

Japanese and English Words for Laughs*

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Yoshida Kenichi wrote an essay about Japanese humor that says (1975: 6-7):

Since we have already seen that laughter has little to do with a sense of humour, the fact that we Japanese laugh a great deal does not teach anyone much about humour—Japanese style. As a matter of fact, someone has distinguished seven different varieties (it may even have been eight, or nine), none of which have anything to do with a person or persons thinking something funny; all the varieties deal with different confused social situations requiring someone to intervene to smooth things out.

Humor (more or less) aside, the various Japanese words for laughter (of which there are many more than Yoshida mentioned) are semantically extraordinary.

The fact that Japanese has a particularly rich inventory of onomatopoeic words for varieties of laughter has been discussed by Umegaki (1961: 263-272) and mentioned by many others, but this semantic field has never been examined in complete detail. The purpose of the present paper is to contrastively analyze the lexical fields for laughter words in Japanese and English.

O. INTRODUCTION

Laughter is universal, and onomatopoeic words for types of laughter are probably a linguistic universal. In many languages there are funda-

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mental parallels in the ways that laughter is lexicalized. *Ha-ha* is the representation of laughter in a great number of languages. These words are a good example of what Ullmann (1970: 86) calls "elementary affinity." Many words for sounds of laughter have wide cross-linguistic affinities.

Nevertheless, there are certain language-specific differences in the meanings of onomatopoeic laughter words. For example, *ho-ho-ho*. In English, *ho-ho-ho* is a deep, hearty, good-natured laugh (especially associated with Santa Claus). But in Japanese, *ほ-ほ-ほ* is a sweet, gentle, effeminate laugh (especially associated with upper-class women).

Laughter is a combination of emotional expressions that are centered around inarticulate exhalations of breath. Laughing is usually—but not in certain types of sarcasm and derision—accompanied by smiling, lighting up of the eyes, and shaking of the sides. The emotion causing laughter is usually pleasure, happiness, or joy; but people laugh for a wide variety of other reasons. Laughter can be used as a means to conceal shyness, nervousness, fright, or grief. It can also be used as a device to humiliate, ridicule, or scorn someone. S. I. Hayakawa (1968: 333) explains that:

Indeed, because laughter is provoked by so many different situations, a number of words are necessary to describe kinds of laughter characteristic of different situations.

Laughter is multiform; laughter words are likewise multifarious.

Both Japanese and English have many words for varieties of laughter, and these lexical fields provide a good example for contrastive semantics.

1. LAUGHTER IN ENGLISH

Within the English vocabulary for laughter there are two basic lexical fields. First, there are lexemes for types of laughter (e. g., *guffaw*); second, there are lexemes for sounds of laughter (e. g., *har-dee-har-har*).

1. 1. *Types of Laughter.*

The lexical field for types of laughter includes lexemes such as *laugh*, *titter*, *giggle*, *snicker*, *snigger*, *chuckle*, *chortle*, *cackle*, *cachinnate*, *guffaw*,

horselaugh, *bellylaugh*, and *roar*. These laughter lexemes can be semantically distinguished along several scales, and have semantic components of [suppressed], [embarrassed], and [derisive], (v. 3. 2. 4 where derision is discussed separately).

Laugh is the head-lexeme in the lexical field for laughter. *Laugh* is historically the oldest (v. 3. 1. 3) and semantically the most general English word for laughter. *Laugh* is cognate with many Teutonic words for 'laugh', and in the OED there are over ninety variant spellings for *laugh*. People *laugh*, and in English certain animals (e. g., hyenas, jackasses, crows, v. 3. 3. 2) are also said to *laugh*. In poetic or rhetoric usages, even inanimate objects (especially a brook or fire) can be said to *laugh*, chiefly in reference to the *play* of light, color, or sound. *Laugh* is semantically unmarked and can be ±[suppressed] or ±[embarrassed].

Titter and *giggle* are high-pitched, stifled laughs usually associated with children, especially girls. A *titter* is a light, half-suppressed, and covert laugh. The sound of a titter is high-pitched, staccato, and accompanied by short catches of breath. A *titter* is often indicative of nervousness, embarrassment, shyness, or self-consciousness; but it can also be an affected laugh indicating ridicule or derision. A *giggle* is quite similar to a *titter*, but the word has broader applications. A *giggle* is also high-pitched, and has a breath quality of repeated short convulsive gasps. A *giggle* is often more fluid and less breathless than a *titter*. *Giggle* can indicate two different characters of laughter. First, like *titter*, *giggle* can express nervous, or even derisive, embarrassment or shyness. Second—especially in the phrase *get the giggles*—it can be a silly, foolish, but harmless laugh indicating an uncontrollable fit of amusement. *Titter* and *giggle* are +[suppressed] and usually +[embarrassed] laughs.

Snicker and *snigger* describe smothered and covert laughs. Hayakawa (1968: 333) says that "while not restricted to children, they imply a juvenile temperament and a decidedly retarded if not perverted sense of humor." *Snicker* and *snigger* are nearly synonymous phonological variants. They have an American slang derivative of *sniggle* that is based on *giggle*. Both *snicker* and *snigger* usually have semantic components of +[suppressed],

and +[embarrassed], and occasionally +[derisive].

Chuckle and *chortle* indicate soft, low laughter that is usually pleasant and good-natured in tone. A *chuckle* is a quiet, even barely audible, suppressed laugh. A *chuckle* can indicate inward or private (one usually chuckles to oneself) satisfaction, amusement, or appreciation. A *chuckle* can also indicate a louder, more gleeful, and pleasant type of exultation; especially in *have the chuckles*. *Chuckle* had an archaic meaning of 'vehement or convulsive laughter' that was different from the modern meaning of 'suppressed laughter'. In the OED, the archaic meaning is noted from 1598 to 1823, and the modern meaning is noted from 1803 onward (v. 3. 1. 3). *Chortle* is a portmanteau of *chuckle* and *snort*. A *chortle*, like a *chuckle*, is a soft, low-key laugh with a slightly convulsive intonation. But compared to a *chuckle*, a *chortle* indicates more contemptuous amusement or more impish exultation. Both *chuckle* and *chortle* have components of +[suppressed] and -[embarrassed].

Cackle and *cachinnation* are -[suppressed], sharp, broken, and immoderate laughs. A *cackle* is a shrill, harsh, spasmodic laugh that has a sound suggestive of the more basic meaning of a hen's *cackle* after laying. *Cackle* can also mean fussy, idle chatter or prattle; and this sense may likewise be semantically associated with a hen after laying. In modern English, *cackle* is more common than *cachinnate*, and the latter comes from the Latin *cachinnā-re* 'laugh aloud, laugh immoderately'. A possible distinction between *cackle* and *cachinnate* is that the latter can refer to louder and more convulsive laughter than the former.

An especially loud -[suppressed] and -[embarrassed] laugh can be called a *guffaw*, *horselaugh*, *bellylaugh*, or *roar*; or less commonly be called *homerical laughter*, *dog* or *canine laughter*. A *guffaw* is a loud hearty laugh that is often associated with men. The tone of a *guffaw* is unrestrained, boisterous, and noisy. A *guffaw* is usually harmless, good-natured, and spontaneous: but sometimes it can be coarse, gruff, or rude. *Horselaugh* and *bellylaugh* are both words for loud, boisterous laughter. A *horselaugh* is noisy, crude and frequently derisive. The extended sense of 'horse-like' is that of 'coarse, unrefined'. A *bellylaugh* is slangish

or informal; and the sense of 'belly' could either be descriptive of the low tone or the physical origin, or both. A more formal synonym of *bellylaugh* is *homeric laugh*, 'homeric' in the sense of 'heroic, of epic proportions'.

Roar is another term for loud laughter. A *roar* is unrestrained, heavy, and prolonged. It indicates boisterousness, a wild outburst of mirth, and the fullest enjoyment. *Roar* is one of the most common members of a subset of lexemes that can mean 'loud laughter', but have more basic meanings of 'loud outburst of sound'. Some other lexemes in this subset are *burst*, *gale*, *peal*, *shout*, *shriek*, and *snort*. All of these words meaning either 'loud sound' or 'loud laughter' are applicable to the noun phrase "a _____ of laughter." Two other words that can apply to this measuring of laughter are *fit* and *convulsion* (v. 3. 2. 3).

1. 2. Sounds of Laughter

There are about a dozen onomatopoeic words in English that indicate the sounds of laughter. Such words are direct, primary onomatopes—sounds representing sounds. These onomatopoeic laugh lexemes exist on two lexical levels. One level is that of "dictionary words", and the other is that of "comic book words." The "dictionary words" (*ha-ha*, *haw-haw*, *hee-hee*, *hee-haw*, *tee-tee*, and *ho-ho*) are glossed in dictionaries and are part of "standard" English. The "comic book words" (*har-har*, *har-dee-har-har*, *heh-heh*, *hoo-hah*, *yuk-yuk*, and *arf-arf*) are usually only found written in vernacular formats like comic books and jokes. The "dictionary words" have a more respectable level of usage than the "comic book words," but they are not necessarily any more linguistically significant.

The most salient onomatope for laughter is *ha-ha*, which is the ordinary, unmarked representation of the sound of laughter. The OED says that this is "A natural utterance occurring in most languages..." *Ha-ha* has a spelling variant of *hah-hah*; and to express continuous, more open, or louder laughter, *ha-ha* can be intensified with repetition, *ha-ha-ha*... , exclamation marks, *ha!-ha!*, or both, *ha!-ha!-ha!*.

Haw-haw and the more slangish *har-har* are phonetically akin to *ha-ha*. *Haw-haw* is used to represent the sound of a loud, boisterous laugh, especially a *guffaw*. Is there a causal connection between the *-aw*

in *haw-haw* and *guffaw*? There is an attributive meaning of *haw-haw* that refers to a kind of boorish, naive affectation; especially in *haw-haw-ism*. *Har-har* is also a gleeful, boisterous laugh that can show derision or mockery. An even more raucous laugh can be represented as *har-dee-har-har*.

Hee-haw and *hoo-hah* are gradational compounds that are similar in pronunciation to *haw-haw*. The basic meaning of *hee-haw* is a 'braying sound made by a jackass or donkey'. In (especially Southern?) American English, *hee-haw* is the sound of a loud, rude, unrefined laugh. *Hoo-hah* is an (exclusively?) American slang word for a crude, elated laugh, and it often indicates derision.

Hee-hee, or its spelling variant *he-he*, indicates a nervous, affected, embarrassed, or derisive laugh. It sometimes is associated with a senile or foolish *giggle*. *Hee-hee* and *heh-heh* are close in pronunciation, but distant in meaning. *Hee-hee* is more gleeful and less snide than *heh-heh*. For example, upon hearing a dirty joke, a teenager might laugh *hee-hee*, while an adult might laugh *heh-heh*. *Heh-heh* has a less common variant of *huh-huh*; which has a slightly lower vowel quality and a more sneering sense.

Tee-hee, or *te-hee*, *tehee* and other spelling variants, is the sound of a light, high-voiced laugh. In many cases, *tee-hee* indicates superficial or nervous amusement, but it can also indicate derision or affectation. *Tee-hee* and *hee-hee* are often associated with the laughter of females, notably a *titter*, *giggle*, *snicker*, or *snigger*.

Ho-ho represents the sound of hearty laughter, either good natured or derisive. The repeated form *ho-ho-ho* can indicate an especially deep and pleasant *guffaw*. There seems to be a strong association between *ho-ho-ho* and Santa Claus, and perhaps this is owing to his traditionally big belly(laugh).

Yuk-yuk is a slang word for laughter, and it seems to be limited to American usage and associated with a *cackle*. *Yuk-yuk* indicates sardonic, hearty, pleasurable amusement, and sometimes derision or contempt. Depending on intonation, the base *yuk* can indicate either pleasure or con-

tempt at something. *Yak, yak-yak*, and *yakety-yak* are slang words for either 'silly chatter' or 'joke, laugh'.

2. LAUGHTER IN JAPANESE

Just like English, Japanese vocabulary for laughter is divisible between lexemes for types of laughter (e. g., 馬鹿笑い) and lexemes for sounds of laughter (e. g., かんら-かんら). Compared to English, Japanese has about the same number of lexemes for types of laughter, but several times more onomatopoeic lexemes for sounds of laughter.

2. 1. Types of Laughter

The most basic Japanese lexeme for laughter is 笑う 'laugh', 'smile', 'ridicule'. わらう is usually written with the character 笑, which has a sinicized pronunciation of しょう; but it can also be written with other characters, the 大言海 lists these: 咲, 嗤, 晒, 哄, 噓, 哈, 莞, and 粲. Besides the three basic meanings of 'laugh', 'smile' (v. 3. 2. 2), and 'ridicule' ('laugh at', v. 3. 2. 4), 笑う has some additional meanings. According to the SJD, 笑う can also mean '(for flowers) bloom, bud'; '(for nuts and fruits) crack/burst open'; '(of springtime scenery) bloom, brighten up beautifully' (cf. 笑う山); '(for a seam) rip/split open' (cf. 綻ばせる 'split seams', [colloquially] 'smile'); 'cause someone to laugh' (usually 笑わせる); '(in cards) total of ten/twenty points'; and '(in thieves' argot) engage in debauchery' (to *have some laughs*??). In addition, 笑う can have various dialectal meanings. The nominal form 笑い is noted in the SJD to mean: 'a laugh'; 'a smile'; 'a sneer'; 'pornographic items (in general)'; 'reconciliation'; '(a masonry) gap not filled with mortar'; 'stock-market boom'; and 'two (in a kimono price-tag code)'. Both 笑う and 笑い have many more meanings than *to laugh* and *laugh*.

In addition to 笑い, nearly all the other Japanese lexemes for types of laughter are modified compounds of 笑い. In general they can be divided into two subsets on the basis of the semantic component [suppressed]. First, there are lexemes for +[suppressed] giggles and snickers, 忍び笑い, 含み笑い, 盗み笑い, and 北叟笑む. And second, there are lexemes for -[suppressed] guffaws and roars, 大笑い, 馬鹿笑い, 高笑い,

爆笑, 哄笑, and 豪傑笑い.

The first lexical subset for types of laughter is comprised of lexemes for laughter that is (at least partially) +[suppressed]. 忍び笑い means 'titter, giggle, chuckle, snicker, or snigger'. The 忍び笑い is an inhibited laugh made with a stifled voice ("under one's breath"); and it often shows the laugher's anxiety, uneasiness, worry, or embarrassment. 含み笑い means 'giggle, chuckle, snicker', and is a form of laughter that indicates embarrassment or awkwardness. 盗み笑い means 'suppressed laugh, laugh in/up one's sleeve'. This 盗み笑い is a laugh that is kept hidden, secret, or concealed; and it is often a laugh to oneself. 北叟笑む chuckle to oneself, smile in glee, laugh/smile up one's sleeve, hug oneself on/over (something), is a rather literary term. It is an allusion to an old Chinese story, concerning a Sai Weng 塞翁 ("Old Man of the Frontier") who at first lost a horse, but through a chain of events, his apparent misfortune turned into fortune.

The second lexical subset for types of laughter is that for lexemes meaning loud, open, and -[suppressed] laughing. 大笑い means 'loud laughter, hearty/good laugh, guffaw, roar, uproar'. This 大笑い is an especially loud and convulsive laugh that often indicates cruel derision, making a laughingstock of someone, or sexual innuendo in an indecent joke. 馬鹿笑い means 'horselaugh, wild guffaw, bellylaugh'. This "foolish" laugh is loud, uncontrolled, and continuous. The 馬鹿笑い is associated with laughing at something that is extraordinarily absurd or ludicrous. 高笑い means 'horselaugh, 'guffaw roar' and is distinguished by its loudness and boisterousness. 爆笑 means 'guffaw, burst/roar of laughter' and this literally "explosive" laughter is especially applicable to a crowd of people roaring together in laughter. 哄笑 means 'lusty roar, raucous laughter, guffaw' and refers to particularly loud laughter made with the mouth wide open. Both 爆笑 and 哄笑 are used with the Chinese pronunciation of しょう for 笑 instead of the Japanese わらい. A final term is 豪傑笑い 'broad/hearty/open laughter'. This 豪傑笑い is used for very gleeful, jovial and often good-natured laughter, but it is somewhat literary in usage.

2. 2. *Sounds of Laughter.*

The Japanese lexicon has a wide array of lexemes that represent the sounds of laughter. With only a few exceptions (e. g., ああ, しし, or いしし) these laughter onomatopoeies are vocally harmonious variations on the phonemes in the は行 (i. e., は, ひ, ふ, へ, and ほ) and the か行 (i. e., か, き, く, け, and こ). The lexemes for sounds of laughter that are based on the は行 include the following [with variants shown in braces]: [あ-/は-/わ-/が-/ぐあ-/た-] は-は, はっはっ, はあ-はあ; [い-/ひ-/う-] ひ-ひ; [う-/ふ-/ぶ-] ふ-ふ, うふ-うふ, ふん; [え-/べ-/て-] へ-へ, へら-へら, へん; and [お-/ほ-/にょ-] ほ-ほ. And the lexemes for sounds of laughter are based on the か行 include the following: [か-] か-か, きゃ-きゃ, きゃっ-きゃっ, ぎゃ-ぎゃ, きゃっきゃ, [かんら-] から-から, [かんら-] かんら-かんら, かんら-から; [き-] き-き; [く-] く-く, くっく, くす-くす, くつ-くつ; [け-] け-け, けら-けら, げら, げら; and [?こ-] こ-こ. In the following discussion of these は行 and か行 laughter onomatopoeies, the many non-laughter meanings of these words are omitted because of space limitations.

The Japanese は-は — just like the English *ha-ha* — is the most common onomatopoeia for laughter. The basic は-は has the most variants, and is the most widely applicable lexeme. は-は is the usual representation of happy laughter. The non-repeated forms は and はあ can also indicate the sound of gleeful, vigorous, or forceful laughter. The variant はあ-はあ indicates a more emphatic or heartier laugh. And はっ-はっ indicates a worried, troubled, or even bored laugh. The basic は-は can be extended in several forms to indicate heartier laughter. は-は-は is a very happy and open laugh. わ-は-は or わっ-は-は are the sounds of loud, broad, boisterous laughter. あ-は-は is a loud laugh made with the mouth opened widely. And the following variants are said to only be found in 漫画 comics: た-は-は, ぐあ-は-は (restricted to men?), が-は-は, あ-は-はあ, and perhaps? ひ-は-は.

ひ-ひ is the sound of either an uneasy and nervous laugh, or an indecent and vulgar laugh. ひ-ひ is often an obscene or crude laugh that indicates some hidden, evil intent. ひ-ひ-ひ can indicate an especially mean and cruel laugh; and い-ひ-ひ is sometimes used for a hidden laugh

made while tricking someone. Two other variants are ひっ-ひ and う-ひ-ひ.

ふ-ふ usually represents a shy, embarrassed, or awkward laugh, especially the giggle of a woman or a girl. ふ-ふ can also be a light, secret, mischievous, or joking laugh. Some heartier variants are ふ-ふ-ふ (threatening?), ふ-ふ-ふ, う-ふ-ふ, and うふ-うふ. ふん (like ろん) is the snorting sound of a mocking, disrespectful laugh that is emitted through the nose.

へ-へ can mean, depending on the intonation, a snide laugh that is uttered while making a fool of someone; a shy, embarrassed, or awkward laugh made after making a mistake; or a flattering or fawning laugh. The base form へ (like へん and ふん) can indicate a vindictive, somewhat malicious laugh. へ-へ has several variants; へ-へえ is more intense, へ-へ-へ is more continuous, え-へ-へ is a false, servile laugh, and て-へ-へ is somewhat fawning in tone.

ほ-ほ is the sound of a light, gentle, effeminate laugh, especially associated with upper class women. Actually, this ほ-ほ is not restricted to class usage, but rather is an affectatious, conceited laugh made in an attempt to sound graceful. (One informant said that ほ-ほ was a laugh she might make while wearing a kimono.) ほ-ほ can be intensified as ほ-ほ-ほ, お-ほ-ほ (a woman's laugh made with pursed lips), ほ-ほ-ほ, and perhaps と-ほ-ほ.

All of the above lexemes for the sounds of laughter are based on the は行—all of the below are based on the か行.

か-か is the sound of a loud hearty laugh that is masculine in tone. The lengthened か-か-か is associated with the laugh of a 仙人, the semi-legendary 'transcendant'. か-か is sometimes written 呵呵, especially in the compound 呵呵大笑 that means an 'extremely hearty guffaw.'

きゃ-きゃ is the sound of a loud, high-voiced laugh, sometimes the tumultuous roar or laughter made by a large crowd (of children?). きゃ-きゃ has variants of the voiced ぎゃ-ぎゃ, as well as きゃっ-きゃっ, and きゃっ-きゃっ (especially for the chattering or giggling of girls).

から-から and かんら-かんら are loud, roaring laughs. から-から is the sound of a flowing, resonant, high-voiced laugh, particularly a roar or

outburst of laughter. *かんら-かんら*, *かんら-から* and *かんら-から-から* are very broad, hearty laughs. This set of *から* and *かんら* laughs are not usually found in present-day Japanese, but are particularly associated with the laughter of macho samurai in historical stories. These words may be etymologically related to *からかう* 'banter, jest, tease'.

き-き is sometimes used to represent the sound of a high-pitched giggle, usually made by children; but is more commonly applied to squeaking or creaking sounds. There are two homophonous literary terms, *嬉々* and *嘩々* that are pronounced the same and mean 'merrily, joyfully'.

く-く is used for a suppressed, stifled laugh (often made with the mouth covered) that is made while hiding a secret. *くす-くす* is the sound of a suppressed titter, giggle, or snicker. Two other variants are *くっく* and *くつ-くつ*, both of which are indicative of the uncontrollable laughter of children.

け-け and *こ-こ* are uncommon representations of laughter. *け-け* can be the sound of a laugh made while tricking someone, and it is associated with a gruesome, ominous cackle made by a witch. *こ-こ* can be a laughing, or a crying, sound made by a baby.

Besides the many onomatopes for laughter that are quite regularly based on the *は行* and the *か行*, there are a few other phonologically miscellaneous lexemes for sounds of laughter. Several of these have *-ら* finals, like *から-から* and *かんら-かんら* mentioned above. *けら-けら* is used for the sound of a high-pitched, shrill squeal of laughter, especially that of a young girl. *げら-げら* is a more open, louder laugh that frequently indicates derision or mockery. *へら-へら* can either be the sound of a contemptuous laugh at another person, or an insincere laugh at oneself. Tamori (1980: 151) translates *へら-へら* as "laugh flatteringly," and footnotes that there does not seem to be any corresponding expression in English.

Two final words for sounds of laughter are *し-し* and *あ-あ*. *し-し*, and its variants *し-し-し*, *い-し-し*, and *う-し-し?* all indicate derision or ridicule (just like *しい* can). *あ-あ* is the only word for a laughter sound that does not have a consonant. Could this phonologically unique form be a truncation of the most common form *は-は?*

In summary, the most remarkable features of the Japanese words for sounds of laughter are vowel harmony and semantic diversity. With only a few exceptions (e. g., う-し-し) every word for the sounds of laughter has vowel harmony. For example, the base ふ-ふ has variants with the same vowel: ふ-ふ-ふ, ふ-ふ-ふ, or う-ふ-ふ ; but none with different vowels. Semantic diversity is closely linked with lexical diversity. Because there are so many different words for sounds of laughter, some of them have strong associations with specific laughs or laughers.

3. COMPARISON OF ENGLISH AND JAPANESE

The English and Japanese word-stocks for laughter are first (3. 1) compared in respect to the basic semantic fields, their scopes, similarities, etymologies, and diachronic developments. And they are second (3. 2) compared in respect to the related and associated semantic fields of smiling, crying, extreme laughter, derisive laughter, and forced laughter. Lastly (3. 3), two additional topics of social restrictions and idioms for laughter are mentioned briefly.

3. 1. Basic Semantic Fields.

The most striking cross-linguistic difference in the basic fields of laughter words is that compared to English, Japanese has many more words for sounds of laughter.

For types of laughter, both English and Japanese have about a dozen common words. English has *laugh*, *titter*, *giggle*, *snicker*, *snigger*, *chuckle*, *chortle*, *cackle*, *cachinnate*, *guffaw*, *horselaugh*, *bellylaugh*, and *roar*. And Japanese has 笑い, 忍び笑い, 含み笑い, 盗み笑い, 北叟笑む, 大笑い, 馬鹿笑い, 高笑い, 爆笑, 哄笑, and 豪傑笑い.

For sounds of laughter, English again has about a dozen common lexemes: *ha-ha*, *haw-haw*, *har-har*, *hee-haw*, *hoo-hah*, *hee-hee*, *heh-heh*, *te-hee*, *ho-ho*, and *yuk-yuk*. But Japanese has about five dozen common lexemes: [あ-/は-/わ-/が-/くあ-/た-] は-は, はっはっ, はあ-はあう; [い-/ひ-/う-] ひ-ひ; [う-/ふ-/ぶ-] ふ-ふ, うふ-うふ, ふん; [え-/へ-/て-] へ-へ, へん, へら-へら; [お-/ほ-/にょ-] ほ-ほ; [か-] か-か, きゃ-きゃ, きゃっ-きゃっ, ぎゃ-ぎゃ, きゃっきゃ, から-から, かんら-かんら, かんら

-から [-から], [き-] き-き, [く-] く-く, くっく, くす-くす, くつ-くつ, [け-] け-け, けら-けら, げら-げら, [こ-] こ-こ, [あ-] あ-あ, and [い- / う- / し-] し-し.

Japanese has roughly five times more onomatopoeic words for the sounds of laughter than English. This fact is consistent with a general difference in lexicalization—Japanese has many more onomatopoeic words than English. This difference can be seen in various realms of the lexical structures in English and Japanese.

3. 1. 1. *Similarities.* Since the majority of the Japanese and English words for laughter come from the sounds of laughter, it is not surprising that there are certain phono-semantic similarities. There are strong cross-linguistic parallels among words for “natural” emotional exclamations such as laughing, and yelling (see Nishihara 1979: 244 ff.).

There are certain phonological parallels among English and Japanese words for sounds of laughing. Within both word-stocks, the most prevalent phonological element is the *h-* initial combined with virtually all common vowels in the inventory of the language. There are also similar, but fewer, combinations of *k-* initials and *-k-* medials.

The actual lexicalizations of the sounds of laughter are limited to and determined by the phonemic inventories of English and Japanese. For example, both languages have a contemptuous interjection of doubt that is a snorting sound with a nasalized final. In English this is *humph!*, *hum!*, *hm (m)!*, or *h'm!*. In Japanese this is うん, ふん, ふ-ふん, or the slangish へん. The sounds and meanings are almost identical, but the phonological representations differ according to the specific languages.

There are several cases of similarities between sounds and meanings of Japanese and English words for laughter—but there is only one clear case of the same sound with different meanings: *ho-ho* and ほ-ほ. The English *ho-ho* is a deep, hearty bellylaugh. But the Japanese ほ-ほ is a light, gentle, effeminate laugh.

Japanese and English have practically the same sound and meaning for the laughter words of ほ-ほ and *ha-ha*, ひ-ひ and *hee-hee*, へ-へ and *heh-heh*, and possibly く-く or くっく and *yuk-yuk*.

The best example of cross-linguistic similarity is that between *ha-ha* and は-は. In both languages, this is the most general and least restricted representation of laughter. Both *ha-ha* and は-は have the most variants to distinguish nuances. More boisterous or heartier laughter can be represented as *ha-ha-ha*, *hah-hah*, *haw-haw*, or *har-har* in English; or は-は-は, はあ-はあ, or はっ-はっ in Japanese.

The English *hee-hee* (and *tee-hee*) and the Japanese ひ-ひ are both expressive of nervous or affected giggling. Both *hee-hee* and ひ-ひ can also have a sense of indecency or crudeness. And in both languages, the laugh of a senile or foolish person can be indicated by *hee-hee-hee* or ひ-ひ-ひ.

Heh-heh and へ-へ are representations of a snide, sly, mocking, conning, or vindictive laugh. In Japanese, へ-へ can also indicate an awkward or embarrassed laugh, but this is not usually true of *heh-heh* in English. The English variant *huh-huh* is indicative of an even snider, lower quality laugh—and the Japanese ふ-ふ can also be used for a nasty laugh about something held in secret.

It would be worthwhile to see how universal the senses of laughs like *ha-ha*, *hee-hee*, and *heh-heh* actually are. The data from two languages are interesting, but insufficient for making any generalizations. What are the meanings of laughter with these sounds in other languages?

3. 1. 2. *Etymologies.* The etymological origins of many of the English and Japanese words for laughter have a common source: onomatopoeia. Onomatopoeia is to be expected in words for the sounds of laughter, but it is also found in many words for the types of laughter.

In English, all of the words for sounds, and most of the words for types of laughter are onomatopoeic. According to the OED, *giggle*, *chuckle*, and *guffaw* are echoic, *laugh* is probably echoic, *titter* is apparently echoic, *snicker*, *snigger*, and probably *roar* are imitative, *cackle* is uncertain, *chortle* is factitious, *cachinnate* comes from Latin but is probably imitative, *horselaugh* is derived, and *bellylaugh* is not listed. A reasonably less cautious view is given by Onions (1966) who says that *titter*, *giggle*, *snicker*, *snigger*, *chuckle*, *cackle*, *cachinnate*, *guffaw*, and *roar* are all

imitative; while *horselaugh* is attributive, and *chortle* is a portmanteau. (Both *chortle* and *portmanteau* are delightful “Carrollian words” from *Through the Looking-Glass*. Only two words, *bellylaugh*, and *horselaugh*, are derived attributively from the basic word *laugh*.

In Japanese, all the words for types of laughter are derived attributively from 笑い ‘laugh’. The etymology of this basic word is uncertain. The SJD lists eight possibilities, including that it comes from the face ‘breaking up’ (散くる or 破れる), or the mouth ‘opening up’ (割る) during laughter. The attributive elements in the words for types of stifled laughter are: ‘concealed, hidden’ in 忍び笑い, ‘hidden, implicatory’ in 含み笑い, ‘stolen, secret?’ in 盗み笑い, and ‘old man of the north’ in 北叟笑む. And the meanings of the modifiers in the words for types of unstifled laughter are: ‘big, loud’ in 大笑い, ‘high, loud’ in 高笑い, ‘foolish’ in 馬鹿笑い, ‘explosive’ in 爆笑, ‘resounding’ in 哄笑, and ‘heroic’ in 豪傑笑い (cf. *homeric laughter*).

In both English and Japanese, the words for sounds of laughter are strictly onomatopoeic. And in English the words for types of laughter are also onomatopoeic derivations.

3. 1. 3. *Diachronic Development*. The growth of the lexical fields for laughter words can be traced with the data from historical dictionaries. The most compendious English and Japanese dictionaries, the OED and the SJD, record the earliest known textual usages of words in their various meanings. By correlating this historical data for laughter words, a general diachronic perspective can be obtained. The following discussion is limited to the data in the OED and SJD, and even though certain words are not listed and certain dates may be in error, the overall perspective is valuable.

Among the English words for types of laughter, the oldest is the noun *laughter* (actually the OE *hleahator*) which is found in *Beowulf* (c. 700). The verb *laugh* (OE *hliehad*) is in Ælfred’s *Gregory’s Pastoral Care* (c. 897). The earliest recorded usages of the other laugh lexemes are: *giggle* 1509, *chuckle* (as the archaic ‘laugh vehemently’) 1598, *cackle* 1599 (but as ‘silly talk’ in 1530), *titter* 1619, *snicker* 1699, *snigger* 1706, *horselaugh* 1713, *guffaw* 1721, *chuckle* (‘suppressed laugh’) 1803, *cachinnate* 1824, *roar* 1842,

and *chortle* 1872.

The diachronic development of the English lexical fields for sounds of laughter is not as well recorded as that for types of laughter because many dictionaries do not gloss slang or informal words. According to the OED, *ha-ha* and *he-he* (i. e., *hee-hee*) are the oldest words for sounds of laughter, and both are found in Ælfric's *Grammar* (c. 1000) where they are noted to be the sounds of laughter in both Latin and English. The earliest usages of the others are *ho-ho* c. 1150, *tee-hee* 1386, *haw-haw* 1834, and *hee-haw* 1843. It seems that in English, the reduplicative words for laughter might be older than the words with vowel gradation.

From these dates, it can be observed that there has been a regular expansion of the lexical field for types of laughter, but not of the field for sounds of laughter. There is a gap of about five centuries between *tee-hee* (1386) and *haw-haw* (1834) during which no new words for sounds of laughter are recorded. It is possible that some of the slang forms not listed in the OED (*har-har* or *heh-heh*) may have originated during this gap.

In Japanese, the oldest words listed in the SJD for types of laughter are the most basic ones. The verb 笑う is used in the meaning of 'laugh derisively, sneer' in the *Nihon Shoki* 日本書紀 (c. 720); and used in the meaning of 'laugh happily' in 794. The nominal form 笑い is found in the late fourteenth century in the sense of 'derision' and in 1628 in the sense of 'happy laughter'. The first recorded usages of the other words are: 忍び笑い late 13 c., 高笑い late 15 c., 大笑い 1624, 哄笑 1874, 馬鹿笑い 1902, 盗み笑い 1919, 豪傑笑い 1921, 含み笑い 1929, and 北叟笑む 1937. Many of the Japanese words for types of laughs are quite new. Note the 150 year gap between 大笑い and 哄笑.

The oldest recorded Japanese word for the sound of laughter is ほ-ほ which is found in the *Utsubo-monogatari* 宅津保物語 (late 10 c.). The others are: か-か late 12 c., はあ 1254, は late 13 c., あ-あ late 14 c?, から-から late 14 c., きゃ-きゃ 1534, くつ-くつ and くっく 1624, けら-けら 1678, わ-は-は 1699, え-へ-へ 1707, わっ-は-は 1710, かんら-かんら c. 1730, かんら-から c. 1770, へ-へ c. 1794, あ-は-は and お-ほ-ほ 1813, げら-げら

1820, う-ふ-ふ 1857, くす-くす 1867, はっ-はっ and ふん 1887, ぐず-ぐず 1896, ひ-ひ 1901, へ 1927, く-く 1932, and ふ-ふ 1937. These words for the sounds of laughter have regularly increased up into the present century.

3. 2. *Related Semantic Fields.*

The semantic and lexical fields for laughter are not independent; they exist in relation to other semantic fields. Laughing is closely related to both smiling and crying and it is divided into special subtypes of extreme, derisive, and forced laughter.

3. 2. 1. *Laughing and Smiling.* Laughing and smiling are very near in relationship. In most circumstances, one smiles when laughing, but not necessarily vice-versa. The semantic relation between 'laugh' and 'smile' is obscured by the English *laugh* and *smile*, both of which come from different Teutonic roots. But the 'laugh'-'smile' relation is transparent in many other languages, including Japanese, Buck (1949: 1106) says that

They are so closely associated that they may be expressed by the same word in the same language (Lat *ridere*) or in different languages (Dan. *le* 'laugh', Sw. *le* 'smile'), or more frequently by different forms of the same root. 'Smile' is often expressed as a little (or low, or veiled) 'laugh'.

The English lexical field for 'smile' includes *smile*, *grin*, *beam*, *smirk*, *simper*, and *sneer*. The most general word is *smile*, which is neutral in respect to emotion or manner. A *grin* is a broad smile in which the teeth are exposed, and a *grin* is usually less controlled than a *smile*. A *beam* is even less restrained than a *grin*, and *beaming* is especially broad and radiant. Both *smirk* and *simper* are silly, fatuous smiles. A *smirk* can be a conceited, self-satisfied smile; and a *simper* can be self-righteous, vacuous smile of hypocritical superiority. A *sneer* is an especially disdainful or contemptuous smile, and the word can also refer to a scornful remark (cf. *jeer*).

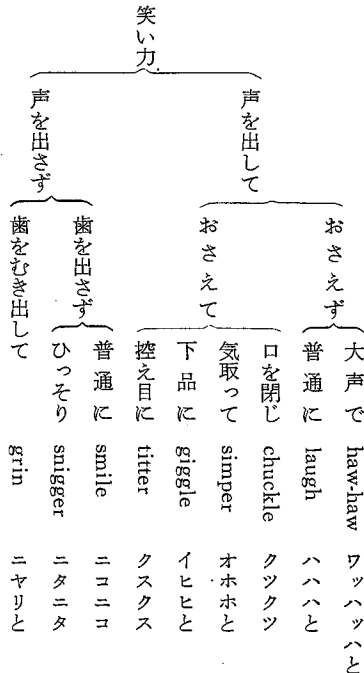
The Japanese lexical field for 'smile' is centered around 笑う along with the field for 'laugh'. There is no particular communicative problem

with the ambiguity of 笑う meaning 'laugh', 'smile', or 'deride'. A 'smile' can be distinguished from a 'laugh' with lexemes like 笑む, 微笑 ("minute/subtle laugh"), 破顔, or the loanword スマイル. All of the types of suppressed laughter—含み笑い, 忍び笑い, 盗み笑い, and 北叟笑い—frequently have meanings of 'smile' because a 'smile' is often a repressed 'laugh'.

The lexical field for 'smile' has some interesting imitative に- adverbs used to modify 笑う. 'Smile sweetly, beam' can be expressed with にこにこ笑う, にこつく笑い, にっこり笑う, or にこやかに笑う; and 'grin, smirk' can be expressed as にやにや笑う or にやりと笑う.

The semanto-lexical fields for 'laugh' and 'smile' in Japanese are more than associated, they are one and the same. The relationship between the various 'laugh' and 'smile' meanings of 笑う is discussed by Umegaki (1961: 264-5) who gives the diagram shown as figure 1. Within Umegaki's diagram, the primary division is made between "silent" and "aloud" ('smile')

Figure 1. Umegaki's Diagram of Laughing and Smiling



and 'laugh'). The "silent" category is divided into *grin* ニヤリ with teeth showing, "secret" *snigger* ニタニタ or "normal" *smile* ニコニコ The "aloud" category is first divided into "repressed" and "unrepressed," with the former divided into "restrained" *titter* クスクス, "vulgar" *giggle* イヒヒ, "affected" *simper* オオオ, and "closed mouth" *chuckle* クックッ. The "unrepressed" group is divided into "normal" *laugh* ハハハ and "loud" *haw-haw* ワッハッハ.

Besides some minor problems—is a *chuckle* made with a closed mouth? is a *snigger* silent? is *haw-haw* a type of laugh?—there is one difficulty with this categorization of 笑う. A *simper* is a fatuous, self-conscious smile and not an audible laugh. The only audible meanings of *simper* are a transitive verb (to say something with a simpering expression) and as a British dialectal term for 'whimper'. *Simper* may be equivalent to オホホ as Umegaki says, but it can also be translated as にや-にや笑う or にた-にた笑う. Besides these problems, Umegaki's diagram of 笑う is quite useful.

3. 2. 2. *Laughing and Crying.* One of the opposites of 'laugh' is 'cry'. Laughing and crying are both inarticulate expressions of emotions like pain, grief, and joy. The similarity between laughing and crying is reflected in the expressions for the borderline between these two states. This is *not to know whether to cry or laugh, laugh so hard/until you cry, or laugh between sobs* in English; 泣き笑い in Japanese; or 器笑不得 in Chinese.

The diversified English lexical field for crying includes words like *cry, weep, sob, whimper, whine, pule, mewl, shed tears, blubber, snivel, howl, bawl, wail, bemoan, keen, and lament.* *Cry* and *weep* are the most general, and they are approximate synonyms. To *sob* is to weep with heaving chest and convulsive catchings of breath, and it can imply pathetic circumstances. A *whimper* is a low, whining, broken cry. A *whine* is a prolonged, high-pitched, and plaintive cry that expresses distress. A *pule* is a weak, whining whimper. A *snivel* is miserable, snuffling cry of complaint. To *howl* is to cry in a loud, unrestrained manner, similar to a *roar.* A *bawl* is lusty, bellowing weeping, and a *wail* is an unbroken,

high-pitched cry. *Keen* implies the wailing of a professional mourner at a dirge. And *lament* is a general term for any type of vocal wailing or weeping.

The Japanese lexical field for 'crying' is similar to the one for 'laughing', both have a widely applicable verb that can be modified by various onomatopoeic adverbs. The basic verb 泣く means 'cry, weep, sob, whimper, blubber, wail, lament, or moan'. The meanings of some of the more common adverbial modifiers of this 泣く are: おぎゃあ 'mewl, whimper (esp. for a baby)', ぎゃあぎゃあ 'cry harshly, scream', めそめそ 'sob, whimper' しくしく 'weep, sniffle, whimper' (esp. girls)', くすんくすん 'sob' (cf. くすくす笑う 'giggle, snicker'), わあわあ 'cry noisily, blubber', and おいおい 'cry one's heart out'. See Umegaki (1961: 241-256). It is interesting that while Japanese has these various onomatopoeic words for the sounds of weeping (and even some for 'streaming down of tears' like ぽたぽた泣く or ぼろぼろ泣く); English only has one common word, *boo-hoo*.

There are strong similarities between the English and Japanese lexical fields for laughing and crying. The English lexemes for types of laughing and crying are distinguished by a rich set of verbs with different meanings—the Japanese lexemes in these same fields are distinguished by one general verb with a rich inventory of onomatopoeic adverbs with different meanings.

3. 2. 3. *Extreme Laughter*. Sometimes laughter is uncontrollable. There are some semantic parallels between English and Japanese expressions for such extreme laughter. The English *fall down/roll over laughing* is quite similar to the Japanese 笑い転げる.

One common semantic element for extreme laughter is 'burst' or 'explode'. In English, one can: (*be ready to*) *burst/bust/split with laughter, burst/bust (out/into) laughing, break up, split (one's sides), bust/split a gut, or laugh fit to burst/bust*. In Japanese, there are words such as 爆笑 'burst/explosion of laughter', and 爆発する 'burst out, explode' can refer to laughter or anger.

The abdominal area is another common semantic element for uncontrolled laughter. Besides *bellylaugh*, in English there are words like *bust/split a gut, split one's sides, hold (both) one's sides, be in stitches, and do the*

sidestitching. And in Japanese, there are expressions like: 腹を抱える (“hold one’s belly”) ‘hold one’s sides with laughter’, 腹筋を捻る (“twist the abdominal muscles”) ‘split a gut’, 拘腹する (“hold the belly”) ‘hold one’s sides’, and 拘腹絶倒 (“hold one’s belly and fall down”) double up with laughter’. In addition, the ‘navel’ is seen in: 臍がくねる (“twist/wind up the navel”), 臍が宿替する (“change the lodgings of the navel”), and 臍で茶を沸がす (“boil tea in the navel”), all of which mean ‘extreme laughter’.

Some other miscellaneous English expressions for ‘extreme laughter’ are: *laugh oneself sick/silly/limp, be convulsed with laughter, go into convulsions, shake with laughter, shake like jelly, shake one’s sides, die with laughter, (nearly) die laughing, and pee (in) one’s pants laughing*. And some miscellaneous Japanese expressions for the same meaning are: 顎を外す (“dislocate one’s jaw”), 噴飯 (“spit out one’s food”), and ふっと吹き出す (“blow out *putto?*”).

3. 2. 4. *Derisive Laughter*. Normal laughter is spontaneous and good-natured; derisive laughter is different. A +[derisive] laugh can express sarcasm, ridicule, scorn, or contempt.

In English, many of the words for normal laughter are also capable of expressing derisive laughter, and the differences are only distinguishable by facial expression and intonation. *Heh-heh* is sometimes a warm chuckle, and sometimes a cold sarcastic laugh. +[Derisive] laughter can be implied with ‘smile’ words like *sneer, smirk, smiper, cold smile, or sardonic grin*; or with expressions like *laugh at* or *laugh (a person) to scorn*. Within the field for basic types of laughter, a +[derisive] laugh is often an affected *titter* or *giggle*, a disrespectful *snicker* or *snigger*, or a sly *cackle* or *cachinnation*. But generally, a -[suppressed] laugh such as a *chortle, guffaw, horselaugh, bellylaugh, or roar* is not +[derisive]. Quite similarly, most of the English words for sounds of laughter are applicable to derisive laughter, especially *heh-heh, yuk-yuk, har-har, haw-haw, and hee-hee*. However, *tee-hee* or *ho-ho* would be uncommon for derisive laughter. *Pooh pooh* is a unique onomatopoeic word for derision.

In the Japanese lexicon, the field for +[derisive] laughter contains the words for suppressed laughs—忍び笑い, 含み笑い, 盗み笑い. Some

additional words for specifying derision are 嘲ける 'ridicule, insult, mock, jeer', 嘲笑う 'laugh mockingly/scornfully', and 冷笑 'cold laugh, sneer'. Derisive laughter is sometimes nasal in sound and there are two expressions for this, 鼻で笑う ("laugh through the nose") 'laugh sardonically' and 鼻の先であしらう ("manage in front of one's nose") 'spurn, treat with scorn' (cf. *sniff at* and *turn up one's nose at*). Many of the basic Japanese words for the sounds of laughter are especially indicative of +[derisive] laughter, such as ひ-ひ-ひ, い-ひ-ひ, し-し-し, う-し-し, しい, ふ-ふ-ふ, う-ふ-ふ, ふん, ふ-ふん, へん, and へ-へ-へ. But some sounds of laughter that are not generally applicable to derisive laughs are きゃ-きゃ, から-から, く-く, くっく, and くつ-くつ.

Both English and Japanese have many words for +[derisive] laughter, and in most cases they are the same words that apply to normal -[derisive], joyful laughter.

3. 2. 5. *Forced Laughter.* The lexical subfield for derisive laughter is in some ways associated with the subfield for forced, or faked laughter. Both subfields are for types of insincere laughter at something that is not particularly funny.

In English, most of the words for forced laughter are compounds of *laugh* or *smile*. Some of the more common modifiers in such compounds are: *forced, feigned, strained, synthetic, flattering, set, studied, affected, empty, hollow, faint, little, bitter bittersweet, sour, wry, oily, and oleaginous*. The applicability of these modifiers to both *laugh* and *smile* is owing to the essential semantic unity of 'laugh' and 'smile'.

The Japanese lexemes in the subfield for forced laughter are modified compounds of 笑い. Some such terms are: 作り笑い ("make laughter") 'smirk, simper', 空笑い ("hollow laughter") 'forced/feigned laughter', お愛想笑い ("courteous laughter") 'forced laughter' [this is defined in *Kenkusha's* dictionary as "a society laugh," which is questionable English], お世辞笑い ("flattering laugh") 'smirk, simper', 苦笑い ("bitter laugh") 'bitter/sour/vinegary smile', and 微苦笑い ("slightly bitter laugh") 'bitter smile/laugh'. This last word, is a portmanteau of 微笑 and 苦笑い that was coined by Kume Masao; *chortle* is a portmanteau of *chuckle* and *snort* coined by

Lewis Carroll.

3. 3. *Related Topics.*

Two topics of special interest in regard to laughter in English and Japanese are social restrictions and idioms.

3. 3. 1. *Social Restrictions.* Certain types of laughter are characteristic of, or restricted to, people of a particular sex, age or even social class. If a society has a particular restriction on laughter, then the language will reflect it.

In English, there are a few types of laughter that are associated with a particular sex. However, these associations may not be wholly cultural because of differences in voice pitch between men and women. High-pitched laughter—a giggly *tee-hee* or a tittering *hee-hee*—is especially associated with females, particularly young ones. Youth is often associated with *snickers* and *sniggers*, but there are cases when an adult will make these types of laughs out of embarrassment or immaturity. Low-pitched laughter, *guffaws*, *bellylaughs*, *horselaughs*, and *roars*, is sometimes associated with men, and to a lesser degree, this is also true of *chuckles* and *chortles*. A loud, open laugh, such as *haw-haw*, *har-har*, or *ho-ho* is usually made a male. Such laughs can also be women or children, but would sound markedly aberrant.

In Japanese, there are comparatively more sexual restrictions on types and sounds of laughter. In general terms, suppressed laughter is associated with women; and unsuppressed laughter is associated with men (and children?). ほ-ほ-ほ and お-ほ-ほ are almost exclusively women's laughs made when trying to sound "feminine." ふ-ふ is usually a women's laugh, particularly indicating embarrassment; but a gruff ふ-ふ-ふ can be a posturing, threatening laugh of a man. Laugh sounds such as き-き-き and きゃっきゃ are associated with women and girls. A man can laugh かんら-かんら or かんら-から if he wants to sound macho. ひ-ひ-ひ is a laugh sound indicative of a man, particularly in an obscene or vulgar connotation, but ひ-ひ-ひ can also be a laugh of an old hag.

A uniquely Japanese convention for laughter is that a woman will often cover her mouth with her hand when laughing. This gesture is extremely

common among girls and women; but would appear affected for a man. A woman's covering her mouth while laughing is said to make her appear "feminine" or coquettish, and this is true in cultures other than Japanese.

3. 3. 2. *Laughter Idioms*. Since laughter is so common, both English and Japanese have common idioms for laughter.

Systematic parallels are seen between various English idioms involving *laugh* with prepositions and adverbs (e. g., *laugh at/off/down/away*) and corresponding Japanese idioms with 笑う and particles and verbs. There are many similarities between English and Japanese idioms about laughing. For example, the English cognate expression *laugh a (good) laugh* is identical with the Japanese (いい) 笑いを笑う.

Both languages have idioms for 'starting/starting to laugh'. One can *burst/bust/break out laughing* (or crying, for that matter), just as one can 爆発する 'break out/explode' (into laughter, or crying). When restricting a laugh, in English one can *stifle/hold back/suppress a laugh*; but in Japanese one can 笑いを殺す "murder a laugh" (or tears, anger, or breath). 'Killing' is also seen in the expressions 笑いを噛み殺す 'stifle one's laughter' and 笑殺する 'laugh (a matter) away/off/down'. One can *kill a laugh* in English, but this is different from *die laughing* (v. 3. 2. 3).

Animals are commonly found in English laugh idioms. Besides the *horselaugh*, certain animals (e. g., coyotes, donkeys, gulls) can be said to *laugh*. There are many proper names that are derived from 'laughing' cries: the *laughing-bird*, *laughing-crow*, *laughing-thrush*, *laughing-geese*, *laughing-loon*, *laughing-owl*, *laughing-hyena*, and *laughing-jackass*. There are some onomatopoeic links between animals and types of laughter and crying. A lion *roars*, a squirrel *snickers*, a hen *cackles* (or *cluck*, cf. *chuckle?*), a dog *howls*, a puppy *whimpers* or *whines*, and a kitten *mewls*. Besides these, a person can *crow* in triumph, *chirp* in delight, or *grin like a Cheshire cat*.

In Japanese, there are fewer animal associations with laughing. A few non-native animals with English 'laughing' names are translated with 笑い, e. g., the *laughing gull* is the 笑い鷗. A few words for the sounds of laughter can be applied to animals. <-< can be the sound of a pigeon

or dove, こ-こ a hen, and げら-げら a frog. Animals are more closely associated with laughing in English than in Japanese.

4. CONCLUSIONS

In recapitulation, there are both similarities and differences in the semantics of laughter in Japanese and English. There are many similarities in words for types of laughter (冷笑 and *cold laugh/smile*) and sounds of laughter (は-は and *ha-ha*). Onomatopoeia is the common origin of most words for laughter in both languages. The most remarkable difference is in lexicalization. Japanese has many more words that describe the sounds of laughter. Thus, the Japanese lexicon allows one to be extremely specific in reference to nuances of laughter.

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