A method for the contrastive analysis of idioms: Japanese and English idioms of anger*

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1. Introduction

Idioms present many difficulties for learners and teachers of foreign languages, for translators, and for editors of bilingual dictionaries. One question of particular importance is how to judge whether an L1 and L2 idiom with similar meaning are truly equivalent, or whether they simply overlap partially in meaning and usage.

The aim of this article is to present a method for the contrastive analysis of idioms with similar meaning in different languages. The target of study is (1) Japanese and (2) English verb phrase idioms that express the meaning of anger.

(1) *atama ni kuru* ('[it] comes to one's head'), *kanshaku o okosu* ('have a fit of anger'), *kanninbukuro no o ga kireru* ('the cord of one's patience-bag snaps'), *hara ga tatsu* ('one's belly rises up')/*hara o tateru* ('raise up one's belly'), *hara ni suekaneru* ('be unable to keep [it] in one's belly'), *harawata ga niekurikaeru* ('one's guts boil');

(2) bite s.o.'s head off, blow/let off steam, blow one's stack/top, fly off the handle, get/be hot under the collar, make one's blood boil/one's blood boils, see red.

This article follows Miyaji's (1982, 1985) distinction between idioms and proverbs/maxims, ordinary collocations, compounds, etc. and defines idioms as multi-word expressions with the properties of formal frozenness (Ishida 1998), syntactic frozenness (Ishida 2000), and semantic frozenness

(Ishida 2004a). Individual idioms vary with respect to degree of each of these properties. However, the degree of formal, syntactic, and semantic frozenness can be measured objectively and used to classify idioms into a number of categories ranging from 'prototypical' to 'borderline' (Ishida 2004a:52).

This article takes the view that pairs such as *hara ga tatsu / hara o tateru* and *blow one's stack / blow one's top,* which share some constituents, structure, and semantic features, are 'idiom variants' (Ishida 1998; Moon 1998). Some of these variants do not differ in meaning (e.g. *blow one's stack / top*); others, as will become apparent from the analysis that follows, reflect important semantic distinctions (e.g. *hara ga tatsu / hara o tateru, get / be hot under the collar*).

2. Past approaches to the cross-linguistic analysis of idioms

Past approaches to the cross-linguistic analysis of idioms represent a number of different perspectives. Itō (1992) uses a typological approach to compare the constituents, syntactic structure, and meaning of German and Japanese idioms. Itō (1997, 1999) compares the figurative meanings of the noun constituents *Blut / chi* ('blood') and *Hand / te* ('hand') in German and Japanese idioms, respectively. Matsuki (1995) identifies Japanese expressions of anger motivated by the conceptual metaphors and metaphorical entailments given in Kövecses (1986) and proposes, for Japanese, the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS (IN THE) *HARA* ('belly'). Dobrovol'skij (1998, 2000) analyses the combinatorial properties of Russian and German idioms and shows that L2 equivalents for an L1 idiom vary depending on the class of noun with which the L1 idiom co-occurs.

The typological approach is useful to provide a framework for the comparison of L1/L2 idioms. However, correspondence between the meanings of L1/L2 idioms is taken for granted, with no analysis of the network of semantic relationships between idioms with similar meaning in each language, or of how each idiom is actually used in text and discourse. The 'kernel constituent' approach (Itō 1997, 1999) is useful to clarify similari-

ties and differences in the range of meanings associated with corresponding L1/L2 constituents, and the cognitive approach (Matsuki 1995) is useful to clarify similarities and differences in the way an event or emotion is conceptualised in different languages. However, these approaches do not address the question of semantic differences between idioms of the same language classified into the same group (e.g. *hara ga tatsu / hara ni suekaneru,* Matsuki 1995). Nor do they shed light on the question of semantic correspondence between individual L1/L2 idioms.

Dobrovol'skij's (1998, 2000) assertion that few, if any, idioms have one-to-one equivalents in other languages is supported by his detailed analysis of the combinatorial properties of Russian/German idioms. However, this approach focuses on identifying different L2 equivalents for an L1 idiom in different contexts, and leaves unaddressed the question of the L1 semantic network.

3. The present analysis: theoretical framework and method of analysis

This article is based on the following assumptions:

(3) Contrastive analysis is synchronically oriented and seeks to identify both similarities and differences between L1/L2 idioms (Takada 1974; Dobrovol'skij 1998).

(4) Idioms have the property of 'lexicality.' This means that although idioms are phrases composed of two or more words, their form and meaning is fixed, and the phrase as a whole functions much like a single word (Muraki 1985; Itō 1997).[1]

(5) Idioms belong to 'lexical fields' in which they function in opposition to each other as well as to single words. A lexical field is a group of lexical units that share a common semantic feature but also have distinctive semantic features that set them apart from each other (Coseriu 1968; Coseriu & Geckeler 1981; Ishiwata & Takada 1990).

(6) The meaning of an idiom can be analysed by comparing its range of use to that of other idioms/words in the same lexical field and extracting the distinctive semantic features of each expression (Ishida

2003a, 2003b).

The method for contrastive analysis used in this article is as follows.

(7) **Step 1: Delimitation of L1/L2 lexical fields.** Tests of commutation were used to delimit the lexical fields (1) Japanese idioms of «anger» and (2) English idioms of «anger».[2] These fields contain other idioms and verbs as well (e.g. (1) *okoru* 'get angry'; (2) *hit the ceiling*). However, the aim of this article is to present a method for contrastive analysis, not to carry out an exhaustive analysis of the above fields; thus focus is limited to a number of idioms used frequently in spoken language and dealt with in past studies.

Step 2: L1 analysis. Examples of Japanese idioms were retrieved from newspaper databases (see 'Data sources') and analysed in order to develop a number of co-occurrence tests.[3] Questionnaires (based on newspaper examples) were prepared for each test, and native speaker informants were interviewed to obtain acceptability judgments. Questionnaire results were then analysed and used to identify distinctive semantic features of L1 idioms.[4]

Step 3: L2 analysis. Step 2 was repeated for English idioms. In this case, acceptability judgments were provided by the researcher and two other informants.

Step 4: Contrastive analysis. L1/L2 results were compared; similarities/differences between L1/L2 distinctive features and semantic correspondences between L1/L2 idioms were identified.

In practice, the steps listed above are not entirely discrete. During L1 analysis it is important to consider the applicability of L1 semantic features to L2 idioms; during L2 analysis it is important to test the applicability of L1 semantic features, as well as considering the applicability of any newly-identified L2 features to L1 idioms. Contrastive analysis thus proceeds more or less concurrently with L1/L2 analysis.

4. Contrastive analysis: co-occurrence tests and distinctive features

4.1. \<continuative (c)>, \<instantaneous (i)>, \<stative (s)>, \<continuative/stative (c/s)>

Japanese and English idioms of anger can be distinguished from each other, respectively, using tests for aspectual properties.

(8) Test 1 (Japanese): progressive interpretation in *-te iru* form

Test 1 (English): progressive interpretation in *be V-ing* form

Many Japanese anger idioms are used in the *-te iru* form with progressive interpretation.

(9) *Nikugyū 320 tō o shiiku suru Ōtsuka Fumio-san wa gyūsha de sagyō-chū, rajio de jiken o shitta. 'Harawata ga niekurikaette iru.'*
(A02.01.29*) ('Mr. Fumio Otsuka, who has 320 head of beef cattle, heard about the incident on the radio while he was working in the barn. "My guts are boiling."')

(10) *Uchi no mae de no meiwaku-chūsha ni hara o tatete iru.* ('I am raising my belly at the nuisance parking in front of my house.')

The anger situations expressed by (9) *harawata ga niekurikaette iru* and (10) *hara o tatete iru* are construed as being in progress at the present moment. They are dynamic, extend over a period of time, and have no natural endpoint. These idioms thus have an affinity with so-called 'continuative verbs' (Machida 1989; Jacobsen 1992).

Some English idioms allow progressive interpretation in the *be V-ing* form, which corresponds to the progressive interpretation of Japanese *-te iru*.

(11) The season hasn't even started yet and Chiba Lotte Marines manager Bobby Valentine is already getting hot under the collar. (JT 04.03.18)

(12) The mother-in-law made the coffee, but by now her blood was boiling. (NYT95)

These situations, like those in (9) and (10), are construed as continuous and dynamic.

On the other hand, some English idioms do not allow progressive in-

terpretation, even if they allow the *be V-ing* form.

    (11') #The season hasn't even started yet and Chiba Lotte Marines man-
        ager Bobby Valentine is already <u>blowing his top.</u>

    (13) #Scottish bagpipe makers <u>are blowing their tops</u> over cheaper ver-
        sions from Pakistan which they claim produce a diabolical noise and
        disgrace their time-honored craft. (REU94)[5]

Both of these examples have iterative interpretation. In (11'), *blowing his
top* has the reading that the grammatical subject (singular) is experienc-
ing repeated episodes of anger over a period of time; each episode, how-
ever, takes place at a point in time. In (13), *blowing their tops* has the
reading that the subjects (plural) are experiencing individual episodes of
anger either simultaneously or successively; again, each episode is an in-
stantaneous event.

    In a similar vein, some Japanese idioms do not allow progressive in-
terpretation in the *-te iru* form.

    (14) *Musume no renjitsu no asagaeri ni <u>kanninbukuro no o ga {kireta/</u>*
        <u>??kirete iru}</u>. ('The cord of my patience bag {snapped/??has snapped}
        at my daughter's staying out all night so many times in a row.')

Informants in this study who did not judge the *-te iru* form in (14) to be
completely unacceptable report that the only possible interpretation is re-
sultative — i.e., that the experiencer has surpassed a limit (or endpoint) of
anger and is now in the state of having surpassed that limit. Most infor-
mants, however, judged (14) *-te iru* to be unacceptable, with no possibility
of either progressive or resultative interpretation; they report that *kannin-
bukuro no o ga kireru* expresses an anger event that takes place instanta-
neously and ends immediately after realisation. Both of these interpreta-
tions suggest that *kanninbukuro no o ga kireru* has an affinity with 'in-
stantaneous verbs' (Machida 1989; Jacobsen 1992).

    Based on the preceding discussion, this article will take the view that
Japanese and English idioms of anger can be differentiated by the seman-
tic features <continuative> and <instantaneous>.[6] Idioms that allow pro-
gressive interpretation in the forms listed in (8) are analysed as <continu-
ative>; they present dynamic situations that extend over time. Idioms that

do not allow progressive interpretation in these forms are <instantaneous>; they express events that take place at a point in time and do not continue past that point.

(15) <continuative> idioms: (J) *kanshaku o okosu, hara o tateru;* (E) blow/let off steam, get hot under the collar, one's blood boils, see red;

(16) <instantaneous> idioms: (J) *kanninbukuro no o ga kireru;* (E) bite s.o.'s head off, blow one's stack/top, fly off the handle.

The English idiom variant *be hot under the collar* does not take the progressive form and refers, in the simple present or past, to a static end-state resulting from the process *get hot under the collar.*

(17) Many of the country's dog breeders [are/*are being] hot under the collar because their Labrador retrievers ain't what they used to be. (LATWP94)

Based on the above, this article takes the view that *be hot under the collar* has the semantic feature <stative>.

None of the Japanese anger idioms under consideration here are ana-lysable as purely <stative>. However, some possess both continuative and stative properties. Stative properties can be identified using the following tests.

(18) Test 2J: present interpretation in *-ru* (plain) form

Test 2E: present interpretation in simple present (e.g. (17))

The Japanese idioms listed as <continuative> in (15) indicate exis-tence of the anger emotion at the time of utterance in the *-te iru* form only. When used in the *-ru* form (plain form), they usually have future or habitual interpretation.

(19a) *Chōnan wa Tarō ni tatakarete kanshaku o okoshite iru.* ('My son is having a fit of anger because Taro hit him.') (*-te iru* = present pro-gressive)

(19b) *Chōnan wa suidō no mizu o dashippanashi ni shinai to kanshaku o okosu.* (Y04.05.19) ('My [autistic] son has a fit of anger if I don't leave the water running.') (*-ru* = habitual)

This differentiates these idioms from stative verbs (e.g. *aru* 'be' inan.),

which indicate the existence of a situation at the time of utterance in the *-ru* form only.

However, a number of Japanese idioms are used in both the *-te iru* form and the *-ru* form to indicate that a first-person experiencer is angry at the time of utterance.

> (9') *Ōtsuka Fumio-san wa gyūsha de sagyō-chū, rajio de jiken o shitta. 'Harawata ga {niekurikaeru/niekurikaette iru}.'* ('Mr. Fumio Otsuka heard about the incident on the radio while he was working in the barn. "My guts {boil/are boiling}."') (*harawata ga niekurikaeru*= A02.1.29)

> (20) *Fan, senshu o mushi shita ōnā-tachi ni hara ga {tatsu/tatte iru}. ('My belly {rises up/is rising up} at the owners, who ignored [both] the fans and the players.') (hara ga tatsu*=A04.08.02)

In the examples above, *hara ga tatsu* and *harawata ga niekurikaeru* convey the meaning that the first-person experiencer was angry at the time of utterance. The fact that these idioms have present interpretation not only in the *-te iru* form but also in the *-ru* form indicates that they have an affinity with stative verbs. This article thus takes the view that these idioms have both continuative and stative properties and analyses them as possessing the semantic feature <continuative/stative>.[7]

Are there any English anger idioms analysable as <continuative/stative>? That is, are there any that have present interpretation in both the *be V-ing* form and the simple present? As we saw in (17), *be hot under the collar* has present interpretation in the simple present only and is thus <stative>. The English idioms listed in (15) have present interpretation in the progressive form only; in the simple present they have habitual interpretation. For example,

> (21) 'When I go to the supermarket and walk down the cold-cereal aisle, my blood boils,' Schumer said. 'The prices are just way out of line.' (NYT95)

The variant *make one's blood boil*, however, has present interpretation in the simple present.

> (22) 'It makes my blood boil,' Clinton told police officials here, as he

blasted the 225-210 procedural vote that blocked final consideration
of the $33.2 billion anti-crime measure. (NYT94)

Here, 'It makes my blood boil' conveys the meaning that Clinton experiences the anger emotion every time he thinks about the vote, including the time of utterance of this statement.

It is worth noting that *make one's blood boil* is actually more natural in the simple present than in the present progressive. Compare (22') to (22).

(22') ?'It is making my blood boil,' Clinton told police officials here···

This seems to suggest that *make one's blood boil* is highly stative. However, (22') is not completely unacceptable, and use of this idiom in the past progressive is fully acceptable (e.g. 'The stories [about government expropriation] in this book were making my blood boil'). This article will thus take the view that *make one's blood boil* has continuative as well as stative properties.[8]

(23) <continuative/stative> idioms: (J) *atama ni kuru, hara ga tatsu, hara ni suekaneru, harawata ga niekurikaeru;* (E) make one's blood boil.

4.2. <time before realisation>

Both Japanese and English idioms of anger vary with respect to how they present the time preceding realisation of the anger situation. This is evident from the results of tests for co-occurrence with the following adverbs.

(24) Test 3J: *tsuini / tōtō* ('finally'), *suguni* ('immediately')/*kyūni* ('suddenly')

Test 3E: *finally, immediately / suddenly (all of a sudden)*

Some Japanese idioms co-occur with *tsuini / tōtō*, but not with *suguni* or *kyūni*.

(25) *Sono chichi wa, musume no renjitsu no asagaeri ni tsuini kanninbukuro no o ga kireta.* ('Finally the cord of the father's patience-bag snapped at his daughter's staying out all night so many times in a row.') (A03.01.04)

(26) *Ramuzuferudo beikokubō-chōkan wa 'Bagudaddo wa muhō-chitai' to iu hōdō o kiki, {??suguni/??kyūni} kanninbukuro no o ga kireta.* (A03.04.12*) ('When American Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld heard the report "Baghdad is a lawless area," {??immediately/??suddenly} the cord of his patience-bag snapped.')

Tsuini/tōtō share the semantic feature <a length of time is required for realisation of a certain situation or state> (Nagashima 1982:171), while *suguni/kyūni* indicate that an event is abrupt or <occurs in a very short period of time> (Kunihiro 1982:146).[9] The fact that *kanninbukuro no o ga kireru* co-occurs with *tsuini/tōtō* (25) but not *suguni/kyūni* (26) indicates that this idiom depicts an event whose realisation is preceded by a period of 'build-up'. That is, the anger event takes place only after a series of triggering events or a situation that develops over time.[10]

In the same vein, some English idioms co-occur with *finally* but not *immediately/suddenly*.

(27) After putting up with John's rude and inappropriate remarks all evening, I finally {let off some steam/blew my stack}.

(28) When John saw my bumper sticker, all of a sudden he {*let off some steam/?blew his stack}.

Let off steam and *blow one's stack* are very natural in (27), where the context includes reference to a series of triggering events and the adverb *finally*. On the other hand, these idioms are less acceptable in (28), where the context suggests that there is little or no time between a triggering event and the anger event. *Blew his stack* is not completely unacceptable in (28); this is likely because the adverbial *all of a sudden* can be linked to the <instantaneous> nature of the anger event expressed by this idiom (4.1.). However, even in this context, *blew his stack* is construed to mean that 'John' had an episode of anger after a number of triggering events over a period of time; seeing the bumper sticker was simply the final event in the series.

Other English idioms co-occur with *immediately/suddenly* but not *finally*.

(29) When John saw my bumper sticker, all of a sudden he {flew off the

handle/saw red}.

(30) After putting up with John's rude and inappropriate remarks all evening, I finally {?flew off the handle/??saw red}.

(29) and (30) suggest that *fly off the handle* and *see red* do not include in their meaning specification that a length of time is required for realisation of the anger event. On the contrary, they present anger events that are realised abruptly and/or without warning.

Based on the preceding discussion, this article will argue that Japanese and English idioms can be differentiated using the semantic feature <time before realisation>. (This is an abbreviated version of Nagashima's (1982) feature for *tsuini/tōtō*.) Japanese idioms that co-occur with *tsuini/tōtō* but not *suguni/kyūni* and English idioms that co-occur with *finally* but not *immediately/suddenly* are analysed as <+time before realisation>. English idioms that co-occur with *immediately/suddenly* but not *finally* are analysed as <-time before realisation>.

(31) <+time before realisation>: (J) *kanninbukuro no o ga kireru, hara ni suekaneru;* (E) blow/let off steam, blow one's stack/top;

(32) <-time before realisation>: (E) bite s.o.'s head off, fly off the handle, see red.

None of the Japanese idioms under consideration here co-occur with *suguni/kyūni* but not *tsuini/tōtō;* thus none are analysable as <-time before realisation>.[11]

However, some Japanese idioms co-occur with both *suguni/kyūni* and *tsuini/tōtō*.

(25') *Sono chichi wa, musume no renjitsu no asagaeri ni tsuini atama ni kite nagutta.* ('The father finally got mad (=[it] finally came to the father's head) at his daughter's staying out all night so many times in a row, and he hit her.')

(33) *Kanjō no sen ga yurumi, chotto shita tsuma no kotoba mo sugu atama ni kite, te o furiagete shimau.* (The cork on my emotions has loosened, so even the slightest word from my wife immediately comes to my head, and I raise my hand [to strike her].)

Depending on the context, *atama ni kuru* may express an anger event

that takes place after a period of build-up over time (25'), or one that
takes place abruptly, with little or no warning (33). This idiom and others
like it can be analysed as neutral with respect to the length of time re-
quired for realisation of the anger event (< ± time before realisation>).

(34) < ± time before realisation>: (J) *atama ni kuru, kanshaku o okosu,*
hara o tateru.

There are no English idioms that co-occur with both *finally* and *im-
mediately/suddenly*. There are, however, several that are resistant to co-
occurrence with all of these adverbs. For example,

(35) ??After putting up with John's rude and inappropriate remarks all
evening, finally my blood boiled.

(36) ??When I saw John's bumper sticker, all of a sudden my blood
boiled.

Several Japanese idioms exhibit similar behaviour (e.g. *(*tsuini/?kyūni)*
*hara ga tatta, (*tsuini/?kyūni) harawata ga niekurikaetta*).

The key factor here is the focus all the test adverbs (in both lan-
guages) have on the moment of realisation of an event. This means that
these adverbs co-occur only with verb phrases presenting situations that
are realised at a specific point in time. The resistance of some idioms to
co-occurrence with these adverbs suggests that these idioms present
events that are realised gradually, over a period of time. This question
will be discussed in detail in the following section (4.3.). Here it is suffi-
cient to say that the feature <time before realisation> does not apply to
the idioms listed below.

(37) n/a: (J) *hara ga tatsu, harawata ga niekurikaeru;* (E) get/be hot un-
der the collar, make one's blood boil/one's blood boils.

4.3. <gradual realisation>

Japanese and English idioms vary not only with respect to how they
present time before realisation of the anger event, but also with respect to
how they present realisation itself.

(38) Test 4J: *dandan* ('gradually'), *-te kuru* compound ('start/begin to')
Test 4E: *gradually, start/begin to* ~

Some English anger idioms co-occur with *gradually* and/or *start/begin to ~*; others do not.

    (21') 'When I went to the supermarket and walked down the cold-cereal aisle, <u>my blood</u> gradually started to boil,' Schumer said. 'The prices are just way out of line.'

    (39) (One day Pete went into a tirade, criticizing Amanda for her lack of ability as a homemaker and mother.) *'I gradually started to <u>see red</u>,' she says.

In (21'), *start to ~* specifies the inception of change (in the experiencer) from a situation of non-anger to one of anger, and *gradually* indicates that this change is realised in stages over time. Idioms that co-occur with these lexical/grammatical items (e.g. *one's blood boils, get hot under the collar*) express events that are realised gradually, over time. Idioms that do not co-occur with these items (e.g. *see red, fly off the handle*) express events that are realised at an undivided point in time, and may or may not continue past that point.

    Bite s.o.'s head off and *blow/let off steam* co-occur with *start/begin to ~* and/or *gradually*.

    (40) When I raised the issue of steroids, Maguire {started to/*gradually started to} <u>bite my head off</u>.

    (41) Angry Democrats gradually started to <u>let off steam</u> about Bullock. (NYT95*)

Thus, at first glance, it seems possible to say that these idioms express events that are realised gradually. However, in (40) and (41) *started to ~* expresses the commencement of an anger-induced action that continues over a period of time, not the inception of a change that eventually results in realisation of an anger situation. (41) presents a situation that begins with one Democrat making an angry comment about Bullock, followed by another Democrat, and another, and so on, with the discussion slowly building up focus and energy. However, the situation of *letting off steam* is construed as having been realised at the point that the first Democrat makes his/her comment. In (40) too, the situation *bite my head off* is interpreted as having been realised at the point that 'Maguire' makes his

first comment. Thus these idioms do not, in fact, express events with grad-
ual realisation.

What about Japanese anger idioms? Like *start/begin to,* the *-te kuru*
compound (38) specifies the inception of change in the experiencer from a
situation of non-anger to one of anger; *dandan* indicates that this change
is realised in stages, over time. Japanese anger idioms that co-occur with
these items can be thought to express events that are realised gradually
(42); idioms that do not co-occur with these items express events that are
realised at a point in time (43).

> (42) *Dandan hara ga tatte kita. Seiji wa nani o shiteru.* (A04.02.21) ('My
> belly gradually started to rise up. What's the government doing?')

> (43) **Rifujinna atsukai o uketa koto ni dandan kanninbukuro no o ga
> hirete kita.* (*Gradually the cord of my patience-bag began to snap
> at the unreasonable treatment I'd received.)

Some Japanese anger idioms do not take the *-te kuru* form for reasons
of lexical or syntactic structure. **Atama ni kite kita* is unacceptable be-
cause of repetition of the verb *kuru*, and **hara o tatete kita/*kanshaku o
okoshite kita* are anomalous because use of the *-te kuru* form (with incep-
tive meaning) is blocked by the *o* particle. Speakers report that *?dandan
atama ni kita* and *?dandan hara o tateta* are not entirely unacceptable;
however, **dandan kanshaku o okoshita* is. Since these three idioms are
less compatible with *dandan* than *hara ga tatsu* etc., it can be thought
that they present situations that are realised at a point in time. The com-
patibility of these idioms with the adverbs listed in (24) further supports
this view.

Based on the preceding discussion, this article proposes that Japanese
and English anger idioms can be differentiated by the semantic feature
<gradual realisation>. Idioms that co-occur with the items listed in (38)
are analysed as <+gradual realisation>; those that do not are <-gradual
realisation>.

> (44) <+gradual realisation>: (J) *hara ga tatsu, harawata ga niekuri-
> kaeru;* (E) get hot under the collar, make one's blood boil/one's blood
> boils;

(45) <-gradual realisation>: (J) *atama ni kuru, kanshaku o okosu, kan-ninbukuro no o ga kireru, hara o tateru, hara ni suekaneru;* (E) bite s.o.'s head off, blow/let off steam, blow one's stack/top, fly off the handle, see red.

A few comments are in order here about the relationship between the feature <gradual realisation> and some of the other features identified thus far. It is predictable that idioms analysed as <instantaneous> (e.g. *kanninbukuro no o ga kireru*) are also <-gradual realisation>, because <instantaneous> idioms, by definition, present situations that are realised at a point in time. It is also predictable that the feature <gradual realisation> does not apply to idioms analysed as <stative> (e.g. *be hot under the collar*), because statives present static situations with no reference whatsoever to realisation.

Also, idioms analysed as <+time before realisation>, <-time before realisation> or <±time before realisation> are also <-gradual realisation>, while those analysed as 'n/a' with respect to <time before realisation> are (with the exception of *be hot under the collar*) <+gradual realisation>. This distribution is also predictable, because the former set of idioms present anger situations realised at an undivided point in time (as evidenced by their co-occurrence with some or all of the test adverbs in (24)), while the latter do not (as evidenced by their resistance to co-occurrence with all of the test adverbs).

4.4. <other-oriented>

Both Japanese and English anger idioms vary in terms of whether they express anger events that are 'other-oriented' or 'self-oriented.' The examples given so far present situations in which the experiencer's anger is oriented toward an object (target or subject matter) or cause outside of himself (for a discussion of these terms, see Pesetsky 1995:56-60 and Bandō & Matsumura 2001:80-83). For example, (10) *uchi no mae de no meiwaku-chūsha* and (13) *cheaper versions [of bagpipes] from Pakistan* represent external objects, and (22) *the procedural vote that blocked final consideration of the anti-crime measure* represents an external cause.

Whether or not Japanese and English anger idioms are restricted to use with external objects and causes can be verified using the following tests.

(46) Test 5J: *jibun ni* ~ ('~at myself'), *jibun no* ~*ni* ~ ('~at my own ~')

      Test 5E: ~*at myself,* ~*about / at / over my [own]* ~

Most English idioms do not take complements indicating that the experiencer himself is the target of his own anger, or that the subject matter or cause of the experiencer's anger is his own behaviour.

(47a) Warren <u>flew off the handle</u> at {his wife/*himself}.

(47b) Warren <u>flew off the handle</u> at {the receiver's/*his own} fumble.

(48) {His/*My} comments <u>made my blood boil</u>.[12]

Bite s.o.'s head off – unlike any of the other L1/L2 idioms under consideration here – actually has a slot for an external object ('s.o.') built into the syntactic structure of the idiom. An experiencer object is thus structurally impossible ('I <u>bit</u> {my husband's/*my own} <u>head off</u>'), and an experiencer-related cause is semantically anomalous (John₁ <u>bit my head off</u> because {I/ *he₁} made a few errors in the infield).

Some Japanese idioms do not take *jibun ni* ~ or *jibun no* ~*ni* ~ complements.

(49) *{X tōshu / *jibun} no shūtai ga <u>hara ni suekanete</u>* ··· ('I <u>couldn't keep</u> {Pitcher X's/*my own} poor performance <u>in my belly</u>···')[13]

(50) ??*Chīmu no fun'iki o kaerarenai jibun ni <u>harawata ga niekurikaetta</u>.* (??'<u>My guts boiled</u> at myself, [who was] unable to change the team atmosphere.')

However, others very naturally take such complements, presenting situations in which the experiencer's anger is oriented toward himself or his own behaviour.

(50') *Chīmu no fun'iki o kaerarenai jibun ni <u>hara ga tatta</u>.* (A04.07.21) ('<u>My belly rose</u> up at myself, [who was] unable to change the team atmosphere.')

(51) '*Ēsu nanbā o moratte ita no ni, nani shiteru n da.' Jibun no shūtai ni <u>hara ga tatta</u>.* (Y04.07.27) ('"What am I doing, when I used to have an ace number." <u>My belly rose up</u> at my own miserable

performance.')

(50') and (51) contrast with (20), in which *hara ga tatsu* indicates anger oriented toward an external object (*'Fan, senshu o mushi shita ōnā-tachi'*).

Like *hara ga tatsu*, the English idiom *blow/let off steam* co-occurs with both other- and self-oriented object complements.

(52) After the game, Dave <u>blew off some steam</u> over {his star player's/ his own} poor performance on the playing field.

However, *blow/let off steam* cannot be used with an experiencer-target.

(53) Dave <u>blew off some steam</u> at {his star player/*himself}.

This seems to suggest that *hara ga tatsu* has a higher degree of self-orientation than *blow/let off steam*. However, it would be difficult to establish stringent criteria to measure relative degrees of such orientation. This article will simply argue, from the evidence provided in (52), that *blow/let off steam* (like some Japanese idioms) can be used to present self-oriented anger situations.

Based on the preceding discussion, this article proposes that Japanese and English anger idioms can be differentiated by a semantic feature called <other-oriented>. Idioms that do not co-occur with the items listed in (46) are <+other-oriented>; idioms that do co-occur with these items are < ± other-oriented>.[14]

(54) <+other-oriented>: (J) *kanninbukuro no o ga kireru, hara ni suekan-eru, harawata ga niekurikaeru;* (E) bite s.o.'s head off, blow one's stack/top, fly off the handle, get/be hot under the collar, make one's blood boil/one's blood boils, see red;

(55) < ± other-oriented>: (J) *atama ni kuru, kanshaku o okosu, hara ga tatsu, hara o tateru;* (E) blow/let off steam.

Here we can see that, while there are a number of Japanese idioms analysable as < ± other-oriented>, almost all the English idioms are <+other-oriented>.

4.5. <expressive>

Japanese and English anger idioms vary with respect to whether or not they include in their meaning indication of angry behaviour on the

part of the experiencer (e.g. verbal output, physical action, etc.). This is
evident from the results of tests for co-occurrence with the following items.

(56) Test 6J: ~*rashii*/*yō da* ('seem/appear to'), clauses such as ~*ga,
jibun de wa kuchi ni dasenai* ('~but he himself can't talk about
[it]')

Test 6E: *seem to/look as if,* ~*but [he] [held his tongue/managed
not to show his anger]*

For example, the Japanese idiom *harawata ga niekurikaeru* co-occurs
with the items listed for Test 6J.

(57) *Otōto wa nitchō kyōgi no shinten no nasa ni naishin harawata ga
niekurikaette ita rashii.* (A04.06.17*) ('My brother looked as if in-
wardly his guts were boiling at the lack of progress in the Japan-
Korea talks.')

(58) *Harawata ga niekurikaette iru ga, jibun de wa kuchi ni dasenai to
iu hito*··· (A89.11.14) ('People whose guts are boiling but they them-
selves can't talk about [the issue]···')

The sentence-ending expressions ~*rashii*/*yō da* indicate a degree of un-
certainty or conjecture on the part of the speaker with respect to existence
of the situation in question. In (57), use of *rashii* suggests a lack of overt
angry behaviour on the part of the experiencer. *Harawata ga niekurikaeru*
actually requires the use of expressions such as ~*rashii*/*yō da* in contexts
with a third-person experiencer. This indicates that this idiom presents an
anger situation that is purely internal. (Co-occurrence with the adverb
naishin (57) supports this assumption.)

In (58), the adversative clause ~*ga, jibun de wa kuchi ni dasenai* sets
up a contrast between the anger situation presented in the first clause
and the specified lack of angry behaviour in the second clause. The fact
that *harawata ga niekurikaeru* is acceptable in this context supports the
analysis of this idiom as expressing a purely internal anger situation.

Most other Japanese idioms also co-occur with the Test 6J items, with
use of ~*rashii*/*yō da* in the third person compulsory;[15] however, *kannin-
bukuro no o ga kireru* and *kanshaku o okosu* do not.

(59) *{*Kanninbukuro no o ga kireta / *Kanshaku o okoshita}* ga, jibun de
    wa kuchi ni dasenai to iu hito⋯ ('People {*whose <u>patience-bag cord
    snapped</u>/*who <u>had a fit of anger</u>} but <u>they themselves can't talk
    about [the issue]</u>⋯')

These idioms are judged as incompatible with ~ga, jibun de wa kuchi ni
dasenai because they express situations in which the experiencer exhibits
his anger outwardly and verbally.

   Kanshaku o okosu is also incompatible with ~rashii/yō da sentence-
ending expressions.

(60) *Sasaina koto kara kōron to nari jū-bai, nijū-bai to makushitate-
    rareta teishu ga <u>kanshaku o okoshita</u> {Φ/*yō da}.* (A01.02.22*) (It
    went from a little thing to an argument and the husband, ranted at
    [by his wife] ten times, twenty times over, {had/*<u>seemed to</u> have} a
    <u>fit of anger</u>.)

The only possible interpretation for *yō da* in (60) is that of hearsay, be-
cause this idiom expresses angry behaviour so obvious as to make the use
of conjectural expressions on the part of an observer decidedly odd.[16]

   What about the English idioms in this analysis? Some co-occur with
the items in (56) Test 6E, and others do not.

(61) Michael Johnson <u>seemed to</u> {<u>get hot under the collar</u>/*<u>fly off the
    handle</u>} when told the last hour of his daytime talk program would
    be cut.

(62) Michael {got hot under the collar/*<u>flew off the handle</u>}, but <u>he held
    his tongue</u>.

Get hot under the collar is compatible with *seem to* (61), indicating a de-
gree of uncertainty on the part of the observer with respect to the anger
situation in question. This idiom is also compatible with clauses like ~*but
he held his tongue* (62), which specifies a lack of overt angry behaviour.
On the other hand, *fly off the handle* is incompatible with both of these
contexts. These examples lead to the conclusion that *fly off the handle* in-
cludes in its meaning some kind of external and observable expression of
the anger emotion, while *get hot under the collar* presents an internal an-
ger situation only.

Based on the preceding discussion, this article proposes that Japanese and English anger idioms can be differentiated on the basis of a feature called <expressive>.[17] Idioms that co-occur with the test items in (56) are analysed as <-expressive> (i.e., indicating the internal anger emotion only). Idioms that do not co-occur with these items are analysed as <+expressive> (i.e., including in their meaning indication of overt angry behaviour, such as verbal output or physical action, in addition to the internal anger emotion).

(63) <-expressive>: (J) *atama ni kuru, hara ga tatsu, hara o tateru, hara ni suekaneru, harawata ga niekurikaeru;* (E) get/be hot under the collar, make one's blood boil/one's blood boils, see red;

(64) <+expressive>: (J) *kanshaku o okosu, kanninbukuro no o ga kireru;* (E) bite s.o.'s head off, blow/let off steam, blow one's stack/top, fly off the handle.

From (63) and (64) it is apparent that the English idioms in this analysis are fairly evenly distributed between <-expressive> and <+expressive>. On the other hand, there is a preponderance of Japanese idioms with the feature <-expressive>.

It should be noted that some idioms analysed as <-expressive> are often linked with clauses that express angry or violent behaviour.

(65) *Shirabe ni yoru to haha-oya wa···heya ga chirakatte iru koto nado ni hara o tate, chōjo no atama o bokutō de sūkai naguri···*
(Y04.08.03) ('According to the investigation, the mother raised her belly at the fact that the room was a mess, etc. and hit her eldest daughter on the head several times with a wooden practice sword.')

(66) [Courtney] Love saw red, took the [woman's] camera and threw it on the ground. (JT00.1.28)

In cases like this, the anger emotion and angry behaviour, although linked causally and chronologically, are two separate situations. In cases where there is no specific mention of angry behaviour, *hara o tateru* and *see red* − unlike *kanshaku o okosu* and *fly off the handle* − simply indicate a situation of internal anger (e.g. (10), (29)).

It can be thought that *bite s.o.'s head off* differs from the rest of the

idioms in this analysis with respect to the feature <+expressive>. Compare the following examples.

(67) He {flew off the handle/bit off his trainer's head}, ranting and raving like a maniac.

(68a) He flew off the handle, throwing the bat and physically abusing his trainer.

(68b) *He bit off his trainer's head, throwing the bat and physically abusing him.

Co-occurrence with the clause 'ranting and raving' (67), which specifies the manner of expression of anger, indicates that both *fly off the handle* and *bite s.o.'s head off* are semantically compatible with verbal expressions of anger. On the other hand, only *fly off the handle* is compatible with a context specifying the expression of anger by physical violence ((68a), (68b)). This indicates that *bite s.o.'s head off* presents a situation in which anger is expressed by verbal output, to the exclusion of other types of angry behaviour. It is thus possible to argue that, for this idiom, the feature <expressive> is determined by another feature <+verbal>.

5. Summary and discussion

From Figure 1 it is apparent that, while many Japanese/English anger idioms overlap in meaning, very few have full semantic correspondence. An exception is the pair *blow one's stack/top* and *kanninbukuro no o ga kireru,* which share all of the semantic features identified in this analysis. It might thus be expected that these idioms will be translation equivalents in most contexts.

(26') *Ramuzuferudo beikokubō-chōkan wa 'Bagudaddo wa muhō-chitai' to iu hōdō o kiki, kanninbukuro no o ga kireta.*

'When American Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld heard the report that "Baghdad is a lawless area," he blew his stack.'

Many of the Japanese/English idioms targeted in this analysis exhibit partial semantic correspondence. For example, *hara ga tatsu* and *get hot under the collar* share the features <+gradual realisation> and

[Figure 1] Correspondence between Japanese and English anger idioms

	\<c>,\<s>, \<c/s>,\<i>	\<time before realisation>	\<gradual realisation>	\<other-oriented>	\<expressive>
atama ni kuru	\<c/s>	±	−	±	−
hara ga tatsu	\<c/s>	n/a	+	±	−
get hot under the collar/ be hot under the collar	\<c> \<s>	n/a n/a	+ n/a	+ +	− −
harawata ga niekurikaeru	\<c/s>	n/a	+	+	−
make one's blood boil/ one's blood boils	\<c/s> \<c>	n/a n/a	+ +	+ +	− −
hara ni suekaneru	\<c/s>	+	−	+	−
kanshaku o okosu	\<c>	±	−	±	+
blow/let off steam	\<c>	+	−	±	+
hara o tateru	\<c>	±	−	±	−
see red	\<c>	−	−	+	−
fly off the handle	\<i>	−	−	+	+
blow one's stack/top	\<i>	+	−	+	+
kanninbukuro no o ga kireru	\<i>	+	−	+	+
bite s.o.'s head off	\<i>	−	−	+(+target)	+(+verbal)

\<c>=\<continuative>, \<s>=\<stative>, \<c/s>=\<continuative/stative>, \<i>=\<instantaneous>; n/a=not applicable

\<-expressive>, and the feature \<time before realisation> does not apply to either. However, *hara ga tatsu* is \<continuative/stative> and \< ± other-oriented>, while *get hot under the collar* is \<continuative> and \<+other-oriented>. It can thus be expected that, although these idioms overlap in meaning, they are not always interchangeable.

(51') ('*Ēsu nanbā o moratte ita no ni, nani shiteru n da.*') *Jibun no shū-*

tai ni hara ga tatta.

'("What am I doing, when I used to have an ace number.") *I got
hot under the collar at my own miserable performance.'

It can be concluded that the method of contrastive analysis proposed
in this article is useful to clarify both the complexity of the L1/L2 seman-
tic networks and the complexity of correspondences between L1/L2 idioms.
It can also be thought that the semantic correspondences and distinctions
identifiable by this method are of vital importance for learners and teach-
ers of foreign languages, for translators, and for editors of bilingual dic-
tionaries.

6. Questions for further consideration

One question for further consideration is extension of the present
analysis to include other Japanese/English idioms and verbs of anger. It
is, of course, possible that further analysis will reveal partial correspon-
dence between some of the idioms targeted here and expressions not in-
cluded in the present study (e.g. *kanshaku o okosu* and *lose one's temper/
throw a tantrum*).

It should be noted that the list of distinctive features presented in
this analysis is not exhaustive; there may be other features, too, that func-
tion to distinguish Japanese and/or English anger idioms. For example, it
might be possible to distinguish *blow/let off steam* from other English idi-
oms on the basis of <positive evaluation>, because this idiom is compatible
with contexts such as the following:

(69) It was a good thing John blew off some steam when he did; other-
wise he might have blown his top.

(70) Fortunately, I had a chance to blow off some steam after the game.
Other English anger idioms are not compatible with these contexts; it is
also doubtful that any Japanese anger idioms would be compatible with
parallel contexts (*kanshaku o okoshite yokatta desu* (*'it was a good thing
I had a fit of anger'); *saiwai ni kanninbukuro no o ga kireta* (*'fortu-
nately, the cord of my patience-bag snapped').

It may also be possible to distinguish both Japanese and English idioms on the basis of <degree of anger> (Ishida 2004b:13). However, testing for such features and analysis of their relationship to the features identified here remains a question for exploration at another opportunity.

A final question is that of the universality of the semantic features identified in this analysis. Do they function in lexical fields other than those considered here? Do they function in languages other than English and Japanese? These questions can be answered only after extensive analysis of a variety of lexical fields in different languages.

Notes

[1] Idiom variants (*blow one's stack/top* etc.) are not uncommon but are both institutionalised and limited in number. Also, the fixed correspondence between the idiom phrase and its idiomatic meaning does not obviate the possibility that individual constituents contribute semantically to the idiomatic meaning (Ishida 2004a). For example, it can be thought that the verb *kireru* ('break, snap') in *kanninbukuro no o ga kireru* contributes the feature <instantaneous> (4.1.) to the meaning of this idiom.

[2] Commutability of two idioms indicates an overlap in meaning. For example, in the sentence *When John saw my bumper sticker, he {flew off the handle/saw red}*, both *flew off the handle* and *saw red* express the meaning that 'John' got angry. Commutability in one context does not imply complete semantic correspondence; it does, however, show that the idioms in question share a common semantic feature. Based on examples such as the above, the present article considers the idioms listed in (1) and (2), respectively, to share the semantic feature «anger». (Double brackets (« ») indicate common semantic features and single brackets (< >) indicate distinctive semantic features.)

[3] Corpus data is indispensable for contrastive analysis because it reveals patterns of usage that reflect semantic distinctions.

[4] Ishida (2004b) is a report on the first stage of the present analysis and focuses on the results of Step 2. Ishida (2004b) deals with *shaku ni sawaru, okoru, kireru,* and *mukatsuku,* as well as the idioms listed in (1); the former expressions have been excluded from the present analysis for the sake of manageability.

[5] The # symbol indicates that a sentence is acceptable to native speakers but does not express the meaning under discussion (in this case, progressive meaning).

[6] Labelling for these features borrows from Kindaichi's terminology for the aspectual properties of Japanese verbs (Machida 1989; Jacobsen 1992). This article also follows Tsujimura's (1996:314) view that the terms 'stative,' 'continuative,' and 'instantaneous' correspond roughly to the terms 'states,' 'activities,' and 'achievements,' which are typically used to describe the aspectual properties of English verbs.

[7] Baba (2001:164ff.) also shows that *hara ga tatsu, harawata ga niekurikaeru,* etc. can be used in the *-ru* form with present meaning and asserts that these idioms have an affinity with stative verbs. However, Baba ultimately uses the *-ru* test to classify anger idioms/verbs according to the characteristics of *hyōshutsu* ('expressive'), *jun-hyōshutsu* ('pseudo-expressive'), and *kansatsu kijutsu* ('observational/descriptive'). The present article uses this test to distinguish continuative idioms with stative characteristics from those that are purely continuative or instantaneous.

[8] Other causative and causative/transitive anger expressions in English also have present interpretation in the simple present (e.g. *make s.o. angry/mad, tick s.o. off, piss s.o. off,* etc.). The link between causative form and present interpretation requires further investigation; however, this question is beyond the scope of this article and will be left for future consideration.

[9] *Suguni* indicates that there is a very short period of time between the event in question and a triggering event that precedes it; *kyūni* indicates that an event is both abrupt and unpredictable, with little or no connection to a triggering event (Kunihiro 1982:147). Because of this difference in meaning, these adverbs are not interchangeable in all contexts; however, this does not affect their usefulness in testing for <time before realisation>. This article considers the English adverbs *finally, immediately,* and *suddenly (all of a sudden)* to correspond in meaning with *tsuini/tōtō, suguni,* and *kyūni,* respectively.

[10] Baba (2001) claims that co-occurrence with *tsuini* indicates a relatively high degree of anger. However, she also notes that, given this assumption, the fact that *harawata ga niekurikaeru* does not co-occur with *tsuini* is counter-intuitive. This article follows Nagashima (1982) and argues, as above, that co-occurrence with *tsuini* simply indicates that a length of time is required for realisation of the anger event. The question of degree of anger will be left for future consideration (see Section 6).

[11] It is worth noting, however, that the Japanese verb *mukatsuku* ('get angry/disgusted') is <time before realisation> (Ishida 2004b:7).

[12] *Make one's blood boil* does not co-occur with object complements marked by *at, about,* or *over* because of its syntactic structure; this structure requires cause complements in subject position.

[13] *Hara ni suekaneru* takes complements marked not by *ni* but by *ga/o*; speakers interpret *ga* complements as the cause of emotion and *o* complements as the object.

[14] It would be possible to propose a feature <self-oriented> in addition to <other-oriented>. However, since no idioms under present consideration are analysable as <+self-oriented>, it is sufficient to set one feature <other-oriented> and analyse idioms that can also be used in self-oriented contexts as <±other-oriented>.

[15] *Hara ga tatsu* is usually used with a first-person experiencer; if used with a third-person experiencer it requires *rashii/yō da.* Baba (2001) says that, in the third person, *hara o tateru* is acceptable and *atama ni kuru* is not entirely unacceptable without *rashii/yō da.* However, informants interviewed for this analysis reported that such use of these idioms suggests an omniscient narrator and is not usual in everyday speech.

[16] *Kanninbukuro no o ga kireru* co-occurs with *rashii/yō da,* which seems to contradict the evidence given in (59) that it includes in its meaning an overt exhibition of anger. However, this contradiction is likely related to the fact that this idiom expresses the surpassing of a 'limit' of anger (4.1.). Use of *rashii/yō da* may be preferred because − even given the evidence of overt angry behaviour − it is difficult for an observer to judge whether or not an experiencer has reached this limit.

[17] This feature corresponds to the feature <external> identified in Ishida (2004b). Labelling has been revised in order to maintain consistency with Ishida (2003b), in which the feature <*hyōshutsusei*> (expressivity) was identified for the lexical field of Japanese idioms/verbs of surprise.

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※An asterisk after the date of a newspaper article (e.g. A02.01.29*) indicates that the example in question was altered to test for a specific semantic feature.