Submergence of lexically encoded egocentricity in syntax: The case of subjective emotion predicates in Japanese*

Harumi Minagawa
The University of Auckland

In Japanese, subjective emotion predicates such as *kanashii* 'sad' and *tsurai* 'painful' are exclusively used to describe the inner state of the speaker, reflecting a highly subjective construal. This study investigates systematically how emotion is expressed in formal but confidential narrative texts, in which the egocentric perspective normally conveyed by these predicates would be inappropriate. In the data examined, subjective predicates occurred very infrequently in the form of direct assertions. Instead, a range of syntactic structures is used which reflect a departure from a subjective construal; the emotion is either presented as severed in some way from the experiencer or a separate reporting self emerges, distanced from the experiencing self. These syntactic structures reflect a less egocentric, more objective construal of emotion, suitable for this narrative genre. In this way, syntax is shown to work to obscure the linguistic privilege lexically encoded in subjective emotion predicates in Japanese.

Areas of interest: subjectivity, general syntax

1. Introduction

Japanese is said to be a subjective language in which the distinction between ego and other is prominently reflected in language use and the speaker tends to adopt a highly subjective stance.[1] There is a range of lexical and grammatical items that reflect this strong link to the speaker's involvement in a state/event and their reference point for reporting it, be it spatial, temporal, social or evaluative. In Standard Japanese, three devices often given as examples of indices of this strongly subjective perspective are spatial deictics, verbs of giving, and honorific

[1] Ikegami (2005, pp. 137–138), for example, asserts that the distinction between one's own perspective and that of the other is more prominent in Japanese compared to some other languages. Morita (1995, p. 77) characterizes the Japanese language as having a strong contrast between forms that are used to talk about the inner reality of the self and that of the other. Iwasaki (1992, p. 13) also discusses a clear distinction between "self" and "other" reflected in certain areas of language use in Japanese.

verbs [see for example Hirose (2013), Ikegami (2005), Ikegami (2007), Iwasaki (1992), Morita (1995), Ōe (1975), Sawada (1993) and Uehara (2011)]. Among these linguistic indices of the subjective perspective in Japanese there is a category of predicates that are often seen as exclusively describing the internal state or mental process of the speaker. These subjective predicates express meanings such as physical sensations, thoughts and feelings, and desires.

Predicates of this type cannot be used in the unmarked form to describe the inner state of a third person. By 'unmarked form' I refer to sentences where the subjective predicates occur as a simple assertion in the predicative position of the main clause (in either plain or polite form):

<feelings>
(1) *Watashi-wa/*Tanaka-san-wa   kanashii.*[2]
    I-TOP/PN-TOP   be.sad[3]
    'I /*Mr. Tanaka am/is sad.'

(2) *Watashi-wa/*Tanaka-san-wa   soo   omou.*
    I-TOP/PN-TOP   so   think
    'I /*Mr. Tanaka think(s) so.'

<desires>
(3) *Watashi-wa/*Tanaka-san-wa mizu-ga   nomi-tai.*
    I-TOP/PN-TOP   water-NOM   drink(INF)-want
    'I/*Mr. Tanaka want(s) to drink water.'

I will use the term 'subjective construal' to refer to the construal that motivates the speaker to report their own experience from the perspective from which they are experiencing a certain inner state.[4] As these subjective predicates are used exclusively to describe the inner state of the first person in the unmarked form, the syntactic subject generally does not even appear overtly (Ikegami, 2007, p. 27; Uehara, 2011, p. 76). This lack of an overt first-person subject strongly

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[2] Examples used in this study without a source given were written or modified from authentic examples by the current author.

[3] Abbreviations used are as follows: NOM, Nominative; ACC, Accusative; GEN, Genitive;, DAT, Dative; TOP, Topic; SP, Speech particle; QUO, Quotation; NMLZ, Nominalizer; COP, Copula; Q, Question; PN, Personal name; POL, Polite; INF, Infinitive; ROOT, Root of a predicate; SPON, Spontaneous; PST, Past; CONJ, Conjunctive; ADV, adverbial; ADVLZ, Adverbializer; RELVZR, Relativizer; CONJ, linking form of a predicate; PRED, Predicate; and INF, Infinitive. The copula after the inflectional adjective is marked as POL rather than COP as its function is simply a politeness marker. The case particle *ni* is sometimes glossed as DAT and sometimes glossed with prepositions such as 'to,' 'for' or 'in' depending on the example.

[4] In light of the construal relationship proposed by Langacker (1985, pp. 120–127 and 1987, pp. 128–132), Ikegami (2007) explains that, in a subjective construal, "the conceptualizer entity is undifferentiated into the two roles of viewer and viewed" (p. 22).

reinforces the lack of distinction between the self as reporter and the self as participant, and thus strengthens the sense of subjective construal.

Note, however, that although these predicates cannot usually describe the inner state of a third person, in certain contexts they can actually be used to do so. For example, a subjective predicate can be used in a literary context to describe the emotion of a third person protagonist. Kuroda (1973, p. 382) discusses the fact that a writer "can enter each character's mind" and speak from the point of view of the experiencer. This is a case of a merge of the consciousness of two people, i.e., the reporter and the actual experiencer of the inner state.

Narrowing our discussion now to the subcategory of subjective predicates that express thoughts and feelings (which I will call 'subjective emotion predicates' in this study), the discussion above would suggest that it is normally appropriate to express emotion with a subjective emotion predicate as long as the experiencer is the speaker. Maynard (2005, p. 13) argues that although Japanese people may be thought of as reserved about the expression of emotion in formal situations where they "must show politeness," this is not the case in casual situations. In her informative book for language learners on how Japanese express emotion, Maynard presents a wealth of authentic examples of Japanese subjective emotion expressions in casual language:

(4) *Maa, kowai   waa.* (Maynard, 2005, p. 97)
    oh   be.scared   SP
    'Oh, (I) am scared.'
(5) *Urayamashii   naa.* (Maynard, 2005, p. 100)
    be.envious   SP
    '(I) am envious!'

In (4) and (5) a subjective construal is communicated with the unmarked form of these adjectival predicates as a simple assertion. Maynard's examples indicate that it is acceptable to simply assert one's emotional state from an egocentric perspective in an intimate discourse.

However, how would these predicates, which assume such a strong egocentricity to the extent that they do not even require an overt first-person subject, be used in a situation where explicit egocentric assertion may be inappropriate or needs to be reserved? In a discourse environment certain discourse devices make such a shift possible. Hirose (2013) points out that subjective emotion predicates have "linguistic superiority" because "by default, the speaker is informationally superior to the addressee" (p. 25) and that "it is precisely because of this superiority … that the speaker has to make adequate linguistic adjustments … by paying due consideration to his interpersonal relationship with the addressee" (p. 23). Hirose argues that lexico-grammatical characteristics of subjective predicates (i.e., those predicates that by default

express the inner state of the speaker) and interpersonal consideration co-exist in linguistic representations (pp. 23–24):

(6) *Ureshii   desu.* (Hirose, 2013, p. 23)
   be.happy   POL
   '(I) am happy.'
(7) *Ureshiku   omoimasu.* (Hirose, 2013, p. 23)
   be.happy (ADV)   think(POL)
   '(I) am happy.'

In (6) and (7) interpersonal consideration is superimposed on subjective expression in the linguistic representation. In Maynard's examples (4) and (5), where the emotion is asserted in an intimate context, we saw discourse particles typically used in such contexts like *waa* and *naa*, serving to reinforce the sense of subjectivity. Examples (6) and (7), on the other hand, contain discourse markers of a very different kind. Hirose notes that the polite form *desu* in (6) expresses "deference" to the addressee, and the verb *omoimasu* 'to think' in (7) shows even "more deference" (2013, p. 24), presumably because it functions not only to indicate politeness but also as a modal expression to soften the strength of the assertion. These discourse-oriented markers enable the speaker to communicate their egocentric construal in a way that is appropriately adjusted to a more formal context.

    However, are discourse-based markers, such as the politeness register and modal expressions used to soften the egocentric assertion, the only means available to mitigate the egocentric force encoded in these predicates? Langacker (1990) argues that the speaker's emotional experience, which is not perceivable, can be construed with different degrees of subjectivity/objectivity:

> … [S]uppose I experience an emotion, such as fear, desire, or elation. If I merely undergo that experience non-reflectively, both the emotion and my own role in feeling it are subjectively construed. But to the extent that I reflect on the emotional experience – by analyzing it, by comparing it to other such experiences or simply by noting that I am undergoing it – the emotion and my role therein receives a more objective construal. (Langacker, 1990, p.8)

If subjective emotion predicates in Japanese mandatorily assume a subjective construal, are there other ways in which such a construal can be objectivized to mitigate the assertion of speaker egocentricity? Syntax is generally not discussed in terms of its pragmatic role.[5] This study will highlight how a range of syntactic

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[5] Maynard (2013, pp. 48–49, pp. 51–52) briefly notes that the choice between active and passive voice, which reflects the perspective of the speaker, contributes to expressing discourse modality.

structures are used to express the speaker's emotion in a non-egotistic way, by submerging the egocentric force carried by the subjective emotion predicates. The construal that such syntactic structures convey is objective: the speaker reports their own experience from a place outside the experiencing center. This is opposite to the shift of consciousness that can occur in the literary writing style, where the writer's consciousness sometimes merges with that of the protagonist, as noted earlier. While a writer may report the emotion or feeling of a third person from the subjective perspective of the experiencer, what we are talking about here is a speaker reporting their own experience of emotion or feeling from a detached, objective stance.

2. Method, data and target expressions for this study

For this study, I have examined 166 passages from a weekly posting that appears in *Asahi Shimbun* 'The Asahi Newspaper': *Nayami no rutsubo* 'The melting pot of personal problems.' [6] This genre of text was chosen as an example of texts in which words and phrases expressing emotion were expected to be found regularly and it was likely that the speaker would feel safe to convey their authentic emotion in an anonymous, non-face-to-face, written mode of communication. [7] The correspondents post their stories in order to receive advice from a professional counsellor. I identified occurrences of subjective emotion predicates in the speakers' narratives and analyzed the syntactic patterns used that help to mitigate the assertion of the egocentric perspective. [8] Table 1 shows the breakdown of the passages by the gender and age of the writer.

The writers are predominantly female, comprising 80% of the entire data set. Usually the entry specifies the age and gender of the correspondent. However, in some cases the gender was neither specified nor deducible from the content. Out of the 166 passages examined, emotion expressions were found in 117. From these 117 passages, 217 instances of emotion expressions were collected and organized according to the syntactic patterns in which they occurred.

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[6] These passages appeared in the column between January 1 of 2010 and June 14 of 2013 (accessible on-line).

[7] I will use 'the speaker' as a generic term for the first person in this study, even though the primary data source is in written form.

[8] It must be acknowledged that there may be some professional editing before the publication of passages sent by writers. However, I assume this would be fairly minimal and not relevant for the purposes of this research.
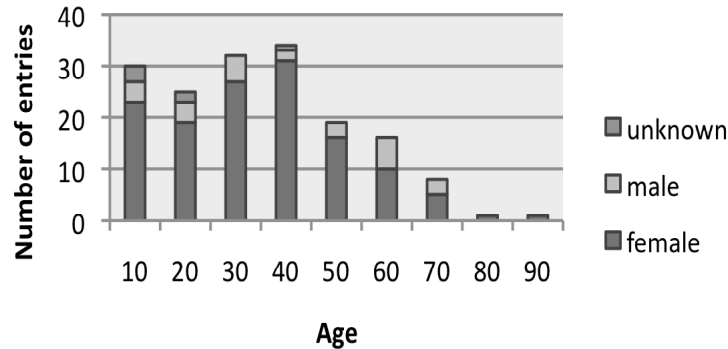
Figure 1. Breakdown of the passages by gender and age group of the writer.

The subjective emotion predicates that we are concerned with in this study are mostly adjectives and nominal adjectives, such as: *osoroshii* 'to be scared,' *urameshii* 'to be bitter,' *urayamashii* 'to be envious,' *itooshii* 'to feel affectionate,' *nikui* 'to be hateful,' *ureshii* 'to be happy,' *kurushii* 'to be in (emotional) pain,' *tanoshii* 'to enjoy,' *koishii* 'to miss,' *hazukashii* 'to be embarrassed,' *hoshii* 'to want,' the desiderative adjectival suffix *~tai*, and the nominal adjectives *iya da* 'to dislike' and *shokku da* 'to be shocked.'[9,10] Some of these take an object that is marked with the Nominative marker *ga*:

(8) *Furusato-ga   koishii.*
    hometown-NOM   be.missing
    '(I) miss my hometown.'

There are a limited number of verbs, such as *komaru* 'to be in trouble' and *omou* 'to think,' that have the same characteristics as emotion adjectives; these

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[9] There are two types of adjectives in Japanese. The first type, inflectional adjectives, has a non-past predicative form *-i* as in *kanashii* 'to be sad,' and the noun modifying form has an identical inflectional form. The predicative form of the second type, nominal adjectives, consists of a root (which is generally of Sino-Japanese origin) and the copula *da* or its polite counterpart *desu*, as in *shimpai da* 'be worried.' Their noun modifying form is signalled by the noun modifying form of the copula *-na* as in *shimpai-na*. In polite speech inflectional adjectives are also often followed by the polite form of the copula *desu* when they appear sentence finally. In this case, however, *desu* does not inflect but simply signals the polite register of the sentence.

[10] Nishio (1972, p. 21) proposes two major groups of Japanese adjectives: *kanjoo keiyōshi* 'emotion adjectives' and *zokusei keiyōshi* 'attribute adjectives.' Using the 'subjective' and 'objective' opposition, Nishio explains that the former expresses 'subjective sensations and emotions' while the latter expresses 'objective attributes/states.' He argues that the crucial criterion that separates the two types is whether they express the internal state of the speaker or not. As this criterion extends to word classes beyond 'adjectives' and to semantic categories beyond simply 'emotions,' in this paper I will use the more general term 'subjective predicates' to refer to all predicates of this group.

verbs can occur in the unmarked form to express the speaker's current inner state or process. However, when referring to a third-person's emotion/mental process, they have to be in the stativized form (see for example Teramura, 1982, p. 151). The stativized form in Japanese is made by linking the conjunctive *-te* form of a main verb to the auxiliary verb *iru*, which has been grammaticalized from a lexical verb meaning 'to exist.' Compare the following examples (2) and (2)' where the stativized form of the subjective verb *omou* has to be used to report the third person's thoughts:

(2) *_Tanaka-san-wa_   *soo*   *omou.*
      PN-TOP   so   think
      'Mr Tanaka thinks so.'
(2)' *Tanaka-san-wa*   *soo*   *omot-te*   *iru.*
      PN-TOP   so   think-CONJ   EXIST[11]
      'Mr Tanaka thinks so.'

Verbs of emotion that derive from onomatopoeic words, such as *iraira suru* 'to get irritated' and *harahara suru* 'to be worried sick,' are also of this type (Ōso, 2001, p. 22). The data used for this study also contained verbs such as *ochikomu* 'to be depressed' and *nayamu* 'to be troubled.' The argument structures of these verbs vary. While the experiencer is invariably marked by the Nominative particle *ga*, some verbs of this type require the trigger of the emotion to be marked by the Accusative particle *o* and some by the Dative particle *ni*.[12]

Note that there are some morphological pairs of verbs and adjectives such as *kanashimu* 'to grieve over' vs *kanashii* 'to be sad' and *kurushimu* 'to suffer' vs *kurushii* 'to be in (emotional) pain,' *nikumu* 'to hate' vs *nikui* 'to feel hatred,' and *shimpai suru* 'to worry' vs *shimpai da* 'to be worried.' Not only is the adjective option more suitable for describing the emotion of the speaker, but a stronger sense of emotion is also associated with the adjectival counterparts (Teramura, 1982, p. 150; Morita, 1995, p. 67; Ōso, 2001, p. 30).

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[11] Small capital letters are used to gloss the original lexical meaning of a grammaticalized auxiliary verb form.
[12] For example, the content of feeling or thought may be marked for the mental verbs *omou* 'to think' and *kanjiru* 'to think' by the Accusative particle *o*, by the adverbializing particle *to*, or by the adverbial form of an adjective. *Iraira suru* 'to get irritated,' *harahara suru* 'to be worried sick' and *nayamu* 'to be worried' would anticipate the cause of emotional reaction marked by the Dative particle *ni*. Some verbs of this type do not require either of these arguments. *Ochikomu* 'to be depressed,' for example, requires neither an object of emotion nor the cause of emotional reaction as an argument of the predicate.

3. Results and discussion

Table 1. *Expression of emotion: syntactic structures and their functions*[13]

Subjective construal		Subjective predicates in the unmarked form	34	Subjective adjectives	21
				Subjective verbs	13
Objective Construal	**Speaker-emotion rel'ship**	Lexical-level nominalization	60	a. Emotion expressed as a noun in either a derived or non-derived form	27
				b. Specific emotion expressed in a noun-modifying clause with a generic emotion word as a head noun, such as *omoi* 'feeling'	33
	Reporter at a different vantage point from experiencer	Structures used to report the third person's emotion	28	a. Stativized *–te iru* form	16 [4]
				b. The *no da* construction	12 [3]
		Structures that express the experience of emotion as being outside the control of the speaker	47	a. PRED-*te shikataganai*, etc.	16
				b. *naru* 'to become'	19 [14]
				c. Negative potential	5
				d. Spontaneous	1
				e. V-*te shimau*	6 [5]
		Clausal-level nominalization	14	a. Occurring in a nominalized clause with a head noun describing a span of time in which a certain feeling exists	7
				b. Occurring in a nominalized clause with a head noun that denotes 'self'	2
				c. Occurring in a nominal complement clause	5
		The speaker's heart being the subject	8		8
		Adverbial clauses and phrases	19	Adverbial clauses	16
				-tari -tari suru	2
				-yara -yara da	1
		Past tense	7	Past tense form	7 [1]
		Total	217		217 [27]

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[13] The numbers in square brackets indicate further cases where the structure was used in addition to primary structures. By primary structures, I refer to the objectivizing structures that occur closest to the subjective predicate. For example, the *no da* construction in the example below is counted as a secondary feature, and is thus included in the number in square brackets. The primary objectivizing structure of this example was categorized as one in which, rather than the speaker themselves, their 'heart' is presented as an experiencer of the emotion. (See 3.2.5):

(i) *Kokoro ga   itamu   no   desu*. (f.60)
    heart-NOM   hurt   NMLZ   cop(POL)
    'That my heart hurts.

Table 1 shows the syntactic structures in which emotion was expressed in the 217 cases in the data. The number of subjective emotion predicates which occurred in the unmarked form, i.e., with direct assertion of subjective construal of emotion, was 34 cases (16%), consisting of 21 cases of subjective adjectives and 13 cases of subjective verbs. As noted, I use 'unmarked form' to refer to the sentences where the subjective emotion predicates occur as simple assertion in the predicative position of the main clause, either in normal or polite form. In the rest of the cases (84%), a range of structures was used in which subjective emotion predicates were removed in some way from direct assertion, and the speaker's emotion was presented with an objective construal.

3.1. Direct assertion of subjective construal

The figures in Table 1 suggest that, in this anonymous but formal context in which the speaker feels safe to express their emotions in a written text and in which the speaker may feel they have to exercise some reservation from asserting their raw emotion, the straightforward simple assertion of a subjective construal using subjective emotion predicates—both adjectives and verbs— in the unmarked form occurred in only 34 instances (16%).[14] Note that the polite form of the copula *desu* and the polite form of the verb *masu* are used in examples (9)-(15) below. It is acknowledged that the use of polite forms mitigates the direct expression of emotion somewhat. However, I will include these forms of subjective emotion predicates in the basic category of 'unmarked' forms in this study as I understand objectivization within the scope of construal, which is expressed at the level of proposition. Below are some examples of subjective adjectives in the unmarked form. The context which each example is drawn from is given in square brackets:[15,16]

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[14] In order to compare these figures with those of predicates that are not subjective emotion predicates, 33 passages were randomly checked to find out the occurring patterns of non-subjective predicates in sentence-ending positions. A total of 172 declarative sentences were categorized into 23 syntactic types. In clear contrast to the case of the subjective emotion predicates, non-subjective predicates occurred in 'unmarked' 'non-past' assertion in 69 cases (49%). The second most frequent form was a simple 'past' tense accounting for 41 instances (24%). The next most common structure was the stativized *-te iru* (13 instances, 8%), which were used to yield progressive, resultative and habitual meanings. The non-stative alternative with these predicates would yield either an ungrammatical sentence or would change the meaning. The auxiliary verb *-te shimau* occurred in the past tense in 7 instances (4%), expressing inadvertent actions of the speaker. Each of the rest of the structures occurred in fewer than 4 instances, including the *no desu* construction, which occurred in 3 instances.

[15] Other adjectives that occurred in this construction in the data were: *kowai* 'to be scared,' *kuyashii* 'to feel bitter regret,' *setsunai* 'to be painful,' *iya da* 'do not like,' *bimyoo da* 'to feel unresolved,' *dai-kirai da* 'to dislike to a great extent,' and *fubin da* 'to feel pitiful.'

[16] There were two instances of sentences with the suffix *-tai* 'want to V,' and one with the suffix *-sugiru* 'V-too much' attached to an adjective:

(ii) *Kettobashi-te   yari-tai*. (90, f)
    kick.hard-CONJ   give(INF)-want
    '(I) want to kick him hard.'

[I have not had any meaningful communication with my boyfriend as we are in a long-distance relationship.]
(9) *Totemo   tsurai   desu.* (20, f)[17]
    very   be.painful   POL[18]
    '(I) am in great pain.'

[I have a relationship with a married man. I am happy in one sense.]
(10) *Demo, sabishii   desu.* (40, f)
    but   be.lonely   POL
    'But (I) am lonely.'

[I have been following others' advice in life so far.]
(11) *Reeru-ni notte   iki-te   iku no-ga   fuan*
    rail-DAT ride-CONJ   live-CONJ   GO NMLZ-NOM   anxious
    desu.   (10, f)
    COP(POL)
    '(I) am worried about living on the track (others lay for me).'

[I have been sexually harassed by my boss, but I have not done anything to stop further harassment.]
(12) *Jibun-no   nootenkisa-ga   shimpai   desu.* (30, f)
    self-GEN   optimism-NOM   worried   COP(POL)
    '(I) am worried about my optimism.'

The following are some examples of subjective verbs in the polite but otherwise unmarked form:

[It is always my husband that gets all the credit for everything I do for my grandchildren.]
(13) *Hara-ga   tachimasu.* (50, f)
    abdomen-NOM   stand.up(POL)
    '(I) am furious (towards him).'

(iii) *Kanashi-sugimasu.* (10, f)
    feel.sad(ROOT)-exceed(POL)
    'It's too sad.'
I consider these to be variations of a sentence where the private emotion is asserted with a subjective construal.
[17] The number indicated is the age group and 'f' or 'm' indicates the gender of the writer.
[18] I will gloss *desu* as POL when it follows an inflectional adjective, as it does not function as a fully inflectional copula in this position. Please see endnote 9 for my explanation about the two types of adjectives in Japanese.

[My husband buys so many things that make our house extremely cluttered.]
(14) *Sutoresu-o   kanjimasu.* (70, f)
    stress-ACC   feel(POL)
    '(I) feel stressed.'

[Other women seem to have a happy life protected by their husbands. I compare myself to them.]
(15) *Ochikomimasu.* (40, f)
    get.depressed(POL)
    '(I) get depressed.'

Out of the 14 cases of simple assertion of subjective verbs, six cases were of *kanjiru* 'to feel' and two of *omou* 'to think/feel,' comprising more than half of the simple assertions.[19]

3.2. Various syntactic structures where the speaker's emotion is presented with an objective construal

The rest of the syntactic structures found in the data suggest degrees of objective construal, utilizing two broad strategies. Firstly, the emotion is represented as an entity in its own right, rather than predicated of an experiencer, by nominalization on the lexical level. Secondly, the speaker adopts the perspective of a reporter, rather than an experiencer, using forms such as the *no da* construction, nominalization at the clausal level, stativization, etc.

3.2.1. Lexical-level nominalization

There were 60 cases where emotions were expressed as a noun. In these examples emotion stands on its own, portrayed as an entity, and thus the relationship with its experiencer is severed.

a. Emotion expressed as a noun in either a derived or non-derived form

There were 27 examples where emotion was expressed as either a derived or non-derived noun:

[I was emotionally abused by my parents.]
(16) *Urami-wa   kiemasen.* (20, f) (cf. *uramu* 'to resent')
    resentment-TOP   disappear-NEG(POL)
    'Resentment would not go away.'

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[19] The others were *anshin suru* 'to be relieved,' *jidanda o fumu* 'to anger,' *wakuwaku suru* 'to get excited' and *hikkakaru* 'to feel unresolved.'

[I was not close to my parents.]
(17) *Ryooshin-no   shi-ni   kanashimi-ga   wakimasen*. (30, f)
     both.parent-GEN   death-for   sadness-NOM   to surface-NEG(POL)
     'Sadness about my parents' death would not surface.'

[Our life has changed after the arrival of a baby, but my husband has not made any adjustments.]
(18) *Fuman-ga   arimasu*. (40, f) (cf. *fuman na* 'dissatisfied')
     dissatisfaction-NOM   exist(POL)
     'There is dissatisfaction.'

Once emotional states are expressed as nouns, the experiencer is absent and the speaker literally reports without associating such an experience directly with themselves.

The syntactic manipulation of nominalization has been pointed out as a means of 'distancing oneself from emotion' in areas such as English newspaper reporting and narrative therapy. Referring to the genre of media reporting, Stenvall (2008, p. 1574) states that "[w]hen, for instance, a process of feeling becomes a 'thing' [by nominalization], it might not be clear anymore, who is the one that has experienced the emotion, and what has caused it." She further states that "[n]ominalization of emotions, however, tends to distance the participants of the original process [of the feeling]" (Stenvall, p. 1577). In her criticism of traditional narrative therapy, Bird (2004, p. 17) notes that "[t]he externalising process as described and defined by narrative therapists … makes self-criticism [an example of an emotion expression] the problem, and as such centralises this construct and uses language that separates the construct from the self so that the problem is the problem not the person." In this way, sentences such as (16)-(18) literally convey: 'There is [emotion],' 'It is [emotion],' '[emotion] does this,' 'Nothing can be done to this [emotion],' etc. The relationship between the speaker and their emotion is severed and subjective construal is an irrelevant notion here.

b. Specific emotion expressed in a noun clause with a generic emotion word as a head noun, such as omoi 'feeling'
In 33 cases, subjective adjectives with a specific emotional content occurred in a nominalized clause headed by a general noun denoting 'feeling' or 'state of mind,' such as *kimochi* (19), *omoi* (7), *kibun* (2), *ki* (2), *kokochi* (1), and *shinkyoo* (2):

[The rest home that I have been placed in as an intern is understaffed and the clients are not cared for properly.]

(19) *Riyoosha-ni kega demo   s-are-te   shimau   no*
     users-DAT injury things.like do-PASS-CONJ COMPLETE NMLZ
     de wa   nai ka to   kowai   omoi   desu. (20, f)
     COP TOP not Q QUO be.scared feeling   COP(POL)
     'It is a feeling of being scared (that I have) that users might get injured.'

[My life has been a series of hardships and I foresee that it's not going to change.]

(20) *Hibi   tsura-ku   kurai   kimochi desu.* (40, f)
     every.day painful-INF   dark   feeling   COP(POL)
     'Everyday is a feeling of being painful and gloomy.'

Just as in the cases above in which the emotion is presented simply as a noun, in these cases in which the emotion adjective modifies a more general 'feeling' noun the experiencer of the emotion is again absent. Through both of these strategies involving lexical nominalization, the described emotion stands on its own and there is no overt relationship between the emotion and the experiencer, resulting in an objective construal.

In the remaining examples, which I will describe below in 3.2.2. to 3.2.7., an objective construal is achieved through a range of different strategies by which the speaker emerges as reporter rather than as experiencer of emotion.

3.2.2. Structures used to report the third person's emotion

There were 28 instances in which two of the structures which are generally said to be used to report the third person's emotion occurred to express the emotion of the speaker themselves.

a. Stativized *-te iru* form

We have seen in Section 2 that subjective emotion verbs, such as *komaru* 'to be in trouble' and *omou* 'to think,' can express the first person's feeling in the unmarked form. While there were 13 instances of these verbs in the unmarked form to report the first person's emotion in the data (see Table 1), in the other 16 cases, on the other hand, the subjective emotion verbs occurred in this stativized form. Iwasaki (1992, p. 29) states that "[t]he unmodified form [unmarked form] represents the speaker's higher degree of information accessibility such as a more certain thought or a conscious act." A speaker's choice to use the stativized form rather than the available unmarked form to express their own feelings indicates their decision to report the phenomenon as if with a lesser degree of accessibility by relinquishing their lexico-grammatical privilege:

[My boss watching erotic videos at work.]
(21) *Komat-te   imasu.* (40, f)
    be.in.trouble-CONJ   EXIST(POL)
    '(I) am in trouble.'

[My husband buys so many unnecessary things.]
(22) *Unzarishi-te   imasu.* (70, f)
    be.fed.up-CONJ   EXIST(POL)
    '(I) am fed up.'

[I feel mentally aged.]
(23) *Fuan-o   kanji-te   imasu.* (30, f)
    anxiety-ACC   feel-CONJ   EXIST(POL)
    '(I) am feeling anxiety.'

This is analogous to the case where subjective verbs that can only occur with the first person in their unmarked form can be used to describe the inner reality of the third person in their stativized form shown in (2)', cited again below:

(2)' *Tanaka-san-wa   soo   omot-te   imasu.*
    Mr. T.-TOP   so   think-CONJ   EXIST(POL)
    'Mr. Tanaka thinks so.'

b. Nominalization of the entire sentence with the 'no da construction' ('That … is the fact.')
In 12 cases the entire clause that describes the speaker's emotion is nominalized by the '*no da* construction':

[My second son had a baby recently.]
(24) *Sore-wa   ureshii   no   desu   ga….* (50, f)
    that-TOP   be.happy   NMLZ   COP(POL) but
    'That (I) feel happy is a fact, but….'

[I am not proud of my daughter who did not get into a reputable university.]
(25) *Fukoo   toshite kanjiru no   desu.* (50, f)
    unhappiness as   feel   NMLZ   COP(POL)
    'That (I) feel it as being unhappiness is a fact.'

Like the stativizing *-te iru* construction, the nominalizing *no da* construction is also often used to report the emotional state of a third person. Kuroda (1973, p. 380) refers to such a clause as a "second order" assertion. Although a subjective emotion predicate cannot express the third person's emotion in its unmarked form in (26), it can do so with the '*no da* construction' in (27):

(26) *Taroo-wa   kokyoo-ga   koishii.*
    PN-TOP   birth.place-NOM   be.missing
    'Taro misses his birth place.'

(27) *Taroo- wa   kokyoo-ga   koishii   no   da.*
    PN-TOP   birth place-NOM   be.missing   NMLZ   COP
    'That Taro misses his birth place is the fact.'

Morita (1995, p. 72) argues: "Adding *no* departs from the control of the speaker's inner reality and becomes an acknowledgement stating that there is no other way but to accept 'a state of [someone] missing [his native country]' as an indisputable fact of the external world," as in (27).

In cases such as (24) and (25), where the reporter as well as the experiencer is the speaker, what this nominalization does is to allow the speaker to report their own emotional experience as a fact external to themselves.[20, 21]

3.2.3. Structures that express the experience of emotion as being outside the control of the speaker

In a significant number of cases – 47 in all – subjective emotion predicates occur in a non-final clause, which cannot be asserted. These syntactic structures indicate that the state in which the speaker is feeling a certain emotion is brought about by an unavoidable force outside their control. This way of expressing one's emotion suggests avoidance of responsibility for the emotion on the part of the speaker. Note that compared to the structures we examined in 3.2.2, these structures mostly only allow the speaker as the experiencer. I will comment on five such structures that appeared in the data here.

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[20] There was one example where the modal auxiliary *hodo* 'extent' occurred as a sentence nominalizer just like the *no da* construction:
(iv) *Aite-o   koros-oo   ka-to   omotta   hodo   desu.* (40, f)
     other-ACC   kill-VOL   Q-QUO   thought   extent   COP(POL)
     'It is to the extent of wanting to kill my partner.'
[21] Other forms that indicate a third person's internal state include the auxiliary suffix *–garu*, which describes someone else's emotion as an externally visible phenomenon, the evidential suffixes such as *soo da* 'appears' and a use of quotation of what the third person says about their inner state. None of these other devices appeared in the data in the expression of first-person emotion. This may be due to the fact that these expressions describe an external physical appearance of the third person who is undergoing some inner experience. Objectivizing forms such as the *no da* construction and the stativizing *-te iru* construction are not associated with evoking such an external visual appearance. This study does not exclude the possibility that those expressions could also occur to report the speaker's own inner state. Further investigation will be necessary to elucidate this remaining question.

a. PRED-*te shikataganai* 'can't be helped,' etc.

In 16 cases in the data, the *–te* conjunctive form of the subjective emotion predicate is followed by phrases such as *shikataganai* and *naranai* or *tamaranai*, all expressing the inevitability of the event/state. Thus, the emotional response is conveyed as something outside the scope of the speaker's control:

[The big mistake I was held responsible for in my former job has affected my confidence for my future career.]
(28) *Shigoto-ni   tsuku   no-ga   kowaku-te*
        job-DAT   assume NMLZ-NOM   be.scared-CONJ
        shikataga arimasen. (30, f)
        cannot.help.but(POL)
        '(I) cannot help but feeling scared of getting a job.'

[My dear cat was run over by a neighbor.]
(29) *Sono sugata-o   miru to   nikuku-te   kuyashiku-te*
        that f igure-ACC see   when hate-CONJ resent-CONJ
        tamarimasen. (50, f)
        cannot.help.but(POL)
        '(I) cannot help but hating and resenting her when I see that person.'

[My father-in-law is extremely rude to his wife and even to my children.]
(30) *Fuyukai-de   narimasen*. (30, f)
        unpleasant-COP(CONJ)   cannot.help.but(POL)
        '(I) cannot help but feeling disgusted.'

One may feel there is an added sense of intensity of emotion expressed in these structures. This may be due to the sense of inevitability and uncontrollability of the event expressed by these expressions.

b. Naru 'to become'
Subjective predicates, both adjectives and nominal adjectives, occurred in the adverbial form modifying the verb *naru* 'to become' in 19 cases in the data:

[I have never been able to have a loving relationship.]
(31) *Munashi-ku   narimasu*. (20, f)
        be.empty-CONJ   become(POL)
        '(I) become empty and hopeless.'

[I do not have a close relationship with my children.]
(32) *Naka-ga   ii   oyako-o   miru   to*
relationship-NOM   be.good   parent.and.child-ACC   see   when
urayamashi-ku   narimasu. (60, f)
be.envious-CONJ   become(POL)
'(I) become envious when I see parents and children who are close.'

[I am strongly thrifty and I even get depressed when I find out that I paid even one penny more than I should have.]
(33) *Iya   ni   narimasu.* (40, f)
disgusted   COP(ADV)   become(POL)
'(I) get disgusted with myself.'

Naru 'to become' expresses that the situation of feeling a certain emotion has naturally come into existence, rather than being brought about by an agent. Ikegami (1991, p. 316) explains: "By using *naru* ('become') … an implication is given that the event in question is a natural (and almost inevitable) consequence beyond the control of … the persons involved." Itasaka (1971, p. 80) emphasizes the defocusing of the experiencer when *naru* is used with an emotion expression: "[It is] a way to perceive one's thoughts and emotions as spontaneous and to perceive them without conjuring up the subject of such experiences in the mind." If the subject of the experience is absent or defocused, then any notion of subjective construal becomes less relevant.

There were also two cases of a verb of emotion occurring with *naru*. *Naru* follows the adverbialized *yoo ni* form of verbs:

[My friends and relatives suggest that I get married.]
(34) *Ochikomu   yooni   narimashita.* (20, f)
be.depressed   like   became(POL)
'(I) have become depressed.'

c. Negative potential
Together with the spontaneous form (see d. below), verbs occurring in the negative potential form suggest that the speaker has no control over feeling a certain way, thus avoiding the responsibility for experiencing such an emotion:

[I am driven by strong sexual desire.]
(35) *Manzoku-dekimasen.*   (10, m)
satisfaction-POT-NEG(POL)
'(I) cannot feel satisfied.'

d. Spontaneous

The spontaneous 'self arising' form expresses that the event comes into being naturally by itself. This mainly occurs with verbs of emotion or mental process. There is only one case in the data of a spontaneous form. Its construal is very similar to that of *naru* 'naturally becoming'/'naturally occurring,' where the subject is backgrounded in the construal:

[I was pampered for being beautiful in my youth and I didn't read many books then.]

(36) *Kuyam-are-masu.* (60, f)
    regret-SPON(POL)
    'It naturally happens that (I) regret.'

e. V-*te shimau*

In this group of 6 examples, subjective emotion predicates are linked in their conjunctive form to the auxiliary verb *shimau*. *Shimau* as a main verb means 'to put (things) away.' It has been grammaticalized as an aspectual auxiliary verb to mean the irreversability of an event or an action. Further, it has come to often express the speaker's regret over an event that has happened outside their control or over an action the speaker has done inadvertently. When linked with an emotion predicate, *shimau* also means that experiencing such a feeling is outside the control of the self:

[I tried my best to prove that I am better than my colleague in vain.]

(37) *Naosara   ochikon-de   shimaimasu.* (40, f)
    even.more   get.depressed-CONJ   COMPLETE (POL).
    'I get depressed even more.'

[In order to humour my husband, I reluctantly accompany him to baseball games.]

(38) *Irairashi-te   shimaimasu.* (40, f)
    feel.irritated-CONJ   COMPLETE (POL)
    'I have no control over feeling irritated.'

3.2.4. Clausal-level nominalization of emotion predicates

In 14 cases, subjective emotion predicates occurred within a nominalized clause (in addition to those that occurred in the *no da* construction, which nominalizes at the sentence level (3.2.2 b)). As was discussed above (3.2.2 b), when nominalization occurs the proposition is conceived of and is conveyed as an external and indisputable fact, separated from the reporting self. Three kinds of clausal-level nominalization were found in the data.

a. Clause + noun that denotes a temporal span

Subjective adjectives with a specific emotional content occurred in a nominalized clause headed by a general noun denoting the span of time in which one experiences the feeling described:

[My son and his wife have been desperately trying to have a baby for a long time.]

(39) *Hontooni   tsurai   hibi   desu.* (50, f)
     truly   be.painful   days   COP(POL)
     '[They are] truly painful days.

[I am 25 years old but have never had a romantic relationship.]

(40) *Gimon   to   fuan   to   jikohige   no*
     question and   anxiety and   self-disdain COP(ATTRIBUTIVE)
     mainichi   desu. (20, f)
     everyday   COP(POL)
     'It is the daily questioning, fear, and self-disdain.'

b. Clause + 'self'

In these cases, the noun *jibun* 'self' is the head of the clause. The self that is undergoing the feeling of an emotion is objectively reported by the same self from an external point of view:

[I see news of cruelty to animals in newspapers and on TV.]

(41) *Hageshiku nikun-de,   itemo tattemo irarenai   jibun-ga*
     violently   hate-CONJ unable.to.contain.oneself   self-NOM
     imasu. (60, f)
     exist(POL)
     'There is the self who hates violently and who is unable to contain itself.'

c. Nominal complement clause

Formal nouns such as *no* 'fact' and *koto* 'fact' occurred as the head noun of a nominal complement clause in some examples. (This category excludes the *no da* construction, which functions to nominalize the entire sentence rather than just a complement clause.)

[My aged parents moved out of my house.]

(42) *Hotto-shita   toiu   no-ga   honne*
     be.relieved-PST   RELVZ   NMLZ-NOM   true.feeling
     deshita. (30, f)
     COP(PST.POL)
     'The fact that (I) was relieved was the truth.'

3.2.5. The speaker's 'heart' being the subject

Rather than the whole of the speaker, their 'heart' takes the subject position and becomes the experiencer of emotion in 8 cases in the data:

[I have been supporting a friend who has been in crisis.]
(43) *Watashi-mo   kokoro-ga   ore-soo-ni   nat-te*
      I-also   heart-NOM   break-appearance-DAT   become-CONJ
      kimashita. (40, f)
      came(POL).
      '(My) heart is just about to break, too'

[I have been trying in vain to educate young subordinates.]
(44) *Watashi-no   kokoro-wa   buruu-ni   narimasu.* (60, f)
      my   heart-TOP   blue-DAT   become(POL)
      'My heart becomes blue.'

In these examples the conscious self is reporting the experience being felt by a part of the self, thus detaching the heart that is feeling the emotion from the reporting self.

3.2.6. Structures that express the emotions in an adverbial clause or phrase

In these cases subjective predicates occurred in an adverbial clause and phrase, removed from direct assertion.

a. Adverbial clause

In 14 instances subjective emotion predicates occurred in a mid-sentence position in tenseless, clause-linking forms. Typically they seem to function adverbially, presenting an emotional reason that caused a certain action:

[My daughter has decided to migrate.]
(45) *Tsura-ku,   sabishi-ku, shigoto mo te-ni   tsukimasen.* (50, f)
      be.painful-INF be.sad-INF work   also hand-DAT   attach-NEG(POL)
      'In pain and feeling lonely, (I) cannot concentrate on work.'

[I found out that my mother had an extramarital affair.]
(46) *Totemo shokku de,   zutto   damat-te*
      very   shocked-COP(CONJ)   for.a.long.time   keep.silent-CONJ
      imashita. (10, f)
      was(POL)
      'In utter shock, (I) kept silent for a long time.'

There was one instance where the emotion predicate occurred in the adverbial *nagara*-clause, which denotes a span of time:

[I am sharing an office with a younger colleague who is incompetent and conceited.]

(47) *Mainichi   mukatsuki-nagara ...   suwat-te   iru   dake   desu.* (40, f)
    everyday   anger(INF)-while   sit-CONJ   is   only   COP(POL)
    '(I) do nothing but sit everyday, feeling angry.'

b. The -tari -tari suru construction
Martin (1988, p. 566) calls the *-tari -tari* construction "representative adverbialization":

[I cannot connect with people emotionally.]

(48) *Hito-o   netan-dari   urayan-dari   shi-te   shimaimasu.* (50, f)
    person-ACC   begrudge-and   envy-and   do-CONJ   COMPLETE(POL)
    '(I) do things like begrudging and envying people.'

c. The -yara -yara da construction
Martin (1988, p. 952) notes: "Paired (or multiple) sentences with yara are coordinated and used adverbially":

[My mother does and says things that reveal her false conception that she is still very young and beautiful.]

(49) *Hazukashii-yara   hara-ga tatsu-yara   de, ...* (20, f)
    embarrassed-and   get.angry-and   COP(CONJ)
    'With feelings such as being embarrassed and angry, ….'

Being in a subordinate clause, which is syntactically and semantically peripheral to the state/event that is communicated in the main clause, the subjective predicate in the above examples does not assert emotion directly.

3.2.7. Past form
A past event is factual and objective and removes the expression of an emotional state from the deictic center – the 'here' and 'now.' In another sense, an emotional state in the past is temporally 'external' from the point of time of reporting [see also Sawada (1993) p. 249]:

[My former boss blamed me for something that I did not do.]

(50) *Mushoo-ni   hara-ga tachi-mashita.* (30, f)
    very much   get.angry-PST(POL)
    '(I) angered intensely.'

Although examples such as (50) are assertions, to report one's emotional experience in the past tense is more objective than to do so in the present tense.

If the emotion has not yet been resolved, why talk about how one felt in the past and not how one still feels now?[22] In this way, the reporting self keeps the speaker external to the experience.

3.3. Summary of results

In Section 3 we have seen that, out of 217 cases where emotion was expressed in the data, only 34 of them (16%) were in the unmarked form of a simple assertion, expressing subjective construal. The rest of the syntactic structures found in the data all suggest some kind of departure from an assertion from an egocentric perspective, resulting in a more objective construal. This departure is achieved in two main ways: either by the relationship between the speaker and the emotion being severed in some way, or by the reporting self emerging at a different vantage point to that of the experiencing self and reporting their own emotional experience from a distance. The first of these strategies involves nominalization of emotion at the lexical level, whereby the emotion is abstracted and detached from both the experiencer and the reporter (3.2.1). The second strategy involves several constructions: First, constructions are used that are similar to those used to report the third person's inner emotions, such as stativization and the *no da* construction (sentential-level nominalization) (3.2.2). Second, the experience of the emotion is presented as being outside the control of the speaker, with structures such as PRED-*te shikataganai* 'cannot help but …,' -*naru* 'becomes,' V-*te shimau* 'happening outside one's control,' and the negative potential and spontaneous verb forms (3.2.3). Third, clause-level nominalization is used where the proposition is represented as an external and indisputable fact and where the experience is thus separated from the experiencer, being removed syntactically from the assertion component of the clause (3.2.4). Fourth, the speaker's heart can appear as the subject, meaning that the presence of the experiencing subject is construed as external to the reporting self (3.2.5). Fifth, emotion predicates are presented in an adverbial clause, and thus removed from the assertion (3.2.6). Finally, past tense is used to describe emotion, which may be being experienced at the present moment, as something that happened in the past, removing the self from the deictic center in the temporal dimension (3.2.7).

The separation of the reporting self from the experiencing self involves a shift of consciousness of the speaker. This shift of consciousness is the opposite to that, noted earlier, which occurs when a narrative writer enters a character's consciousness and tells the story from the perspective of that character as the experiencer. The examples we have examined in this section present a case where the speaker's consciousness as a reporter stands apart from the natural

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[22] The author acknowledges one of the anonymous reviewers' comment that the *ta* form does not always denote past tense. It can simply denote a perfective aspect. The *ta* forms collected from the current data, however, all indicate that an emotional experience happened in the past, clearly removed from the present time.

perspective of the self as experiencer, in order to avoid an egocentric way of reporting the self's state.[23]

Objectivization thus works to help mitigate the assertion of speaker egocentricity. In the public broadcasting context of an agony aunt's column, however, where there is no one-to-one personal contact, rather than aiming to be polite to an addressee, the objectivized forms appear to be used to project an image of the speaker as one who does not directly assert their inner reality in an egocentric way. One might feel that expressing feelings is justified if done in such a way. Furthermore, in these situations the speaker is more reflective of their feelings and thus their emotional experience receives a "more objective construal" (Langacker, 1990, p. 8) as noted in Section 1.

4. Conclusion

This study has investigated systematically how emotion is expressed in a formal but confidential narrative in which the speaker feels safe to voice their genuine emotion, from the perspective of syntactic structures as well as from that of construal. In the data examined, subjective emotion predicates occurred very infrequently in the unmarked form in the main clause, which presents a subjective construal in which the experiencing self and the reporting self are merged. Instead, this study identified a range of syntactic structures that reflect a departure from a subjective construal, where the self experiencing the emotion either becomes absent or emerges as a separate reporting self distanced from the experiencing self, reflecting a less egocentric, more objective construal.

The findings of this study suggest that pragmatic motivation, i.e., whether to report one's inner state subjectively or objectively, operates within the construal process, where one's vantage point is determined. It is in light of this motivation that the speaker moves away from the undifferentiated reporting/experiencing position by obscuring in syntax the superiority of the first person which is lexically encoded in subjective predicates. That is, a range of syntactic constructions helps shift the construal from subjective to objective, submerging the egocentricity encoded in the bare forms of these predicates. The speaker may choose this removed vantage point so that they can present their experience from a less egocentric perspective.

The study has also noted that the shift of consciousness of the speaker in the examples found in the data illustrates that it is the opposite direction to that of cases where a writer moves into someone else's consciousness and tells the story from the point of view of the experiencer.

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[23] On the use of the reflexive noun *jibun* 'self' in Japanese, Hirose (2002) proposes an analogous construal opposition of how the self is projected: "In order to dissociate himself (i.e., his objective self) from his consciousness, the speaker must get far enough away from himself"(Principle of self-dissociation) and "In order to associate himself (i.e., his objective self) with another person, the speaker must get close enough to that person."(Principle of self-association) (Hirose, 2002, p. 389).

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Harumi Minagawa
The University of Auckland
New Zealand
h.minagawa@auckland.ac.nz