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On Expressive Japanese

Expressive Japanese and Its Organization

When discussing emotion, some classical (Western) categories might come to mind. For example, Aristotle’s list of emotions includes anger, mildness, love/friendship, enmity/hate, fear, lack of fear, shame, shamelessness, favor, good-will, lack of goodwill, pity, indignation, envy, emulation, and contempt. The Cartesian list includes surprise, love, hate, desire, joy, and sadness. These words, however, are emotions (not emotion expressions), and they do not necessarily serve as organizational categories representative of Japanese emotive words or expressive strategies. Consequently, rather than starting with known emotion categories available in the West and looking for corresponding phrases, I started from the Japanese side and collected a pool of Japanese emotive words and expressive strategies useful for students of Japanese language and culture. I also chose these expressions on the basis of their functional importance and relative frequency in ordinary contemporary Japanese language.

Through my earlier studies in Japanese language and emotion (S. Maynard 1993, 1998b, 2000, 2001a, 2002), I had become aware that emotion and empathy involve far more than a mere listing of emotion words and phrases, as has been done in the past. For example, knowing the word okoru ‘to get angry’ is not that useful for expressing anger. Yes, it is possible to use it as a warning as in Okoru yo, moo honto ni ‘I’m going to get mad, really’. But other strategies, such as the interjection Nani?! ‘What?!’ or the cursing word Baka! ‘Fool!’ are quite effective when expressing one’s anger. Given a specific context, simply ignoring your partner and remaining silent may be more effective. As a result, expressions introduced in this book span different grammatical categories, from particles, phrases, and sentence structures to discourse and interactional strategies.

In my studies of language and emotion, I also realized that emotive expressions
encompass more than the traditional concepts of emotion. This book contains such expressive strategies as self-mockery, regret, and disappointment, as well as a whole range of feelings, empathy, and attitudes that fall outside the scope of what is normally associated with the word “emotion.”

Because of the wide range of grammatical categories and the extensive emotion and empathy expressions selected, it was necessary to establish a reasonable organization. I have organized these expressions into situationally and functionally cohesive entries, partly from the English and partly from the Japanese point of view. Approaching emotion and empathy from the English point of view is necessary to meet the expressive needs of English speakers. Approaching from the Japanese point of view is also necessary for bringing into the open the kind of expressive Japanese that English speakers may not a priori find important or necessary. All of the classical emotions usually recognized in the West are accounted for in the process (especially but not exclusively) in Chapter 5.

Presenting a body of information about language and culture across languages and cultures poses some fundamental problems. Language and culture show internal variations, and they themselves change, transform, merge, and contradict constantly. In a sense, to say “the Japanese language” is a misnomer, because it contains different genres, registers, and individual speaker variations. Language is filled with many different voices, and linguistic heterogeneity is the norm. As a result, explaining about “the Japanese language” becomes an inherently partial task, and it is impossible to touch on all social and individual variations. It is important, therefore, to realize that examples and explanations contained in this book represent only some of what constitutes the Japanese language.

Still, it is possible to observe similarities and differences in how one expresses (or does not express) emotion and empathy in a given context across English and Japanese. And there is a gap between what one language/culture may find reasonable and what the other language/culture may not, even in the selection of entries. This gap is manifest in the organization of the entries, as well as in how emotion and empathy are understood (or more accurately, felt). One of the missions of this project is to bridge this gap as much as possible. It is my hope that students who learn from Expressive Japanese will extend their knowledge far beyond what this book contains and will express emotion and empathy despite (and because of) the inevitable limitations of languages and cultures.

Emotion and empathy are explored in Parts II and III, respectively. Part II introduces various kinds of emotions, expressed in different intensities. It also addresses the issue of how to express emotion in certain personal relationships, for example, when in love, when love ends, when facing conflict, and so on. Part III discusses strategies for sharing empathy, including ways of self-revelation, and appeals to the sense of dependency on and concern for one’s partner and the
interaction itself. Part III also introduces expressions that promote shared feelings. These co-experienced feelings broaden the sphere of communication and touch on those cases where words do not fully describe one’s desire for empathy.

It is important to note that although Parts II and III are divided into separate units for convenience, they are not mutually exclusive. Emotion and empathy overlap, and entries are categorized according to their primary functions. The chapters in Parts II and III bear broad situational and functional titles under which relevant entries are grouped together.

English cues appearing as entry titles lead the reader to some frequently used comparable Japanese key expressions. Following the explanation of key expressions, sample sentences and conversations I have created are discussed. Next, authentic examples taken from different genres of contemporary Japanese discourse are introduced. These examples guide the reader in an understanding of how these expressions are used for sharing emotion and empathy.

At the end of the volume, the reader will find the appendix, in which I provide information about authentic data sources. The reader unfamiliar with authentic sources is encouraged to read this section before proceeding to the entries. Two reference lists are also provided; one contains references for learning the Japanese language, and the other a list of works cited. The indexes include English cues and Japanese expressions. The English cues are English phrases leading the reader to comparable Japanese expressions and situations. The reader who wants to look up Japanese emotion words and expressive strategies should use the index of Japanese expressions. The indexes can be used almost as dictionaries.

**Emotion Words and Expressive Strategies**

As a student of the Japanese language, you will have learned vocabulary and grammar to convey straightforward information. But when it comes to sharing feelings, you may know only a limited number of words and sentence structures. Ultimately, true communication requires speakers to be able to share not only information but also feelings. Language learning void of shared emotion and empathy leaves us feeling empty. Interpreting how others feel while at the same time expressing one’s own feelings in Japanese requires the knowledge of how Japanese is and is not used for expressive purposes.

Human emotions are complex, overlapping, and often subtle. These changing emotions are expressed through multiple, and even contradictory ways. Strategies expressing emotion include facial expression, tone of voice, discourse structure, topic selection, interactional style, gesture, laughter and cries, physical proximity, and so on. Language is only one way to show emotion; a book like
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this, which concentrates on certain linguistic signs, can account only for limited cases.

This book concentrates on emotion words and expressive strategies. Emotion words are phrases that refer to certain emotions, as in kanashii ‘sad’ and atama ni kuru ‘to get angry’. Expressive strategies are non-referential words that do not so much describe emotion as realize emotion-expressive acts. For example, when a person says Aitai yo ‘I really want to see you’, the particle yo adds to the intensity of desire. Here yo itself does not refer to emotion or empathy. Yo expresses emotion and empathy because of how and where the speaker uses it in context.

Likewise, the question noun nani ‘what’ functions in a similar way, as in Nani! ‘What!’ uttered as an interjection in a conflict situation. Attitudinal adverbs such as doose in Doose dame daro ‘It will be no good anyway’ also express the speaker’s emotion, although they do not refer to a specific meaning, as in, say, the case of adverbs of manner like hayaku ‘fast’ in Hayaku hashitta ‘I ran fast’. A grammatical structure such as an exclamative sentence also enacts the speaker’s emotional state, as in Nanto ano hito ga kuru to wa! ‘Boy, what a surprise that he came!’ . Sound change, such as oishii-tt instead of oishii ‘delicious’ (‘great’ in very casual speech) also expresses intensity of emotion. Again, emotions are expressed through these strategies not by the meaning of the phrase or by grammatical structure, but by usage.

Interactional strategies, for example, requesting permission to ask a personal question, as in Kiite ii? ‘Is it O.K. to ask you (this question)?’ work in a similar way. Seeking permission to ask a personal question communicates kindness and considerateness, which in turn encourages empathy. In another example, the tautological expression Kachi wa kachi da ‘Victory is victory’ doesn’t really make sense literally. Rhetorical strategies like tautology communicate emotion although (or because) they do not literally mean what they say. Instead, they realize meaning by the fact of the speaker’s using them in the appropriate context. Onomatopoeic and mimetic words are particularly frequent in expressive Japanese. The mimetic phrase shimijimi ‘with deep fond feelings’ strikes an emotional chord among Japanese speakers and adds to the feeling of empathy. In addition, sharing jokes and banter increases the sense of empathy. In reality, these emotion words and expressive strategies are mixed in overlapping, accumulating, and sometimes contradictory ways.

Constraints on Expressive Japanese

It is particularly important to understand that emotion words and expressive strategies are under constraints in terms of grammar and situation. First, in terms of grammar, emotion words and expressive strategies are primarily used
by the speaker who directly experiences these emotions. Second, in terms of situ-
ation, many of the emotion words and expressive strategies reveal one’s inner
feelings rather directly, and as a consequence they should be used only within

certain boundaries.

**Grammatical Constraints**

Emotion words and expressive strategies cannot, as a rule, be used in reference
to persons other than the speaker. In cases where they do refer to persons other
than the speaker, most must either be used in quotation or must go through
grammatical manipulations that explicitly mark them.

This is particularly true in the case of adjectives of emotion, for example, ka-
nashii ‘sad’. Now, Kanashii ‘I’m sad’ is grammatically correct, but ‘Ano hito wa
kanashii ‘He is sad’ is not acceptable under ordinary circumstances. Instead,
what is acceptable is Ano hito wa kanashi soo da ‘He appears to be sad’. In Japa-
nese it is necessary to mark the sentence if it is not about the speaker’s but about
someone else’s emotion. The reason for this is that, although one can experience
one’s own emotions directly, someone else’s emotions are not so accessible.

The distinction in Japanese is not necessarily required in other languages. In
English, for example, it is possible to say “I’m happy” and “I think so” as well as
“Yamada is happy” and “Yamada thinks so.” It is important to remember that
in Japanese, the distinction is obligatory, and extra attention must be paid when
referring to one’s own or another’s thoughts and feelings.

The following list provides frequently used means for marking someone
else’s emotions.

1. With expressions that indicate appearance:
   - 悲しそう (kanashi soo) seems sad
   - 悲しいみたい (kanashii mitai) appears sad
   - 悲しいような顔 (kanashii yoono kao) face that seems sad

2. With the suffix -garu:
   - 悲しがる (kanashi garu) shows signs of sadness

3. With speculative modals:
   - 悲しいんだろう (kanashii n daroo) perhaps sad
   - 悲しいのかもしれない (kanashii no kamo shirenai) may be sad

4. In a question:
   - 悲しいですか (Kanashii desu ka.) Are you sad?
   - 悲しいんですか (Kanashii n desu ka.) Is it that you are sad?
   - 悲しくない？ (Kanashiku-nai?) Aren’t you sad?
Non-adjectival expressions have a similarly restricted use. Examples include *tamaranai* ‘cannot help but’ and *shikata ga nai* ‘cannot bear’, which refer directly to the speaker’s inner feelings. The same restriction applies to the utterance-final *to omou* ‘I think’, which signals the speaker’s own speech.

When using these strategies, adjustments like the following are necessary.

1. 山田さんは、恋人に会いたくてたまらないようです。
   Yamada-san wa, koibito ni aitakute tamaranai yoo desu.
   It seems that Yamada cannot help but really want to see her lover.

2. 山田さんは、さびしくてしがたがいないのでしょう。
   Yamada-san wa, sabishikute shikata ga nai no deshoo.
   I think perhaps Yamada cannot bear the overwhelming feeling of loneliness.

3. (≡) 山田さんはそうとうふうに思うらしい。
   Yamada-san wa soo yuu fuu ni omou rashii.
   Yamada seems to think that way.

Other expressive strategies, simply because they enact the speaker’s speech acts, must appear in indirect discourse (as in quotation), as shown below.

4. その時は、「なに！」と言って近づいてきた。
   Sono toki kare wa, “Nani!” to itte chikazuite-kita.
   Then he said “What!” and approached me.

5. なんとあの人が来るとは！心の中でそう叫んだ。
   Nanto ano hito ga kuru to wa! Kokoro no naka de soo sakenda.
   Wow, what a surprise that he came! I screamed in my heart.

6. その人は「聞いていい？」とたずねてから、質問した。
   Sono hito wa “Kiite ii?” to tazunete kara, shitsumon shita.
   After saying “May I ask you this?” the person asked me a question.

**Situational Constraints**

As for situational constraints regarding the use of emotion words and expressive strategies, it is best to avoid direct expression of emotion in formal contexts, where more objectified and consequently more polite expressions are
preferred. Generally, descriptive expressions are more distant and formal than interjectional expressions. One strategy is to use an adverb (instead of an adjective) with the verb *omou*, as in *Kanashiku omou* ‘(lit., I think it to be sad) I feel it is sad’, instead of *Kanashii* ‘I’m sad’. Another is to refer to the situation itself instead of one’s own feelings, as in *Kanashii koto desu* ‘It is a sad thing’. In conversation one may add such prefaces as *yappari* ‘after all’, to make the utterance less direct.

7. うれしく思っております。
    Ureshiku *omotte-orimasu*.
    I find it pleasing.

8. 悲しいことです。
    Kanashii *koto desu*.
    It is a sad situation.

9. やっぱりうれしいです。
    *Yappari* ureshii desu.
    Yes, indeed, I’m pleased.

Despite the situational constraints mentioned above, it is also important to realize that language provides a means for expressing one’s emotion and empathy in personal ways. One such example is to use emotion words and expressive strategies in subordinate clauses that retain conversational features. In a conversation inserted into an utterance, the speaker is able to convey such empathy as familiarity, friendliness, and warmth and still maintain a certain level of politeness and formality. In other words, by framing direct expressive strategies in casual style within a subordinate clause (e.g., quotation and similar structures), the speaker maintains the ongoing formal style. Even though emotion words and expressive strategies are disguised in a subordinate clause, feelings are directly expressed. Note the informal form *katte-yaru* in (10), and the informal form *toku shita* followed by an interactional particle *ze* in (11), although both sentences as a whole maintain the formal style.

10. その時、絶対勝ってやる、って思ったんです。
    Sono toki, zettai *katte-yaru*, tte omotta n desu.
    Then I thought to myself “I’m going to win no matter what!”
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11. きょうは一日あったかくて得したぜ、みたいな日でした。

Kyoo wa ichinichi attakakute toku shita ze, mitaina hi deshita.
It was warm all day today, and I felt like “I got lucky today!”

Historical Perspectives: Voices from the Heart

Before we begin the study of expressive Japanese, it may be useful to understand the academic context. This is particularly important because a focus on emotion and empathy has tended to be slighted in modern linguistics and pedagogy in the West. Japanese linguistics and Japanese language pedagogy also have largely concentrated on areas other than emotion and empathy.

More than two hundred years ago, Japanese language scholars of the Edo period (A.D. 1603–1868) approached language in a way radically different from that of modern Western linguists. Those scholars viewed language not as a tool for rational thinking but as an expressive means for sharing emotion and empathy. For example, Akira Suzuki (1764–1837), in his 1824 work Gengyo shishuron, identified the essence of the Japanese language by the phrase kokoro no koe ‘voices from the heart’.

The Edo scholars were neither directly interested in constructing a theory of language nor in offering a systematic analysis of the Japanese language. Their concerns were more immediate, namely, how to compose and appreciate great waka (31-mora poems). Suzuki identified four parts of speech—today’s nouns, adjectives, verbs, and particles. He grouped the first three and called them “three types of referential words.” Particles, which he labeled as the te-ni-o-ha category, represent the fourth group. Significantly, for Suzuki, these te-ni-o-ha particles are most essential in the Japanese language, and they express feelings and attitude; they echo not thoughts in the mind, but “voices from the heart.” It makes sense that Suzuki identified te-ni-o-ha particles as being qualitatively different from referential words. Particles do not really refer to objects and things in the way that nouns and verbs do. These seemingly empty words fulfill the important functions of connecting words, identifying the speaker, and expressing the speaker’s heart.

More recently, another Japanese language scholar, Yoshio Yamada (1873–1958), immortalized the emotive aspect of the Japanese language by the term kantai no ku ‘vocative-emotive phrase’. Yamada (1936) took the position that the study of grammar is a study of methods in which one not only presents thought, but also expresses emotion. He then studied Japanese emotive sentences in detail. For example, Uruwashiki hana kana! ‘What a beautiful flower!’ expresses how much the speaker is moved by the flower’s beauty. In contemporary Japanese, an adjective-noun combination such as Kireina hana!
'Beautiful flower!' is an example of *kantai no ku*. Although this phrasal expression contains no verb, it is not ungrammatical. Rather, it is a prime example of expressive Japanese. Among Japanese language scholars, including Suzuki and Yamada, there has been a clear tradition of understanding language as a source of emotion and sentiment.

Given the historical context, in which emotion and empathy have attracted less attention than they deserve, the prioritization of expressive aspects of language on which Japanese language scholars have insisted is significant. As I found in my earlier works (1993, 1998b, 2000, 2001a, 2002), if one approaches language from the perspective of emotion and empathy, many expressive aspects of Japanese grammar and interactional strategies reveal themselves. Although the Japanese language can be a tool for rational thinking, one can achieve a deeper understanding of it by focusing on expressive Japanese.

**Language, Emotion, and Culture**

When learning expressive Japanese, one cannot ignore the general issue of emotion, culture, and society. Is emotion the same across cultures, or is it culture-specific? This question is both old and new in academia. The universalist answers yes to the first question, the relativist to the second. Linguists and language educators have long debated how language and emotion are related to the concept of universality and relativity. In terms of language learning, one may ask, Are emotional experiences the result of nature or nurture?

The answer to the question lies somewhere between; neither an extreme universal nor a solely relative position is tenable. People share fundamental universal human emotions across languages, cultures, and societies. At the same time, emotions are nurtured in society and exist as a part of the cultural sentiment common to members of a particular society. Japanese emotions, therefore, are in many ways particular to Japanese language, culture, and society, although they sustain commonalities with other languages.

It is also true that language plays a key role in identifying, experiencing, and sharing feelings with others. Although human emotions are universal across languages and cultures, how those emotions are expressed, or not expressed, depends largely on how the language is structured and used. In the process of enacting these socioculturally restricting linguistic choices, emotions often become particularized and specialized. A person belonging to a social group does not experience emotion in total freedom; emotion is inevitably influenced by group membership. Even when an individual rebels against such common social emotion and attempts to break free from it, the very manner of rebellion will not be completely free of the community’s emotion. Humans are nurtured by and
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socialized within a community (or communities) that inculcates commonly understood and internalized emotions. This is a reality from which there is no escape. On the level of actual communications, certain aspects of emotion, however universal, are relative and particular to language, culture, and society.

Think of the example of human experience called “romantic love.” What are the elements of a great romantic love story? Is forbidden love a critical ingredient of romantic love, as in Romeo and Juliet? Can romantic love coexist with a practical, ordinary marriage? Is the ideal love relationship the same among some Japanese people as it is among some American Catholics? Think of another example, that of expressing kindness and concern toward others. Do you feel better when a person you hardly know approaches you in a friendly and frank manner? Or will you feel more comfortable if the person shows some reserve by using hesitant expressions? Although obviously there are individual differences among Japanese and among Americans, if you responded yes to the first, you are more strongly endorsing emotion as understood in American culture. If your answer to the second question is yes you are more closely following a traditional Japanese paradigm. Kindness and concern in anticipation of friendship are similar but not identical across cultures. Consequently, subtle differences are likely to emerge.

Does all this mean that foreign language students cannot understand feelings as native speakers do? No need to despair. The relativist position does not preclude the possibility of crossing emotional borders. On the contrary, learning a foreign language offers opportunities for expressing, experiencing, and sharing heretofore unknown or unclear emotions and empathy. By focusing on expressive Japanese, the reader may learn to appreciate different types and gradations of feelings that can be communicated more clearly through the Japanese language than in the reader’s own native language. Part of learning a foreign language is discovering different feelings in our hearts. To experience different feelings is to discover different senses of self within ourselves.

I should also point out that the Internet has promoted the globalization of cultures at an ever-increasing speed, and as a result, the universalist position seems to have gained ascendancy. But despite the ongoing homogenization of cultures, cultures sustain local particularities (glocalization) and show tendencies toward heterogenization. M. Maynard (2003), through a study of Japanese advertising, shows how a global product is glocalized to accommodate to Japan. Globalization and glocalization occur simultaneously, and the opposing tendencies of cultural universalism and relativism not only coexist, but interact and influence each other. Learning foreign languages has become globalized through easy access to foreign language Web sites filled with linguistic and cultural icons. At the same time, the Japanese language sustains itself, although it is spoken by diverse groups of people inside and outside of Japan. The reader is
encouraged to explore ongoing cultural globalization and glocalization phe-
omena in the process of learning the Japanese language.

A few words about “emotion” in the context of “the Japanese” are perhaps
in order. It is sometimes suggested that Japanese speakers are not emotional, or
at least that they do not show emotion. This view is often presented by outside
observers, adding to the perception that Japanese speakers are different from or
even in polar opposition to them. Among Japanese speakers, however, there is
an understanding that they are emotional and that they have a rich experience of
deep and subtle emotions. The outside observer’s judgment may be impaired by
the absence of verbal expressions and strategies that are either comparable or
quickly translatable to those found in the observer’s world. Or perhaps the unfa-
miliar observer has access only to formal occasions, where Japanese speakers are
most likely to be reserved. Under this circumstance, it is easy to misinterpret the
situation and conclude that Japanese speakers generally do not express emotion.

Another point raised about emotion with regard to the Japanese is that its ex-
pression is influenced by social factors. Japanese speakers express emotion in dif-
ferent ways to an intimate than they do to someone to whom one must show
politeness. This is true as well in other cultures, but the social constraints seem rela-
tively strong, and therefore obvious, for Japanese speakers. According to Kudo
and Matsumoto (1996), Japanese people are happiest when things are going
smoothly and they are having a good social relationship with the people close to
them, while Americans are more likely to find happiness and joy in personal
achievements and in closer friendships with others. The authors also noted that
while Westerners find the deepest sadness in death and separation, the Japanese
grieve most when faced with relationship problems, especially problems with close
and intimate others. Japanese people also feel anxiety more acutely when human
relationships are going poorly, whereas strangers trigger Americans’ strongest
fear. In general an American’s anger is strongly associated with social injustice,
while a Japanese person’s anger is targeted toward unacceptably poor behavior on
the part of strangers, and not so much toward the poor behavior of the people
close to them.

These differences seem to reinforce the relative importance social relation-
ships play in how Japanese speakers feel and the constraints Japanese culture and
society exert on how Japanese speakers express or do not express their feelings.
These social constraints provide a sense of social and psychological cohesiveness
among Japanese speakers. By following—or sometimes violating—these con-
straints, Japanese speakers communicate feelings in many ways.

This said, I should also emphasize the internal variability and fluidity of the
Japanese language and culture. As I pointed out earlier, although the tendency is
to discuss “Japanese” language and culture together for convenience, neither is
homogeneous. Every label is inherently limiting, because the act of labeling paints
the picture with one sweeping stroke. In real life, as many entries introduced in this book illustrate, the Japanese language is used in a variety of personal and creative ways. Constant reminders that generalized differences do not account for all speakers of the Japanese language, and that individual variations abound, are indispensable.

Learning Expressive Japanese Critically and Creatively

As the reader must be aware, language learning demands courage. It is not enough to repeat and imitate what the textbook offers or what the teacher says. The student of a foreign language must be able to gain insight into how the language is structured, how it is actually used, and how language itself constitutes a part of the interaction. By observing multiple cases, the student must be able to identify patterns of strategies frequently used in certain circumstances. By learning from textbooks, workbooks, reference books, and how-to books, the student of Japanese must not only accumulate knowledge, but also organize it so that it makes sense. Ultimately, with only limited resources, the student must create a world wherein he or she shares in the Japanese language.

Learning expressive Japanese, however, requires a special awareness. Expressing emotion and empathy is so closely related to our essence of self that it becomes personal in a way that a traditional knowledge of grammar does not. When people express emotion in certain ways, the kind of emotion and the way it is expressed reveal their character. For example, one may be viewed as strong, forthcoming, pushy, timid, giving, warm, understanding, and so on. Using certain conventionalized (and sometimes ritualized) expressive Japanese may make you feel you are forced to reveal too much or too little of the wrong kinds of emotions. Using not-so-straightforward expressions in Japanese may make you feel unnecessarily weak and may threaten your sense of pride.

In my personal view, it is not worthwhile to jeopardize one’s personality or integrity when learning a foreign language. At the same time, it is important to be tolerant of the social and cultural conventions of the target society. In the balance between these two forces, a student of the Japanese language must reconcile and find a comfort zone. Language, whether native or foreign, inevitably conveys a person’s sense of self.

Another sensitive situation is gender-related speech style. A female student of the Japanese language is expected in many ways to behave like a native Japanese woman. This may be uncomfortable, because expressing emotion in the “feminine” speech and “being like a Japanese woman” can lead to feelings of powerlessness. A female student may find that she has only limited access to certain expressions, although she may have more varieties to choose from in
certain circumstances. Male students may find it uncomfortable to speak bluntly, especially toward women, and may feel they do not have access to certain forms of expressive Japanese when they wish they did.

Some native speakers also find it uncomfortable to follow some of the (traditional) values, and they find their voices in their own ways. As I discuss in Chapter 2, speech styles stereotypically associated with “masculine” or “feminine” speech are used by both genders for expressive purposes. Certain Japanese values may not be very appealing; the reader may feel uncomfortable and may be critical of any number of the features of expressive Japanese. We should be reminded, however, that it is through this critical stance that we may be able truly to understand both how Japanese speakers feel and how we feel ourselves.

A student of Japanese must also keep in mind that the Japanese language is heterogeneous, varied, and constantly in a state of change. In my earlier studies (1997a, 1997b) I presented the variability of the Japanese language and the need for critical pedagogy. To understand these variations and changes, a critical perspective on learning is necessary. Students and teachers must always be sensitive to what is really happening in the use of the Japanese language.

Students must also be critical of what is presented as pertinent information on learning Japanese, because messages come in varied and not always consistent ways. For example, one how-to book on business encounters suggests that the speaker should reveal emotion straightforwardly (jibun no kanjoo o suto-reeto ni dasu). Accordingly, one should say Watashi wa kore ga ii to omou ‘I think this is good’, specifying clearly that “I” think so and so, instead of Kore wa ii ‘This is good’ (Moriya 1999, 172). Moriya in general recommends a direct and sometimes unexpectedly self-revealing manner of communication for business interaction. As a student of Japanese, you should be both open to and critical of suggestions from this or any other source. Amid all the advice, you want to find your personal voice.

To find this voice, you must be willing to go beyond the stereotypical hegemonic force and maintain a critical and creative attitude. The enormous project of learning a foreign language, especially its expressive language, may test you in ways that other experiences have not. What this book can do is to assist you in the endeavor by providing explanations and examples of frequently observed phenomena in Japanese communication. I hope you will explore the emotional side of Japanese communication well beyond what this book reveals, and share emotion and empathy in and through the Japanese language.
Expressive Japanese and the Characteristics of Japanese Discourse

Expressive Japanese, Politeness, and Style

Politeness is a term that covers multiple aspects of Japanese communication and involves both verbal and nonverbal strategies. This section discusses strategies focusing on verb forms and speech styles. In addition, we study how emotion and empathy are expressed through the mixture of styles.

Politeness Levels

Emotion words and expressive strategies, like all speech in Japanese, associate a certain level of politeness with different verb forms. Respectful and humble verb forms are primarily associated with the relative statuses of the persons involved (including speaker, partner, and third parties). The use of style is partly influenced by the relationship between speaker and partner and the particular situation. In this book, the following politeness levels are identified.

- **supra-polite**: use of respectful and humble forms, [V/Adj formal] forms, prefixes go- and o-, and other very polite strategies
- **polite**: use of [V/Adj formal] forms, and other moderately polite strategies

Expressions not enacting politeness are not necessarily impolite, however. They become impolite only when used in situations where polite expressions are expected. In this book, supra-polite speech is marked by the symbol (≠).
Adjusting Distance and Intimacy

Use of polite forms becomes problematic when social convention recommends polite forms, but the speaker wishes to use less polite forms to show intimacy. Because polite forms largely convey social distance, they are the opposite of the desire to express intimacy. In this regard, Fukao’s (1998) report is useful. Fukao investigated how college students in Japan feel about choosing politeness levels, namely, how the feeling of shitashisa ‘familiarity, closeness, intimacy’ is expressed when politeness is socially expected, as when juniors address seniors. Juniors begin to feel uncomfortable using polite expressions as intimacy increases, and they gradually use less polite expressions, mixing moderately polite forms with less polite and casual forms. Seniors also allow and/or encourage less polite forms from juniors to whom they feel close.

It is also known that in social encounters outside college as well, when a person of a socially higher rank starts using a friendly casual style, the lower-ranking partner also begins to mix in less formal expressions. Although the lower-ranking partner maintains the overall politeness level, such strategies as the sentence-final ‘[V/Adj-te] form and the particle ne are incorporated into discourse to express intimacy. For example, by adding mitai, a [V-te] form, and ne, as in Sono koto ga shokku datta mitai deshite ne ‘Apparently it was a shock’, the speaker communicates a desire for intimacy.

When intimacy is sought, to insist on a politeness level that expresses distance is “impolite.” In such cases, a polite response communicates a rejection of overtures to intimacy and is likely to be considered unfriendly and unkind. The speaker’s wishes to share feelings are expressed by a variety of emotive words and expressive strategies aimed at closing the psychological distance. Speakers constantly adjust politeness levels, searching for a compromise between distance-maintaining politeness and politeness expressed through intimacy-seeking friendly expressions.

Styles

The following styles in Japanese are identified in this book.

- **formal**
  - use of [V/Adj formal] forms, limited use of particles, formal vocabulary

- **casual**
  - use of [V/Adj informal] forms, frequent use of particles, casual vocabulary, interjections

- **blunt**
  - use of [V/Adj informal] forms, assertive and forceful expressions, in many cases stereotypically associated with “masculine” speech

- **vulgar**
  - use of vulgar style, often associated with youth speech
Formal style is used unless there are reasons to do otherwise. It is the style of choice in public and official situations and on all occasions where the speaker interacts with the partner(s) whom he or she wants to be polite to or maintain distance from. Using formal style is an important part of realizing politeness. Casual style is normally chosen in private situations, though also in public situations if interpersonal familiarity and intimacy are already established. It is preferred when the situation does not require formal style and when the speaker senses that the familiar and casual attitude is either tolerated or appreciated.

Blunt style is chosen when the speaker pays little attention to how he or she should speak. The reason for such a choice is often emotional. Blunt style communicates strong assertion and is often accompanied by a raw emotion like anger or rejection. Because blunt style is straightforward and closes the psychological distance between speakers, in certain circumstances it can also convey intimacy and closeness. Certain blunt expressions are slangy. Such a style is identified as vulgar style, and its use is limited to very casual and often youth-associated speakers and partners. In this book, formal style appears without a mark. Casual style is marked with (æ), blunt style with (¢), and vulgar (youth) style with (v).

For Japanese key expressions, a style designation is given only when the expression appears in a sentence, or when the expression’s stylistic feature is particularly important. No style markers are assigned in authentic examples.

For the entries in this book, examples created for explanatory purposes mostly appear in the [V/Adj informal] style. Where stylistic differences are at issue, [V/Adj formal] examples are also presented. For convenience, only informal or formal forms are modeled in many cases. Additional formal and informal forms are also available for use where appropriate, unless noted otherwise.

Depending on the methods of communication, three different styles are recognized in Japanese: (1) spoken, (2) written, and (3) speechlike written. Spoken style includes official speech, speech exchanged in formal meetings, business conversations, and casual personal and intimate conversations, among others. Written style is used in letters, documents, novels, print media such as newspapers and magazines, and so on.

The speechlike written style is a recent development and requires some explanation. In the early 1980s, Makoto Shiina explored a style that distinctly carries with it straightforward and unconventional spoken language characteristics (e.g., Ka in 1984). This style was named Shoowa keihakutai ‘Shoowa light-touch style’, but Shiina’s writing style has mellowed in recent years, and Shoowa keihakutai has become largely obsolete.

More recently, another speechlike style has been recognized. This style, called Shin genbun itchitai (Satake 1995), is primarily used by youth in communication through the Internet, in magazines targeted to youth, and in many of the romance novels for girls. Although the Japanese is written, it is written as if
talking to a friend. It frequently uses interjections, particles (such as ne, sa, and yo), sound changes (e.g., sugoku ‘extremely’ instead of sugoku, naantonaku ‘somehow’ instead of nantonaku) and short contracted forms (e.g., tabechau ‘to end up eating’ instead of tabete-shimau, konaida ‘the other day’ instead of kono aida). Because of its spontaneity, speechlike written style tends to be simple, sporadic, and emotion-filled. In this book some authentic examples are drawn from the speechlike written style as it appears in romance novels for girls and on Internet bulletin boards. Characteristics of Shin genbun itchitai are also incorporated into many essays written by writers much older than the generation Satake identifies.

**Style Mixture**

Although we recognize the four styles in spoken Japanese and the three styles of communication method introduced above, these styles are not always used independently. Styles are often mixed, even in a spoken or written discourse segment produced by a single person and addressed to the same partner. See Entries 33 and 76 for additional information.

In a series of studies (S. Maynard 1991a, 1991b, 1993), I focused on the formal and casual styles in terms of verb forms and characterized their use as follows. Casual style is used when (1) the speaker is emotionally excited, (2) the speaker is involved in the event almost as if being right there and then, (3) the speaker expresses internal feelings in an almost self-addressed utterance, (4) the speaker creates utterances together with the partner, (5) semantically subordinate information is presented, and (6) the speaker expresses social familiarity and closeness. On the other hand, the formal style is used when (1) the speaker expresses thoughts addressed to the partner and (2) when the speaker communicates primary information directly addressed to the partner.

When casual style appears in predominantly formal style discourse, it marks surprise, abrupt remembrance, or sudden emotional surge. In the narrative text, the writer is in the narrative world there and then, taking a perspective internal to the narrative world. Casual style embedded in formal style achieves immediacy and directness in expression and a narrative-internal perspective.

Conversely, when formal style appears in predominantly casual discourse, it marks the speaker/writer’s awareness of speech levels. For example, when a writer is more conscious of the reader, and thus more socially aware, the writer organizes words and thoughts as social convention requires, and formal style is chosen if appropriate. In narrative text, formal style is used to express a narrative-external voice, a voice that allows the narrator to direct commentary toward the reader. Formal style adds to the impression that the writer is making a conscientious effort to address the reader.
In more recent studies on style shifts (S. Maynard 2001a, 2001b, 2002), I discussed how emotion plays a part in the selection of speech styles. For example, when a speaker feels vulnerable and hesitant, the speech shifts to a softer, gentler, often more polite style. The casual style used by lovers allows direct and forceful expression of emotion, and this behavior is predicated on mutual intimacy. Analysis of dramatic discourse has revealed that stylistic shifts also occur according to emotional development over time, as enacted in a television drama series. (This is explained in Entry 33.)

Above all, in a series of studies (S. Maynard 1991a, 1991b, 1993, 1997a, 1997b, 1999, 2001a, 2001b, 2002), I have emphasized that stylistic choices are motivated not only by social factors and constraints but also by personal emotions and desires. In fact, stylistic choice and style mixture result from a compromise between two forces, social norms and individual expressivity. The same person may mix styles when addressing the same partner depending on situation, emotion, and desire.

A representative example of style mixture appears in a conversation segment taken from *Long Vacation* (episode 6).

Minami: Sena-kun, zutto tomodachi de iyoo ne.
Sena: Kimochi warui.
Minami: Tatoe koibito dekita to shitemo, kekkon shita to shitemo, a Sena-kun kekkon deki-nai kamoshirenai ka. Soshitara roojin hoomu ni tazunete-ageru yo.
Sena: Ii desu.
Minami: Soshitara engawa de, ocha shiyoo ze.
Sena: "Shiyoo, ze"?
Minami: Ze!

Minami: Sena, let's be friends forever, right?
Sena: Sounds awful.
Minami: Even when you have a lover, and even when you get married, ah,
Sena, you may not be able to marry. Then I will visit you at the nursing home.

Sena: No, thank you.

Minami: Then, let’s have tea together (“ze”) on the veranda.

Sena: You mean “ze”?

Minami: Yes, “ze.”

In this example, Minami uses the particle “ze,” which is associated with blunt style. Sena is surprised to hear ze, but then Minami assertively repeats it. Although in general Minami’s speech is casual and sometimes blunt, because of its extreme forcefulness and bluntness, the use of ze catches attention. By using ze, Minami conveys a strong assertive attitude. At the same time, the blunt style is often stereotypically associated with the “masculine” voice, and accordingly, Minami presents such a voice. Mixing into conversation the extremely blunt ze also shows creative playfulness on Minami’s part.

Although this is one example, mixing styles occurs frequently in ordinary speech as well as in written discourse, although less so in the latter. Fluidity and variability of style are the norm. The choice of style is partly socially motivated, but it is also motivated by other factors that are primarily under the speaker’s control. Stylistic choice, style shift, and style mixture function as strategies for expressing emotion and empathy, and as expressive strategies for presenting the speaker’s character(s). Style mixture is also used for creative purposes as well, for example, for parody and playful role-playing.

Style is not necessarily directly linked to demographic and social factors. Rather, it may serve as a tool used by speakers to redefine the situational context in which their verbal interaction takes place. For example, using a few casual verb endings in predominantly formal style adds a sense of intimacy to the situation. A friendly context is created anew, to the extent that it is interpersonally acceptable. In this sense situational context is not totally given, nor is it predetermined. The context is something that speakers manipulate as a part of expressive communication.

Being Expressive and Variations in the Language

A student of Japanese should be aware of different varieties and variations of the Japanese language. Choosing the wrong form at the wrong time can cause problems. Youth language addressed to an audience of seniors, for example, would be not only rude, but silly, and is considered characteristic of *jooshiki shirazu* ‘a person who lacks social grace’.

There are at least three major factors associated with linguistic variation:
the traditional concept of gender, the speaker’s age and generation, and the speaker’s regional background. How society understands gender plays a role in language variation, and I touch on the more assertive “masculine” style and the less assertive “feminine” style, emphasizing their ongoing changes. Linguistic variation is also related to one’s generation. Youth language in particular is often discussed as something extraordinary. Given that many of the readers of this book are young (and young at heart) and are likely to have opportunities to be exposed to youth language, I present its characteristics briefly, and I touch on how a student of the Japanese language may deal with the ever-changing nature of language. In addition, different geographical regions are associated with different dialects. In this book some Kansai dialect examples are introduced.

With the technological advancements that change the way Japanese people communicate on a daily basis and with media saturation, differences among varieties of the Japanese language are decreasing. But social and psychological motivations exist for sustaining linguistic variability. Think of the language variety shared by closely connected members of a group, for example, a regional dialect used in Tokyo or a style shared by members of a high school clique. Because it differs from other varieties, a specific style functions as an emotional bond, enhancing a sense of belongingness.

*More Assertive “Masculine” and Less Assertive “Feminine” Styles*

With respect to the styles discussed earlier, it is possible to recognize more or less assertive (or blunt, strong, or forceful) styles. More assertive and blunt style is stereotypically associated with the traditional “masculine” voice, and less assertive and blunt, with the “feminine” voice.

Traditionally, some Japanese speakers have made a clear distinction between masculine speech (or men’s language) and feminine speech (or women’s language). Although the clear distinction between these varieties has largely faded, and speakers use both styles for expressive purposes, it is necessary to understand their characteristics. Older speakers tend to retain the distinction, so using gender-associated varieties without understanding their effects and consequences is not recommended.

The primary differences between traditional “masculine” and “feminine” speech include:

**Traditional Masculine Speech**

1. The speaker completes sentences with the [V/Adj informal] form immediately followed by interactional particles *ne(e)* and *yo*, as in *li nee* ‘That’s nice’, *Aitsu yoku benkyoo shita yo* ‘He studied hard’, and *Rippana tatemono da ne* ‘This is a fine building, isn’t it?’
Characteristics of Discourse

2. The speaker ends sentences with n da, as in Kinoo itta n da ‘So I went yesterday’.
3. Daro(o) is frequently preferred to desho(o), as in Ashita wa ame daro(o) ‘Tomorrow will be rainy’ and Sonna koto nai daro(o)? ‘That can’t be, can it?’.
4. The use of the abrupt negative command is available, as in Suru-na ‘Don’t do that’.
5. The abrupt volitional form is used, as in Jaa, ikoo ‘Let’s go’.
6. The abrupt question form is used, as in Dare to iku n dai? ‘With whom are you going?’.
7. Certain expressions are limited to masculine speech, for example, the particles zo, ze, and na, the exclamative iyaa ‘wow’, certain slang and cursing words, and so on.
8. The prefixes o- and go- are used, but not so extensively as in feminine speech.
9. Certain phrases are considered masculine, such as meshi and kuu, as in Mushi kui ni ikoo ‘Let’s go out to eat’. (In traditional feminine speech, it is likely to be: Gohan tabe ni ika-nai?)
10. The vowel combination ai sometimes changes to ee, as in dasee ‘not cool’ instead of dasai, and ika-nee ‘I’m not going’ instead of ika-nai. Also note the use of sugee instead of sugoi, and osee instead of osoi.

Nowadays, items 1, 2, and 5 are widely used by female speakers as well. As for item 8, it has been reported that female speakers do not use these prefixes any more frequently than men. Items 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, and 10 largely remain associated with the “masculine” voice. When choosing these expressions, female speakers should be aware of the consequence (sounding more assertive by echoing the “masculine” voice).

Traditional Feminine Speech

1. Instead of using the [VAdj informal] form plus ne and yo, the speaker prefers wa ne(e) and wa yo, as in li wa nee ‘That’s nice’ and Ano hito yoku benkyoo shita wa yo ‘He studied hard’. Da immediately before ne(e) and yo is deleted, as in Rippana tatemono ne ‘This is a fine building, isn’t it?’.
2. The speaker ends sentences with n da less frequently; instead, no appears, as in Kinoo itta no ‘So I went yesterday’.
3. Desho(o) is frequently preferred to Daro(o), as in Ashita wa ame desho(o) ‘Tomorrow will be rainy’ and Sonna koto nai desho(o)? ‘That cannot be, can it?’.
4. The abrupt negative command is avoided; instead, Shi-naide(-kudasai) ‘(Please) don’t do that’ is preferred.
5. The use of the abrupt volitional form is restricted; rather than Jaa ikoo ‘Let’s go’, for example, Jaa ikimashoo is often used.
6. The use of abrupt questions is usually avoided. Questions ending with *no* and *no ne* are used instead.

7. Certain expressions are limited to feminine speech, for example, the interjection *ara maa* ‘wow’, sentence-final *wa* [pronounced in a higher tone] and *kashira* ‘I wonder’, the personal pronouns *atashi* and *atakushi* ‘I’, and so on.

8. The prefixes *o-* and *go-* are more extensively used.

9. Certain phrases are considered feminine, such as *suteki* ‘nice’ and *kawaii* ‘cute’.

10. In general, older women tend to speak politely, sometimes extremely politely.

Note that usage of items 1, 2, and 5 is declining and the forms associated with the traditional “masculine” counterpart expressions are frequently used. Male speakers using the expressions listed above should be aware of the consequence (sounding less assertive by echoing the “feminine” voice). Items 1 and 7 especially are strongly associated with the “feminine” voice. Male speakers should avoid these expressions unless they are intended.

In general, “feminine” speech projects gentleness, and “masculine” speech projects forcefulness. Because of these traditional associations, gendered voices are often heard in speech styles. It is important to keep in mind that in reality, female speakers may choose a forceful style, and male speakers a gentle one, because the concept of gendered voices interacts with other variables, including (1) psychological factors like identity; (2) social and ideological factors, for example, the power associated with the more assertive “masculine” style; and (3) such situational factors as speaking in public. The choice between “feminine” and “masculine” styles is motivated by multiple, sometimes contradictory factors, and a person is likely to speak differently as the occasion warrants, fluctuating between more assertive “masculine” and less assertive “feminine” styles.

“Masculine” and “feminine” styles are not mutually exclusive, and “feminine” and “masculine” voices should be viewed as matters of degree, not as opposites. Within the “feminine” style, there are strongly feminine and moderately feminine varieties. The same can be said about the “masculine” style. Overall impressions of gentleness and bluntness can be achieved by a number of linguistic and other expressive strategies. Again, it is important to keep in mind that “masculine” and “feminine” varieties are not necessarily connected with the speaker’s gender.

Speech styles associated with gender differences may be used for expressive purposes, for example, to emphasize one’s gender in intimate relationships. A man may highlight “masculine” style and speak bluntly when he wants to foreground his masculine identity (e.g., to his girlfriend). The same speaker is likely to avoid blunt style toward another woman. Likewise, a woman may choose a
highly “feminine” style to express femininity toward a specific person (e.g., a boyfriend), or under certain other circumstances, as when femininity is favorably evaluated. The same speaker may avoid the less assertive “feminine” style when her professional authority is at stake.

**Gender-Associated Styles in Transition**

Traditionally, “feminine” speech was considered the kind of language women should use. Numerous books are available to tell women how to talk (e.g., Sakai 1996). However, such discourse itself reflects an ideology that discriminates against women. Instead of blindly accepting a special “ladylike” language variety (different from ordinary Japanese language) that woman must adhere to, it makes more sense to understand “feminine” speech style as an option available for all speakers’ expressive purposes.

Japanese speakers are free to use different styles under different circumstances. Even so, certain emotive words and expressive strategies are more restricted to either the more assertive “masculine” or the less assertive “feminine” style. When someone says something insulting to a woman, in response she is not likely to yell out *Kuso! Bakayaroo! ‘Shit! Idiot!’*. If she does, she is likely to be criticized for being out of line and not behaving properly.

At the same time, it is often said that Japanese women’s speech is becoming more like men’s speech and that gender differences in language use, particularly among youth, are becoming something of a myth. Women are viewed as being more aggressive than once thought, particularly in private and casual situations. The language used by young women and for young women in the media can also take on features traditionally considered restrictively “masculine.” For both informal and casual speech, gender differences in the Japanese language are becoming less clear.

Some studies support this claim. Traditionally, for example, use of the interactional particle *yo* immediately following [V/Adj informal] is restricted in “feminine” speech. Instead of saying *Koko ni kaite aru yo* ‘It’s written here’, “feminine” speech prefers *Koko ni kaite aru wa yo*. Likewise, instead of *Nihonjin da yo* ‘He is Japanese’, *Nihonjin yo* is preferred. However, according to Endoo (1998), among women residing in Tokyo in the late 1990s, the preferred form is the [V/Adj informal] and [N] immediately followed by *yo*. Combinations such as *da wa yo* and *da wa ne* are rarely used. It is not difficult to find texts where a female character speaks in a style traditionally considered “masculine.” For example, in the novel *Kitchin* by Banana Yoshimoto, Mikage, a young woman says *Dakara, shoojiki ni itte ii yo* ‘So it’s OK to tell the truth’ (Yoshimoto 1991, 45). In this book, I have given many examples where female speakers frequently use the style traditionally associated with “masculine” speech.
The traditional view advocates that women use polite expressions more frequently than men, particularly the supra-polite style with its respectful and humble forms. However, Endoo (1998) observed that women do not frequently use humble forms with the exception of [V-te + itadaku]. But she noted that the [V-te + itadaku] form is frequently used by both female and male speakers.

Takasaki (2002) also points out a blurring of the differences between male speakers’ and female speakers’ speech. Question sentences ending in ka ne, ka na, and da yo ne (thought to be restricted to “masculine” speech) and question sentences ending in no and no ne (thought to be restricted to “feminine” speech) are both used across genders. In general, female speakers do not delete da, although deletion is traditionally expected. And male speakers do sometimes delete da. Likewise, atakushi ‘I’, which used to be associated with “feminine” speech, is rarely used, and female speakers primarily use watashi instead. As a vocative, female speakers, like male speakers, frequently use only the last name without -san.

The increasing similarity between so-called men’s language and women’s language has also been noted in the mass media. A newspaper article (Joomoo shinbun, 2000), quoting Orie Endoo, reports that in the television drama Beautiful Life (2000, Fuji Television), from which many examples in this book are taken, women are more aggressive than men in speech and in interaction. Female characters in the drama use phrases traditionally considered “masculine” (e.g., un ‘yes’, and oi ‘say’) as frequently as male characters. The only difference was the use of ore ‘I’ which remained limited to the male characters. Interestingly, Kyooko, the heroine of the drama, uses almost the same speech style with her lover, her elder brother, and her female best friend. The traditional image of women speaking in a special language with a heightened sensitivity to others is simply not evident in this drama, and increasingly so in ordinary lives.

Youth Language
Among generational variations in the Japanese language, youth language is often noted for its newness, creativity, and peculiarity. Youth language is the language spoken by teens and those in their early twenties. Some features of the so-called youth language, however, span the generations, with some youth expressions taking root in the speech style of people in their thirties and even in their forties and fifties. And older people who want to be close to or identify with youth may purposely select youth language.

As a matter of course, it is expected that people speak differently and use different vocabulary as they age. For example, in childhood a young male speaker may always refer to himself as boku, but later in life he is expected to use boku, ore, watashi, or jibun, depending on the speech situation. The com-
mand expression *nasai* reflects the speaker’s dominance and is often used by parents toward their own children; therefore, young people use them less frequently (Ozaki 2001). The [V/Adj formal] form followed by the particle *naa* as in *Samui desu naa* ‘It is cold, isn’t it?’ is considered *ojisan-kotoba* ‘middle-aged male speech’ and is not used when the speaker is young. Using age-sensitive variations conveys different feelings associated with different identities. In this sense, generational variations represent another aspect of expressive Japanese.

A more prominent phenomenon is the language of the young that shows significant differences from the language of older generation. Young people tend to use youth language among themselves more frequently (to maintain a sense of camaraderie) than they do with people of other generations. In formal situations, young people are expected to use the dominant adult speech varieties. Under such circumstances, speaking youth language reflects a lack of education, humbleness, and grace.

Here are some characteristics of youth language in Japan in the late 1990s (information attributed to Yonekawa [1999]). Similar characteristics appear in some examples contained in this book taken from sources as recent as 2003.

**Vocabulary**

1. Invention and use of *ru-kotoba* (new verbs created by adding *ru* to nouns)

   マクル  *makuru*  to go to McDonald’s
   コクル  *kokuru*  to confess (comes from *kokuhaku suru*)
   ラメル  *raameru*  to eat *raamen* noodles

2. Invention and use of the suffix *-raa* (*-raa* is added in reference to people who do things to excess)

   シャネラー  *shaneraa*  a person who is crazy about the Chanel brand
   マヨラー  *mayorraa*  a person who loves and overuses mayonnaise

**Grammatical and rhetorical characteristics**

1. Use of self-alienating expressions. For example, the speaker uses alienating expressions in reference to her own behavior, as if talking about someone else’s behavior.

   a. (Two young female friends talk about drinking.) Both *kekkoo* and *nome tari shite* add to the sense of distancing her behavior (see Entry 25 for *kekkoo*; Entry 63 for *tari shite*).

   (=ft1): お酒あまり飲めてないって言ってなかったか？
   (=ft2): うん。でもホントは、結構飲めたりして……

   (=ft1): Osake anmari nome-nai tte itte-nakatta?
   (=ft2): Un. Demo honto wa, kekkoo nometari shite.
(≈ft1): Didn’t you say that you can’t drink (alcoholic drinks) much?
(≈ft2): Yes. But, in truth, maybe I can drink a lot.

2. Use of objectified expressions. The speaker describes her behavior as if observed by someone else. Note that mitaina is used to describe the speaker’s own feelings, although originally its use was restricted to the description of someone else’s situation. (See Entry 64 for further discussion.)

b. (≈) 今朝、起きた頭も痛いし、メチャ、ブルー入ってるみたいな
……
Kesa, okitara atama mo itai shi, mercha, buruu haitteru mitaina……
This morning when I got up, I had a headache and felt really depressed, like...

3. Use of excessively self-conscious expressions. The speaker uses phrases that reflect a judgment of someone else when describing herself or himself.

c. あたしって意外とかサヨマナです。
   Atashi tte igai to shai na n desu.
   (You may not think so, but) surprisingly, I am shy.

d. (A man asks a young man about his job.) Note the adverb ichioo ‘to some extent’, which reflects a judgment that could come from someone else. The utterance carries a sense of degrading (and humbling) attitude on the speaker’s part.

   (ma1): ご職業は？
   (my1): 一応、銀行員です。
   (ma1): Goshokugyoo wa?
   (my1): Ichioo, ginkooin desu.
   (ma1): Your occupation?
   (my1): Uh, a banker, a sort of, I guess (although you may not necessarily expect that).

4. Use of vague expressions. The speaker uses toka as a topic marker, giving the impression that the topic is unspecific. A half-question-like rising intonation (marked by †) also offers a useful strategy when making a point. Because it expresses self-doubt, the point is made less assertively.

e. (≈) 学校とか眠くなるんじゃない？
   Gakkoo toka nemuku naru n ja-nai?
   Isn’t (something like) school a place that makes you sleepy?
f. (≠) あたしはね、佐川先生のお気に入りだらしいよう。
Atashi wa ne, Sagawa-sensei no okiniiiri tashii n da yo.
You know, I seem to be a favorite student (?) of Professor Sagawa.

These manipulations give the impression that the speaker is being solicitous of and considerate to the partner. In other words, by using youth language, speakers “soften” their statements. The motivation for adding this softening effect, however, is not limited to accommodating others’ feelings. As Satake (1997) notes, sofutoka ‘softening’ is a rather aggressive strategy that the speaker, vulnerable and fearful of the partner’s possible criticism, uses to silence potential disagreement.

Generational Variations and Language Change
Through time, mature Japanese speakers have lamented on how difficult it is to understand youth language. Let me cite one example from the sources discussed in this book, the television drama Long Love Letter Hyooruu Kyoo-shitsu, episode 5. Hatsuko Kawa, a female high school student hurt in a huge school explosion, is in the hospital. Asked by reporters what happened, Hatsuko answers.

Dakara nankai mo itteru n daroo ga. Te yuu ka an toki, maji sugee yurete, maji sugee kaze fuite, watashiteki ni bikkuri mitette to, maji nani ga nan da ka wakan-nee koto n natte, choo gaan to ka itte, jimen ochite, koshi utte, heddo utte, choo itee to ka omotteta, koko ni ita n da tssuu no.
I’m telling you many times. I mean, at that time, seriously it shook a lot, and it got really windy, and I was thinking, like, this is quite a surprise to me, and then I couldn’t tell what’s what; then all of a sudden with a big shock, I fell on to the ground, hit my back, and hit my head; I was feeling that this is extremely painful, and when I realized [came to], I was here, that’s what I’m telling you.

The two middle-aged reporters, completely perplexed, turn around, face the camera, and confess that they didn’t understand a word of what she was saying (Nani o itteru n da. Sukoshimo wakara-nai. ‘What is she saying? I don’t understand it at all’). This speech contains many features of youth language: te yuu ka
‘to tell the truth’, *maji* ‘seriously’, *watashiteki ni* ‘to me personally’, *choo* ‘super’, *heddo* ‘head’, *choo itee* ‘super painful’ and *tsuu no* ‘I’m telling you’. Youth language is likely to be received with amazement by the mature population.

Note also that although this is an utterance made by a female student, her speech bears features stereotypically associated with more assertive “masculine” style. She is portrayed as a bad student and her speech style helps characterize her as a bad, boylike, wild youth.

As has always been the case, today’s youth language is likely to become tomorrow’s dead one. But some elements will stay and be accepted more or less as ordinary speech. Many expressions introduced in this book represent these cases. They include *mukatsuku* (Entry 10), *choo* (Entry 24), *te yuu ka* (Entry 44), *ja-nai desu ka* (Entry 47), *mitaina* (Entry 64), *maji* (Entry 67), and *tsuu no* (Entry 73). To a student of the Japanese language, these expressions are as important as traditional expressions, because they have become integrated into standard casual speech. But although stylistic judgments vary among Japanese speakers, some of the youth-associated expressions in this book are often considered more vulgar than others. These expressions are marked with (v).

I should add two well-known changes to the Japanese language that are currently underway, namely, *ra*-deletion and *sa*-insertion. *Ra*-deletion is a phenomenon observed among relatively young speakers, who delete *ra* from the verb potential form. Instead of *taberareru* ‘can eat’, for example, *tabereru* is used. Although some people see merit in this shift, pointing out that it helps distinguish the potential meaning from the passive and respectful meanings that are associated with the *rareru* form, there is still significant resistance to its legitimacy.

Another phenomenon is *sa*-insertion, in which *sa* is inserted in the causative form (unless already present). For example, instead of *kaeraseru* ‘to let someone return’, *kaerasaseru* is used. This form is largely used in causative-plus-*itadaku* expressions, as in *Dewa kaerasasete-itadakimasu* ‘Well then, I will be leaving now’. Or a person may say very politely *Yomasasete-itadakimasu* ‘I will read it with your permission’ instead of *Yomasete-itadakimasu*.

It is thought that *sa*-insertion and the use of the *sa*-inserted expression add to politeness, and this style was initially used in the service industry. For example, when the person in charge calls out customers’ names, he or she may say *Dewa onamae o yobasasete-itadakimasu* ‘Then, let me call your names now’ instead of using *oyobi shimasu*. There is a tendency to believe that the longer the expression, the more polite it becomes. Accordingly, adding *sa* in the causative plus *te-itadaku* expression conveys politeness, although again this expression is disapproved by some of the more mature population.

Language is continually in flux, and a book like this one can capture only a certain moment in time. Consequently, it is important for the student of the language to remain attuned to what is current. In Japan, publications that com-
ment on the latest popular expressions (including youth language) are easily available (for example, Shueisha’s *Imidas* and Asahi Shinbunsha’s *Asabi gendai yoogo jiten chiezoo*, both published annually). It is not difficult to find Internet sites where youth language (*wakamono kotoba*) is discussed by professional linguists as well as by the general public.

**Regional Variations**  
Although there are many regional dialects in Japan, the major, important dialect divisions are between the Ryukyuan dialects (of Okinawa) and the mainland dialects. Mainland dialects are customarily divided into three large groups: eastern Japan, western Japan, and Kyushuu. There are, however, major differences between the eastern group on the one hand and the western and Kyushuu group on the other.

Students who travel to the Kansai area (which includes Kyoto, Osaka, and Kobe) will find significant differences in the use of the Japanese language from those who go to the Kantoo area (Tokyo and its vicinities). The language of the Kansai area is called the “Kansai dialect” (*Kansai-ben*), and, more restrictedly, the “dialect of Osaka” (*Oosaka-ben*). It shows some contrast with the dialect of the Kantoo area, or Tokyo speech.

The principal differences are in some vocabulary, in certain word formations (for example, in verb conjugations), and in the tone system. For example, the verb form *Moo haratta* ‘I already paid’ in Tokyo speech is *Moo haroota* in Kansai dialect. Adverbs also differ: *Takaku natta* ‘It became expensive’ in Tokyo speech is *Takoo natta* in Kansai dialect. For the negative *nai* in Tokyo speech, the Kansai dialect uses *n* or *hen*, as in *Kyoo wa ika-nai* ‘I won’t go today’ versus *Kyoo wa ika-n* or *Kyoo wa ikahen*. The tone system difference between the two varieties is also quite noticeable. For example, *ko-ko-ro* ‘heart’ is pronounced in Tokyo with low-high-low tone, and with high-low-low tone in Osaka. Likewise, *a-ta-ma* ‘head’ is pronounced in Tokyo with low-high-high tone, and with high-high-low tone in Osaka. A survey of the major differences between eastern, western, and Kyushuu varieties appears in Table 1.

Although regional dialects thrive in contemporary Japan, most people are able to switch to the so-called Tokyo speech, the dialect given prestige as the speech variety common among all speakers. Most of the media follow Tokyo speech, except in certain entertainment industries, where the Kansai dialect may be used. (Refer to Table 2 for a list of representative Kansai dialect expressions.) Among Japanese speakers, the ideal speech is thought to be the kind that NHK (Nihon Hoosoo Kyookai, the public broadcasting service in Japan) announcers use in reading the daily news. It is a good idea to listen to their Japanese as a model for the most acceptable accent, speed, and tone of the Japanese language.
**Table 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Eastern</th>
<th>Western</th>
<th>Kyuushuu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Be-verb</td>
<td>虹だ</td>
<td>虹だ</td>
<td>虹だ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past tense</td>
<td>払った</td>
<td>払った</td>
<td>払った</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>書かない</td>
<td>書かない</td>
<td>書かない</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive</td>
<td>している</td>
<td>している</td>
<td>している</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causative</td>
<td>行かせる</td>
<td>行かせる</td>
<td>行かせる</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Command</td>
<td>起きろ</td>
<td>起きろ</td>
<td>起きろ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volitional</td>
<td>来よう</td>
<td>来よう</td>
<td>来よう</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverb</td>
<td>寒く</td>
<td>寒く</td>
<td>寒く</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entry</th>
<th>Kansai dialect</th>
<th>Tokyo speech</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 (d)</td>
<td>カッコええ</td>
<td>カッコいい</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 (a)</td>
<td>あかん</td>
<td>だめだ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 (a)</td>
<td>まちごうた</td>
<td>まちがった</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 (a)</td>
<td>失敗や</td>
<td>失敗だ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 (a)</td>
<td>感じじゃないねん</td>
<td>感じじゃないのよ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 (f)</td>
<td>タイプやから</td>
<td>タイプだから</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 (f)</td>
<td>タイプやんか、あいつは</td>
<td>タイプだろう、あいつは</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 (d)</td>
<td>なんぼでも</td>
<td>いくらでも</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66 (c)</td>
<td>勝ってしまうような</td>
<td>勝ってしまうような</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68 (c)</td>
<td>宣伝やってるような</td>
<td>宣伝やってるじゃない、宣伝やってるだろう</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 (g)</td>
<td>つないでもうねん</td>
<td>つないでもうのよ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73 (c)</td>
<td>言ってるなんか</td>
<td>言ってるじゃないか、言ってるだろう</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74 (h)</td>
<td>女やわ</td>
<td>女だな</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74 (h)</td>
<td>女やでえ</td>
<td>女でなあ、女でねえ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77 (d)</td>
<td>そうだ</td>
<td>そうだよ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77 (d)</td>
<td>ええ</td>
<td>いい</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77 (d)</td>
<td>乗っとった</td>
<td>乗っていた</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Kansai dialect (the Osaka dialect in particular) has been associated with comical variety shows in the media. As Kinsui (2003) notes, historically the Osaka dialect has been linked with a talkative, joking, flighty, yet practical and materialistic person. As a result, the Osaka dialect may communicate a certain stereotypical character as well.

A conversation segment taken from a television variety show, *Doomoto Tsuyoshi no shojoiki shinbun*, hosted by Tsuyoshi Doomoto (male, b. 1979) presents an example of variability in the Japanese language. He is a talent/singer (a member of the singer/dancer duo KinKi Kids) born in Nara and speaks the Kansai dialect as one of his routine speech varieties. In this show, Tsuyoshi invites a guest, Sakura Uehara (female, b. 1977 in Tokyo, with whom he had worked six years before) as a guest, and they visit a beauty salon. There they give each other a shampoo, and when Doomoto pretends to be a hairstylist, the following exchange takes place.

Uehara: Honto ni nanka fuan na da kedo.
Doomoto: Daijoobu, daijoobu. Eto, toriaezu hiza ni.
Doomoto: Zasshi iroiro gozaimasu kedo.
Uehara: A nanka, moo chotto wakai ko ga miru yoona.
Doomoto: (aru zasshi o utashi nagara) Onegai shimasu.
Uehara: Chotto kyoosei ka yo.
Doomoto: (Uehara no kami o mite) Nagai naa. Nagai de.

Uehara: Really, I’m worried.
Doomoto: It’s fine, it’s all right. Uh, first, (putting this) on your lap.
Uehara: Wait, wait a minute. Isn’t it this way? You don’t know the basics at all.
Doomoto: There are several magazines here, Madam.
Uehara: Ah, do you have magazines for younger people?
Doomoto: (*handing her a magazine*) Please.
Uehara: Wait, are you forcing this on me?
Doomoto: *(looking at Uehara’s long hair)* It’s long. It’s long, really.

In this conversation, both Doomoto and Uehara use casual style for the most part, but there are some notable mixtures of politeness levels and styles. Regarding the variations Doomoto uses, note (1) the supra-polite expression, *gozaimasu kedo*, and (2) the Kansai dialect *nagai de*, which would be *nagai ne*, or *nagai yo* in Tokyo speech. Doomoto is role-playing a hairstylist, so he chooses the supra-polite style, as if he were addressing a customer. A hair salon is a public space, and often requires formal speech. He also uses *nagai de*, which shows a contrast with the immediately preceding expression *nagai naa*. When Doomoto inserts the Kansai dialect, the viewer is reminded of his regional identity and his self-revealing attitude.

Uehara uses the variations (1) *natte-nai desu* and (2) *kyoosei ka yo*. *Natte-nai desu* goes against the ongoing casual style. This formal style is chosen in association with enacting a stylist-client role relationship at a hair salon. The style chosen in *kyoosei ka yo* is a challenge to what Doomoto is doing; for that purpose, the very blunt style stereotypically associated with more assertive “masculine” speech is useful. Conversational interaction is filled with many speech variations and varieties. Through the combination of all these, speakers express their emotion and their desire for empathy.

The Rhetoric of Pathos

The characteristics of the Japanese language discussed so far in Chapters 1 and 2 and other expressive features to be introduced in this book do not exist as a result of coincidence. Language usage is cohesive; it reflects certain underlying preferences and tendencies of the culture of which it is a part. In a series of earlier works (S. Maynard 1998b, 2000, 2001a, 2002), I have characterized these preferences in the Japanese language by the term “Rhetoric of Pathos.” *Pathos*, along with its two other complementary elements, *logos* and *ethos*, are terms from Aristotelian rhetoric. In the classical sense, *logos* refers to rational arguments, and *ethos*, to the presentation of the speaker’s character and personality, especially the person’s reliability. *Pathos* refers to an appeal to the feelings of the audience. In Japanese, the importance of rhetoric is often placed on *pathos* and on the play of emotion in the partner’s feelings.

I have made this point based on a variety of characteristics observed in the Japanese language and its use. For one, unlike the English language, which prefers to describe events in terms of an [agent-does] structure, the Japanese language prefers to express events in terms of a [topic-comment] relationship. The
[agent-does] structure captures the event as action, that is, someone does something to someone. In the [topic-comment] structure, the speaker’s personal emotion and attitude become relatively more prominent. In English, the [agent-does] structure is so strong that even the possession of something is expressed by it, as in “Tanaka has two children.” In Japanese, an existential sentence is used instead, as in (Tanaka-san ni wa) kodomo ga futari iru ‘(As for Tanaka) there are two children’. In the Japanese version, the topic ‘Tanaka’ is introduced first, and the state related to Tanaka is offered as a (personal) comment.

The Rhetoric of Pathos also prefers, as Y. Ikegami (1981, 1991) points out, to describe events in terms of [something-becomes], rather than in terms of [agent-does]. An expression such as Rokugatsu ni kekkon suru koto ni naimashita ‘It has become that we will be getting married in June’ is a case in point. Instead of describing events as “an individual does something,” in some situations, the Japanese language prefers to describe the event as “a state becomes.” According to Jinnai (1998: 124), the ni narimasu expression is preferred by the general public as being soft, polite, and generally pleasing. Also, as is represented by the use of kekkon suru koto, there is a preference in Japanese toward nominalization of the event. The nominalized event readily provides a topic that, in turn, encourages personal commentary to follow. In this way Japanese expressions tend to avoid the rigid [agent-does] structure. Instead, sentences are often constructed with relatively fluid and shifting points of view, which ultimately foreground shared emotion and empathy.

Discourse organization follows the topic-comment order on paragraph as well as textual levels. An essay-like rhetorical movement, ki-sho-ten-ketsu, also encourages shared feelings (see S. Maynard 1998a). Above all, discourse itself aims to create empathy on the basis of speaker’s and partner’s shared experience.

The Rhetoric of Pathos also reveals the fundamental force that pulls the Japanese language toward a certain point of view. In Japanese, there is a marked tendency to mistrust the persuasive potential of words. Language itself is not enough for communication; instead, shared feelings are assumed. In the Rhetoric of Pathos, the way to persuade others is not to argue outright, but to share a topic thrown into the discourse as a target of emotion. Speaker and partner, by sharing the emotional target from the same perspective, co-experience the feelings.

The language emerging here is a language of feelings, one that does not necessarily praise the persuasive argument. Unlike communication in which arguments are exchanged in a dialogue, Japanese rhetoric sometimes emerges as a confession of feelings not unlike a monologue. Certain utterances are not made to declare a position in opposition to a partner’s. Rather, the Japanese speaker’s sense of self is anchored privately, as if in a monologic world, but still the speaker reaches the partner through emotion and empathy. Once that monologic world
has been shared, its interpretation is heavily dependent on the partner and the place of communication.

When a speaker of the Japanese language expresses thoughts and feelings in social interaction, it becomes important that he or she give regard to the partner so that the partner will co-experience emotion and empathy. Through dialogue the speaker and partner hope to draw closer and share the moment in empathy. For Japanese speakers, language serves to facilitate this co-experience of the world. This is so even when speaker and partner are in conflict. Solutions are often sought not so much through constructive criticism and persuasive argument in a dialogic process, as through emotional reconciliation.

Not to mislead the reader, I must emphasize that the Japanese language is perfectly capable of describing events as [agent-does], and in fact this structure occurs frequently. It predominates in such genres as legal documents, procedural manuals, news reports, research papers, and so on. The Japanese language is certainly capable of using logical and cohesive arguments to carry on a debate, for example. Occasionally Japanese is wrongly criticized for being “illogical.” It is important to avoid the misunderstanding that the Japanese language lacks the capacity for logical discourse.

I must also emphasize that the Rhetoric of Pathos is not something that is available only in Japanese. Every language possesses emotion words, expressive strategies, and its Rhetoric of Pathos. Emotion and empathy are important ingredients of every human communication and social interaction.

Still, it is abundantly apparent that in ordinary Japanese discourse, the Rhetoric of Pathos is at work in significant ways. The Japanese language encourages certain forms of the Rhetoric of Pathos, and discourse as a whole makes it possible for speakers to share the kind of emotion and empathy encouraged by their community. When one looks at language from the perspective of pathos, often-ignored features stand out. The Rhetoric of Pathos, when applied to Japanese discourse, offers a constructive approach that enables students to focus on expressive Japanese and guides them to learn characteristics of the Japanese language that they have not fully explored before.
3

On Entries

Organization of Each Entry

Each entry is titled with an English cue. The cues are: (1) descriptions of feelings for which comparable Japanese expressions are presented; (2) specific communication functions associated with certain situations for which Japanese strategies are given; or (3) grammatical and interactional categories associated with different expressive strategies. Each English cue is followed by a list of Japanese key expressions, or occasionally a term related to the entry. These key expressions in Japanese are equivalent to or match, to various degrees, what is presented in the English cue. Primary and frequently used key expressions are presented for each entry. There is some overlap among cues, key expressions, and examples. (The reader is encouraged to refer to the indexes.) Some cross-references to other related entries accompany the examples for reference and review.

The main body of each entry consists of explanation and examples. In most cases, explanation is supplemented by two kinds of examples, my own and those taken from authentic sources. Almost all entries come with one or more of the 179 examples I have created; authentic examples, which total 479, appear in all entries. The authentic examples are helpful for understanding how the key expressions are used in context. All examples appear with situational information. Some are in dialogue form, while others are non-conversational written passages.

For those examples I have created, I give the following demographic information. Female speakers are identified as f1 and f2, and male speakers as m1 and m2. Each speaker is identified as c (child, 5–12 years old), t (teenage, 13–19 years old), y (young adult, 20–35 years old), a (mature adult, 36–65 years old) and s (senior, more than 65 years old). The speaker (my1), for example, is a young, adult male and the first speaker with that designation. The marking
(my1a) is such a speaker’s first speech in the conversation. The final letter indicates a speaker’s turn and is used only when multiple turns are taken by the same speaker.

For each authentic example, the source is identified, and situational context is provided with specific speaker names. Authentic examples illustrate the context in which the expression is actually used, validating the explanation provided. Some entries come with a note or an additional information section containing information pertinent to the emotion words and expressive strategies under discussion. Supplemental examples also appear in these sections.

Japanese expressions are presented in the normal script, combining hiragana, katakana, and kanji. Sometimes the same phrase may appear in different scripts; this variation is conventionalized in the Japanese print media, and accordingly, I have used varied scripts. When the original text is accompanied by hiragana readings (furigana or yomigana), they are reproduced as they appear. Each sentence is followed by a romajji transliteration. Romanization follows the Hepburn style, but has these slight variations: (1) long vowels are represented by double vowels; (2) the glottal stop is represented by  tong instead of a double consonant (itchi instead of icchi); and (3) syllabic n, when followed by a vowel, is presented as  (ren’ai). The utterance-final glottal stop transcribed as a small  in Japanese is spelled out as  tt. Japanese words in English follow the Romanization unless the words are conventionalized; accordingly,  Tokyo appears in the Romanization but Tokyo in the English translation. In the transliteration, phrases are divided for convenience only. Each sentence is followed by an English translation. English translations are all mine, unless otherwise noted. When translating into English, I followed the original Japanese as closely as possible, but I do not intend my translation to be the only acceptable version. Other translations are certainly possible, and my translations are provided primarily to help clarify the meaning.

Sources of Authentic Examples

This book contains many examples taken from various genres. I have collected these examples with the purpose of conscientiously assembling a broad sample of what is available in contemporary Japanese discourse. Language becomes meaningful in a given situation. Without that specificity, explanation becomes vague and abstract. This is particularly true in the case of expressive Japanese. Because expressive Japanese communicates emotion and empathy, it is less effective if explained in abstract descriptive terms alone. Authentic examples show how expressive Japanese is used by specific speakers in particular situations.

By observing and interpreting expressive Japanese in multiple situations
depicted in different genres, it is possible to gain insight into the patterns and characteristics of its use. The authentic examples contain the kinds of expressions with which the emotion words and expressive strategies under discussion frequently occur. Learning these expressions along with the specific expressive Japanese is important, because this is how the language is actually used. Through the repeated observation of similar situations, it is possible to increase one’s understanding of how emotion words and expressive strategies help define the feelings that emerge in Japanese discourse.

Familiarizing yourself with authentic examples is also helpful for appreciating how the Japanese language is creatively (and sometimes playfully) used in real-life communication. In general the examples created by textbook writers are purposefully controlled, so they often lack variability, surprise, creativity, and boldness. To remedy that problem, for this volume I deliberately sought out real-life examples taken from authentic situations. The reader will find in many authentic examples lively voices of emotion that echo Japanese speakers’ feelings.

I have chosen authentic examples from different genres available in the media. First, I draw examples from several television dramas. Twenty or so new dramas are aired four times a year, depicting various aspects of Japanese lives, among them romance, family, business, crime, and school situations. The social significance of these dramas is evident. They are reported in various media events that include press releases well in advance and photo events introducing starring actors/actresses. Their ratings are carefully followed and reported in media-related magazines and on Internet Web sites.

Obviously language spoken in drama is not the kind that naturally occurs. But the language used in popular television dramas is a part of the speech culture, a speech created for mass consumption, and is indeed shared among the masses. Mizuhara (1999) mentions that among all forms of drama, television dramas most resemble ordinary speech (compared to plays and movies), although with the caveat that differences between ordinary speech and dramatic discourse always exist. Kumagai (2003) also recognizes the advantages of using television dramas for the study of Japanese language and comments on the usefulness of the contemporary television dramas I analyzed in S. Maynard (2001a). Koyano (1996) points out that the relationship between natural speech and speech used in Japanese contemporary television drama is bidirectional, with one influencing the other.

The actual speech appearing in a drama results from decisions made by multiple players—playwright, director, producer, and actors. Their decisions are often based on how the naturalness and easiness of the speech will be readily understood by the general audience. Language in a televised drama is thus both influenced by and sensitive to ordinary speech. Because of the close association between the language of television dramas and ordinary language, many of the examples taken from dramas in this book offer a rich source for expressive Japanese.
I have also chosen four popular television variety shows. First is SMAP x
SMAP, a variety show featuring the five-man singer/dancer group SMAP. The
two shows I have chosen were aired live with minimum editing, and the men in the
group were in their mid- to late twenties at the time. Some of the speech samples
are representative of speech variations typically used by young men, as members
of SMAP address other members of the group, guests, the studio audience of
two-hundred female fans, and the general television audience. Second, from the
television reality-variety show Aïnori I have selected two specific episodes. Aï-
norí documents how people in their mid- to late twenties interact (particularly in
love relationships) during their around-the-world tour in a van. Their casual talk
is a good linguistic sampling of young adults’ speech. Third are two episodes from
a celebrity-and-guest variety show, Doomoto Tsuyoshi no shoojiki shindoi. In
this program, Tsuyoshi Doomoto (age 24) invites guests from the entertainment
industry and interacts with them. He mixes the Kansai dialect in his speech, and
his language represents that of young adults. The last television program, San-
taku, was chosen from the television talk show genre. Santaku is a program in
which two celebrities, Sanma Akashiya (age 48) and Takuya Kimura (age 30),
chat, play, and otherwise publicly act out their friendship.

From the entertainment-oriented print media come different kinds of comics.
Comics are known to contain emotionally tense moments. Although the language
in comics differs from naturally occurring language, it has its advantages. Select vis-
ual signs accompanying verbal expressions provide useful contextual information
for understanding expressive Japanese. I also cite different kinds of novels—ro-
mance novels, mystery novels, and general novels. In these genres, emotion words
and expressive strategies tend to appear less frequently. When the narrator tells the
story, and when direct quotations appear, useful examples can be found. For very
advanced students, Kanjoo hyoogen jiten by Akira Nakamura (1979) offers a
Japanese dictionary of emotion words collected from modern Japanese novels.

Among published dialogues, I have chosen taidan interviews (printed in a
magazine). The taidan is an up-close and personal interview in which revelations
into the character of the person being interviewed are expected. Because it is a
written and published record, it does not directly reflect naturally occurring con-
versation. Those interviewed, however, include people of different generations
with varied backgrounds, and their speech styles provide a useful resource.

I have also made use of essays, nonfiction, and newspaper articles. First I col-
clected short essays written by several contemporary writers from magazines. Many of these essays are written in a speechlike style, and it is not difficult to find
expressive strategies in them. Then I selected a collection of essays by a novelist/
essayist, in which the author emphasizes the importance of human emotions. I
also quote from nonfiction in which the writer reports on his (dangerous) trip
abroad and shares his thoughts and feelings about various scenes and events.
As for newspaper articles, I have taken articles available on-line, reporting the collision of two vessels that occurred in early 2001. Because of the tragedy involved, emotions play an important part in these news reports. In addition, I collected some examples from the bulletin boards of Internet Web sites, where emotional messages are abundant.

Because examples from a single novel or a movie, or a single speaker or a writer, for that matter, would probably show only a limited use of the Japanese language, I was at pains to collect examples from a variety of sources. It is impossible to observe every possible use, however, so I have made a conscientious effort to collect representative samples that should be useful for pedagogical purposes from contemporary ordinary Japanese language.

In each entry, authentic examples are presented in the same order as key expressions. When many examples are associated with the same key expression, they are presented in the order in which the sources have been enumerated above. The one exception is that examples from Internet bulletin boards are placed before all others.

Some of the works have published English translations, which I used whenever available. For television dramas, comics, and novels, summary plots with main characters are provided in the Appendix. Also included in the Appendix is a brief description of each data source, along with detailed information regarding media sources and publishers. Throughout this book, authentic sources are specified by title (for television dramas, television variety shows, novels, non-fiction), by dialogue number (for interview dialogues), or by writer’s last name (for essays).

All sources from which I draw examples are well known in the Japanese media and publishing industry. It is not difficult to obtain additional information on these sources through published books, comic books, videotapes, DVDs, and Internet Web sites. Television stations’ Web sites lead you to drama series and variety shows, and comic books host their own Web sites. Novels, comics, and related materials are widely available at bookstores and dot-com bookstore sites. Videotapes and DVDs of television dramas are available for purchase at video outlets and dot-com stores. Emotion words and expressive strategies contained in this book appear frequently in other related (and unrelated) works of similar genres as well. Students interested in finding other examples or students prepared to study other samples of discourse should explore the many works available in the Japanese media.

Terms Related to Intimacy, Social Territory, and Self-Revelation

When discussing expressive Japanese, it is perhaps useful to consider three interlocking aspects, namely, the sense of intimacy, the concept of social territory,
and ways of revealing oneself in relation to the partner. These aspects intermingle with how emotion and empathy are expressed and shared, and it is always a good idea to gauge these elements of human relationships when revealing feelings and attitude.

First, the sense of intimacy is often experienced in Japanese as *amae* ‘sweet dependency’, which refers to a psychological and emotional sense of dependency. *Amae* is etymologically related to *amai* ‘sweet’ and refers to sweet, tender, and all-forgiving (parental, particularly mother’s) love. *Amae* is the warm, all-accepting, dependent relationship Japanese people enjoy with intimates. It is felt not only in childhood, but, more important, throughout a person’s lifetime. *Amae* above all involves the desire to be (passively) cared for by another. At least two persons must be involved; one to seek dependence, and the other to accept it. Once the *amae* relationship has been established, one can be selfish and dependent, yet still be accepted and forgiven. *Amae* can be seen as a kind of social contract that allows emotions to be freely expressed with approval and tolerance. When such a relationship is recognized by both parties, their interaction changes. For example, interactional particles are frequently used, familiar and friendly vocatives appear, and a somewhat selfish way of demanding is likely to be accepted. *Amae* promotes certain emotion words and expressive strategies, and *amae*-seeking expressions further reinforce and nurture the intimate relationship.

While the desire for intimacy is a common human experience, most people also want to maintain a certain distance. Dependency on others conflicts with the desire for independence. The sense of *amae* nurtured among Japanese speakers comes in various varieties and intensities. Although not everyone finds comfort in being dependent to the same degree, the *amae* relationship is common enough to be useful for understanding expressive Japanese.

The concept of social territory is also important in expressive Japanese. The style and manner in which one expresses emotion and empathy often depend on awareness of social territory. Traditionally, two territories are recognized, *uchi* and *soto*.

*Uchi* ‘in, inside, internal, private, hidden’ and *soto* ‘out, outside, external, public, exposed’ refer to social and psychological spaces identified among Japanese speakers. Speakers belonging to an identical group usually consider themselves *uchi* members. In fact, Japanese speakers refer to their work affiliation as *uchi no kaisha* ‘our company’, for example. Also, as a self-referencing term, *uchira* ‘we, the members of a group’ is used, implying the significance of group unity. *Uchi* members share a sense of intimacy and are likely to use expressive Japanese more freely among themselves.

Speakers outside the *uchi* group are *soto* persons. Japanese speakers tend to use more formal and distant expressions toward *soto* persons. For example,
when a person meets someone new who represents an unfamiliar company, this someone is a *soto* person, and is spoken to formally.

All cultures offer methods (linguistic and other) for distinguishing between those who are familiar and those who are not. But for Japanese speakers, whether or not the partner is an *uchi* member is important. Choice of style largely depends on the *uchi/soto* distinction. Many features of expressive Japanese are more frequently and extensively used among *uchi* members. And using emotive words and expressive strategies enhances the sense of belonging to the same social territory. As a result, expressive Japanese can be a tool for increasing intimacy and for enhancing the sense of *uchi* membership.

The *uchi* and *soto* worlds are by no means fixed. For example, at a party held for graduates of the same university, everyone considers himself or herself an *uchi* member. But among these, those who used to belong to the same association (say, a skiing club) during the same year consider themselves *uchi* members and the others *soto* members. The style and the manner in which one communicates depend on multiple *uchi* and *soto* spaces that fluctuate depending on the immediate context of the situation.

In human interaction, emotion may override established social conventions, so that some emotion words and expressive strategies can sometimes be used toward strangers. The relationship between social territory and use of expressive Japanese is not necessarily predetermined. It fluctuates and is manipulated as well.

As for self-revelation, the Japanese speaker who both feels intimate with the partner and locates himself or herself in the same social territory is most likely to express true feelings. Where the relationship is one of trust, people naturally reveal more of their inner selves than otherwise.

Japanese speakers are known to distinguish between *tatemae* ‘principles, public face’ and *honne* ‘(private) true thought and feelings’. *Tatemae* is something that a person should follow based on conventionalized principles and social expectations. *Honne*, however, is what lies deep in one’s heart. It refers in particular to a person’s inside and to what a person truly thinks and feels. For speakers of the Japanese language, it is important to maintain *tatemae* in many public situations, but it is equally important to express *honne* to people who share intimacy and social territory.

Expressive Japanese often reveals *honne*, the emotion usually closely guarded in one’s heart. Of course, a speaker may use emotion words and expressive strategies as a manipulative tool implying different levels of *tatemae* and *honne*. People may, for example, pretend to be drunk and reveal emotion straightforwardly even when that kind of act is inappropriate and not easily tolerated by the recipient. It is also true that people lie by insisting that they are revealing *honne*. Nonetheless, the distinction between *tatemae* and *honne* is sensitively associated with how one goes about sharing emotion and empathy.