

# A semantic analysis of Japanese anger idioms

—With a view toward contrastive analysis—\*

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## 1. Introduction

The treatment of idioms is problematic for learners and teachers of foreign languages, for translators, and for the editors of bilingual dictionaries. A particular area of concern is how to distinguish between idioms that share the same basic meaning. For example, in *Kenkyūsha's New Japanese-English Dictionary*, the idioms *atama ni kuru* and *hara o tateru* are defined in much the same way:

- (1) *atama ni kuru*: be highly offended at; get mad; lose one's cool
- (2) *hara o tateru*: get angry at s.o./s.t.; lose one's temper; take offense at

Non-native speakers trying to determine the difference between these idioms would probably not find these definitions very illuminating. However, native-speaker judgments of naturally-occurring data reveal that these two idioms are not interchangeable in all contexts.

- (3) *Terebi wa yakyū no koto shika atama ni nai yō de, {atama ni kuru/\*hara o tateru}*. (A04.04.10)

This suggests that there is, in fact, a difference in meaning between these two idioms. What exactly is this difference? And how can it be analysed objectively?

The aim of this article is to present a method for the semantic analysis of idioms that will reveal both similarities and differences between idioms with related meaning. The target of study is Japanese verb phrase idioms and verbs that express the meaning of anger, as follows:

- (4) *atama ni kuru, kanshaku o okosu, kanninbukuro no o ga kireru, shaku ni sawaru, hara ga tatsu, hara o tateru, hara ni suekaneru, harawata ga niekurikaeru, kireru, mukatsuku, okoru.*

Details on the selection of these expressions can be found in Section 3.

The definition of "idiom" used in this article is based on Miyaji (1982:238):

- (5) An idiom is a combination of two or more words whose bonding is comparatively strong; also, the phrase as a whole has fixed meaning.

More specifically, this article takes the view that an idiom is a multi-word expression

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with the following three properties:

- 1) formal frozenness (Ishida 1998): idioms do not usually allow changes to their internal structure or the replacement of constituents (e.g. *te o yaku*/\**te o moyasu*)
- 2) syntactic frozenness (Ishida 2000): most idioms are resistant to grammatical operations that ordinary collocations<sup>1</sup> with the same syntactic structure would allow (e.g. noun phrase transformation: \**yaku te*/\**yaita te*/\**yaite iru te*)
- 3) semantic frozenness (Ishida 2004): the phrasal meaning of an idiom is not the sum total of the meanings of its individual constituents (e.g. the meaning 'to be unable to control [s.o.]' is not predictable from the usual meanings of *te*, *o*, *yaku*).<sup>2</sup>

The lack of scholarly agreement on the definition of "idiom" is a question that requires further discussion, but such discussion is beyond the scope of this article and will be undertaken at another opportunity.

## 2. Previous studies on Japanese anger idioms

Previous studies dealing with Japanese anger idioms represent a number of different perspectives. Matsuki (1995) uses a cognitive linguistics framework (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987, etc.) to identify conceptual metaphors and metaphorical entailments that motivate expressions of anger in Japanese as well as in English. She also argues that the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS (IN THE) *HARA* is unique to Japanese, and that the prototypical scenario for anger in Japanese includes movement from *hara* ('belly') to *mune* ('chest') and finally up to *atama* ('head').

Itō (1997a) classifies Japanese anger idioms into five different groups, based on the concrete image created by the literal meanings of the constituents (*gushōsei* or (Germ.) *Bildlichkeit*). For example, *hara ga tatsu/hara no mushi ga osamaranai/harawata ga niekurikaeru* share the *gushōsei* 'change in the internal state of part of the body,' and *atama ni kuru/tosaka ni kuru* share the *gushōsei* 'movement to a certain place.'

Baba (2001) analyses the syntactic behaviour of Japanese anger expressions. She classifies them into three main groups and seven sub-groups, based on whether or not they can be used: 1) in the *-te iru/ta* form with a third-person experiencer but without indirect constituents such as *yō da*, *rashii*, or *mitai da*; 2) in the plain form (*ru*-form) with a first-person experiencer to express existence of the anger emotion at the time of utterance; 3) with the adverb *tsuini* ('finally').

A common thread running through these three studies is their focus on classifying anger expressions according to shared characteristics. However, these approaches do

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<sup>1</sup> An ordinary collocation (*ippan rengoku*) is a phrase formed by the free combination of two or more words, as far as semantic restrictions allow—e.g. *uma ga hashiru, ringo o taberu* (Miyaji 1985).

<sup>2</sup> These three properties are not absolute; they vary in degree for individual idioms. The degree of each property can be measured objectively and used to classify idioms into a number of categories ranging from "prototypical" to "borderline" (Ishida 1998, 2000, 2004).

not address the question of semantic differences between expressions classified into the same group (e.g. *hara ga tatsu/harawata ga niekurikaeru* (Itō 1997a), or *hara o tateru/okoru* (Baba 2001)). Baba's analysis is of particular value because of its objectivity and detail. However, its central focus is syntactic behaviour, and the question of what this behaviour reveals about meaning requires further investigation.

### 3. The approach used in this study

This study will examine Japanese anger expressions from the perspective of general semantics/lexicology, using the theoretical framework and method of analysis presented in Ishida (2003a, 2003b). First of all, idioms are viewed as having the property of "lexicality" (*goisei*). That is, although idioms are phrases composed of two or more words, their form and meaning is fixed, and the idiom phrase as a whole functions like a single word (Muraki 1985, Itō 1997b). In fact, many idioms can be replaced by single words. For example,

(6) *Sakuya no koto de Tarō wa mada {hara o tatete iru/okotte iru} yō desu.*<sup>3</sup>

Secondly, idioms belong to "lexical fields." A lexical field is a group of lexical units that share some semantic territory—i.e. a common semantic feature—and, at the same time, possess distinctive semantic features that set them apart from each other (Coseriu 1982b, 1982c). Since idioms have the property of lexicality, they function in lexical fields as units that stand in opposition to single words and to each other. The meaning of an idiom can be analysed by comparing it to other idioms/words that belong to the same lexical field and identifying the distinctive features of each expression.<sup>4</sup>

The question of what lexical units belong to a particular lexical field can be answered using a simple commutation test.

(7) *Musume no renjitsu no asagaeri ni {okotta/kanninbukuro no o ga kireta}.*

For example, in (7) both the sentence with *okoru* and the sentence with *kanninbukuro no o ga kireru* mean that the speaker got angry with his daughter for staying out all night so many times in a row. Of course, just because these two expressions are interchangeable in this context doesn't mean that they are interchangeable in all contexts, or that they mean exactly the same thing. However, it does show that their meanings overlap—i.e., that they share a common semantic feature. Based on the above, this article will take the view that *kanninbukuro ga kireru* and *okoru* have a

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<sup>3</sup> There are some idioms for which it is not easy to find single-word counterparts (e.g. *te o mawasu*). However, it can still be argued that these idioms have the property of lexicality, since (like *hara o tateru*) they have fixed meaning and form. Further, some of these idioms can be replaced by compounds (e.g. *te o mawasu/kōsaku suru/nemawashi (o) suru*).

<sup>4</sup> See also Dobrovolskij (2000:178), who argues for the use of "semantic fields" (i.e. "a group of lexical items having much in common semantically") as the starting point for the contrastive analysis of idioms. Note, however, that Dobrovolskij's method focuses on identifying (not distinctive features but) the semantic classes of nouns that combine with verb phrase idioms.

common semantic feature called «anger».<sup>5</sup>

Due to limitations of space, it is not possible to present commutation tests for all of the idioms/verbs listed in (4). However, based on such tests, I will consider these expressions to share the semantic feature of «anger» and to constitute the lexical field “Japanese verb phrase idioms and verbs of «anger».” There are other idioms and verbs that can be thought to belong to this field as well (e.g. *aosuji o tateru, ikidōru, gekido suru*, etc.). However, this article will limit its focus to idioms and simple verbs that are used relatively frequently in spoken language and have been dealt with in previous studies (e.g. Miyaji 1982, Baba 2001).

The analysis of Japanese anger idioms/verbs presented below was carried out as follows. First, approximately 400 examples of the expressions listed in (4) were retrieved from databases for the *Asahi Shinbun* (1990-2004) and the *Yomiuri Shinbun* (2004). After analysis of these examples, questionnaires based on a number of linguistic tests (4.1-4.5) were prepared, and one-to-one interviews with native speaker informants were performed (in Japanese) to obtain acceptability judgments for each test. Questionnaire results were then analysed and used to identify distinctive semantic features of the idioms/verbs under consideration.

#### 4. Analysis

##### 4.1 Aspectual behaviour: *-te iru* form, *-ru* form, *masumasu*~

One way that idioms and verbs of anger can be distinguished from each other is on the basis of their aspectual behaviour. Most anger idioms/verbs express an emotional state or condition that continues for a certain period of time; thus they can be seen to have an affinity with stative verbs (*aru, iru*, etc.). However, unlike typical stative verbs, most anger idioms/verbs can be used in the *-te iru* form, and almost all of them have continuative interpretation in this form.

(8) *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\*)

(9) *'Chūko no baiku o yaru' to yakusoku shita ato, kokonoka asa, seito no hitori ni 'Aniki ga kirete iru. Tada de wa yarenai. Futari de 12 man'en motte koi' nado to odoshita utagai.* (Y04.07.12)<sup>6</sup>

For example, speakers report that the anger situations expressed by *harawata ga niekurikaette iru* (8) and *kirete iru* (9) continue over an unspecified period of time and involve an expenditure of energy on the part of the experiencer. That is, these

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<sup>5</sup> In this article, double brackets « » indicate common semantic features and single brackets < > indicate distinctive semantic features.

<sup>6</sup> English glosses and/or translations for Japanese examples are not provided here because one of the ultimate aims of this research project is to present a method for the objective identification of semantic correspondences between Japanese and English idioms (see Section 5). Providing glosses or translations at this stage would be prejudicial and possibly misleading.

situations are continuous, dynamic, and have no natural endpoint (Machida 1989).

The fact that almost all idioms/verbs of anger co-occur with *masumasu* ('more and more') when used in the *-ta* form also suggests that they are continuative.

(10) *Tomodachi no jibun-kattesa ni masumasu hara o tateta.* (Y04.04.15\*)

(11) *Kare no enzetsu naiyō ni masumasu harawata ga niekurikaetta.* (A01.07.18\*)

The examples above indicate situations that involve an increase in the degree of anger over time. From this it can be inferred that these idioms express a continuous situation that is not static but dynamic.

Some anger expressions indicate existence of the anger emotion at the time of utterance in the *-te iru* form only. When used in the plain form (*-ru* form), they have future, habitual, or even past interpretation.

(12) *Musume no renjitsu no asagaeri ni {okotte iru/#okoru}.*<sup>7</sup>

For example, in (12) *okotte iru* means that the first-person experiencer was angry at the time of utterance. *Okoru*, on the other hand, does not have present interpretation; it is most likely to have past interpretation, as in a diary. This distinguishes *okoru* from stative verbs, which do indicate the existence of a situation at the time of utterance when used in the *-ru* form (Machida 1989:42).

Some other anger expressions behave the same way as *okoru*—i.e., the *-te iru* form has present interpretation, but the *-ru* form does not.

(9) ... 'Aniki ga {kirete iru/#kureru}. Tada de wa yarenai...' (*-ru* = future)

(13a) *Tarō wa Jirō ni tatakarete kanshaku o okoshite iru.* (*-te iru* = present)

(13b) *Tarō wa Jirō ni {\*tatakarete/tatakaretara} kanshaku o okosu.* (*-ru* = habitual)

The same is true for *hara o tateru*. The fact that these four idioms/verbs do not have present interpretation when used in the *-ru* form thus provides further evidence that they are continuative.

On the other hand, some anger expressions can be used in both the *-te iru* and the *-ru* form to indicate that a first-person experiencer is angry at the time of utterance.

(14) *Fan, senshu o mushi shita ōnātachi ni {hara ga tatsu/hara ga tatte iru}. (hara ga tatsu = A04.08.02)*

(3') *Terebi wa yakyū no koto shika atama ni nai yō de, {atama ni kuru/atama ni kite iru}. (atama ni kuru = A04.04.10)*

*Shaku ni sawaru*, *hara ni suekaneru*, *harawata ga niekurikaeru*, and *mukatsuku* can be used in the same way. Moreover, most speakers judge that *shaku ni sawaru* is actually more natural in the *-ru* form than in the *-te iru* form.

(15) *Nani yori mo, 'Bururu...' to iu, soko kara hibiite kuru oto ga {shaku ni sawaru/?sawatte iru}. (shaku ni sawaru = A03.02.05)*

The fact that these six idioms/verbs can be used in the *-ru* form to indicate existence

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<sup>7</sup> The # symbol indicates that a sentence is acceptable to native speakers but does not express the meaning under discussion (in this case, present meaning).

of the anger emotion at the time of utterance means that they have an affinity with stative verbs.<sup>8</sup> This article will thus take the view that these expressions possess a semantic feature called <continuative/stative>.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, *okoru*, *hara o tateru*, *kanshaku o okosu*, and *kireru* have the feature <continuative>.

The only expression remaining to be dealt with here is *kanninbukuro no o ga kireru*. This idiom cannot be used in the *-ru* form with present meaning.

(7') #*Musume no renjitsu no asagaeri ni kanninbukuro no o ga kireru*. (*-ru* = past)

From this we might assume that this idiom falls into the same category as *okoru* and *kanshaku o okosu*. However, *kanninbukuro no o ga kireru* is not only resistant to use in the *-ru* form, it is also resistant to use in the *-te iru* form and with *masumasu*.

(7'') *Musume no renjitsu no asagaeri ni kanninbukuro no o ga {kireta/??kirete iru}*.

(16) *Rifujinna atsukai o uketa koto ni { $\phi$ /\*masumasu} kanninbukuro no o ga kireta*.

( $\phi$  = A04.08.03)

Speakers who do not judge the *-te iru* form in (7'') to be completely unacceptable report that the only possible interpretation is resultative. That is, *kanninbukuro no o ga kirete iru* means that the experiencer has surpassed a limit (or endpoint) of anger and is now in the state of having surpassed that limit. This interpretation suggests that *kanninbukuro no o ga kireru* expresses an instantaneous event.<sup>10</sup> The fact that this idiom does not co-occur with *masumasu* (16) also shows that it is instantaneous; i.e., it does not express a situation that continues over time and allows an increase in degree. Based on the above, this article will take the view that *kanninbukuro no o ga kireru* has the semantic feature <instantaneous>.

#### 4.2 Time before realisation of the anger situation: *tsuini/tōtō*, *suguni/kyūni*

Idioms and verbs of anger vary from one another with respect to the kind of adverbs with which they co-occur. For example, some idioms/verbs co-occur very naturally with *tsuini/tōtō* ('at last, finally').

<sup>8</sup> Baba (2001) also shows that *hara ga tatsu*, *atama ni kuru*, etc. can be used in the *-ru* form with present meaning and suggests 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/verbs with stative characteristics from those that are purely continuative or instantaneous.

<sup>9</sup> It might be possible to conclude from (16) that *shaku ni sawaru* has an even higher degree of stativity than *hara ga tatsu* etc. However, some speakers judge *shaku ni sawatte iru* to be completely acceptable; further, this idiom co-occurs (in the *-ta* form) with *masumasu*. Therefore this article will take the view that *shaku ni sawaru* is <continuative/stative>.

<sup>10</sup> The fact that many speakers judge the *-te iru* form in (7'') to be entirely unacceptable provides further evidence that *kanninbukuro no o ga kireru* expresses an instantaneous event. That is, for these speakers the event not only takes place instantaneously; it also ends instantaneously and completely, without any succeeding resultative state.

(17) *Sono chichi wa, musume no renjitsu no asagaeri ni tsuini kanninbukuro no o ga kireta.* (A03.01.04)

(18) *Tōtō Suzuki-san wa hara ni suekanete, shikiri no saku o kugurinuke, tonari no akichi e fumikonde itta.* (A00.12.17)

*Tsuini/tōtō* share the semantic feature <a length of time is required for the realisation of a certain situation or state> (Nagashima 1982:171).<sup>11</sup> The fact that the idioms in (17) and (18) co-occur with *tsuini/tōtō* indicates that these idioms depict events whose realisation is preceded by a period of “build-up.” That is, the anger event takes place only after a series of triggering events (e.g. (17) the daughter’s repeatedly staying out all night), or a situation that develops over time.<sup>12</sup>

This hypothesis is supported by the fact that *kanninbukuro no o ga kireru* and *hara ni suekaneru* do not co-occur with adverbs such as *suguni* (‘immediately’) or *kyūni* (‘suddenly’), which indicate that an event <occurs in a very short period of time> (Kunihiro 1982:146).<sup>13</sup> Compare (17) and (18) to the following examples:

(19) *Ramuzufurudo beikokubō-chōkan wa ‘Bagudaddo wa muhō-chitai’ to iu hōdō o kiki, {??suguni/??kyūni} kanninbukuro no o ga kireta.* (A03.04.12\*)

(18\*) *Suzuki-san wa {\*suguni/\*kyūni} hara ni suekanete, shikiri no saku o kugurinuke, tonari no akichi e fumikonde itta.*

Other anger expressions, however, co-occur with *suguni/kyūni* but not with *tsuini/tōtō*.

(20) *Suguni mukatsuitari, kiretari suru kodomo ni sodatete iru no wa yappari watashi-tachi otona na no desu.* (A04.04.01\*)

(21) *\*Futari no shōnen wa Yū-kun no taido ga tōtō mukatsuita, to hanashite iru.*

From (20) and (21) it is possible to conclude that *mukatsuku* expresses an anger event that takes place abruptly, with no ‘build-up’ period preceding its realisation.

Based on the above discussion, I will propose here that Japanese anger idioms/verbs can be differentiated from each other with the feature <time required before realisation>. *Kanninbukuro no o ga kireru* and *hara ni suekaneru* are <+time required before realisation>, and *mukatsuku* is <-time required before realisation>.

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<sup>11</sup> This article takes the view that *tsuini* and *tōtō* share most of the same semantic features and are usually interchangeable, although *tōtō* is more natural in spoken language (Nagashima 1982).

<sup>12</sup> 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 5).

<sup>13</sup> *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.

What about the other idioms/verbs in this analysis? Many of them co-occur with both *tsuini/tōtō*, on one hand, and *suguni/kyūni*, on the other. For example,

(17) *Sono chichi wa, musume no renjitsu no asagaeri ni tsuini atama ni kite nagutta.*

(22) *Kanjō no sen ga yurumi, chotto shita tsuma no kotoba mo sugu atama ni kite, te o furiagete shimau.*

The fact that *atama ni kuru* co-occurs with both *tsuini* and *sugu(ni)* indicates that this idiom is neutral (±) with respect to the length of time required for realisation of the anger event. Depending on the context, it may express either an anger event that takes place after a period of build-up over time (17), or an event that takes place abruptly (22). The same can be said for *kanshaku o okosu*, *hara o tateru*, *okoru*, and *kireru*.

There are, however, several idioms that do not co-occur naturally with either *tsuini/tōtō* or *suguni/kyūni*. For example,

(23) *Isuraeru-gun ni yoru Paresuchina dōhō e no shiuchi o renjitsu terebi de mite, Arabu minshū wa { φ/\**tsuini*} harawata ga niekurikaetta. (A02.04.03\*)*

(11') *Kare no enzetsunaiyō ni { φ/?*kyūni*} harawata ga niekurikaette kita.*

The same is true for *shaku ni sawaru* and *hara ga tatsu*. It can be thought that the key here is the focus that both *tsuini/tōtō* and *suguni/kyūni* have on the moment of realisation of an event—i.e., their focus on a change at a point in time. The fact that *harawata ga niekurikaeru*, *shaku ni sawaru*, and *hara ga tatsu* do not co-occur with these adverbs suggests that these idioms present events that are realised not at an undivided point in time, but rather over a period of time. This question will be discussed in greater detail in the following section (4.3). Here it is sufficient to say that the feature <time required before realisation> does not apply to these idioms.

#### 4.3. Time for realisation itself: *dandan* ~ *te kuru*

Some idioms/verbs of anger co-occur very naturally with the adverb *dandan* ('gradually') and/or the *te kuru* compound.

(24) *Dandan hara ga tatte kita. Seiji wa nani o shiteru. Ore-tachi ga haratta zeikin o, ima hisai-sha o tasukezu nani ni tsukau n da.* (A04.02.21)

(11'') *Kare no enzetsu naiyō ni dandan harawata ga niekurikaette kita.*

*Dandan shaku ni sawatte kita* and *dandan mukatsuite kita* are also acceptable. In all of these examples, the *te kuru* compound indicates the inception of change (in the experiencer) from a situation of non-anger to one of anger. *Dandan* indicates that this change is gradual; i.e., the anger situation is realised in stages over time.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> It is important to note the distinction between the *dandan* ~ *te kuru* test and the *tsuini/tōtō* test (4.2). The latter brings into focus the question of whether or not anger idioms/verbs present realisation of the anger event as occurring after a build-up over time. The former, on the other hand, focuses on realisation itself, distinguishing whether realisation is presented as occurring at a point in



Many idioms/verbs, however, are resistant to use with *dandan* ~ *te kuru*.

(16') \**Rifujinna atsukai o uketa koto ni dandan kanninbukuro no o ga kirete kita.*

(25) \**Saisho wa kibō o motta ga, nenkin to takokuseki-gun sankā de dandan kirete kita.* (A04.07.04\*)

*Hara ni suekaneru* and *okoru* are slightly more acceptable with *dandan* ~ *te kuru* than *kanninbukuro no o ga kureru* and *kireru*, but less acceptable than the idioms in (24) and (11").

(26) ?*Kekkon mo rikon mo kakitaterare, dandan hara ni suekanete kita no darō.*  
(A\*04.03.29)

(27) ?*Kankoku kōkan wa, nakanaka aō to shinai howaito-hausu kōkan ni dandan okotte kita.*<sup>16</sup>

From this we can conclude that the idioms/verbs in (16') and (25-27) do not express anger situations that are realised in stages over time.

The results presented above are, for the most part, complementary to those presented in Section 4.2. *Kanninbukuro no o ga kireru*, *hara ni suekaneru*, *kireru*, and *okoru* co-occur with adverbs that focus on the moment of realisation of an event (*tsuini/tōtō* and/or *suguni/kyūni*) but not with *dandan* ~ *te kuru*. On the other hand, *hara ga tatsu*, *harawata ga niekurikaeru*, and *shaku ni sawaru* co-occur with *dandan* ~ *te kuru* but not with *tsuini/tōtō* or *suguni/kyūni*. This leads to the conclusion that the former set of expressions present anger situations that are realised at an undivided point in time, while the latter set present anger situations that are realised gradually over time.

*Mukatsuku*, however, co-occurs with both *suguni/kyūni* and *dandan* ~ *te kuru*.

(28) *Shirabe de wa, seito wa...joseito futari no hidari ude ya mimi mimi nado ni karui kega o saseta utagai. Danshi seito wa "Taiikusai o mite itara kyūni mukatsuita/dandan mukatsuite kita" to hanashite iru to iu.* (A04.06.17\*)

This indicates that *mukatsuku* is neutral with respect to the question of time for realisation.

It must be noted that some anger idioms do not take the *te kuru* form for reasons of lexical or syntactic structure. For example, \**atama ni kite kita* is unacceptable because of the repetition of the verb *kuru*, and \**hara o tatete kita*/\**kanshaku o okoshite kita* are anomalous because use of the *te kuru* form (with inceptive meaning) is blocked by the *o* particle. Speakers do report that use of *atama ni kuru* and *hara o tateru* in the *ta* form with *dandan* is not entirely unacceptable.

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time or over a period of time.

<sup>16</sup> *Okoru* combines naturally with the *te kuru* compound in sentences such as the following:

(i) *Okinawa no hito wa zutto shizukani okotte kita hazu desu.* (A95.10.21)

However, in this example *te kuru* indicates not inception but continuation of an anger situation over a period of time. Continuation is also indicated by the adverb *zutto* ('for a long time').

(29) ?*Boku wa me no shōgai o baka ni sare, dandan atama ni kita.* (A02.10.18\*)

(10') ?*Tomodachi no jibun-kattesa ni dandan hara o tateta.*

However, \**dandan kanshaku o okoshita* is anomalous. Since these three idioms are less acceptable with *dandan* than are *hara ga tatsu* etc., this article takes the view that they present situations with realisation at a point in time.

Based on the preceding discussion, I will propose here that Japanese anger verbs/idioms can be differentiated on the basis of the feature <gradual realisation>. *Hara ga tatsu*, *shaku ni sawaru*, and *harawata ga niekurikaeru* are <+gradual realisation>, *mukatsuku* is <±gradual realisation>, and the rest of the idioms/verbs in this analysis are <-gradual realisation>.

#### 4.4 Self-orientation and other-orientation: *jibun ni~jibun no~ni~*

Most of the examples we have looked at so far present situations in which the experiencer's anger is oriented toward an external object or cause (e.g. *tomodachi no jibun-kattesa* (10), *kare no enzetsu naiyō* (11), *musume no renjitsu no asagaeri* (17)). However, some Japanese anger idioms/verbs are also used to indicate that the anger emotion is oriented toward the self. In some cases, the object of the experiencer's anger is the experiencer himself.<sup>16</sup>

(30) ?*Jibun ni mukatsuite ita.* 'Daseki ni hairu Kanamoto wa, tsune ni sente o torareru kurushii tenkai no naka de kitai ni kotaerarezu-ni ita *jibun ni hara ga tatta.* (A2004.07.01)

In other cases, the cause of the experiencer's anger is his own behaviour.

(31) ?*Ēsu nanbā o moratte ita no ni, nani shiteru n da.* 'Jibun no shūtai ni *hara ga tatta.* (Y04.07.27)

(32) *Asashōryū wa...6 renshō-chū to nishō no ii Kyokutenhō-sen ni yabureta koto ijō ni, jibun no sumō naiyō ni hara o tatete iru no kamoshirenai.* (Y04.05.20)

In addition to *hara ga tatsu*, *hara o tateru*, and *mukatsuku*, *atama ni kuru* and *kanshaku o okosu* can also be used with *jibun ni~jibun no~ni~* complements.

On the other hand, the rest of the anger idioms/verbs under consideration here do not normally take *jibun ni~jibun no~ni~* complements.

(33) ?*Shuhō no shigoto ga dekinai* 'jibun ni tōtō *kanninbukuro no o ga kireta.*

(34) {\**Jibun no sumō naiyō*/\**jibun no shūtai*} *ga hara ni suekaneta.*

(35) ??*Chīmu no funiki o kaerarenai jibun ni harawata ga niekurikaetta.*

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<sup>16</sup> This article follows the view that the *ni* particle taken by Japanese anger expressions marks either the object of emotion or, when it can be replaced by *de* or *no tame ni*, the cause of emotion (Bandō and Matsumura 2001:83). However, *jibun ni~jibun no~ni~* complements are sometimes interpreted by speakers as the cause of emotion even when *ni* is not replaceable (e.g. *Otto wa, omoidōri ni naranai jibun no karada (ni/\*de/\*no tame ni) kanshaku o okosu koto ga atta*). Also, *shaku ni sawaru* and *hara ni suekaneru* take complements marked by *ga* and *ga/o*, respectively; speakers interpret *ga* complements as the cause of emotion and *o* complements as the object of emotion.

In other words, these idioms/verbs always express situations in which the experiencer's anger is oriented toward an external object or cause (e.g. 11, 17, 18).

Based on the preceding evidence, I will propose the feature <other-oriented> and argue that *kanninbukuro no o ga kireru*, *shaku ni sawaru*, *hara ni suekaneru*, *harawata ga niekurikaeru*, *kireru*, and *okoru* are <+other-oriented>. On the other hand, since *atama ni kuru*, *kanshaku o okosu*, *hara ga tatsu*, *hara o tateru*, and *mukatsuku* can also be used with *jibun ni~* and *jibun no~ni~* complements, these expressions are < $\pm$ other-oriented>. It would be possible to propose the feature <self-oriented> in addition to <other-oriented>. However, since no idioms/verbs under present consideration would be analysed as <+self-oriented>, this article takes the view that it is sufficient to set only the feature <other-oriented> and analyse idioms/verbs that can also be used in self-oriented contexts as < $\pm$ other-oriented>.

#### 4.5 The anger emotion and angry behaviour: *naishin~*, *~rashii/yō da*, etc.

Idioms/verbs of anger can be differentiated from each other on the basis of whether or not they include in their meaning indication of angry behaviour on the part of the experiencer (verbal output, physical action, etc.). For example,

- (36) *Hanketsu ga atte kara, ōku no hito kara hagemashi no denwa ya tegami o itadaita. Harawata ga niekurikaette iru ga, jibun de wa kuchi ni dasenai to iu hito wa, zehi watashi no tokoro ni renraku shite hoshii to omoimasu.*'(A39.11.14)

The *ga* linking *harawata ga niekurikaette iru* and *jibun de wa kuchi ni dasenai* marks two situations in contrast to each other ("[people who are] boiling with anger but can't talk about it themselves"). That is, the situation of feeling angry is not accompanied by a situation of angry behaviour. This suggests that the anger situation expressed by *harawata ga niekurikaeru* is purely internal. The fact that this idiom co-occurs with the adverb *naishin* ('inwardly') supports this analysis:

- (37) *Otōto wa (nitchō kyōgi no) shinten no nasa ni naishin harawata ga niekurikaette ita rashii.* (A04.06.17\*)

Idioms/verbs that follow the same pattern as *harawata ga niekurikaeru* include *atama ni kuru*, *shaku ni sawaru*, *hara ga tatsu*, *hara o tateru*, *hara ni suekaneru*, and *mukatsuku*. These expressions can be used in contexts that refer specifically to a lack of angry behaviour (e.g. 36), and they can also be used with *naishin*. For example,

- (38) *'Chinichi-ha no Āmitēji kokumu fukuchōkan-ra wa, naishin atama ni kite ita rashii.'*(A04.1.24\*)

- (39) *Kettei shita toki, jōshi wa kare ni 'Shintenchī de mo gambatte kure' to koe o kaketa ga, naishin wa hara o tatete ita rashii.* (A03.05.13\*)

This suggests that these idioms/verbs, too, express internal situations of anger.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> *Atama ni kuru*, *hara o tateru*, etc. are often linked with clauses that express angry or violent behaviour (e.g. *Shirabe ni yoru to hahā-oya wa...heya ga chirakatte iru koto nado ni hara o tate*,

On the other hand, *kanshaku o okosu*, *kanninbukuro no o ga kireru*, and *kireru* are not acceptable in the context of (36), and they do not co-occur with *naishin* either.

(36) \*...*Kanninbukuro no o ga kireta ga, jibun de wa kuchi ni dasenai to iu hito...*

(40) *Ramuzufurudo beikokubō-chōkan wa 'Bagudaddo wa muhō-chitai' to iu hōdō ni*  
{ $\phi$ /\**naishin*} *kanninbukuro no o ga kireta*. ( $\phi$ =A03.04.12)

This shows that these idioms/verbs do not simply express an anger situation internal to the experiencer; they also express some kind of overt angry behaviour. In fact, speakers report that these idioms/verbs are not acceptable in contexts such as (36') and (40) because they include the meaning that the experiencer has exhibited his anger outwardly with his voice, words, or actions.

The evidence above suggests that anger idioms/verbs can be differentiated on the basis of the feature <external>. It would be possible to set the feature <internal> as well, but this article takes the view that, for economy of description, it is preferable to set only the feature <external> and define this feature as pre-supposing a second feature <internal>. Thus, an idiom/verb analysed as including in its meaning some kind of angry behaviour—in addition to the presence of the anger emotion within the experiencer—will be marked as <+external>. On the other hand, an idiom/verb analysed as expressing only the internal emotion will be marked as <-external>.

As we can see from examples (37-39), in sentences with a third-person experiencer, many idioms/verbs of anger tend to co-occur with sentence-ending expressions such as *rashii/yō da* ('seems/appears [to]'). These expressions indicate a degree of uncertainty on the part of the speaker with respect to existence of the anger situation in question—which indicates, in turn, a lack of observable angry behaviour on the part of the experiencer.

The question that needs to be considered here is whether the idioms/verbs in this analysis can be used independently in the third person, or whether they always require indirect sentence-ending expressions. According to the results of this analysis, *atama ni kuru*, *shaku ni sawaru*, *hara ga tatsu*, *hara o tateru*, *hara ni suekaneru*, *harawata ga niekurikaeru*, and *mukatsuku* require *rashii/yō da* when used in the third person.<sup>18</sup> For example,

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*chōjō no atama o bokutō de sūkai naguri...* (Y04.08.03)). However, in cases like this, the anger emotion and the angry behaviour are two separate situations that are linked causally and chronologically. In cases where there is no specific mention of angry behaviour, the above expressions—unlike *kanshaku o okosu* etc.—simply indicate a situation of internal anger.

<sup>18</sup> *Hara ga tatsu* is usually used with a first-person experiencer, but if used with a third-person experiencer it requires *rashii/yō da*. Also, Baba (2001) states that *atama ni kuru* and *mukatsuku* are more acceptable when used with *rashii/yō da* in the third person but not entirely unacceptable without, and that *hara o tateru* is acceptable without. However, speakers interviewed for this analysis reported that use of these expressions in the third person without *rashii/yō da* suggests an omniscient narrator (as in novels) and is not usual in everyday speech.

- (41) (*Ano hito wa,*) *toshishita no mono ni chūi sareta koto ga shaku ni sawatta*  
{\* $\phi$ /*rashii*}. (*rashii*=A99.11.29)

This indicates that these expressions do indeed have the feature <-external>.

On the other hand, *kanshaku o okosu*, *okoru* and *kireru* are used independently.

- (42) *Sasaina koto kara kōron to nari jū-bai, nijū-bai to makushitaterareta teishu ga*  
*kanshaku o okoshita*. (A01.02.22\*)

- (37') *Otōto wa nitchō kyōgi no shinten no nasa ni okotta*.

In fact, speakers report that if *kanshaku o okosu* is used with *rashii/yō da*, the only possible interpretation is that of hearsay, because this idiom expresses angry behaviour so obvious as to make the use of conjectural expressions on the part of an observer decidedly odd. The same can be said for *kireru*. *Okoru*, however, can be used either independently (37') or with *naishin*, *rashii/yō da*, etc. (39').

- (39') *Kettei shita toki, jōshi wa kare ni 'Shintenchī de mo gambatte kure' to koe o*  
*kaketa ga, naishin wa okotte ita rashii*.

This leads to the conclusion that *okoru* is neutral with respect to the internal/external distinction (< $\pm$ external>), while *kanshaku o okosu* and *kireru* are <+external>.

Finally, although some speakers report that *kanninbukuro no o ga kireru* can be used independently in the third person, most report that it requires the use of *rashii/yō da*. This seems to contradict the evidence given in (36') and (40) that this idiom is <+external>. However, this contradiction may be related to the fact that this idiom includes the meaning of surpassing 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 (as opposed to simply judging that he is angry). Further investigation on this question is necessary. However, based on (36') and (40), this article will take the view that *kanninbukuro no o ga kireru* is <+external>.

## 5. Conclusion and questions for further consideration

As Figure 1 shows (following page), it is possible to differentiate Japanese anger idioms/verbs on the basis of the distinctive features identified in this analysis.

Further investigation is required regarding the difference between *shaku ni sawaru* and *harawata ga niekurikaeru*. However, it is probably possible to distinguish these idioms on the basis of <degree of anger>. (43a) and (43b) show that *harawata ga niekurikaeru* expresses a greater degree of anger than *shaku ni sawaru*.

- (43a) *Boku wa harawata ga niekurikaetta to iu yori mo, tada shaku ni sawatta*  
*dake da yo.*

- (43b) \**Boku wa shaku ni sawatta to iu yori mo, tada harawata ga niekurikaetta*  
*dake da yo.*

It should be noted that the list of distinctive features presented in this analysis is not meant to be exhaustive. It is, however, sufficient to differentiate the meanings of

【Figure 1】 The distinctive features of Japanese anger idioms/verbs

	<c>,<c/s>,<i>*	<time required before realisation>	<gradual realisation>	<other-oriented>	<external>
atama ni kuru	<c/s>	±	—	±	—
hara ga tatsu	<c/s>	N/A	+	±	—
shaku ni sawaru	<c/s>	N/A	+	+	—
harawata ga niekurikaeru	<c/s>	N/A	+	+	—
hara ni suekaneru	<c/s>	+	—	+	—
mukatsuku	<c/s>	—	±	±	—
kanshaku o okosu	<c>	±	—	±	+
kireru	<c>	±	—	+	+
hara o tateru	<c>	±	—	±	—
okoru	<c>	±	—	+	±
kanninbukuro no o ga kireru	<i>	+	—	+	+

\*<c>=<continuative>, <c/s>=<continuative/stative>, <i>=<instantaneous>; N/A=not applicable

the anger idioms/verbs under consideration here.

Another question for further investigation is that of similarities and differences between Japanese anger idioms and anger idioms in other languages. The results presented in this article represent the first stage of a larger research project on the contrastive analysis of Japanese and English anger idioms/verbs. The next stage of this project is to analyse the lexical field of “English verb phrase idioms/verbs of 《anger》,” delimited as follows:

- (45) *bite s.o.'s head off, blow/let off steam, blow one's stack/top, do a slow burn, fly off the handle, get hot under the collar; hit the ceiling, jump down s.o.'s throat, lose one's temper; make one's blood boil, see red, anger.*

The final stage will be to compare the Japanese and English lexical fields, looking at what semantic features are common to both fields and what features (if any) are distinctive to each. It is anticipated that the results of such a contrastive analysis will make it possible to identify, in an objective fashion, partial and/or full correspondences between the meanings of Japanese and English anger expressions.

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**【Sources of examples】**

A = 朝日新聞オンライン記事データベース (Digital News Archives for Library)

Y = 読売新聞オンライン記事検索 ヨミダス文書館 (Yomiuri Database Online)

※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.