierzbicka (1992d: 540). This explicates the meaning of emotions by means of the framework showing "to feel a certain emotion means to feel like a person does who has certain (specifiable) thought, characteristic of that particular situation (and to undergo some internal process because of this)" (Wierzbicka 1994a: 778).

### 4.3. PSYCHOMIMES SELECTED FOR THE CASE STUDIES

The examination of the meaning of Japanese psychomimes reveals some aspects of the emotional world of Japanese people, shaped by Japanese culture. Chapters 5 and 6 will examine in detail the semantic aspect of psychomimes. However, since the whole range of emotions which psychomimes can represent is too large to be analyzed in this thesis, I will limit myself to discussing seventeen representative psychomimes which are frequently used. They are ordered and grouped in such a way as to show the differences and similarities of meaning between loosely related concepts.

Six of them, representing momentary mental activity, will be discussed in chapter 5. They are 'gyoQ', 'haQ', 'dokiQ' for something like 'surprise' feelings and 'muQ', 'kaQ', 'mukaQ' for something like 'anger' feelings. Although there is a standard verb "odoroku" or a quasi-onomatopoeic verb "bikkuri-suru" for the expressions of surprise in Japanese, the Japanese language possesses those variant psychomimes such as "gyoQ", "dokiQ", "haQ", which describe the exact moment of being surprised. Similarly, the psychomimes such as "kaQ", "muQ", or "mukaQ" represent the momentary feelings of something like 'anger', which cannot be conveyed by other anger expressions. The semantic aspects of those psychomimes are discussed in chapter 5.

One of the characteristics of Japanese psychomimes is that many of them represent restless emotions. In Chapter

6, I will examine eleven psychomimes which represent continuous restless emotional activity. They are "ira-ira" and "musha-kusha" for bad feelings about some on-going continuous happening; "hara-hara", "hiya-hiya", "biku-biku" and "odo-odo", for bad feelings about an anticipated bad happening; "doki-doki" and "sowa-sowa" for restless emotions about some expected happening; and "waku-waku" "uki-uki" and "iso-iso" for good feelings about an expected good happening.

Among these psychomimes, "ira-ira", "hara-hara", "hiya-hiya", "biku-biku", "odo-odo", "sowa-sowa", and "waku-waku" are often translated or glossed as 'nervous' in Japanese-English dictionary. According to Morita, a particular type of neurosis called *shinkeishitsu* or *shinkeishitsu-shoo*, which is translated as "nervosity" or "nervosis", is relatively common among Japanese (Lebra 1976: 216). Fujita (in Lebra 1976: 217-8) states that the *shinkeishitsu* patient is torn apart by strong anxiety, tenseness, and fear on the one hand, and by the desire to overcome these and to participate in human interaction, on the other.

Psychomimes such as 'ira-ira', 'hara-hara', 'hiya-hiya', 'biku-biku', 'odo-odo' all connote some bad feelings, which are related to this *shinkeishitsu-shoo*. However, the other two psychomimes 'sowa-sowa' and 'waku-waku', while they are also glossed as "nervous" in dictionaries, are different. The psychomime 'waku-waku' is used only when one expects something good to happen. The psychomime 'sowa-sowa' does not connote either bad or good feelings, and can be used for both in a positive forward-looking situation like "Renkyuu o **sowa-sowa** shite matteiru (I am waiting for holidays feeling **sowa-sowa**)", as well as for the negatively forward-looking situation as in "Shiken mae de **sowa-sowa** shite ochitsukanai (I am feeling restless **sowa-sowa** before the examination)".

Thus, the meaning of these psychomimes cannot be explained by English terms, since they are indeed Japanese language-specific. Also, while psychomimes of the same group seem to have almost identical meanings, they do mean

different things and function differently in Japanese. However, when they are translated into the universal semantic metalanguage, the similarities and the differences between those concepts become apparent, and the meaning of each psychomime becomes comprehensible to outsiders.

## 5. MOMENTARY EMOTIONS

In this chapter, the meaning of six selected momentary emotional psychomimes will be examined. Three of them 'haQ', 'gyoQ', 'dokiQ' are psychomimes denoting something like the feeling of 'surprise' about an unexpected happening; the three psychomimes 'muQ', 'kaQ', and 'mukaQ' refer to a bad feeling about somebody's actions. The quality of immediate reaction involved in all of these psychomimes is expressed by the component "this person feels something AT THIS TIME".

For the discussion of each psychomime, examples in context are given first, and then the definition of psychomimes as well as the justification of the definition will be given.

### 5.1. FEELING SOMETHING ABOUT AN UNEXPECTED HAPPENING

The meaning of each psychomime cannot be explicated by the dictionary. To begin with, offering English emotional terms or phrases for the meaning of Japanese psychomimes is problematic: they express complex concepts which are specific to the English language and culture, and cannot represent the exact meaning of Japanese psychomimes. Therefore, for example, while Japanese-English dictionaries give the English word "startled" for the meaning of Japanese psychomime 'haQ', "startled" cannot always occur in the context where 'haQ' occurs. For instance, 'haQ' cannot be replaced by "startled" in the following sentence "Natsukashii kyoku o kiite **haQ** to shitari... (I feel **haQ**, hearing the music of old times)".

Moreover, dictionaries often offer one English emotional word for more than one Japanese psychomimes. For example, the present biggest Japanese-English dictionary

KNJED offers "be startled" for all three psychomimes 'haQ', 'gyoQ', and 'dokiQ'; "feel a shock" for both 'gyoQ' and 'dokiQ'; "get a start" for both 'haQ' and 'dokiQ'. Looking at those lists of English emotional words for each psychomime, the reader just gets confused, wondering how each word is different from the others.

Izard (1977: 277) says that the feeling of 'surprise' is difficult to describe because the feeling does not last long. However, the common features as well as differences of 'haQ', 'gyoQ', and 'dokiQ' can be clearly explicated if we examine the underlying concepts of these psychomimes in terms of intuitively understandable words.

### 5.1.1. HAQ

Examples:

- (1) HAQ to shita shunkan no kimi wa tenshi sa...  
[From a popular song by T.Tahara]

(MT: You look like an angel at the moment I feel **HAQ**.)<sup>19</sup>

- (2) Kanojo no utsukushisa ni mitorete, sonoba ni kugizuke ni natte ita watashi wa, musume no yobu koe ni HAQ to ware ni kaetta.

(B: Transfixed, lost in admiration for her beauty, I suddenly [**HAQ to**] came to myself at the sound of my daughter calling me.) [PG]

- (3) Futon o mochiageru toki, yoisho to kakegoe shite, HAQ to omotta. Watashi wa, ima made, jibun ga yoisho nante gebita kotoba o iidasu onna da to wa omotte inakatta. [HM: 71]

(J --> E: As I lift it (my futon) to put it away, I hear myself go "Oof!" and I *think, what?* [**HAQ to**]. I've never thought of myself as the type of girl who'd come out with something like "oof".) [RM: 44]

- (4) Tsumi to batsu, Dosutoefusukii, chira to sore ga zunoo no katasumi o kasumete toori, HAQ to omoimashita. Moshimo ano Dosuto-shi ga tsumi to batsu o shinonimu to kangaezu, antonimu to shite narabeta mono to shitara? [NS: 104]

(J --> E: Crime and punishment. Dostoyevsky. These words grazed over a corner of my mind, startling me (making me feel HAQ). Just supposing Dostoyevsky ranged 'crime' and 'punishment' side by side not as synonyms but as antonyms?) [NLH: 147]

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<sup>19</sup> There are moments when I suddenly see you are an angel.

- (5) [Kita Morio-shi no sakebigoe ni] Kupukupu wa **HAQ to omoidashita.** Taihendatta. Ima wa konna tokoro de guzu-guzu shite wa irarenai toki na no da.  
[FKB: 145]  
(J --> E: [To hear the cry of Morio Kita.]Speaking of which, Kupukupu suddenly remembered (remembered **HAQ-to**). This was no time for idle chatter.) [AKS: 133]
- (6) **HAQ to shita** mimi ni, ame ga shito-shito to noki o nurasu oto ga kikoe...  
[T: 103]  
(MT: My ears which felt **HAQ** heard the sound of rain falling shito-shito on the eaves...)
- (7) Natsukashii kyoku o mimi ni shite, **HAQ to shitari..**  
[A phrase in the advertisement of Gunze (underwear company) 4/7/1993]  
(MT: I feel **HAQ** , hearing the music of old times.)
- (8) Densha o orita totan, kasa ya kaimonobukuro o shanai ni okiwasureta koto ni **HAQ to kizuita.** [PG]  
(B: Just as she got off the train it suddenly [**HAQ to**] occurred to her that she had left her umbrella and shopping bag on the train.)
- (9) Nemuri ni ochiru toki no kimochi tte, henna mono da. Funa ka, unagi ka, guigu tsuriito o hipparu no ni, nandaka omoi, namari mitai na chikara ga, ito de motte, watashi no atama o, guQ to hiite, watashi-ga toro-toro to nemukeruto, mata, chotto ito o yurumeru. Suruto, watashi-wa **HAQ to ki o torinaosu.** [HM: 112]  
(J --> E: Falling asleep is a strange sensation. It's like something very heavy, like lead, pulling on my head with a string, like a carp or eel jerking on a fishing line, pulling me down. You start to nod off, and then the line goes slack and I snap back awake. (I pull myself together **HAQ-to**).[RM: 101]
- (10) Uoorugai de wa subete no hito ga Uoorujaanaru o maiasa yomu. Toki ni wa "**HAQ**" to suru yoo na.kiji ga dete iru-shi, heion-buji na hi mo aru.  
[TB: 230]  
(MT: On Wall St. everybody reads the Wall Street Journal every morning. Sometimes there is an article which makes me feel **HAQ**, and sometimes there are only tranquil articles.)
- (11) Tomodachi ga hootai de gurugurumaki ni shite, doa no tokoro ni arawareta no de, watashi wa **HAQ to shita.** [PG]  
(B: I was startled for a moment [felt **HAQ**] when my friend appeared at my door with his head all bandaged up.)
- (12) Aete (ie ni iru toki wa) mecha-kucha na kakkoo o shite, joyuu ni nattara, **HAQ to shokku o ataeru.** Sono rakusa o tanoshinde iru n desu.  
[FK January 1993: 345]  
(MT: I tend to dress awfully on purpose when I am at home, then when I change into an actress, I give other people a shock which makes them feel **HAQ**. I enjoy this difference.)

## Meaning of 'HAQ'

X feels something  
sometimes a person thinks something like this:  
    something happened now  
    I didn't think before now: this will happen  
    I know something now because of this  
because of this, this person feels something at this time  
X feels like this

According to Morita (1988: 83), the Japanese word 'odoroku', a typical emotional word for a 'surprise' feeling, originally had milder connotations than the present 'odoroku'. For example, in the Heian period (794-1192 A.D.), even the feeling experienced when one is woken from sleep was described as 'odoroku'. Nowadays, only one psychomime 'haQ' can be used for such an occasion of awakening from sleep, as seen in sentence (9). Other psychomimes or emotional words for 'surprise'-like feelings including 'odoroku' are used for referring to more intense feelings.

@ something happened now

@ I didn't think before now: this will happen

This feeling occurs suddenly when one reacts to some happening immediately. There is an unexpected feeling in 'haQ', although its degree is not as strong as that of 'gyoQ' ('I didn't think before now: something like this COULD happen') and 'dokiQ' ('I didn't know before now: this CAN happen'). The trigger of this 'haQ' feeling can be anything. It does not have to be remarkable, and often is a very trivial thing, such as someone's calling one's name as seen in sentence (2). Moreover, the unexpectedness included in the 'haQ' feeling is not necessarily caused by an external thing. This could be one's own voice as seen in sentence (3); one's mental activity as seen in sentence (4); or one's own action of getting off the train as seen in sentence (8).

@ I know something now because of this

Izard (1977: 277-8) describes the thinking activity at the moment of 'surprise' as follows: "our mind seems to be blank.... It is as though ordinary thought processes are momentarily stopped. Thus there is very little thought content associated with surprise, and virtually none with startle". However, the intensity of unexpectedness of the 'haQ' feeling is not strong enough to stop one's thinking. For example, one could say that one gets an idea at the moment of this 'haQ' feeling as follows:

- (13) **HAQ** to shita shunkan subarashii kangae ga omoiukanda.  
(A bright idea occurred to me at the moment when I felt **HAQ**.)

Therefore, the time when one feels 'haQ' is rather the crucial moment to start the active movement of one's mind. At this moment, we recognise or know something: for example, we come to reality from an enchanted state as in sentence (2); we recognise something we didn't recognise before, such as our own habit as seen in sentence (3) or get a flash of an idea as seen in sentence (4); we remember something we have forgotten as in sentence (5) and (8); we recognise something anew, such as someone's beauty as seen in sentence (1) and (12). Therefore, 'haQ' is often used together with the verbs "kizuku (recognise)" in (8), or "omou (think)" in (3) (4) (5), or with phrases such as "ware ni kaeru (come to oneself)" in (2), or "ki o torinaosu (pull oneself together)" in (9).

There are a lot of onomatopoeic words which refer to the state of absent-minded, or day-dreaming, or unconsciousness in Japanese: 'uttori (be transported)', 'ukkari (inadvertently)', 'uka-uka (to dream away one's time)'; 'booQ', 'pokan', 'bokeQ', 'bosa-bosa', 'bonyari' (to look vacantly), and so on. 'HaQ' is the feeling experienced when one comes to oneself from these absent-minded, delusive, or unrecognised feelings.



@ because of this, this person feels something at this time

This psychomime 'haQ' captures the feeling experienced in a short term [at this time]. The resulting feeling does not include a bad or a good component. One may feel something good if what one discovers at the moment of 'haQ' is good, such as when one becomes conscious of another person's beauty in sentence (1). One may feel something bad if what is discovered is something bad, such as one's own undesirable habit in sentence (3) or a friend's injury in sentence (11). However, these are not components of the meaning of 'haQ'.

### 5.1.2. GYOQ

Examples:

- (1). Watashi wa Tsugumi no ude o tsukami GYOQ to shita. Sono hitomi wa reisei ni watashi o mitsumek<sup>Y</sup>eta ga, ude wa monosugoi atsusa datta. [T: 159]  
(MT: I felt GYOQ when I hold Tsugumi's arm. She stared at me calmly, but her arm was awfully hot.)
- (2). Tsugumi mo sukoshi waratte miseta. Soshite, itta.  
"Ano na, omae ni dake iu kedo na, atashi, dame kamo shirenai. Kitto shinu."  
Watashi wa GYOQ to shita. [T: 203]  
(MT: Tsugumi smiled a bit. Then she said, "Well, I will tell only you. I might be hopeless. I am sure I will die." I felt GYOQ.)
- (3) Sukoshi zutsu, jigazoo no seisaku ni torikakatte mimashita. Jibun demo GYOQ to shita hodo, insan na e ga dekiagarimashita. Shikashi, kore koso munasoko ni hitakakushi no jibun no shootai na no da. [NS: 34]  
(J --> E: ...I began to draw a few self-portraits... The pictures I drew were so heart-rending as to stupefy even myself (make even myself feel GYOQ). Here was the true self I had so desperately hidden.) [NLH: 55]
- (4). (Ani wa) kaoiro mo waruku, GYOQ to suru hodo yasete, kewashii yooboo ni narimashita. [HM: 214]  
(J --> E: [My oldest brother's] face had a stern look, and I was shocked [I felt GYOQ] to see how thin he was.) [DO: 166]
- (5) Nedan ga takai no ni GYOQ to shita. [KNJED]  
(B: I was staggered [felt GYOQ] at the price.)

- (6) Kare wa GYOQ to shite, koshi o nukashita. [PG]  
 (B: He was petrified with surprise and fear. [feeling GYOQ])
- (7) (a) He, ano hito, okama? GYOQ.  
 (B: What! That guy's a fag? Gee! [GYOQ!]) [PG]  
 (b) GYOQ! Koko ga jisatsu no meisho no dangai? [GGT: 98]  
 (MT: GYOQ! Is this the famous cliff where many people commit suicide?)  
 (c) Hee, ano hito sonna toshi nano? GYOQ. [GGJ: 84]  
 (MT: Is that person really that age? GYOQ.)
- (8) GYOQ to sono ba ni kugizuke ni natta. [PG]  
 (B: Shocked [feeling GYOQ], she was riveted to the spot.)
- (9) Amari shizuka ni tatte iru mono desu kara, futari ga ikite iru koto mo sukkari wasurete shimaimashita. Sorede, meimei no eri no ushirogawa ni, 'Tsuiidoru' to iu ji ga kaite aru ka doo ka tashikameyoo to, gurutto ushiro no hoo o miyoo to shita toki, 'DAMU' no shirushi no aru hoo ga koe o dashita node, [Arisu-wa] GYOQ to shimashita. [KKA: 45-6]  
 (J <-- E: They [DUM and DEE] stood so still that she [Alice] quite forgot they were alive, and she was just going round to see if the word "TWEEDLE" was written at the back of each collar, when she was startled (--> felt GYOQ) by a voice coming from the one marked 'DUM'. [TLG: 165]

### Meaning of 'GYOQ'

X feels something

sometimes a person thinks something like this:

something happened now

I know now: this is bad

I did not know before now: something like this could happen

I can't think now

I can't do anything now because of this

because of this, this person feels something bad at this time

x feels like this

@ something happened now.

@ I now know: this is bad

The feeling of 'gyoQ' occurs when we encounter some unexpected thing which we think is "bad". For example, we feel 'gyoQ' when our friend suddenly says she will die soon as in sentence (2); when we see something terribly bad as in sentence (3), when we find the incredibly high price of some merchandise as in sentence (5). One cannot feel 'gyoQ' when the discovery is something good or neutral (neither good nor bad). For example:

- (3) Sukoshizutsu, jigazoo no seisaku ni torikakatte mimsashita. Jibun demo **GYOQ** to shita hodo, insan na[\* subarashii/\*heibon na] e ga dekiagari-mashita.....  
(I began to draw a few portraits...The pictures I drew were so dreary[\* great/\* ordinary] as to make even myself feel **GYOQ.**)

The picture which is 'subarashii (great)' or 'heibon na (ordinary)' cannot be the trigger of 'gyoQ', since this feeling requires the connotation of discovering something 'bad'.

The psychomime 'gyoQ' came to be used much more widely and commonly when a disk jockey regularly used this word in his radio program in 1949 (Inagaki, Y. 1982). Inagaki mentions that this word became popular at this time because many Japanese people were actually feeling 'gyoQ' about the occurrence of unexpected and unbelievable bad events, such as the Korean war, or other succeeding political and social affairs.

People at present have much more variety for expressing the feeling of something like 'surprise' than people in ancient times who did not have words such as 'gyoQ' or 'bikkuri', but had only milder emotion words such as 'haQ' or 'odoroku'. This might be because there are more various and radical triggers of this kind of 'surprise' like emotions available in the present time.

@ I didn't know before now: something like this could happen

The degree of experiencer's unexpected and incredible feeling towards the occurrence of something is very strong.

@ I can't think now

@ I cannot do anything now because of this

The feeling of 'gyoQ' is so strong and intense as to make the experiencer sometimes articulate this word spontaneously and unconsciously like an interjection as seen in sentence (7). Such an outcry of the 'haQ' feeling never occurs, since it is a much more milder feeling.

In contrast to the feeling of 'haQ', which activates one's mental activity, the feeling of 'gyoQ' makes the experiencer at a loss about dealing with this unexpected happening, and stops his/her mental or physical activity for a moment. Therefore, the person feeling this 'gyoQ' is often described as having stopped his/her movement with phrases such as "sono ba ni kugi-zuke ni naru / tachi-sukumu (stand paralysed)" or as having become blank in the mind with phrases referring to blank facial expression such as "[kuchi] anguri (be open-mouthed being unaware it is open)".

@ because of this, this person feels something bad at this time

The resultant feeling after the discovery of an incredibly, unexpectedly bad happening is 'bad'.

### 5.1.3. DOKIQ

Examples:

- (1) ...to igai na koto o osshatta. Watashi wa DOKIQ to shite....  
 [Dazai "Shayoo (setting sun)" in JEOMTD]  
 (J --> E: I was taken aback [felt DOKIQ] by this unexpected remark.)
- (2) Kurejitto kaado no seikyu ni DOKIQ to shitari....  
 [A phrase in the advertisement of Gunze, 4/7/1993]  
 (MT: I feel DOKIQ to see the demand for payment of my credit card.)
- (3) Tetsuo ga itta. "Chigau, nigeru na." DOKIRI<sup>20</sup> to shite kare o mitsumeru to...  
 [KY: 158]  
 (MT: Tetsuo said, "No, don't run away (from your trouble)." I felt DOKIRI, then I gazed at him.)
- (4) Tokoroga, shoojiki na hanashi, ome ni kakatte boku wa DOKIQ to shita no da. [Osaragi "Kikyoo (homecoming)" in JEOMTD]  
 (J --> E: Honestly, though, something struck me [I felt DOKIQ] when I saw you.)

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<sup>20</sup> As mentioned in section 2.2.1. of Chapter 2, /-ri/ suffix connotes the softer quality of the root /doki/.

(5) Tsuma ga jisatsu shita to iu shirase o kiita toki, kare wa karada ga tobiagaru-hodo mune ga **DOKIQ to shite**, omowazu iki o nonda. [PG]

(B: Upon hearing the news that his wife had committed suicide, he got such a shock [felt DOKIQ] that he leapt up taking a startled breath.)

(6) **DOKIQ to shita** no wa, tsuini sore rashii shinshi no sugata o mitsuketa kara de atta. [Genji "Hoopu-san" in JEOMTD]

(J --> E: He gave a start [he felt DOKIQ], as he spotted someone who looked as if he might be his man.)

(7) "**DOKIQ to sase-yagaru** ze. Koko de nani shiteru n da." to yaban wa tomodachi ni itta. [PG]

(B: "You scared the hell out of me [made me feel DOKIQ]! What are you doing here?" the night watchman said to his friend.)

### Meaning of 'DOKIQ'

X feels something

sometimes a person thinks something like this:

something happened to me now

I didn't think before now : this can happen

something happened to my heart now because of this

because of this, this person feels something at this time

this person feels like someone who thinks this:

*'I now hear the sound of a beat of my heart' [dokiQ]*

X feels like this

@ something happened to me now

@ I didn't think before now: this can happen

Like 'haQ' and 'gyoQ', the discovery of occurrence of something is sudden [now]. The negative or positive judgement does not need to be attached to the trigger of this emotion. Sometimes the trigger could be something bad, such as the large amount for payment of one's credit card as seen in sentence (2) or bad news of somebody's death as in sentence (5). It could also be something good such as the feeling experienced when one is given a word from an admired person suddenly as seen in the following sentence:

(8) Akogare no kanojo ga, 'ohayoo' to surechigai ni itta node, **DOKIQ to shita**.

(I felt DOKIQ, since the girl I admire said 'good morning' to me when she passed by.)

One also could feel 'dokiQ' when the trigger of that feeling cannot be judged good nor bad, such as the sudden unexpected discovery of someone's existence in a place as seen in sentence (7).

@ I now know: something happened to me because of this

Unlike 'gyoQ', whose cause could be anything as long as the experiencer thinks it bad and incredibly unexpected, the cause of 'dokiQ' is restricted to something which will affect the experiencer somehow. People feel 'dokiQ' when they think the unexpected discovery will concern them [to me]. For example, we feel 'dokiQ' at finding the large amount of bill of our own credit cards as in sentence (2). We would not feel 'dokiQ', while we might feel 'gyoQ', if that is the bill of our friend's credit card.

:(2') Tomodachi no Kurejitto kaado no seikyuu ni **DOKIQ to shitari..**  
(? I feel DOKIQ to see the demand for payment of my friend's credit card.)

This is because we know that the discovery of an unexpected happening is not concerned with us, but with our friend. We might feel 'dokiQ', if we know that the bill might affect us somehow: e.g. we have the responsibility for paying the bill in case of the bankruptcy of our friend; or the friend will find out that we have used that friend's credit card secretly before.

@ something happened to my heart now because of this

It is our "mune (heart)" where physical reaction of this 'dokiQ' feeling occurs, as seen in "mune ga dokiQ to suru (my heart feels dokiQ)" in sentence (5). Other parts of the body would not feel 'dokiQ': "\*atama/hara/karada ga dokiQ to suru (\*My mind/belly/body feels dokiQ.)"

The degree of unexpectedness of 'dokiQ' is strong enough to make the experiencer think he/she had a strong heart beat. The intensity of this unexpectedness is stronger than that of 'haQ', where no particular physical

manifestation is seen except for one's mental activation, but this is weaker than that of 'gyoQ', where the unexpected shock is as strong as to stop one's thinking as well as physical activity.

@ because of this, this person feels something at this time

The resultant feeling is neither good nor bad. The experiencer might feel something good when what he/she finds at the moment of 'dokiQ' is something good, such as a word from his favourite girl as seen in sentence (8). One might feel something bad if his/her discovery is something bad, such as news of someone's death as in sentence (5). However, this good and bad feeling is not a component of the meaning of 'dokiQ', but is derived from the context of the sentence.

@ this person feels like someone who feels this:

'I now hear the sound of a beat of my heart' [dokiQ]

The experiencer of a 'dokiQ' feeling who physically felt a strong beat of his heart thinks as if he/she actually heard the sound of its beating. The sound of one's repeated heart beat is described as the phonomime 'doki-doki' in Japanese, as in the following sentence:

- (9) Chooshinki o mune ni ateru to **DOKI-DOKI** to iu kodoo ga kikokeru.  
(When we apply a stethoscope to the heart, we can hear the sound **DOKI-DOKI** of the heart beating.)

'DokiQ' is the emphatic form of a single occurrence of this heart beating "doki-doki".

## 5.2. FEELING SOMETHING BAD ABOUT SOMEBODY'S ACTION

'muQ', 'kaQ', 'mukaQ' are all psychomimes describing momentary emotions of feeling something bad after the discovery of somebody's actions. The glosses given by Japanese-English dictionaries for these psychomimes are misleading. For example, Japanese-English dictionaries such as KNJED give identical glosses "get angry", "feel vexed", or "be offended" for both 'muQ' and 'mukaQ'. However, 'mukaQ' differs from 'muQ' in many points. For example, it denotes a more intense feeling than 'muQ', without the connotation of 'suppression'.

Japanese-English dictionaries distinguish 'muQ' and 'mukaQ' from 'kaQ' in terms of the difference of intensity of feeling. For example, KNJED offers "be stirred into passionate anger" for the meaning of 'kaQ', and "get angry" for the meaning of both 'muQ' and 'kaQ'. However, when we examine the meaning of these words more closely, it is found that it is the difference of underlying concepts as well as the associated images involved which distinguish the exact meaning and range of use of these words.

### 5.2.1. MUQ

Examples:

- (1) Nibe mo naku kotowarare MUQ to shita ga, bashogara osaeru koto ni shita. [PG]  
(B: He turned me down flat and I was thoroughly annoyed [felt MUQ], but out of regard for the occasion I decided to suppress my anger.)
- (2) "Yaa kame-san wa noroi ne. kore kara noro-game to, namae o kaetara doo-dai?" Kame wa MUQ to shimashita.  
[Kyooiku doowa kenkyuukai "Isoppu" in GGK]  
(MT: "Yeah, you are so slow. Why not change your name to "slow turtle?" The turtle felt MUQ.)



- (3) "Watashi yori mo noroku aruku mono wa dare mo inai n' desu tte? Watashi wa zenryoku o tsukushimashita zo," to shisha wa MUQ to shita chooshi de iimashita. [KKA: 105]  
 (J <-- E: "I do my best," the messenger said in a sullen [--> MUQ] tone. "I'm sure nobody walks much faster than I do!") [TLG: 207]
- (4) [Nonezumi ga sero-ensoosha no Gooshu ni, jibun no musuko no haraita o naoshite hoshii to tanonda toki..] "Ore ga isha nado yareru monka," Gooshu wa sukoshi MUQ to shite iimashita. [KM: 234]  
 (J --> E: [When a field mouse asked the cello player Gorsh to cure her son's stomachache] "How d'you expect *me* to play the doctor?" demanded Gorsh rather petulantly. [feeling MUQ] ) [WC: 121]
- (5) Kaoruko wa MUQ to shita. "Gojoodan de wa arimasen ne?"  
 [Osaragi "tabiji": 283/195 in JEOMTD]  
 (J --> E: Kaoruko was annoyed [felt MUQ]. "What did you say?" Kaoruko said crossly.)
- (6) Hisho ga namete kuchigotae shita node, monoshizuka na shachoo mo MUQ to shita. [PG]  
 (B: The secretary made a fool of him and gave him some lip, so even the normally calm president was offended [felt MUQ].
- (7) Namae o kiita dake na no ni, MUQ to oshidamatte, itte shimatta.  
 [GGT: 534]  
 (MT: When I just asked his name, he kept his mouth shut feeling MUQ, and went away.)
- (8) Tomoe wa MUQ to shita ga, kobamu wake ni mo ikanai no de...  
 [Endoo "Obaka-san": 45/41 in JEOMTD]  
 (J --> E: Tomoe was put out, [felt MUQ] but she could not very well refuse (his gestures altogether))

### Meaning of 'MUQ'

X feels something

sometimes a person thinks something like this:

I know now: someone did something

I didn't want this

I would want : someone did not do this thing

because of this, I would want to do/say something now  
 if I could

I can not do/say it now

because other people would feel something bad  
 if I do/say it

because of this, this person feels something bad at this time

this person feels like someone who thinks this:

'I am now in a hot place with bad smell'

'I cannot open my lips because of this' [muQ]

X feels like this

@ I know now: someone did something

@ I didn't want this

We feel 'muQ' when we perceive that someone did something that is unwanted for us. The agent of the unwanted happening has to be human or something like a human, that is, something which could have an intention. We would not feel 'muQ', for example, towards the strong wind which has blown away our laundry, or a cat which has eaten the fish for our dinner. However, the identity of the person responsible for that unwanted happening is not particularly important [\* this person]. Therefore, for example, we could feel 'muQ' about the discovery of a closed gallery while we don't know who's decided to close it on that day:

- (9) Sekkaku bijutsukan ni itta noni, kyuukan de **MUQ** to shita yo.  
(I felt **MUQ**, when I found the art gallery closed, after having gone there especially.)

The focus of the experiencer feeling 'muQ' is on the event rather than the person who is responsible for it. The action of unwanted event need not be directed personally at the experiencer [\* to me].

Somebody's action is regarded as 'unwanted' for the experiencer feeling 'muQ', but it does not necessarily have to be something 'bad'. Wierzbicka (1994a: 784) mentions that "from a semantic point of view 'undesirable' or 'unwanted' is not the same thing as 'bad' (just as 'desirable' or 'wanted' is not the same thing as 'good', while its distinction is not always easy)". We could feel 'muQ', when what happens is not objectively bad at all, if we interpret that event as something unwanted. For example, in sentence (4), Gorsh felt 'muQ', not because he thought the field mouse's request to cure her son's stomach-ache was bad, but because he regarded that request as inappropriate (Gorsh is a cello player, and not a doctor) and didn't want to have such bother especially at the time when he was in a bad mood.

@ I would want : someone did not do this thing.

The experiencer of 'muQ' thinks of the action which happened against his/her wishes as avoidable. For example, in sentence (4) Gorsh felt 'muQ' towards the field mouse because he thought he need not have been bothered if the mouse could have been more considerate about choosing a more appropriate person (doctor) for her request.

@ because of this, I would want to do/say something now  
if I could

@ I can not do/say it now

@ because other people would feel something bad if I do/say it

The experiencer of 'muQ' has an immediate impulse to do something against that unwanted situation. Most of the time, this impulse is to say something rather than doing something. For example:

- (10) Kare no hitokoto ni **MUQ** to shita node, nanika itte yaroo ka/ \*tataite yaroo ka to omotta.  
(Since I felt **MUQ** towards his word, I felt like saying something back to him/\* hitting him.)

However, the person feeling 'muQ' has an intention of suppressing or controlling that impulse ('I can not do/say it now') at least for the moment. Most typically, the experiencer keeps silent as seen in sentence (1) and (7). While the experiencer may say something when they feel 'muQ' as in sentences (3), (4), and (5), he/she has the sense of controlling them so that what he/she would say does not become something very explosive. The experiencer's offended feeling of 'muQ' would not be outwardly expressed, other than she/he would unconsciously show it with his/her sullen facial expression or sullen tone of voice.

The Japanese people often experience this 'muQ' feeling. This is because in Japan people often must control or subdue their emotions in consideration of the social relationship. Since consideration to others would outweigh their own individual emotions in Japan, there are a lot of

occasions where one must suppress one's bad feeling, in order to avoid making other people feel bad because of that emotional exposition. Therefore, for example, in sentence (1), the person puts up with not saying anything to another person out of the regard of the occasion.

@ because of this, this person feels something bad  
at this time

Because of their disturbed feeling caused by someone else's action or words, and because of one's consciousness of suppressing it, one feels something 'bad'. This is a short term momentary feeling [at this time]

@ this person feels like someone who thinks this:

'I am now in a hot place with bad smell'

'I cannot open my lips because of this' [muQ]

The 'MuQ' feeling in a biological sense occurs when one feels stifled by the heat or stench around one as seen in the following sentences (11) and (12).

- (11) Shita kara MUQ to hana ni tsukiagete kuru iyoo na nioi o gaman-shinagara....[Endo "obakasan": 42/38 in JEOMTD]  
(J --> E: ...as they plunged down into the foul [MUQ to]-smelling bowels of this ship.)

- (12) Shimekitta sushizume ressha no shanai wa, nekki to ase no nioi de MUQ to suru. [PG]  
(B: The heat and the smell of sweat in the closed-up, jam-packed train is stifling [making you feel MUQ].)

In places like those in the above sentences one will feel like closing one's lips. This image of closed lips at the time of feeling the sensory 'muQ' is closely linked to the closed lips of one's sullen face at the time of feeling emotional 'muQ'. Because this sullen expression is outwardly observable, this word 'muQ' is used often for referring to the third person's feeling manifested on their face.

## 5.2.2. KAQ

### Examples:

- (1) Nanika ni tsukete chichi wa kogoto o itta no de, watashi wa KAQ to natta.  
[PG]  
(B: I got mad [became/felt KAQ] because my father found fault with everything I did.)
- (2) "Otokotte, KAQ to naru to, tsui te ga deru mono desu kara nee."  
"Arimasen yo, sonna koto wa. Sore ni watashi wa KAQ to shinai tachi  
desu kara nee." [FK April 1993: 115]  
(MT: "We men tend to hit [our wife], when we become/feel KAQ." "No, it is not like that. Besides, I am not the kind of person who becomes [feels] KAQ.")
- (3) "Dewa Chippingu-san, hitotsu sono koto [intai] o kangaete moritai no desu...." Chippusu wa omowazu KAQ to natta. "Daga, watashi wa, intai, shitakunai..." [CS: 57]  
(J <-- E: "Well, Mr. Chipping, the suggestion is then for you to consider (the retirement)...." Abruptly Chips flared up [--> became/felt KAQ]. "But --umph-- don't want -- to retire...") [GMC: 71]
- (4) Soide KAQ to natte orea ie o tobidashi-chatta.  
[Oooka "Nobi": 36/48 in JEOMTD]  
(J --> E: ...I got angry [became/felt KAQ] and ran away from home.)
- (5) "Watashi no heya wa minamigawa ni shite yo." to musume ga dada o koneta-ra, chichioya wa KAQ to natte binta o kuwashita. [PG]  
(B: When his daughter demanded selfishly, "Change my room to one facing the south!" the father got in a rage [became/felt KAQ], and slapped her face.)
- (6) Kare wa tachishooben o togamerareta koto ga kikkake de, KAQ to natte sono jousei o sashi-koroshita. [PG]  
(B: Being admonished for urinating in the street made him go mad with rage [became/felt KAQ], and he stabbed the woman to death.)
- (7) Watashi mo watashi de kachiki na mono desu kara, KAQ to shite...  
[Endoo "Umi to dokuyaku": 90/90 in JEOMTD]  
(J --> E: ...since I am not of the kind to put up with anything, I got mad [felt KAQ]...)
- (8) Kono aida wa, KAQ to natte, aisumimasen deshita.  
[Enji "Onna-zaka": 100/101 in JEOMTD]  
(J --> E: "I'm sorry I lost my temper [became KAQ] the other day", she said.)

## Meaning of 'KAQ'

X feels something

sometimes a person thinks something like this:

I know now: someone did something very bad

I don't want this

because of this, I want to do something now

I want to do something bad to this someone

I cannot not do it

because of this, this person feels something very bad at this time

this person feels like someone who thinks this:

*'I am in a very hot place now' [kaQ]*

X feels like this

### @ I know now: someone did something very bad

We feel 'kaQ', when we discover somebody's 'bad' action. Like 'muQ', 'kaQ' does not require identification of the person who is responsible for some action [\* this person]. Therefore, for example, we could feel 'kaQ' about someone's bad action even when we don't know who did it as in the following sentence:

- (10) Dare no shiwaza ka wakaranai ga, watashi no hanabatake ga fumiarasarete iru no o mitsuketa toki wa, **KAQ** to natta.  
(I don't know who did this, but I became/felt **KAQ** when I found my flower garden was trampled down.)

Also like 'muQ, when we feel 'kaQ', someone's action does not have to be directly aimed at him/her [\* someone did something bad TO ME]. For example:

- (11) Doa no mukoo de dareka ga watashi no sonkei suru hito no warukuchi o itte iru no ga kikoe, watashi wa **KAQ** to natta.  
(I became/felt **KAQ**, when I heard somebody over the door speaking ill of the person I respect very much)

In the above sentence, the person feels 'kaQ' although he/she knows that malicious gossip was not directed at him/her.

However, unlike 'muQ', where the experiencer did not especially attach a negative judgement to someone's action itself, the experiencer of 'kaQ' feeling perceives that somebody's action is something 'very bad'. This degree of

'badness' comes from the experiencer's subjective judgement of the event, and therefore the action itself is not necessarily objectively bad. For example, in sentence (6), the woman's warning towards the man not to urinate in the street was objectively not bad at all: she warned him because the action was illegal. But the man felt 'kaQ', because he thought her action was very bad, feeling it as intrusive or insulting.

Like 'muQ', the experiencer's discovery of somebody's action is sudden [I know NOW].

@ I don't want this

The experiencer of 'kaQ' would like to emphatically reject the present 'bad' situation.

@ because of this, I want to do something now

@ I want to do something bad to this someone

When we feel 'kaQ', we have an impulsive desire to do something immediately [now]. Izard (1977: 354) says, "Anger mobilises energy for defence of self and imbues the individual with a feeling of vigour and strength". The person feeling strong emotion like 'kaQ' desires to take some action spontaneously.

The experiencer's spontaneous impulse to do something is hostile: to do something bad to someone who did something bad. This impulse does not necessarily have to be acted out, as seen in sentence (3) where Chips feeling 'kaQ' does not do something hostile to another person. However, this impulse often leads to some overt action. For example, the person feeling 'kaQ' hits another person in sentence (2) and (5), makes another person get into trouble by running away from home in sentence (4), and even takes an extreme violent action such as killing as seen in sentence (6).

@ I cannot not do it

Unlike 'muQ', there is no sense of suppression for the person feeling 'kaQ'. Since the experiencer of strong

emotion like 'kaQ' becomes irrational, he/she justifies his/her impulse to do something bad to someone else.

However, when this person becomes calm afterwards, the person often regrets having felt 'kaQ', or admits that the feeling of 'kaQ' was partly caused by their own fault as in sentence (7) and (8). This is because the Japanese regard showing strong emotion such as 'kaQ' as 'thoughtless', and thus think they need to be inhibited and controlled. Therefore, for example, in sentence (2) the second speaker refuses to admit that he is the kind of person who easily feels 'kaQ'. However, at the moment of experiencing this feeling, the person does not think of this necessity of inhibition.

It is worth noting here in this connection that 'kaQ' more often collocates with the verb 'naru (become)' than with the verb 'suru (do)'. As Ikegami (1991: 317) mentions, the verb or auxiliary verb 'naru' is used on occasions when the notion of agentivity needs to be suppressed. He says that the Japanese 'naru' implies that "the feeling in question is a natural (and almost inevitable) consequence beyond the control of the person involved". The apparent outward expression of a strong emotion such as 'kaQ' is disdained in Japanese society, as a thoughtless or inconsiderate action. Therefore, the Japanese apply 'naru (become)' rather than 'suru (do)' for the expression of the 'kaQ' feeling, in order to make it look as if this undesirable feeling occurred without any deliberate involvement on the part of the experiencer.<sup>21</sup>

@ because of this, this person feels something very bad now

The resultant feeling of this emotion is the very intense feeling of being 'very bad'.

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<sup>21</sup> With regard to the connection between other psychomimes and 'naru (become)' or 'suru (do)', I have not been able to isolate notable systematic features in this research. This is, however, an interesting area to be examined in further research.



@ this person feels like someone who thinks this:

'I am in a very hot place now' [kaQ]

The physical sense of 'kaQ' is the feeling of strong heat as illustrated in the following sentences.

(12) "Machi o iku josei-tachi no ninoude ga, **KAQ to** teritsukeru natsu no hizashi ni haete iru." [PG]  
(B: The bare arms of women walking down the street shine, hit by the strong hot[KAQ to] summer sunshine.)

(13) Kanojo wa dai no amatoo na n da. Karai mono o tabete **KAQ to shita.**  
(B: She has a very sweet tooth. Eating a hot dish, she was on fire [felt KAAQ].)

The emotional 'kaQ' feeling is associated with this sensory hot image of 'kaQ': the person feeling emotional 'kaQ' often actually feels physically hot with a rush of blood to the head or in the body. Because of this association with sensory feeling, the psychomime 'kaQ' is often translated into English by a word or phrase which employ the image of fire or something very hot: e.g. "fume" in (12), "burn with rage" (13), "anger burns in one", "one's anger flames", or "burn with passion" given in KNJED.

### 5.2.3. MUKAQ

Examples:

(1) [Karen (ane) no iu koto wa] mottomo na iken da kara sa, nannimo iikaesenakute, **MUKA-tsui** chatta yo. [FK July 1993: 168]  
(MT: Since Karen's warning to me was reasonable, I could not talk back, so I felt **MUKA.**) <sup>22</sup>

(2) Jibun no gakkoo no waruguchi o iwareta node, **MUKAQ to shita.**  
(B: I felt sick to my stomach [felt MUKAQ] after hearing my own school being criticised.) [TJ]

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<sup>22</sup> When the suffix 'tsuku' is attached to 'mukaQ', the syllabic obstruent /Q/ is omitted.

- (3) Boku ga kare no okusan no toshi o kiitara, doo iu wake ka, kare wa **MUKAQ** to shita. [PG]  
 (B: For some unknown reason he was really put out [felt **MUKAQ**] when I asked him how old his wife was.)
- (4) Sonoko no namaikisa ni **MUKAQ** to kita ga, oya no mae na node, damatte ita. [GGT: 529]  
 (MT: While I felt **MUKAQ** to the impertinent child, I kept silent since he was with his parents.)
- (5) **MUKAQ** to kita ga, za o shirakesasete mo, to omotte gamanshita. [GGJ: 323]  
 (MT: While I felt **MUKAQ**, I put up with it since I didn't want to spoil the merry atmosphere at the party.)

### Meaning of 'MUKAQ'

X feels something

sometimes a person thinks something like this:

I know now: someone did something

I didn't want this

I want : someone didn't do this thing

because of this, I would want to do something now

if I could

I am not doing it now

because of this, this person feels something bad at this time

this person feels like someone who thinks this:

*'something very bad in my stomach is coming up now'* [mukaQ]

X feels like this

@ I know now: someone did something

@ I didn't want this

These first two components of the 'mukaQ' feeling are the same as those of 'muQ'. The discovery of someone's action is sudden [I know NOW].

Like 'muQ' and 'kaQ', the agent of the unwanted event that makes one feel 'mukaQ' does not have to be identified, since we could say we feel 'mukaQ' about some unwanted thing, without knowing who is responsible for it, as in the following sentence:

- (6) Dare ga kimeta ka shiranai ga, konkai dekita kaisha no rifujin na kisoku ni wa **MUKAQ** to kita ne.  
 (I don't know who made it up, but I felt **MUKAQ** about the new company rule which is quite unreasonable.)

Like 'muQ' we feel 'mukaQ' when someone did something that is against our prior wishes [I didn't want this]. Therefore, the experiencer does not have to think that the content of somebody's action is 'bad' [\* someone did something BAD]. For example, in sentence (1) the person felt 'muka(Q)' since she did not want to have her unclear life plan pointed out by her sister, although she admits that the remark was sensible enough.

@ I want : someone didn't do this thing

While the experiencer does not place a negative judgement upon what the other person did, he/she thinks that the action was unnecessary and blames the agent for having done it, which was avoidable. The inner opposition to the action is stronger [want] than that of 'muQ' [would want].

@ I would want to do something now because of this  
if I could

@ I am not doing it now

The experiencer of 'mukaQ' has an immediate impulse to act. The person feeling 'mukaQ' often does not show that feeling overtly, as seen in sentences (1), (4), and (5). However, unlike 'muQ', 'mukaQ' does not necessarily require the concept of 'suppression'. This is because we could possibly have a physical reaction when we feel 'mukaQ' as seen in the following sentence:

- (7) **MUKAQ/\* MUQ** to shite tsui te o dashite shimatta.  
(Feeling **MUKAQ/\*MUQ**, I hit the person in spite of myself.)

'MuQ' is inappropriate in the above sentence because 'muQ' has the connotation of suppressing one's feeling.

However, this urge to act is weaker ('I WOULD want to do something') than that of 'kaQ' ('I WANT to do something.) Therefore, unlike 'kaQ' this impulse to do something is less likely to be actually acted out --at least not on the spot (I am not doing it now). Therefore, a person feeling

'mukaQ' would not kill another person from the spontaneous reaction of that feeling as seen in the following sentence, which is often heard as an excuse from the person who killed somebody:

- (8) Tsui, **KAQ/\*MUKAQ** to shite...[koroshite shimaimashita.]  
(It was because I felt **KAQ/\*MUKAQ** in spite of myself...[That's why I killed the person].)

@ because of this, this person feels something bad at this time  
@ this person feels like someone who feels this:

'something very bad in my stomach is coming up now' [mukaQ]

The resultant feeling is 'bad' in as much as it is the feeling associated with the physical nauseous feeling as seen in the following sentence:

- (9) **MUKAQ** to shita node, isoide toire ni kakekonda. [PG]  
(B: I felt as if I were going to be sick [felt **MUKAQ**] so I raced off to the toilet.)

The difference of the associated sensual images of 'muQ' and 'mukaQ' is linked to the difference in the intensity of feeling between them. The associated image of 'muQ' is one's undesirable feelings when engulfed by heat and bad smells, which make one want to close lips. The associated biological image of 'mukaQ' is stronger than that of 'muQ', since it makes one feel like vomiting.

While the person feeling emotional 'mukaQ' does not necessarily feel this 'nauseous' feeling, this sensational image accompanies the meaning of emotional 'mukaQ'. Therefore, many glosses given for emotional 'mukaQ' include words referring to this image, such as "feel sick to one's stomach" in sentence (2) or "so angry that you feel like vomiting" [FSB: 46].

## 6. CONTINUOUS RESTLESS EMOTIONS

In this chapter, semantic aspects of psychomimes for continuous restless emotions will be examined. The nature of continuity involved in all these psychomimes is identified by the common component "this person feels this FOR SOME TIME".

The selected continuous emotional psychomimes are first roughly classified in a way to distinguish the concepts of (1) negative feelings about present on-going happenings "ira-ira", "musha-kusha"; from the concepts of (2) negative feelings about expected bad happenings "hara-hara", "hiya-hiya", "biku-biku", "odo-odo"; and the concepts of (3) neutral (neither necessarily negative nor positive) feelings about expected happenings "doki-doki", "sowa-sowa"; and the concepts of (4) positive feelings about expected good happenings 'waku-waku', 'uki-uki', and 'iso-iso'.

The precise meaning of these words cannot be acquired from existing bilingual dictionaries, since they merely list possibly related English emotional words, each of which is often used as the gloss of more than one psychomime. For example, in KNJED the English gloss "be nervous" is given for 'ira-ira', 'hara-hara', 'hiya-hiya', 'biku-biku', 'odo-odo', 'waku-waku', and 'sowa-sowa'. The gloss "be afraid" is given for the meaning of 'hara-hara', 'hiya-hiya', and 'biku-biku'; "be in fear" and "be timid" are offered for 'hara-hara', 'hiya-hiya', 'biku-biku', and 'odo-odo'. Readers thus will not understand how these psychomimes are similar and different to each other.

Precise similarities and dissimilarities among all these psychomimes can be revealed by explications phrased in the Natural Semantic Metalanguage.

## 6.1. FEELING SOMETHING BAD ABOUT AN ON-GOING CONTINUOUS SITUATION

Let us compare here the momentary unwanted feelings described by 'muQ' and 'mukaQ' with continuous unwanted feelings described by 'ira-ira' and 'musha-kusha'.

While 'muQ' and 'mukaQ' include a semantic component of an immediate and short term reaction [this person feels something bad NOW], 'ira-ira' and 'musha-kusha' contain a component which refers to longer stretches of time during which this feeling occurs [this person feels something bad FOR SOME TIME]. Also, while the feelings of 'muQ' and 'mukaQ' are restricted to something caused by people (or some personified thing), 'ira-ira' and 'musha-kusha' have no such restrictions. Inanimate objects which cannot have intentions can be the trigger of these feelings by causing the on-going happening of something unwanted.

'Ira-ira' and 'musha-kusha' both refer to an on-going happening which is against the experiencer's wishes; the experiencer cannot stop thinking about it, and has the desire to oppose it. While he/she wants to do something to act upon it, they cannot think of a way to change the unwanted situation. Perhaps, because of those common points, both 'ira-ira' and 'musha-kusha' are glossed similarly in the Japanese-English dictionaries as "irritated", "fret", and "be vexed". However, as we will see below, the exact meanings of these words are different from each other, and they have different ranges of use.

### 6.1.1. IRA-IRA

Examples:

- (1) Soo desu ne. Sutoresu ga tamatte iru to iu ka... Jibun de wa sono tsumori wa nai no desu ga, haQ to kigatsuku to, hidoku IRA-IRA shite iru koto ga arimasu ne. [GB: 247]

(B: Yes, I suppose I am under a lot of stress. I don't think I'm overdoing it. But suddenly I sometimes realise that I am terribly irritated. [feel **IRA-IRA**].)

(2) Gumpatsu jishin tsuzuku Izu. Doobutsu ni mo sutoresu.

Inu wa **IRA-IRA**, neko no me makka. [AS: 2/6/1993 : 31]

(MT: Tremors continue at Izu. Even the animals are stressed. Dogs feel IRA-IRA, cats' eyes are deep red)

(3) "Hitozukiai ga nayami desu." Minna sutoresu o kakaeteru!

**IRA-IRA** shite wa ochikomu... (Adv. of magazine ESSE) [AS: 8/5/1993: 17]

(MT: "The problem is that I am not sociable." Everybody is stressed! We get depressed after we feel IRA-IRA...)

(4) **IRA-IRA**, hara-hara, doki-doki.... Nichijoo no fuan ya kinchoo wa, sutoresu o umi, kore ga tsuzuku to, "shinkeisei-ien" to narimasu. Oota kampoo ichoo-yaku (Adv. of medicine) [AS: 10/6/ 1993 (evening): 5]

(MT: **IRA-IRA**, hara-hara, doki-doki.... Everyday anxiety or tension brings you stress, and if this continues, it will cause you a "nervous stomachache." Oota Chinese stomach medicine.)

(5) "Nanka **IRA-IRA** suru." Sutoresu ni yoru hirookan o toritai toki ni, Mentekku. (Adv. of medicine by EIZAI) [AS: 7/7/1993: 16]

(MT: "Somehow I feel IRA-IRA." Have Mentech when you want to remove the fatigue which comes from stress.)

(6) Hachikoo no mae de, machibooke. Kuru no? Konai no? **IRA-IRA**.

(Adv. of pocket bell) [AS: 17/6/1993: 14]

(MT: I am kept waiting in vain in front of Hachikoo (a dog statue in Tokyo). Will you really come, or not? IRA-IRA.)

(7) (Nihon to Amerika wa) otagai onaji kotoba o tsukatte hanashi-atte iru tsumori da keredo, nakami ga chigatte iru. De, **IRA-IRA** ga shoojiru. Sorede, kembei ni nari, kennichi ni naru. [AJ: 7/2/1992: 61]

(MT: Although Japanese and Americans think they are talking in the same language, the content is different. Then, **IRA-IRA** arises. Then, Japanese grow to dislike Americans, and Americans grow to dislike Japanese.)

(8) Koosokudooro no juutai hodo **IRA-IRA** suru mono wa nai wa ne.

(B: Nothing sets your nerves more on edge [makes you feel IRA-IRA] than being caught in traffic on the expressway.) [FSB: 117]

(9) Satoko ga soba ni hebaritsuite kite, **IRA-IRA** suru n desu yo.

[Kawabata "Yama no ne" 171/148 in JEOMTD]

(J --> E: I get so nervous [feel **IRA-IRA**] with Satoko hanging onto me.)

## Meaning of 'IRA-IRA'

X feels something

sometimes a person thinks something like this:

something is happening

I didn't want this

it has been happening for a long time

I don't want this any more

I cannot not think about it

because of this I would want to do something if I knew what I can do

I don't know what I can do

because of this, this person feels something bad

this person feels like someone who thinks this:

*'there is something like a thorn [ira] inside a part of me'*

*'it has been there for a long time' [ira-ira]*

this person feels this for some time

X feels like this

Justification for my definition of 'ira-ira' is as follows:

@ something is happening

@ I didn't want this

@ it has been happening for a long time

The cause of 'ira-ira' has to be some event which is seen to be an on-going process. For example, in sentence (2), the dog feels 'ira-ira' because of the continuing occurrence of tremors. In sentence (4), the person feels 'ira-ira' because of the continuous experience of anxiety and strain in everyday life. In sentence (6) the person feels 'ira-ira' because of being kept waiting in vain for another person's coming.

The event which causes 'ira-ira' is not necessarily bad when it first occurs, but it becomes 'unwanted' through its continuity or repetition. For example, the trigger of 'ira-ira' in sentence (8) is just a child's hanging on to us; in sentence (7), the trigger is the subtle communication gap between different cultures, which cannot easily be recognised. However, as these events occur over and over or for a long time, the 'ira-ira' feeling results.



Japanese people seem to feel this 'ira-ira' quite often. As seen in sentences (4) and (5), various kinds of medicine are sold for curing the disease or malaise caused by the feeling of 'ira-ira'. Also, many magazines feature special articles about how to deal with the 'ira-ira' feeling in every day life as seen in sentence (3). "Stress" is the key word for the 'ira-ira' feeling as seen in sentences (1) to (5). The Japanese people easily get this 'stress' from feelings of anxiety or strain in their everyday life. Halloran (1970: 219) comments on the Japanese people as follows in the style of a monologue by an imaginary typical Japanese person : "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." Because of this vulnerable, sensitive disposition, the Japanese tend to easily feel 'ira-ira', even without any obviously intended cause.

@ I don't want this any more

The experiencer of 'ira-ira' perceives what is an on-going happening as something which occurs against his/her wishes. The experiencer wants to stop the present undesirable situation.

@ I cannot not think about it

The experiencer's attention is focused on the on-going repeated event which he/she does not want, and he/she cannot stop being concerned about it.

@ because of this, I would want to do something if I knew  
what I can do

@ I don't know what I could do

While the person feeling 'ira-ira' has an urge to act upon the present undesirable situation, he/she cannot really

find a way out of it. The speaker is in the position of the patient participant of an on-going event and is not likely to be able to change or control the situation. For example, one cannot stop a series of earthquakes occurring intermittently as in sentence (2), nor can one clear traffic jams as in sentence (8), thus they feel 'ira-ira'. Often the experiencer feels 'ira-ira' because they cannot do anything but wait for the on-going event to stop as seen in sentences (2), (6), and (8).

@ because of this, this person feels something bad

Because of the continuous undesirable situation, and being unable to find a way out of it, the person feels 'bad' as a result.

@ this person feels like someone who thinks this:

'there is something like a thorn [ira] inside a part of me  
'it has been there for a long time' [ira-ira]

It is said that originally 'ira' of 'ira-ira' is derived from the noun 'ira (thorn)' of 'irakusa (a nettle)' (cf. Yonekawa 1993: 117). The physical sense of 'ira-ira' refers to the irksome physical feeling of 'ira-ira' caused by the repeated pricking by something like a 'thorn' as seen in the following sentences:

(13) Iwashi no hone ga nodo ni sasatte iru to omou. Nomikomu to **IRA-IRA** **suru.**

(B: I think a sardine bone is stuck in my throat. whenever I swallow it irritates me. [makes me feel **IRA-IRA.**]) [PG]

(14) Tenohira ni chiisai toge demo sasatte iru no ka na? Te o kosuru tabi ni **IRA-IRA** **suru.** [GGJ: 33]

(Is there something like a small thorn stuck in my palm? Whenever I rub my hand, it **feels IRA-IRA.**)

The emotion of 'ira-ira' caused through unwanted repeated stimulation by some on-going event is akin to this image of the biological sense of 'ira-ira'.

## 6.1.2. MUSHA-KUSHA

### Examples:

- (1) Ore, keirin de oomake shite, MUSHA-KUSHA shite koojoo ni hooka shita n da. [BP: 85]  
(B: I torched the factory because I had just had it[felt MUSHA-KUSHA] with blowing all my money at the bicycle races.)
- (2) [Sonohi gakuchoo ni ensoo o okorarete] Gooshu wa hiru kara no MUSHA-KUSHA o ippen ni donaritsukemashita. [KM: 221]  
(J --> E: [Scolded by a bandmaster on that day] All the annoyance [MUSHA-KUSHA (noun)] Gorsh had been damming up inside him since earlier that day came bursting out at once.) [WC: 108]
- (3) Shigoto no ue de no MUSHA-KUSHA mo, ie e kaette nyooboo o donare-ba, futtonde shimau. [PG]  
(B: The aggravation [MUSHA-KUSHA] caused by my work disappears when I go home and yell at my wife.)
- (4) Shigoto no ue de no MUSHA-KUSHA wa koppuzake ippai kyutto hikkakere-ba, futtonde shimau. [GGJ: 323]  
(MT: The feeling of MUSHA-KUSHA caused by my work disappears when I drink a cup of sake.)
- (5) MUSHA-KUSHA shite, futari ni yooji o iitsuketa.  
[Ibuse "Kuroi ame": 150/147 in JEOMTD]  
(J --> E: Intensely irritated [feeling MUSHA-KUSHA], I immediately found them something to do.)
- (6) Oira datte, ano toki, nandaka MUSHA-KUSHA shite, shaku ni sawatta mono. [Ooe "Mizukara wa-ga namida-o nugui tamau hi: 11/4 in JEOMTD]  
(J --> E: I was upset [felt MUSHA-KUSHA] (with Akemi) that day too.)
- (7) Rombun ga nakanaka susumanai node, MUSHA-KUSHA shimasu.  
(MT: I feel MUSHA-KUSHA since my thesis does not proceed as expected.)
- (8) Kaze o hiite atama ga itai. MUSHA-KUSHA shite kodomo o sashite shimatta. [AS 22/11/1992 in GG]  
(MT: I have been having a headache because of my cold. My MUSHA-KUSHA feeling made me stab my child. )

Although 'musha-kusha' is also often translated into the English word "irritated" (2.4.5) as 'ira-ira' is, 'musha-kusha' has quite different semantic components from 'ira-ira'.

## Meaning of 'MUSHA-KUSHA'

X feels something

sometimes a person thinks something like this:

something happened/something is happening

I didn't want this

I have felt something bad for a long time because of this

I don't want this any more

I cannot not think about it

because of this, I would want to do something if I knew what I can do

I don't know what I can do

I would want to do something bad to someone else because of this

I am not doing it now

because of this, this person feels something very bad

this person feels like someone who thinks this:

'I see something losing shape' [kusha-kusha]

'I hear the sound of this' [kusha-kusha][musha-musha]

this person feels this for some time

X feels like this

@ something happened/something is happening <sup>23</sup>

@ I didn't want this

@ I have felt something bad for a long time because of this

Like 'ira-ira', the trigger of 'musha-kusha' does not have to be something 'bad', as long as it is something 'undesirable' for the experiencer. For example, one could feel 'musha-kusha' because of someone's words without thinking that it is bad as in the following example:

- (8) Kanojo wa warugi nashi ni itta no daroo ga, sono kotoba no tame ni ichinichi-juu **MUSHA-KUSHA** shite ita.  
(I think she said that word without any ill intention, but that remark made me feel **MUSHA-KUSHA** all day.)

Also, like 'ira-ira', an unwanted event does not have to be something which is specifically and solely directed at the experiencer [\* to me].

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<sup>23</sup> I have split this component into two, as I think the meaning of 'musha-kusha' becomes more clear in this way rather than isolating a common component between them.

- (9) Jibun no motte iru kabu no nedan ga sagatta nyuusu o kiite, ichinichi-juu **MUSHA-KUSHA shite ita.**  
(I have been feeling **MUSHA-KUSHA** all day since I heard the news of the fall of price of the stock I hold.)

The unwanted event of the falling stock price is not specifically directed at the experiencer, but the person feels 'musha-kusha' because of it.

The unwanted happening which causes the 'musha-kusha' feeling could be an on-going event such as the on-going process of one's present work as seen in sentence (7) or one's continuous headache as seen in sentence (8). However, unlike 'ira-ira', the trigger does not have to be restricted to something which is on going at the moment.

- (1') Ore, keirin de oomake shite, **MUSHA-KUSHA/\* IRA-IRA shite** koojoo ni hooka shita n da.  
(I torched the factory because I **felt MUSHA-KUSHA/\* IRA-IRA**] with blowing all my money at the bicycle races.)

The 'musha-kusha' feeling could be triggered by something which has already happened, such as losing money at the bicycle races as in the above sentence, or problems at the work place as in sentence (2), (3), (4), and (5). Therefore, the cause of 'musha-kusha' is not the unwanted happening itself, but the experiencer's impression that he/she has been continuously having a bad time for a long time because of some unwanted happening ('I have felt something bad for a long time because of this').

@ I don't want this any more

@ I cannot not think about it

The experiencer wants to forget about that unwanted happening, and clear away its on-going bad after-effects. However, he/she cannot stop thinking about it.

@ because of this, I would want to do something  
\_\_\_\_\_ if I knew what I can do

@ I don't know what I can do

@ I would want to do something bad to someone else  
\_\_\_\_\_ because of this

While the experiencer wants to change the undesirable situation, he/she feels unable to control the on-going negative thinking about the unwanted event which has happened/been happening.

Therefore, the experiencer wants to do something to work off his/her pent up feeling. Like 'ira-ira', this impulse is not directed against a specific person, but unlike 'ira-ira', which implies a more general impulse 'to do something', the impulse of 'musha-kusha' is 'doing something bad to some people'. The reaction of the experiencer feeling 'musha-kusha' often takes the form of hurling unreasonable abuse at somebody who is not related to the cause of his/her bad feeling. For example, in sentences (2) and (3), the experiencer of the 'musha-kusha' feeling caused by trouble at the work place storms at someone at home who is totally unrelated to his/her work.

Moreover, the reaction of 'musha-kusha' can be a more violent one than that of 'ira-ira', such as setting fire to some place so that the owner or people working there will be in trouble, as seen in sentence (3). A person who is simply feeling 'ira-ira' would not perform such a violent action like committing arson.

@ I am not doing it now

However, this impulse to do something bad to someone does not have to be always acted out, especially not immediately. For example, as seen in sentence (4), one could sometimes remove one's 'musha-kusha' feeling by drinking a cup of sake .

@ because of this, this person feels something very bad

The degree of intensity of resultant bad feeling is greater than that of 'ira-ira', and it is 'very bad'.

@ this person feels like someone who thinks this:

'I see something losing shape' [kusha-kusha]

'I hear the sound of this' [kusha-kusha] [musha-musha]

'Musha-kusha' is associated with the image of the other onomatopoeic words 'kusha-kusha' and 'musha-'musha' which refer to the sound of something when it is being disfigured as seen in the following sentences.

- (10) ...Gampi no yoo na kami ga **KUSHA-KUSHA** ni sareru oto o kiita.  
[Tanizaki "kagi": 47 in JEOMTD]  
(J --> E: I had heard a rustling [**KUSHA-KUSHA**] sound, as if rice paper were being crumpled. [being made **KUSHA-KUSHA**])
- (11) Ueno doobutsuen no panda ga, koobutsu no sasanoha o **MUSHA-MUSHA** kutte iru. [PG]  
(B: The panda at the Ueno Zoo is munching [eating **MUSHA-MUSHA**] on the bamboo grass that he likes.)

'Kusha-kusha' and 'musha-musha' are also used as psychomimes referring to similar emotions to 'musha-kusha' as in the following sentences.

- (12) Fuufugenka no ato wa kimochi ga **KUSHA-KUSHA** suru. [PG]  
(B: I get so upset [feel **KUSHA-KUSHA**] after quarrelling with my husband)
- (13) Hontoo ni fudebushoo de fude ga tatazu, kaku koto ni naru to, **MUSHA-MUSHA** shite kuru yo. [PG]  
(B: I am a really poor correspondent and I can't write well either, so I get irritated [feel **MUSHA-MUSHA**] when it comes to writing.)

However, the degree of disorder involved in 'musha-kusha' is stronger than that of 'kusha-kusha' and 'musha-musha', as reflected in the consonant alternation of 'm' of 'musha-musha' and 'k' of 'kusha-kusha'.

## 6.2. FEELING SOMETHING BAD ABOUT AN EXPECTED BAD HAPPENING

I have classified 'hara-hara', 'hiya-hiya', 'biku-biku', and 'odo-odo', in one group, since they seem to have a common semantic core of the experiencer's expectation of some bad happening and "bad" feeling as a result.

### 6.2.1. HARA-HARA

Examples:

- (1) Sore kara futari wa yashizake o nomihajimeta. Kupukupu wa HARA-HARA shita. Nazette, futari tomo, taihen na ikioi de gabugabu nomidashita kara datta. [FKB: 87]  
(J --> E: The two began drinking the wine. It made Kupukupu nervous (feel HARA-HARA) to see how fast they were gulping it down.) [AKS: 80]
- (2) Yakuruto, kotoshi mo **HARA-HARA** yakyuu. [AS: 5/4/1993: 21]  
(MT: Yakuruto [baseball team] plays the game making the audience feel **HARA-HARA** this year, too.)
- (3) Mozuku daihoosaku: Sanchi **HARA-HARA** [AS: 11/6/1993: 17]  
(MT: The people in the production area of mozuku feel **HARA-HARA** because too much is being harvested [since the price of mozuku might greatly fall].)
- (4) Hajimete Shaarokku Hoomuzu o yonde, HARA-HARA shite kara to iu mono wa, yamitsuki ni natte shimatta no de aru. [CS: 71]  
(MT: He had been keen on them ever since he read Sherlock Holmes for the first time and felt HARA-HARA)
- (5) [Sakki kara uma kara ochite bakari iru] Kare ga futatabi uma ni noru no o HARA-HARA shinagara, mimamotte imashita. [KKA: 215]  
(J <-- E: [The knight was falling down from the horse many times.] (Alice) watched him with some anxiety [-> feeling HARA-HARA] as he mounted again.) [TLG: 116]
- (6) Watashi wa mae kara, anta-tachi no mamagoto asobi mitai na kurashikata o HARA-HARA shinagara mite ita n desu. [Dazai "Shayoo" in JEOMTD]  
(J --> E: I've been watching with my heart in my mouth (feeling HARA-HARA) the way you two have been living.)
- (7) Watashi wa takai tokoro ni nobotte iru hito o miru to, ochinai ka to omotte, HARA-HARA shite shimau. [JF: 60]



(MT: When I look at a person who is climbing a high mountain, I feel **HARA-HARA**, wondering if he/she might fall down.)

(8) Kabu o katta hito wa, ichinichi ichinichi no kabu no neugoki ni **HARA-HARA** shiteiru soo da. [JF: 60]

(MT: I hear that the people who bought the stocks are feeling **HARA-HARA** about the movement of the price of stock day by day.)

### Meaning of 'HARA-HARA'

X feels something

sometimes a person thinks something like this:

I know: something is happening

something bad could happen to Y (someone/something)  
now because of this

I don't want this

because of this, I would want to do something  
if I knew what I could do

I don't know what I could do

because of this, this person feels something bad

this person feels like someone who thinks this:

*'I will see Y (something/someone) is falling down'*

*'I am falling down like a thin light thing' [hara-hara]*

this person feels this for some time

X feels like this

@ I know: something is happening

@ something bad could happen to Y (someone/something) now  
because of this

The feeling of 'hara-hara' occurs during the on-going process of some happening/situation, and when the experiencer is the objective observer of it. It has to happen while some process is on-going; one cannot feel 'hara-hara' seeing somebody before he/she does something or after he/she did something, as seen in the following sentences.

(9) \* Takai tokoro ni noboru to ketsui shita hito o mite **HARA-HARA** suru.  
(\*I feel **HARA-HARA** seeing a person who decided to climb the high mountain.)

(10) \* Takai tokoro ni nobotta hito o mite **HARA-HARA** suru.  
(\*I feel **HARA-HARA** seeing a person who climbed the high mountain.)

Therefore, for example, in sentence (2), the audience feels 'hara-hara', watching their team (Yakuruto) play, assuming they will lose if they keep playing like that. In sentence (7), the person feels 'hara-hara' at seeing somebody in the process of climbing a high mountain, anticipating the possibility of them falling down at any time. In sentence (3), the farmers feel 'hara-hara' at seeing the on-going too abundant harvest of mozuku (nemocystis decipiens), knowing this could cause a great fall in price at any time. In sentence (6), the person felt 'hara-hara' seeing the young couple's way of living, because she thought their life was like playing at housekeeping, thus it could collapse at any moment. In sentence (8), the person feels 'hara-hara' because stock prices are changing everyday, which could make the price of the stocks he holds fall.

In all these examples, the experiencers of 'hara-hara' feeling presuppose the possibility of some bad happening to a particular third person/object (Y) because of something in the on-going process. They feel this possible danger in the immediate context [now].

@ I don't want this

A person who feels 'hara-hara' for Y does not want something bad to happen to Y. A person who does not care if something bad happens to Y does not feel 'hara-hara'. For example, in sentence (2), a fan of Yakuruto's opposition team will not feel 'hara-hara' about Yakuruto's unstable playing during the baseball game, since they want something bad to happen to Yakuruto so that their favourite team will win.

@ because of this, I would want to do something if I knew  
what I could do

@ I don't know what I could do

The experiencer feels like doing something about the possibility of something bad happening to Y. However, since

the experiencer of the 'hara-hara' feeling is a passive observer of the on-going situation, often he/she can do nothing but watch helplessly, just hoping that something bad will not happen to Y. For example, in sentence (3), the farmers feel 'hara-hara', but cannot do anything about the increase of mozuku, which is a natural phenomenon. In sentence (4), the reader of the Sherlock Holmes story can do nothing about the development of the plot in the story. Since the experiencer of 'hara-hara' feeling cannot do anything about the on-going situation, the psychomime 'hara-hara' often collocates with phrases like "ki o momu (to fidget)", <sup>or</sup> "mimamoru (to watch over)".

@ because of this, this person feels something bad:

The experiencers feel 'something bad', since they cannot do anything, while they are faced with possible danger toward Y, which they do not want to happen.

@ this person feels like someone who thinks this:

'I will see Y (something/someone) is falling down'

'I am falling down like a thin light thing' [hara-hara]

'Hara-hara' originally describes the manner of something small and light falling down, which causes the observer to feel sad or melancholy, as seen in the following sentences.

(11) **HARA-HARA to** sakura no hana ga ochiru no o mite iru to, konoyo no mujoo o kanjiru ne. [FSB: 92]

(B: Watching the cherry blossoms flutter down [**HARA-HARA to**] makes you realize how fleeting life is.)

(12) ...to itte, Etsuko wa **HARA-HARA to** namida o furikoboshita. [Enchi "onnazaka": 199/197 in JEOMTD]

(J --> E: The anxious tears spilled from [**HARA-HARA to**] Etsuko's eyes as she spoke.)

This image of seeing something falling down is closely linked with the emotional feeling of 'hara-hara' which refers to an anxious feeling towards Y (someone/ something)

falling into a dangerous or frightening situation [I will see Y is falling down]. Moreover, the experiencer feels as if he/she is also falling down like a fluttering leaf since he/she is perturbed by anxiety [I am falling down like a thin light object].

## 6.2.2. HIYA-HIYA

Examples:

- (1) Oya-kyoodai-tachi wa, byoonin o kinodokugaru yori mo, sono toki no surudo i sakebigoe o kikasareru no ga yarikirenai no de, HIYA-HIYA shita ga...  
[Tanizaki "Sasameyuki" : 291 in JEOMTD]  
(MT: The family seemed less concerned for the patient than for themselves, and were feeling HIYA-HIYA since they would have to listen to his shriek.)
- (2) Yappari uso nanka tsuku mon ja nai naa. Itsu bareru ka to HIYA-HIYA shita yo. [FSB: 58]  
(B: Lying just isn't worth it, after all. I was scared stiff (felt HIYA-HIYA) that I'd get caught any minute.
- (3) Hahaoya no saifu kara ichiman'ensatsu o naita no ga baresoo de, HIYA-HIYA nan da. [BP: 83]  
(MT: I'm scared stiff [am feeling HIYA-HIYA] 'cause it looks like my mum found out I swiped 10,000 yen out'a her purse.)
- (4) Renzoku hooka ni HIYA-HIYA / Suginami no juutakugai.  
[AS: 12/5/1972 in GG]  
(MT: The people in the Suginami residential area feel HIYA-HIYA, because of the constant occurrence of arson.)
- (5) Watashi wa hajime wa HIYA-HIYA shinagara damatte Karube no dabette iru koto o kiite ita no da... [Yokomitu "Kikai": 139 in JEOMTD]  
(J --> E: At first I listened nervously (feeling HIYA-HIYA) to the chatter of Karube./At first I could feel myself going cold all over (feel HIYA-HIYA) as I stood there listening to Karube chatting away.)
- (6) Kare ga sono koto o ukkari shaberi wa shinai ka to HIYA-HIYA shita.  
[KNJED]  
(B: I was in great fear [felt HIYA-HIYA] lest he should blurt it out.)
- (7) HIYA-HIYA shinagara gakeppuchi no michi o susunda. [PG]  
(B: We timidly (feeling HIYA-HIYA) made our way along the path on the edge of the cliff.)

- (8) Yaku sennin no yajiuma wa, te ni ase o nigitte HIYA-HIYA.  
 [Yomiuri (evening) 14/3/1972 in GG]  
 (MT: About one thousand curious bystanders feel HIYA-HIYA in breathless suspense.)
- (9) Itai n ja nai ka to, naishin HIYA-HIYA datta. [AS: 15/11/1972 in GG]  
 (MT: I was feeling HIYA-HIYA inwardly, thinking it might be painful for you.)

### Meaning of 'HIYA-HIYA'

X feels something  
 sometimes a person thinks something like this:  
 something bad can happen  
 I don't want this  
 because of this, I would want to do something  
 if I knew what I can do  
 I don't know what I can do  
 because of this, this person feels something bad:  
 this person feels like someone who thinks this:  
 'I am in a cold place' [hiya-hiya]  
 this person feels this for some time  
 X feels like this

### @ something bad can happen

Unlike 'hara-hara', where the possible danger is always directed to a third person, 'hiya-hiya' has no such restriction. It could be directed to a third person. For example, in sentence (8) curious bystanders feel 'hiya-hiya' in observing some event. In sentence (9) the person felt 'hiya-hiya' in anticipating the possibility of something bad happening (having pain) to another person. On the other hand, the patient of the bad happening could be the experiencer him/herself. For example, in sentence (1), the family members feeling 'hiya-hiya' are not concerned about the condition of the third person (the patient) but about the undesirable possibility of they themselves hearing the patient's shriek. In sentences (2) and (3) the experiencer feels 'hiya-hiya' about him/herself for fear of being accused of the deed he/she did.

The experiencer feels 'hiya-hiya' when he/she thinks the anticipated bad happening is still at the level of possibility ('something bad CAN happen to me') and when the

possibility of danger is not so imminent or urgent. Therefore, if the people are sure about the occurrence of a bad happening, 'hiya-hiya' cannot be used. This point can be illustrated by comparing the following sentence with the sentence (3) above.

\*(3) Hahaoya no saifu kara ichiman'ensatsu o naita no ga bareta kara HIYA-HIYA nan da.

\*( I am feeling **HIYA-HIYA** 'cause my mum found out I swiped 10,000 yen out'a her purse.)

In the above sentence, the person's sense of danger about the bad happening to him/herself (e.g. mother's scolding or accusation) after the revealing of his bad deed is more imminent than that conveyed by 'hiya-hiya'.

@ I don't want this

The experiencer does not want the possibility of some bad happening to them to be realised.

@ I would want to do something because of this

@ I don't know what I can do

The experiencer wishes to do something about the possibility of danger. However, the experiencer of the 'hiya-hiya' feeling does not feel that he is really able to control the situation.

@ because of this, this person feels something bad:

Because of the possibility of a bad happening as well as recognising the lack of power of controlling the situation, the experiencer feels 'something bad'.

@ it is as if this person feels like someone who thinks this  
'I am in a cold place' [hiya-hiya]

'Hiya' of 'hiya-hiya' is associated with the transitive verb "hiyasu (to cool)". The biological sense of 'hiya-

hiya' refers to a 'chilly' feeling as seen in the psychomime in the following sentence:

(10) Reika to nisshoo-busoku no sei daroo. Amido dake de wa **HIYA-HIYA** suru.

(B: It is probably due to the cold summer and the lack of sunny days that I feel chilly [**HIYA-HIYA**] with just the fly screen shut.) [PG]

This concrete image of a physical chilly feeling is closely linked with the emotional 'hiya-hiya' feeling. The person feeling 'hiya-hiya' emotionally often thinks as if his/her body is cooled. While this physical experience does not necessarily actually occur when one feels emotional 'hiya-hiya', its chilly image is reflected on the meaning of the psychomime 'hiya-hiya'.

### 6.2.3. BIKU-BIKU

Examples:

(1) Kowai mono ni hikizurareru yoo ni, suru-suru to soba e itte suwatta. Naishin **BIKU-BIKU** shinagara, "Okaasan wa dooshitemo dame desu ka?" to itta.  
[HM: 224]

(J --> E: As though drawn by some fearful force, I went towards him and sat down. I felt an inward tremor (felt **BIKU-BIKU** inwardly) as I asked, "Will she (mother) die?" [DO: 173]

(2) Hidoku shikarareru to omotte, **BIKU-BIKU** mono de kita n desu kedo, kite yokatta wa. [Inoue "obasute" p. 23/89 in JEOMTD]

(J --> E: I wondered if I was going to be scolded severely and I was nervous [I was in the state of feeling **BIKU-BIKU**] about coming --but I'm glad I came," she said.)

(3) Gan ja nai ka to **BIKU-BIKU** shite inai de, hayaku byooin e ikinasai yo.  
[GGT]

(MT: Don't keep feeling **BIKU-BIKU**, anticipating the possibility of cancer, but just go to the hospital to get it checked.)

(4) Tada no uwasa ni **BIKU-BIKU** nasaru koto wa gozaimasen.  
[Mishima "Haru no yuki" : 289/269 in JEOMTD]

(J --> E: There is absolutely no need to get upset [feel **BIKU-BIKU**] over what's only a rumor.)

- (5) Ore ga sake o nonde, mata daishippai demo shitara, sore koso ichidaiji da to **BIKUBIKU** shite iru n daroo. [Miura "Shiogaritooge": 281/222 in JEOMTD]  
(J --> E: You're scared [feel **BIKU-BIKU**] that I 'll get drunk and make a big mistake and there'll be a row.)
- (6) Kono toki, oosama wa kenka o yamesaseyoo to, aida ni hairimashita ga, **BIKU-BIKU** shite, koe wa gata-gata furuete imashita. [KKA: 113]  
(J <-- E: Here the King interrupted, to prevent the quarrel going on: he was very nervous [feeling **BIKU-BIKU**], and his voice quite quivered.) [TLG: 113]
- (7) Gomufuusen ga itsu yabureru ka **BIKU-BIKU** shinagara, yukkuri iki o fukikonde iru. [PG]  
(B: Anxious [feeling **BIKU-BIKU**] about when the rubber balloon might break, the girls are slowly blowing it up.)
- (8) I no warui kekka o yosoo-shite, byooin e iku no wa, mattaku **BIKU-BIKU**-mono datta. [GGJ]  
(MT: I was really in a state of feeling **BIKU-BIKU** when I went to the hospital, anticipating a bad result of the examination of my stomach.)
- (9) Kare wa kubi ni nari wa shinai ka to **BIKU-BIKU** shite iru.  
(B: He is afraid [feeling **BIKU-BIKU**] of being sacked.) [KNJED]
- (10) Majime ni renshuu ni konai aitsu wa, koochi ni yaki o irerareru koto o yosoo shite, **BIKU-BIKU** shi-dooshi da. [PG]  
(B: That guy who does not come to practice regularly is a bundle of nerves [keep feeling **BIKU-BIKU**], realising that the coach will probably come down on him like a ton of bricks.)
- (11) Umarete hajimete no supiiichi da kara, jumban ga kuru made wa, **BIKU-BIKU** no shidooshi datta. [GGJ]  
(MT: Since it was my first speech, I kept feeling **BIKU-BIKU** until my turn came.)
- (12) Hato ga heya made hairikomu. Akachan no iru katei wa **BIKU-BIKU** desu. [AS: 13/6/1972 in GG]  
(MT: The doves even come into the room. The family with a baby feels **BIKU-BIKU**.)

### Meaning of 'BIKU-BIKU'

X feels something

sometimes a person thinks something like this:

something bad will happen to me

I don't want this

because of this, I want to do something if I could

I cannot do anything

because of this, this person feels something very bad

this person feels like someone who thinks this:

*'I am trembling/shaking'* [biku-biku]

this person feels this for some time

X feels like this



@ something bad will happen to me

Unlike 'hara-hara' or 'hiya-hiya', the occurrence of danger of 'biku-biku' is always specifically directed to the experiencer him/herself, as seen in sentence (1) to (11) [to me]. It could be directed to someone/something which is regarded as a part of him/herself. For example, in sentence (12) the family member feels 'biku-biku' about the possible dove's attack on their baby.

The experiencer's expectation of the threat happening to the experiencer is much higher for the person feeling 'biku-biku' than it is for the person feeling 'hiya-hiya' or 'hara-hara' [something bad WILL happen' rather than 'something bad COULD/CAN happen]. One of the big differences between 'biku-biku' and 'hiya-hiya' is this degree of sense of danger felt by the experiencer. When one feels the danger very close and immediate, a person would say 'biku-biku', but not 'hiya-hiya'. For example:

(13a) Uso o tsuita no ga baresoo nan de, ?BIKU-BIKU/HIYA-HIYA nanda.  
(I am feeling ?BIKU-BIKU/HIYA-HIYA, since it seems that my lie will be found out.)

(13b) Uso o tsuita no ga bareta no de, BIKU-BIKU/\*HIYA-HIYA nanda.  
(I am feeling BIKU-BIKU/\*HIYA-HIYA since my lie was found out.)

When one feels the danger of something bad happening very close, as when one is sure of being accused by somebody about his/her lie as in the sentence (13b), 'hiya-hiya' is inappropriate. Where the occurrence of danger is regarded as just a possibility as in sentence (13a), however, 'hiya-hiya' is more appropriate than 'biku-biku'.

Therefore, 'biku-biku' occurs often when one is close or is getting closer to someone/something which they think will bring some dangerous situation upon them (as seen in sentences (1), (2), and (6)). For example, in sentence (5), the speaker's conversation partner feels 'biku-biku' when he is close to the speaker who usually does something bad after drink. In sentence (6) the king feels 'biku-biku' as he

gets closer to the person in a quarrel, who he thinks will embroil him in the quarrel.

Often, the belief or imagination that we are going to be in a threatening situation is a sufficient trigger of 'biku-biku' as seen in sentence (3), where the person feels 'biku-biku' only by his obsessive thinking of having cancer.

@ I don't want this

The experiencer does not want this to happen.

@ because of this, I want to do something if I could

@ I cannot do anything

While the experiencer aspires to do something about the imminent danger, at the same time he feels the occurrence of dangerous situation to be inevitable. For example, in sentence (6) the king would like to avoid being embroiled in a quarrel, but as a responsible person, he has to enter into a quarrel in order to stop it. Similarly, in sentence (10) the person who has neglected to practice wants to avoid seeing the coach who would scold him about his lack of practice, but he feels 'biku-biku' since he knows that it would not be possible as long as he belongs to the club.

@ Because of this, this person feels something very bad

The intense bad feeling is stronger than that of 'hara-hara' or 'hiya-hiya'.

@ this person feels like someone who thinks this:

*I am trembling/shaking [biku-biku]*

The non-emotional sense of 'biku-biku' refers to a shaking or twitching movement as seen in the following sentence.

- (14) Oyoide iru toki ashi ga tsutte, **BIKU-BIKU** keiren shita koto ga aru. [PG]  
(B: Once, while swimming I got a twitch [**BIKU-BIKU**] cramp in my leg.)

The emotional 'biku-biku' feeling is associated with this image of a shaking movement. People do not necessarily actually tremble when they experience the emotional 'biku-biku' feeling, like 'biku-biku' in the phrase "naishin biku-biku shinagara (feeling an inward tremor [the inward biku-biku]" of sentence (1): this trembling is metaphorical, and not a physical movement. However, the experiencers of the 'biku-biku' emotion feel as if they are trembling, and they sometimes actually physically tremble. Thus, this image of a 'trembling' movement is reflected in the emotional 'biku-biku' feeling.

When the person actually trembles because of this 'biku-biku' feeling, that movement is easily observable outwardly. Therefore, the prohibition form "biku-biku suruna (Don't feel 'biku-biku!)" is possible for this feeling. By contrast, "hiya-hiya suruna! (Don't feel hiya-hiya!)" sounds odd, since the feeling is manifested only to the experiencer himself, and a third person cannot tell whether another person is really feeling 'hiya-hiya' or not from external appearance. Because of the possible objective observation of 'biku-biku', it is often used for describing a third person's feeling manifested as outward behaviour.

#### 6.2.4. ODO-ODO

Examples:

- (1) Watakushi, nandaka, shingakki o anata to issho ni hajimeru shinnyuusei no yoo na kimochi ga shimasu wa. To itte mo, **ODO-ODO shita kimochi** nanka ja nakutte, chotto keii o arawasu kimochi desu no. [CS: 28]  
 (J <-- E: ..I feel rather like a new boy beginning his first term with you. Not scared [--> **ODO-ODO feeling**], mind you --but just, for once, in a thoroughly respectful mood...) [GMC: 36]
- (2) Jidoosha no nai tokoro e itte mitai. Watashi-tachi hokoosha wa itsumo inochigake de, **ODO-ODO shite** aruite iru. [PG]  
 (B: I want to go to a place where there are no cars. We pedestrians are always nervous [feeling ODO-ODO], risking our lives when walking.)

- (3) Hitomae ni deru to **ODO-ODO** suru. [cf. KNJED]  
 (B: I am shy and timid [feel ODO-ODO] in another's presence.)
- (4) Fuyaku no ryuukeishuu-tachi wa, **ODO-ODO** shita manazashi de heya e  
 haitte iki.... [Kaikoo "ryuubooki": 230/96 in JEOMTD]  
 (J --> E: We exiles under sentence of hard labour came into the room with terror  
[ODO-ODO expression] in our eyes ....)
- (5) Kanojo wa nando mo kyooiin-shiken ni ochi, shibaraku wa **ODO-ODO**  
 shite ita. [PG]  
 (B: She failed the teaching examination four times, and lacked confidence [felt  
ODO-ODO] for some time after.)
- (6) (Tomioka wa) karadatsuki to wa hantai ni, me no iro wa itsumo **ODO-ODO**  
shite ite, aite no kao o tadashiku seishi dekinai ki no yowasa ga aru.  
 (J --> E: But his eyes, in spite of this well-built body had an expression of timidity  
[ODO-ODO feeling], unable to look straight at people.) [FC: 75]
- (7) Sono shoonen wa kateinai de booryoku o furuu no de, hahaoya wa itsumo  
ODO-ODO shite iru. [PG]  
 (B: Since the boy behaves violently at home, this mother is always on edge.  
[feeling ODO-ODO])
- (8) Kootoo-shimon de, kare wa **ODO-ODO** shite, toi ni kotaeru dokoro de wa  
 nakatta. [PG]  
 (B: During the oral examination, he was all uptight [feeling ODO-ODO], and  
 wasn't in a state to answer any questions.)
- (9) Yamada wa shikenchuu kanningu no gamba o osaerare, **ODO-ODO** suru  
 bakari de atta. [PG]  
 (B: Yamada was caught red-handed cheating in the exam, and was at a loss for  
what to do. [was feeling ODO-ODO])

### Meaning of 'ODO-ODO'

X feels something  
 sometimes a person thinks something like this:  
 something bad can happen to me  
 because I can't do much  
 I don't want this  
 because of this, I would want to do something if I could  
 I don't know what I can do  
 because of this, this person feels something bad  
 this person feels this for some time  
 x feels like this

@ something bad can happen to me

@ because I can't do much

We feel 'odo-odo' when we are lacking confidence in ourselves and presuppose something bad might happen to us because of it. For example, as seen in sentence (1), new students typically could feel 'odo-odo', since they feel small in an unfamiliar place and amongst unfamiliar people, anticipating something bad could happen in that circumstance. The pedestrian in sentence (2) feels 'odo-odo', thinking that he/she is powerless in comparison with the cars and that he/she would be easily killed if a car runs over him/her. In sentence (5), the person is feeling 'odo-odo' after failing the examinations, since she feels herself incapable and without confidence, and imagines somebody might do something bad (sneering, backbiting, etc.) at her. In sentence (8), the person feels 'odo-odo' because he feels incompetent before the examiners, and presupposes that it is possible that the examiners will fail him.

@ I don't want this

@ because of this, I would want to do something if I could

@ I don't know what I can do.

While the experiencer of the 'odo-odo' feeling does not definitely want something bad happen to them, and thus wants to take some action about it, they cannot think up a way out of the present, something like an 'upset' situation.

@ because of this, this person feels something bad

The resulting feeling is 'something bad'.

## 7.3. FEELING SOMETHING ABOUT AN EXPECTED HAPPENING

### 6.3.1. DOKI-DOKI

Examples:

- (1) Kyookasho no nioi tte DOKI-DOKI suru ne. [AS:10/4/1993: 9]  
(MT: The smell of the (new) textbook makes us feel DOKI-DOKI, doesn't it ?)
- (2) "(Joyuu wa) itsu mo moete itari, kagayaite nakya ikenai to ka?"  
"Un, un, soo. DOKI-DOKI suru koto o shinakucha ikenai tte iu..."  
[AJ: 8/11/1991: 52]  
(MT: "The actress should always be passionate, and look brilliant?"  
"Yes, yes. I have to do something which makes me feel DOKI-DOKI..")
- (3) Kono oto de DOKI-DOKI sase-te ageru. [AS: 19/4/1993: 19]  
(MT: I will make you feel DOKI-DOKI with this sound.(CM of TV set.))
- (4) Sono yoru, beddo ni haitte mo, Totto-chan wa nojuku no koto o kangaeru to, chotto kowai mitai na, monosugoku booken mitai na, nandaka DOKI-DOKI suru kimochi de, itsu made mo nemure nakatta.[MT: 84]  
(J --> E: That night, after Totto-chan had gone to bed, she couldn't go to sleep for ages. The idea of going camping sounded rather scary --a tremendous adventure --and her heart beat very fast.[she felt DOKI-DOKI]) [LG: 69]
- (5) (Zenhan no sutoorii ga koohan de doo naru ka,) sore o kangaeru to, DOKI-DOKI shite, "hayaku koohan o misete kure!" to sakebitaku narimashita.  
[MO July 1993: 7]  
(MT: (During the interval in a drama) To think that (how the latter half of the story of drama would turn out), I felt DOKI-DOKI., and felt like crying out, "Show me the rest of the story as soon as possible!...)
- (6) HARA-HARA DOKI-DOKI no dekgoto.... [MO July 1993: 7]  
(MT: The event which makes you feel HARA-HARA DOKI-DOKI.)
- (7) ...manten wa muri demo, "gambatte masu" dake wa moritai na to,  
(Seibu hyakkaten no mono wa) minna DOKI-DOKI shite imasu.  
[AS 2/7/1993: 9]  
(MT: Everybody (in the Seibu Department store) is feeling DOKI-DOKI, expecting at least the comment "you are working hard", if not full marks, from the customer.)
- (8) Moshiya [musuko ga, gake kara] ochita no de wa nai ka, yuukai-sareta no de wa nai ka, DOKI-DOKI shinagara tewake shite sagashite iru to...  
[ST March 1993: 5]  
(MT: I was looking for my son feeling DOKI-DOKI, wondering if he might have fallen from the cliff or if he might have been kidnapped.

- (9) Watashi wa supiichi o shinasai to iwareru to, itsumo shinzoo ga **DOKI-DOKI** shite, umaku hanasenai. [JF: 58]  
 (MT: When I am asked to give a speech, I cannot always talk very well since my heart feels **DOKI-DOKI**.)
- (10) ...Watashi ga fuan to kyoofu de mune o **DOKI-DOKI sase-nagara**, sono ato ni tsuite iku to.... [Dazai "Shayoo": 42 in JEOMTD]  
 (J --> E: ...and I followed, him, my heart pounding [feeling **DOKI-DOKI**] with nervousness and fear.)
- (11) Gootoo ga nodo ni naifu o tsukitsuke "kane o dase" to itta toki, kare wa shinzoo wa **DOKI-DOKI**, kokyuu wa haa-haa, hiza wa kyoofu ni furuete ita. [PG]  
 (B: His heart was pounding[**DOKI-DOKI**], his breath came in gasp and his knees were knocking in fear when the robber put a knife to his throat and demanded money.)

### Meaning of 'DOKI-DOKI'

X feels something  
 sometimes a person thinks something like this:  
     I know now: something will happen to me  
     something is happening to my heart because of this  
 because of this, this person feels something  
 this person feels like someone who thinks this:  
     '*I hear the sound of my heart beating*' [doki-doki]  
 this person feels this for some time  
 X feels like this

Most Japanese-English dictionaries or English translations of Japanese texts give the biological sense in their gloss for the meaning of 'doki-doki': e.g. "one's heart beats very fast" as in sentence (4), or "one's heart is pounding" as in sentence (10). Asano and Kindaichi (1978) do not include this word 'doki-doki' in psychomimes, although they classify the non-reduplicated form 'dokiQ' as a psychomime. Does 'doki-doki' refer to the emotional feeling or only to the physical feeling? This 'doki-doki' can be in the sense of purely a physical feeling, referring to the fast beating of one's heart as in the following sentence:

- (12) Eki no kaidan o kake-agatta dake de **DOKI-DOKI** suru nante, ware nagara nasakenai yo. [FSB: 93]  
(B: It's pretty sad, even if I do say so myself, the way my heart starts pounding [**DOKI-DOKI**] when I just run up the stairs at the train station.)

I will include this word 'doki-doki' as one of the psychomimes, for the following two reasons. Firstly, 'doki-doki' is one of the most frequently used words when people describe their emotions: for example, when people are asked to tell their present state of mind before a play or performance of something, they often say to the interviewer "doki-doki shite-imasu (I am feeling doki-doki)". Secondly, as seen in sentence (6) above and sentence (1) in section 7.4.1., 'doki-doki' is often used together with the other psychomimes 'hara-hara' and 'waku-waku' as in "hara-hara doki-doki", "doki-doki waku-waku".

Thus, 'doki-doki' is used not only for referring to a physical phenomenon, but also for an emotional feeling in everyday language.

@ I know now: something will happen to me

The range of use of 'doki-doki' is very wide. It could be used for referring to something like an 'excited' feeling as in sentences (2) and (3); something like an 'excited expectation' in sentences (1), (4), (5), and (7); something like an 'anxious' feeling as in sentences (8) and (9); and something like a 'fearful' feeling as in sentence (10) and (11).

We feel 'doki-doki' when we expect some happening to ourselves [to me]. The forward looking aspect is necessary for 'doki-doki' [something WILL happen]. For example, in sentence (1) the smell of new textbooks makes one feel 'doki-doki' because it makes one think about the new semester and to expect some happening there. In sentence (7), the people working in the department store feel 'doki-doki' because they wonder what kind of evaluation they will receive from their customers. In sentence (11), the person threatened by the robber feels 'doki-doki', since he anticipates something more will happen besides that fearful



situation, such as that the robber will stab him in the throat.

In order to cover the wider range of use of 'doki-doki', I have not specified either negative or positive judgement about the event which is expected to happen.

@ something is happening to my heart because of this

The part of the body physically responding to the experiencer's expectation of some happening to him/herself is one's "heart". When we feel emotional 'doki-doki', the physical response accompanying it is an increase in our heart beat. Therefore, often "mune" or "shinzoo" (heart) become the subject of feeling 'doki-doki' as seen in sentences (9), (10), and (11).

@ I feel something because of this

As neither the negative nor the positive judgement can be attached to the expected happening, the resulting feeling of 'doki-doki' cannot be restricted to either positive nor negative.

@ this person feels like someone who thinks this:

'I hear the sound of my heart beating' [doki-doki]

As briefly mentioned in the section on 'dokiQ' in Chapter 6, the sound of the repeated beating of one's heart is described as 'doki-doki' in Japanese. Because of the increase of heart beating caused by the emotional 'doki-doki' feeling, the experiencer thinks he/she is listening to the sound of heart-beating "doki-doki".

### 6.3.2. SOWA-SOWA

Examples:

- (1) Nandaka kibun ga SOWA-SOWA shite, mata nemuresoo mo nakatta mono de gozaimasu kara ne. [Mishima in "Kindai-noogaku-shuu": 12/84 in JEOMTD]  
(J --> E: I felt so restless [felt SOWA-SOWA] I knew I'd never get to sleep again.)
- (2) Akira ojisan wa itsumo nagatchiri de, yooji no aru watashi wa SOWA-SOWA shite ita. [PG]  
(B: Uncle Akira always overstays his welcome, and I was all a bother [was feeling SOWA-SOWA] because I had something to do.)
- (3) Watashi wa SOWA-SOWA shite, shirase ga kuru no o matte ita. [cf. PG]  
(B: I was on pins and needles [feeling SOWA-SOWA] waiting for the news.)
- (4) Shoogakkoo no teigakunen de wa, jugyoochuu ni toire ni ikitaku-natte, SOWA-SOWA suru seito ga kanarazu iru. [GGT: 260]  
(MT: There are always some students in the lower class of elementary school who are feeling SOWA-SOWA because they want to go to the toilet during class.)
- (5) [Henshuusha ga chi no hate made mo genkoo-tori ni oikakete kuru to iu]  
Kono tegami o yomiowatta shunkan kara, Kita Morio-shi wa gazen ochitsuki ga nakunatta. Kare wa SOWA-SOWA to fuange ni nari....[FKB: 72]  
(J --> E: From the instant he finished reading the letter [saying the editor will go to the remotest corner of the earth till he receives the manuscript], Morio Kita knew not a moment's peace. He became nervous and fidgety [SOWA-SOWA]) [AKS: 66]
- (6) Shiro no joo-oo wa shita o mitari, SOWA-SOWA to te o nigiriawasetari hodoitari shinagara.... [KKA: 143]  
(E <-- J: ...the White Queen said, looking down and nervously [--> SOWA-SOWA to] clasping and unclasping her hands...) [TLG: 234]
- (7) Shiken o majika ni hikaete, kare wa SOWA-SOWA shite iru.  
(B: He looks nervous [feeling SOWA-SOWA] because of the approaching examinations.) [KNJED]
- (8) Kare wa gaaru-furendo ga arawareru no o SOWA-SOWA shite matte ita. [PG]  
(B: He was waiting impatiently (feeling SOWA-SOWA) for his girlfriend to come.)
- (9) Natsu-matsuri no shiizun ga yatte kita. Edokko-tachi wa, SOWA-SOWA to ochitsukanai. [Sankei: 8/12/1972 in GG]  
(MT: The season of summer festival has come. Edokko (Tokyoite) are restless SOWA-SOWA to.)
- (10) Kyoo no kare wa ato ni yooji demo atta no ka, SOWA-SOWA tokei bakari ki ni shite, hanashi ni mi ga hairanakatta. [GGT: 260]  
(MT: He might have had an engagement later, because he was always minding the time SOWA-SOWA (to) and was not concentrating on the conversation.)

## Meaning of 'SOWA-SOWA'

X feels something  
sometimes a person thinks something like this:  
    something will happen to me  
    because of this, I would want to do something if I could  
    I cannot do anything now  
    I cannot think about other things because of this  
because of this, this person feels something  
this person feels this for some time  
X feels like this

### @ something will happen to me

We feel 'sowa-sowa' when we expect something to happen to us. Like 'doki-doki', this 'sowa-sowa' includes neither negative nor positive judgement about the expected event. Regardless of being good or bad, the experiencer of 'sowa-sowa' is concerned about what will happen to effect him/her. Therefore, the expected event could be something good, such as one's activity in the coming summer festival as in sentence (9); or it could be something bad such as someone's pursuing oneself as in sentence (5); or it could be something either good nor bad such as the arrival of a report of pass or fail of one's examination as in sentence (3).

@ because of this, I would want to do something if I could

@ I cannot do anything now

@ I cannot think about other things because of this

Although the person wants to do something in relation to the coming event, in the situation where people feel 'sowa-sowa', the experiencer thinks he/she cannot do anything particular at the moment. For example, in sentence (4) some elementary students feeling 'sowa-sowa', since they know the call of nature is coming closer, but they don't think they can go to the toilet because it is during class. Since they are still very young, they cannot think up something like raising their hand and asking the teacher to

let them go. Similarly, in sentence (2) the person thinks he cannot do anything until uncle Akira leaves.

The feeling of 'sowa-sowa' is incompatible with an attentive state of mind. For example, we cannot say that a person feeling 'sowa-sowa' is doing something in concentrating his/her attention on that work.

- (11) \* Musuko wa **SOWA-SOWA to** isshoo-kemmei benkyoo shite iru.  
(\* My son is studying very hard **SOWA-SOWA to**.)

This is because the mind of the person feeling 'sowa-sowa' is totally drawn and captured by the supposed happening of the event to them, and cannot think of other things. Because of this inattentiveness, the experiencer of the 'sowa-sowa' feeling often takes some action which is objectless and meaningless. For example, in sentence (6), the white queen feeling 'sowa-sowa' is clasping and unclasping her hands aimlessly, while watching over the discussion between Alice and the red queen in a defiant mood. As another example, in sentence (10), the person who seemed to have an engagement later was looking at the time on his/her watch many times restlessly, thinking about that coming event.

Maybe because of this apparent outward expression of the 'sowa-sowa' feeling, 'sowa-sowa' is more often used for describing a third person's feeling manifested as an external behaviour, rather than for describing the speaker's own internal feeling. 'Sowa-sowa' is also often used in the phrase like "sowa-sowa shita hito (the person who looks feeling 'sowa-sowa')" which refers to the character of a person who is often restless and cannot concentrate on one thing.

@ because of this, this person feels something

Neither a positive nor a negative judgement is attached to the resulting feeling.

## 6.4. FEELING GOOD ABOUT AN EXPECTED GOOD HAPPENING

The last group of psychomimes are 'waku-waku', 'uki-uki' and 'iso-iso' which describe the good feeling felt about an expected good happening.

### 6.4.1. WAKU-WAKU

Examples:

- (1) Atarashii mono ga hajimaru toki tte mune ga DOKI-DOKI, WAKU-WAKU suru. [AS: 12/5/ 1993: 17]  
(MT: My heart feels DOKI-DOKI, WAKU-WAKU when something new will start.)
- (2) Totto-chan wa nanimo-kamo ga mezurashikute, WAKU-WAKU shichatte, minna mitai ni, sugu benkyoo to iu wake ni wa ikanakatta. [MT: 42]  
(J --> E: It was all so unfamiliar that Totto-chan was a bit nervous [felt WAKU-WAKU], and unsure what to do.) [LG: 36 ]
- (3) "Sakuya kara nandaka WAKU-WAKU shite nemurenakatta n' desu.  
Kodomo no koro kara mite-ita Taiga drama ni jibun ga shutsuen dekiru nante!" [FK February 1993: gravue]  
(MT: I have not been able to sleep since last night, feeling WAKU-WAKU. To think I could really act in the Taiga (epic) drama I have been watching since my childhood!)
- (4) Karupisu WAKU-WAKU purezento! [AS: 5/28/1993 : 19]  
(MT: Presents from Calpis which make you feel WAKU-WAKU! (Advertisement of a prize competition from soft drink 'Calpis'))
- (5) WAKU-WAKU nuigurumi shoo. [AS: 1/5/1993 : 13]  
(MT: The muppet show [which makes you feel] WAKU-WAKU. (Advertisement for an amusement park.)
- (6) Watashi wa hayaku butai o miru koto ga dekinai ka to omotte, WAKU-WAKU shite iru n desu. [MO July 1993: 17]  
(MT: I am feeling WAKU-WAKU, hoping I could see the stage soon.)
- (7) Kanojo ni moo sugu aeru to omou to, kitai to ureshisa de mune ga WAKU-WAKU suru. [PG]  
(B: When I think that I'll soon be able to meet her I am all butterflies [I feel WAKU-WAKU] with anticipation and happiness.)

- (8) Dizunii-rando tte donna tokoro ka, otona demo iku made wa WAKU-WAKU shimasu. [JF: 53]  
 (MT: Even adult people like us feel WAKU-WAKU before we arrive at Disney land, wondering what kind of place it is.)
- (9) Kitai ni WAKU-WAKU shite, Miyo no ninshin no temmatsu o yosoo shiatta.  
 [Mishima "Ai no kawaki" : 118/122 in JEOMTD]  
 (J --> E: ...they were excited [felt WAKU-WAKU] by their anticipation of the details of Miyo's pregnancy....)

### Meaning of 'WAKU-WAKU'

X feels something  
 sometimes a person thinks something like this:  
     something good can happen after now  
     I want this  
     because of this, I would want to do something  
     I cannot not think about it  
 because of this, this person feels something good  
 this person feels like someone who thinks this:  
     *'something new is coming up (in my heart)'*  
     [waku 'spring up']  
 this person feels this for some time  
 X feels like this

Although 'waku-waku' is often given identical glosses to those for 'sowa-sowa', such as "be/get nervous" and "be excited", the meaning of these two psychomimes is different, as is clearly revealed by comparing their underlying concepts.

@ something good can happen after now

@ I want this

The 'waku-waku' feeling occurs when something good is expected to happen in the future [after now]. This future could be broadly understood. One could feel 'waku-waku' to think about tonight's party, next month's travel, and even something realized after several years. For example, a medical student would be able to say something like the following:

- (11) Gonen-go ni jibun ga isha ni natta toki no koto o kangaeru to, ima kara  
**WAKU-WAKU** shite kuru.  
(To think of myself becoming a doctor after five years, I begin to feel  
**WAKU-WAKU** from now.)

The event towards which one feels 'waku-waku' is necessarily forward-looking [something good WILL happen]. For example, in sentence (8), the person still does not know what Disneyland is like, thus he/she feels 'waku-waku' about the place. This feeling will last until he/she actually arrives at Disneyland, but the experiencer will not feel 'waku-waku' about Disneyland any more once he/she already starts enjoying the place. He/she might feel 'waku-waku' about the ride or entertainment they are going to try there, but not about the place of Disneyland itself. As another example, in sentence (3), the actor who was given the main role in the Taiga (epic) drama would continue to feel 'waku-waku' about the new drama until the next day when he actually starts to play in that film. Similarly, in sentence (4), the 'waku-waku' feeling about the presents continues until a person hears the announcement of the prizewinner.

What the experiencer of 'waku-waku' expects is always something 'good'. For example, when a person says he/she feels 'waku-waku' before a speech, that means he/she will make a speech willingly, expecting something good to happen, such as getting a good response from the audience. Or, in sentence (2), what Totto-chan is expecting to happen at the new school is something good, and that positive expectation makes her too 'excited' to study. However, the English translation of the Japanese text gives 'a bit nervous' as the gloss for this 'waku-waku' feeling of Totto-chan. This may be because most Japanese-English dictionaries like KNJED offer 'nervous' for the meaning of 'waku-waku'. The meaning of 'waku-waku' doesn't have negative connotations as 'nervous' does, although 'waku-waku' was formerly used also for referring to something like 'nervous' or 'worried' feelings as well as to something like an 'excited' feeling (cf. Nishio 1993: 21). Therefore, the gloss 'nervous' for

'waku-waku' in sentence (2) sounds odd, and it does not really convey Totto-chan's willing expectation towards her future at the new school.

@ because of this, I would want to do something

The experiencer who is uplifted because of the expectation of a good happening feels like doing something.

@ I cannot not think about it

The person feeling 'waku-waku' sometimes cannot sleep at night as in sentence (3), cannot think of doing other things as in sentence (2), since the mind of the experiencer of the 'waku-waku' feeling is filled with various kinds of thoughts about the anticipated good happening.

@ because of this, this person feels something good:

The experiencer feels something good when thinking about the expected good happening.

@ this person feels like someone who thinks this:

'something new is coming up (in my heart)'

[waku 'spring up']

'Waku-waku' is used only for referring to the speaker's own internal state of feeling, and can't describe a third person's feeling manifested as his/her external behaviour.<sup>24</sup>

This is because the physical manifestation accompanied by this 'waku-waku' feeling is not something recognisable by other people objectively.

Like 'doki-doki', the part of the body which physically responds to this 'waku-waku' emotion is the heart, and "mune (chest/heart)" often becomes the subject of this feeling as seen in sentences (1) and (7), or appears in idiomatic

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<sup>24</sup> In sentence (2), Totto-chan's feeling is described from the omniscient narrator's point of view.



phrases such as "waku-waku to mune o odoraseru/tokimekaseru (to make one's heart flutter waku-waku)".

'Waku-waku' is related to the intransitive verb 'waku (spring up)' which is used, for example, in a sentence like "Watashi no kokoro ni futo ginen ga waita (A suspicion sprang up in my mind)" or "Karera no mune ni wa kiboo ga waita (Hope sprang afresh in their breasts)". The common associated image given by these two sentences is the impression that something new is coming out (in one's heart). This image of the verb 'waku' is linked with the psychomimes 'waku-waku' where the experiencer expects the coming of some happening.

#### 6.4.2. UKI-UKI

##### Examples:

- (1) Ooru TOYOTA chuukosha UKI-UKI! WAKU-WAKU! (Adv. of used car)  
[AS: 11/6/1993 : 8]  
(MT: [Advertisement for an exhibition of used cars for sale] All TOYOTA used cars. (you would feel) UKI-UKI! WAKU-WAKU!)
- (2) Kesa kara gogatsu, soo omou to, nandaka sukoshi, UKI-UKI shite kita.  
[HM: 72]  
(J --> E: Today's the first day of May. When I realized that, it makes me feel sort of bubbly [feel UKI-UKI].) [RM: 46-7]
- (3) Too-too michibata no kusahara ni petari, to suwatte shimatta. Kusa no ue ni suwatta-ra, tsui imashigata no UKI-UKI shita kimochi ga, koton to oto o tatete, gyuQ to majime ni natte shimatta. [HM: 90]  
(J --> E: Finally the buoyant feeling [UKI-UKI feeling] let me down with a thud, and I plopped down on the grass in a meadow beside the road and got wrenchingly serious.) [RM : 72]
- (4) Ichiban saisho mo ryokoo ni iku toki no ano [Teruma no] UKI-UKI ne. Koibito ni taisuru UKI-UKI ni chikai UKI-UKI datta to omou n' desu.  
[AJ: 5/10/1991 : 94]  
(MT: (Commenting on the movie "Thelma and Louise") First of all, was that (Thelma's) UKI-UKI feeling when she left to travel...I think that was UKI-UKI which was close to the UKI-UKI feelings one would have towards the lover.)
- (5) Taiin no toki, watashi no kokoro wa UKI-UKI shite ita. [KNJED]  
(B: My heart was singing [My heart was feeling UKI-UKI] as I left the hospital.)

- (6) Kyoo ope ga umaku hakonde ne, UKI-UKI shite iru mon dakara...  
[Endoo "Kuchi-bue o fuku toki": 205/156 in JEOMTD]  
(J --> E: ...my operation this morning went beautifully, and I'm in great spirits [feeling UKI-UKI]...)
- (7) Kare no puropoozu ni, kanojo wa kokoro ga. UKI-UKI shite iru.  
(B: Since he proposed to her, she has been on cloud nine. [her heart has been feeling UKI-UKI].) [PG]
- (8) Nandaka ima, watashi, myoo ni UKI-UKI shita kimochi ni natte kimashita wa.  
[Mishima "Utage no ato" : 23/28 in JEOMTD]  
(J --> E: All of a sudden I feel so strangely light-hearted [feel UKI-UKI].)
- (9) UKI-UKI shita hyoojoo de, kodomo-tachi wa yuuenchi no kaitenmokuba ni notte iru. [PG]  
(B: The children are happily [with the facial expression of UKI-UKI feeling] riding on the merry go-round at the amusement park.)
- (10) Kono ko wa UKI-UKI shite pan'ya e otsukai ni iku. [PG]  
(B: This child cheerfully [feeling UKI-UKI] goes on errands to but bread at the nearby bakery.)
- (11) Toosen-kakujitsu to kiite, undooin no mattan made, UKI-UKI to shita hyoojoo desu. [GGJ]  
(MT: To hear that the candidate is sure of election, even the people who helped the campaign show the facial expression of feeling UKI-UKI.)

### Meaning of 'UKI-UKI'

X feels something  
sometimes a person thinks something like this:  
something good is happening now  
I want this  
I think something good will happen after now  
because of this, I would want to do something  
because of this, this person feels something very good:  
this person feels like someone who thinks this:  
'I am floating (in the air)' [uku 'to float']  
this person feels this for some time  
X feels like this

@ something good is happening now

As seen in sentence (1), 'uki-uki' is sometimes used together with the other psychomime 'waku-waku' as in "uki-uki, waku-waku". 'Uki-uki' focuses on one's good feeling experienced at the time of seeing the advertisement and

'waku-waku' focuses on one's good feeling towards the coming event of the sale.

The trigger of the 'uki-uki' feeling could be something which will happen in the future, such as the coming exhibition of used cars in sentence (1) or going to one's favourite shops as in sentence (10). However, unlike the feeling of 'waku-waku', the trigger is not limited to something that will happen in the future. The trigger could also be something which has already happened, such as the successful operation done for oneself as in sentence (6), or the proposal from her boyfriend as in sentence (7). Also, it could be something which has just started, such as the beginning of one's favourite month as seen in sentence (2), the start of travel as in sentence (4), or the start of a normal life when leaving hospital as in sentence (5).

Therefore, the focus of the 'uki-uki' feeling is on one's consciousness of experiencing something good at the present time, regardless of the occurring time of its trigger [something good IS happening NOW]. Even in the case where the trigger is something which has not still occurred as in sentences (1) and (10), people could feel 'uki-uki' to think as if something good is already happening to him/her.

The following sentence illustrates the fact that 'uki-uki' requires the connotation of the experiencer's being in the state of something good happening.

- (12) Dizunii-rando ni ?iku made wa / tsuitara minna **UKI-UKI** suru.  
(Everybody will feel **UKI-UKI** ?until / after they arrive at Disneyland.)

One would more likely feel 'uki-uki' after one arrives at Disneyland and begins to have fun there, rather than when in the process of going to the place where something good is expected to happen.

@ I want this

The experiencer positively accepts the present occurrence of something good.

@ I think something good will happen after now

The person feeling 'uki-uki' has a positive view about the future time, and thinks that he/she will have some good happening(s) in near future.

@ because of this, I would want to do something

The person is in quite high spirits at the present moment and thus feels like doing something. This experiencer's positive attitude is often manifested as the experiencer's light footsteps or lively movements or lively facial expression "uki-uki shita hyoojoo (the facial expressions which looks like feeling 'uki-uki)" as seen in sentences (9) and (11).

@ because of this, this person feels something very good:

Since the experiencer is in a state of happy feeling, the resulting feeling is 'very good'.

@ it is as if this person feels like someone who feels this:

'I am floating (in the air)' [uku 'float']

'Uki' of 'uki-uki' is closely linked with the transitive verb "uku (to float)". Actually, people feeling 'uki-uki' sometimes feel as if they are floating in the air because of the uplifting good feeling. Therefore, sometimes English glosses for 'uki-uki' relate to this floating image, such as "feeling sort of bubbly" in sentence (2), or "buoyantly" in sentence (3), or "light-heartedly" in sentence (8). Sometimes people feeling 'uki-uki' are regarded as "uwatsuita (literally 'floating' --> be flippant)" because of their sportive mood to the eyes of a person who is in an equable state. Therefore, for example, the girl in sentence (3) describes her own feelings after the cessation of this 'uki-uki' feeling as "majime-na kimochi (serious feeling)".

Since the emotion is manifested as the external appearance or attitude to some extent, such as 'uki-uki shita hyoojoo (the facial expressions feeling uki-uki)' in sentences (9) and (11), 'uki-uki' is used to describe the person's feeling as well as the speaker's.

### 6.4.3. ISO-ISO

Examples:

- (1) Boonasu-bi to mo nareba, shukkin-suru ni mo, itsu ni naku, ISO-ISO suru.  
[GGT: 6]  
(MT: On bonus day, I feel ISO-ISO when going to the working place)
- (2) Okaasan ga ISO-ISO to eki made mukae ni kite kureta. [KNJED]  
(B: My mother was quite happy [feeling ISO-ISO] to come and meet me at the station.)
- (3) Kare wa shinchoo no fuku o kite, ISO-ISO to dekakemashita. [KNJED]  
(B: Wearing his new suit, he went out in high spirits. [ISO-ISO to])
- (4) Hisashiburi no doosookai ni, haha wa kirei na kimono o kite, ISO-ISO  
dekakete itta. [JF: 53]  
(MT: My mother went out feeling ISO-ISO for the alumni association party, wearing a beautiful kimono.)
- (5) [Watashi wa]...to ureshiku ISO-ISO to shite, mijitaku no te mo ochitsuki-masen deshita. [Takeyama "Biruma no tategoto.": 169 in JEOMTD]  
(J --> E: I was so excited [feeling ISO-ISO ] and happy that my hands trembled as I dressed.)
- (6) Yoshida wa, Tanaka ni horekomi, sono shita de, jikan to shite, ISO-ISO to  
kimmusuru koto ni natta. [Shiroyama "Rakujitsu moyu.": 48 in JEOMTD]  
(J --> E: He felt an admiration for Tanaka, and was to work thenceforth as his ever-willing [ISO-ISO to] agent.)
- (7) ISO-ISO to dekakeru no ga urayamashii.  
[Ibuse "Kuroi ame": 237 in JEOMTD]  
(J --> E: I envy the way he can go off so cheerfully.[ISO-ISO to])

## Meaning of 'ISO-ISO'

X feels something  
sometimes a person thinks something like this:  
    something good will happen at another place  
    I want this  
    because of this, I want to do something now  
because of this, this person feels something good  
this person feels like someone who thinks this:  
    '*I want to go to another place in a short time*'  
    [isogu 'hurry']  
this person feels this for some time  
X feels like this

'Iso-iso' is often glossed similarly to 'uki-uki' as "cheerfully" or "with a light heart/light heartedly" in Japanese-English dictionaries (cf. KNJED 1974; Kakehi 1981). However, the underlying concepts of 'iso-iso' are different from that of 'uki-uki', as shown in the discussions below.

### @ something good will happen at another place

Unlike 'uki-uki', but like 'waku-waku', the trigger of the 'iso-iso' feeling is limited to something that will happen in the future. However, unlike 'waku-waku', where there is no restriction about the place of the unexpected good happening, the 'iso-iso' feeling occurs when one expects something good to happen at a different place from where the experiencer is. The occurrence of the 'iso-iso' feeling is when the person goes to a place where they know something good will happen. For example, in sentence (1) the person feels 'iso-iso' about going to work on that day, since he/she knows something good will happen (bonus is given) there. In sentence (2), mother came to see 'me' at the station feeling 'iso-iso' since she expected something good would happen there, namely seeing me and hearing my words of thanks for her welcome. In sentence (6) Yoshida goes to work feeling 'iso-iso' every day because he could meet Tanaka whom he admires at the work place.

@ because of this, I want to do something now

The person feeling 'iso-iso' is in high spirits with the expectation of a coming good event at another place, and acts lively and light-heartedly thinking of that event. Typically this desire to act is manifested in the action of preparing the dress for the event, or going to the place hurriedly in a joyful manner as seen in sentences (3), (4), (5), and (7).

However, the attention of the experiencer's mind is not totally drawn by thinking of the coming event as with 'uki-uki'. Rather, the positive expectation affects the experiencer's action in a constructive way, such as preparing him/herself for the coming event. Therefore, the experiencer's action is not aimless, but is focused on doing something with one's sights set on the event.

@ because of this, this person feels something good

The resulting feeling is good.

@ this person feels like someone who thinks this:

'I want to go to another place in a short time'  
[isogu 'hurry']

'Iso' of 'iso-iso' is associated with the intransitive verb "isogu (to hurry)". The image of a joyfully hurrying action of the person feeling 'iso-iso' is closely linked with the meaning of this verb.

Since this feeling of 'iso-iso' is manifested as an external behaviour which can be easily observed by other people, this word is more often used for describing the third person's feeling as in sentences (2), (3), (4), (6) and (7), rather than the speaker's own internal feeling.

## 7. CONCLUSION

I will here summarise the main conclusions reached in the thesis as a whole.

The major goal of my thesis was, firstly, to explicate the meaning of selected psychomimes to the extent that non-native speakers can have a greater understanding of the meaning and correct use of these words. The focus was to be on psychomimes, since they are the most difficult onomatopoeia, despite their importance as emotional expressions. The explication of their meaning is harder than that of other onomatopoeic words, since their meanings are more abstract and culturally rich.

The problems with presently available definitions of psychomimes given in dictionaries were discussed in Chapter 4. It showed that neither vague analogous words from other languages, nor lengthy explanations, nor accumulations of sample examinations can show the unique nature or concept of Japanese psychomimes clearly and precisely. I have submitted the use of the "Semantic Primitive" approach proposed by Wierzbicka to solve this problem.

Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 demonstrated that the complex Japanese-specific meanings involved in selected psychomimes can be clearly shown and made comprehensible to outsiders, when they are translated into the universal or near-universal natural semantic metalanguage and represented in the framework of a "prototype scenario".

I believe that I have succeeded in showing that the complex and unique semantic concepts of Japanese psychomimes, which are usually described as 'untranslatable', are nonetheless translatable on the level of semantic explication with language-independent semantic metalanguage. The extent of similarities and dissimilarities in labelling and the conceptualisation encoded in different psychomimes become apparent with the use of the universal Natural Semantic Metalanguage.



We have seen that many psychomimes are associated with concrete images such as those of:

(1) sound impressions

The upset-like feeling 'musha-kusha' is associated with the image of sound produced when something is disfigured. Similarly, the surprise-like 'dokiQ' feeling and excited-like 'doki-doki' feeling are linked to the sound image of one's heart beating(s).

(2) visual impressions

The perturbed feeling of 'hara-hara' was associated with the visual image of the manner of small light thin objects falling down. The upset-like feeling 'musha-kusha' was linked to the visual image of the objects such as paper being crumpled or hair being dishevelled.

(3) sensational impressions

The psychomimes referring to anger-like feelings 'muQ', 'kaQ', and 'mukaQ' are linked with sensory impressions of 'heat and bad smell', 'strong heat', and 'nauseous feeling', respectively.

(4) the meaning of non-onomatopoeic words

The psychomime referring to excited-like feeling towards the coming of some good happening 'waku-waku', 'uki-uki', 'iso-iso' are associated with the concrete referential image evoked by the meaning of the verbs 'waku (to spring up)', 'uku (to float)', and 'isogu (to hurry)', respectively.

These associated concrete images also contributed to determine the exact meaning of psychomimes. For example, the difference of meaning between two anger-like psychomimes 'muQ' and 'mukaQ' became clearer by explicating their associated sensory images. 'MuQ' is linked to one's undesirable feeling in heat and bad smell, which makes one want to close one's lips; the associated biological image of 'mukaQ' is stronger than that of 'muQ', since it makes one feel like vomiting. This difference of associated images agrees with the fact that the intensity of the emotional 'mukaQ' feeling is stronger than that of the 'muQ' feeling.

Thus, the concrete associated images are also important components involved in the meaning of psychomimes.

And this concreteness helps in the understanding of the relatively abstract concepts of onomatopoeic emotion words.

The second major objective of this thesis was to examine the possible linkage between the characteristics of Japanese onomatopoeic words and the culture, social patterns, and way of thinking of the Japanese people.

The semantic analysis of Japanese onomatopoeia reflected some aspects peculiar to Japanese culture. For example, we have seen in Chapter 2 that the abundance of phonomimes referring to people's attitudes or gestures are closely related to the Japanese people's concern for other people's opinions about themselves; The richness of onomatopoeia referring to the sense of touch reflects the Japanese enjoyment of touching and experiencing the reality of objects directly; the lack of onomatopoeic words referring to the speaker's own sad feelings is linked to the Japanese negative view about expressing their 'sad' feelings overtly. Furthermore and above all, the detailed examination of the semantic structures of selected psychomimes in Chapters 5 and 6 precisely revealed the Japanese specific way of conceptualising emotions. The difficulty of translating these Japanese psychomimes into other languages is due to these culture-ridden conceptual structures embedded in them.

Chapter 3 was devoted to a consideration of the relationship between Japanese people's extensive use of onomatopoeia and the culture, social patterns, and perspectives of Japanese people. I submitted hypothetically that the Japanese use onomatopoeic words frequently because:

- (1) Onomatopoeic expressions evoke more concrete and vivid images. My observations in Chapters 5 and 6, that many psychomimes are closely linked to the concrete associated images, support this view. The Japanese people prefer building up abstract ideas from concrete facts or images;
- (2) Secondly, onomatopoeic expressions convey delicate nuances of meaning impressionistically with images of different sounds rather than analytically with referential images of words. The Japanese do not appreciate analytic

expressions which explain phenomena with words in a precise manner. This is related to the Japanese belief that words are not powerful enough to convey one's true feelings; (3) Thirdly, onomatopoeic expressions convey the speaker's specific emotional attitude or evaluation effectively. Traditionally the Japanese have placed more value on one's emotionality than logicity. Although they have learned to suppress the apparent external manifestation of their emotions in certain occasions, they unreservedly express their emotions in private or intimate speech with the extensive use of onomatopoeic words. Preserving rich internal emotionality is highly regarded among Japanese.

These possible connections are, however, still on the level of hypothesis: expanded analysis as well as further systematic linguistic study will be required to check and validate these points.

The onomatopoeic words compose a fully established independent lexical group in Japanese, and are continually acquired and used throughout the life of Japanese people. Understanding the correct use of Japanese onomatopoeia is the key for non-native speakers to grasp the essential qualities of Japanese language, people and culture, since they represent an analysis of the world view shaped by Japanese people in their culture. I hope that my explication of psychomimes presented in this thesis made their meaning intelligible, and helps non-native speakers to get a good command of them. I also hope that the results of this thesis as a whole will increase non-native speaker's interest and understanding of Japanese onomatopoeia, which will facilitate them to have successful heart-to-heart communication with Japanese people.

There were several points raised which may form an attractive basis for future research, but could not be pursued in this thesis due to time and space limitations. For example, in this work, I have limited myself to an

investigation of the semantic structure of seventeen psychomimes. However, there are a great deal more which could be examined in this area, such as phenomimes which represent personal character, or phenomimes which refer to the external attitudes or expressions of people manifesting their inner emotions.

Further, a systematic contrastive study of Japanese onomatopoeia and that of other languages will reveal many important aspects of the language, culture and people involved. For example, as briefly mentioned in Chapter 1, it might be possible to say that the languages which appreciate communication with deep emotional connotation, such as Japanese, Korean or the modern standard Tamil, hold a richer set of onomatopoeic words than the languages like French which place a greater importance on 'logical and analytical' expressions than affective ones. A semantic and syntactic contrastive study of onomatopoeic words in different languages would perhaps reveal some interesting findings.

Finally, I hope that this study will promote some interest in the future study of this field. The findings contained in this thesis are hardly conclusive in any way, yet I believe that it has contributed in some small way to the expansion of the frontiers of this area, and gives some direction to future work.

## APPENDIX A

### THE METALEXICON (Expanded List)

#### Words used for explication in this thesis

(Cf. Wierzbicka and Goddard (in press); Wierzbicka (1987))

a	more
about	much
after	not
another	now
any	of
anything	other
at	part
bad	person/people
be/is/am	place
because	say
before	see
can/could	a short time
do	should
else	some
feel	someone
for	something
good	sometimes
happen	there is
have	thing
hear	think
heart	this
I, my, me	the
if	time
in	to
inside	very
it	want
know	what
like	will/would
a long time	

#### Words used only for the complements of associated images:

*this person feels like someone who thinks this: '.....'*

(These are used solely by me in this thesis)

air	new
beat	open
cold	shake
come	shape
down	smell
fall	sound
float	stomach
heat	thin
hot	thorn
light	tremble
lips	up
lose	with

## APPENDIX B

### DEFINITIONS

#### 5.1. FEELING SOMETHING ABOUT AN UNEXPECTED HAPPENING

##### Meaning of 'HAQ'

X feels something  
sometimes a person thinks something like this:  
    something happened now  
    I didn't think before now: this will happen  
    I know something now because of this  
because of this, this person feels something at this time  
X feels like this

##### Meaning of 'GYOO'

X feels something  
sometimes a person thinks something like this:  
    something happened now  
    I know now: this is bad  
    I did not know before now: something like this could happen  
    I can't think now  
    I can't do anything now because of this  
because of this, this person feels something bad at this time  
x feels like this

##### Meaning of 'DOKIQ'

X feels something  
sometimes a person thinks something like this:  
    something happened to me now  
    I didn't think before now : this can happen  
    something happened to my heart now because of this  
because of this, this person feels something at this time  
this person feels like someone who thinks this:  
    *'I now hear the sound of a beat of my heart' [dokiQ]*  
X feels like this

## 5.2. FEELING SOMETHING BAD ABOUT SOMEBODY'S ACTION

### Meaning of 'MUQ'

X feels something  
sometimes a person thinks something like this:  
I know now: someone did something  
I didn't want this  
I would want: someone did not do this thing  
because of this, I would want to do/say something now  
if I could  
I can not do/say it now  
because other people would feel something bad if I do it  
because of this, this person feels something bad at this time  
this person feels like someone who thinks this:  
*'I am now in a hot place with bad smell'*  
*'I cannot open my lips because of this' [muQ]*  
X feels like this

### Meaning of 'KAQ'

X feels something  
sometimes a person thinks something like this:  
I know now: someone did something very bad  
I don't want this  
because of this, I want to do something now  
I want to do something bad to this someone  
I cannot not do it  
because of this, this person feels something very bad  
at this time  
this person feels like someone who thinks this:  
*'I am in a very hot place now' [kaQ]*  
X feels like this

### Meaning of 'MUKAQ'

X feels something  
sometimes a person thinks something like this:  
I know now: someone did something  
I didn't want this  
I want: someone didn't do this thing  
because of this, I would want to do something now  
if I could  
I am not doing it now  
because of this, this person feels something bad at this time  
this person feels like someone who thinks this:  
*'something very bad in my stomach is coming up now' [mukaQ]*  
X feels like this

## 6.1. FEELING SOMETHING BAD ABOUT AN ON-GOING CONTINUOUS SITUATION

### Meaning of 'IRA-IRA'

X feels something

sometimes a person thinks something like this:

something is happening

I didn't want this

it has been happening for a long time

I don't want this any more

I cannot not think about it

because of this I would want to do something if I knew  
what I can do

I don't know what I can do

because of this, this person feels something bad

this person feels like someone who thinks this:

*'there is something like a thorn [ira] inside a part of me'*

*'it has been there for a long time' [ira-ira]*

this person feels this for some time

X feels like this

### Meaning of 'MUSHA-KUSHA'

X feels something

sometimes a person thinks something like this:

something happened/something is happening

I didn't want this

I have felt something bad for a long time because of this

I don't want this any more

I cannot not think about it

because of this, I would want to do something if I knew  
what I can do

I don't know what I can do

I would want to do something bad to someone else  
because of this

I am not doing it now

because of this, this person feels something very bad

this person feels like someone who thinks this:

*'I see something losing shape' [kusha-kusha]*

*'I hear the sound of this' [kusha-kusha][musha-musha]*

this person feels this for some time

X feels like this



## 6.2. FEELING SOMETHING BAD ABOUT AN EXPECTED BAD HAPPENING

### Meaning of 'HARA-HARA'

X feels something  
sometimes a person thinks something like this:  
    I know: something is happening  
    something bad could happen to Y (someone/something)  
    now because of this  
    I don't want this  
    because of this, I would want to do something  
    if I knew what I could do  
    I don't know what I could do  
because of this, this person feels something bad  
this person feels like someone who thinks this:  
    '*I will see Y (something/someone) is falling down*'  
    '*I am falling down like a thin light thing*' [hara-hara]  
this person feels this for some time  
X feels like this

### Meaning of 'HIYA-HIYA'

X feels something  
sometimes a person thinks something like this:  
    something bad can happen  
    I don't want this  
    because of this, I would want to do something  
    if I knew what I can do  
    I don't know what I can do  
because of this, this person feels something bad:  
this person feels like someone who thinks this:  
    '*I am in a cold place*' [hiya-hiya]  
this person feels this for some time  
X feels like this

### Meaning of 'BIKU-BIKU'

X feels something  
sometimes a person thinks something like this:  
    something bad will happen to me  
    I don't want this  
    because of this, I want to do something if I could  
    I cannot do anything  
because of this, this person feels something very bad  
this person feels like someone who thinks this:  
    '*I am trembling/shaking*' [biku-biku]  
this person feels this for some time  
X feels like this

### Meaning of 'ODO-ODO'

X feels something  
sometimes a person thinks something like this:  
    something bad can happen to me  
    because I can't do much  
    I don't want this  
    because of this, I would want to do something if I could  
    I don't know what I can do  
because of this, this person feels something bad  
this person feels this for some time  
x feels like this

## 6.3. FEELING SOMETHING ABOUT AN EXPECTED HAPPENING

### Meaning of 'DOKI-DOKI'

X feels something  
sometimes a person thinks something like this:  
    I know now: something will happen to me  
    something is happening to my heart because of this  
because of this, this person feels something  
this person feels like someone who thinks this:  
    'I hear the sound of my heart beating' [doki-doki]  
this person feels this for some time  
x feels like this

### Meaning of 'SOWA-SOWA'

X feels something  
sometimes a person thinks something like this:  
    something will happen to me  
    because of this, I would want to do something if I could  
    I cannot do anything now  
    I cannot think about other things because of this  
because of this, this person feels something  
this person feels this for some time  
x feels like this

## 6.4. FEELING GOOD ABOUT AN EXPECTED GOOD HAPPENING

### Meaning of 'WAKU-WAKU'

X feels something  
sometimes a person thinks something like this:  
    something good can happen after now  
    I want this  
    because of this, I would want to do something  
    I cannot not think about it  
because of this, this person feels something good  
this person feels like someone who thinks this:  
    *'something new is coming up (in my heart)'*  
    *[waku 'spring up']*  
this person feels this for some time  
X feels like this

### Meaning of 'UKI-UKI'

X feels something  
sometimes a person thinks something like this:  
    something good is happening now  
    I want this  
    I think something good will happen after now  
    because of this, I would want to do something  
because of this, this person feels something very good  
this person feels like someone who thinks this:  
    *'I am floating (in the air)'* *[uku 'float']*  
this person feels this for some time  
X feels like this

### Meaning of 'ISO-ISO'

X feels something  
sometimes a person thinks something like this:  
    something good will happen at another place  
    I want this  
    because of this, I want to do something now  
because of this, this person feels something good  
this person feels like someone who thinks this:  
    *'I want to go to another place in a short time'*  
    *[isogu 'hurry']*  
this person feels this for some time  
X feels like this

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- BTD** Bungakubu Tadano Kyooju [Professor Tadano in Literature Department].  
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- KWK** Kawaisoo na Watashi no Kuni [Poor Fellow my country].  
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- KY** Kanashii Yokan.[Melancholic Premonition].  
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- ML** Million 1993. (March) Tokyo:Million Shoboo
- MO** Min-on 1993 (January, February, May, July)  
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