

Some Expressions of the Interior Space and the Exterior Space in English and Japanese⁽¹⁾

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0. Introduction

It is often pointed out that Japanese ways of behaviour are much influenced by the notion of *uchi* 'inside' and *soto* 'outside' as the following quotation shows.

... the criterion for Japanese behavior is the distinction between the inner circle (*uchi*) and outer circle (*soto*) with no firmly established individual freedom or public spirit.⁽²⁾

(Doi, 1973 : 44)

This fact made me try to analyse these terms.

In this presentation, I'd like to discuss the two terms, in addition to *yoso*, another antonym of *uchi*, comparing them with some of the corresponding expressions in English.

Incidentally, the term *uchi* can be also used as a temporal expression and as a selectional expression from a certain range, besides being used as a spatial expression, meaning 'inside', 'home', etc. Therefore, I'd like to make a proposal of a principle for explaining all of these uses, as well.

1. Inside and outside

J. Miller (1985 : 86–91) has defined the meaning of *inside* as “INTSPACE: the space enclosed by the interior surfaces of an object”. On the other hand, the meaning of *outside* has been defined as “EXTSPACE: the space adjacent to the exterior surface or surfaces of an object”.

Moreover, Bennett (1975 : 80) has discussed the meaning of these terms as follows.

Inside and *outside* are then defined as ‘locative interior of side’ and ‘locative exterior of side’, respectively.

And Bennett (1975 : 81) has continued, in order to explain the ungrammaticality of (2b) and (3b).

Before it is appropriate to say *X is inside Y* it must be the case that Y has sides. A house has sides, but water and sand do not.

- 1 a. Trevor is in the house.
- b. Trevor is inside the house.
- 2 a. Trevor is in the water.
- b. *Trevor is inside the water.
- 3 a. I found the spoon in the sand.
- b. *I found the spoon inside the sand.

S. Makino (1978 : 218–9) has, furthermore, asserted that the term *inside* can only take a three-dimensional noun as its grammatical object, showing the examples (4) and (5).

- 4. It was quiet *in* / ??*inside* the town.
- 5. He had some misgiving *in* / **inside* his mind.⁽³⁾

In spite of the existence of examples like (6), which cannot be taken to be three dimensional, the above discussions by three lin-

guists indicate that both of the terms in English are mainly used to refer to kinds of concrete and objective space.

2. Uchi, soto, and yoso as spatial expressions

6. ... when a singular term occurs *inside* a report of thought, the subject must be related in some favourable way to the item the singular term normally refers to.

(Blackburn, 1984 : 331)

2.0 Some Contrast between English and Japanese

Now, I'd like to compare some expressions including *inside* and *outside* with Japanese expressions with *uchi* and *soto*.

- 7 a. The ladies are sitting *inside*. (Hill, 1968 : 92)
 b. *Gofujin tachi wa *uchi* de koshikakete iru.
 (the ladies) (inside) (are sitting)
- 8 a. They were standing *inside* the shed because it was raining. (ibid.)
 b. *Amedatta node koya no *uchi* de amayadori o shita.
 (it was raining) (because) (inside the shed) (they were standing to prevent themselves from getting soaked)
- 9 a. Go *outside* and enjoy the sun. (ibid.)
 b. *Soto* e itte kimochinoyoi hinohikari o abite irasshai.
 (outside) (go) (enjoy the sun)
- 10 a. There is a notice *outside* the door. (ibid.)
 b. Doaa no *soto* niwa keiji ga shiteatta.
 (the door) (of) (outside) (there is a notice)

The examples (7) and (8) show that *uchi* does not correspond to *inside*, in spite of the frequent claim, made by linguists and lexicographers, that the two terms have almost the same meaning,

while in the case of (9) and (10), *outside* and *soto* show a correspondence. This fact makes us realize that the Japanese word *uchi* cannot usually express the concrete interior space.

Incidentally, when the bound form *gawa*, which has the same meaning as 'side' in English, is added to *uchi* to make a compound word *uchi-gawa*, the examples (7b) and (8b) become acceptable, despite their slight awkwardness. The reason why the acceptability of these sentences increases may be attributable to the fact that one of the semantic features, namely concreteness of the bound form *gawa* transfers to the term *uchi*, if Weinreich's idea (1980 : 14) is appropriate in this case. The same explanation may be applied to the case of *uchi-pokketo*, which has the meaning of 'inside pocket'.

In short, the above contrast between English and Japanese in (7) and (8) shows that the term *uchi* doesn't have the same characteristic of concreteness as that of a corresponding English expression *inside*. On the other hand, *soto*, the word which is often treated as an antonym of *uchi*, is able to refer to a concrete exterior space, as can be understood by the examples (9) and (10).

2.1 The principle governing the uses of *uchi* and *yoso*

In view of the literature discussing *uchi*, such as Oono (1974), Yamashita (1974), Morita (1978), and so on, I have reached the conclusion that the following definition is one of the best ways for explaining the characteristics of the terms, *uchi* and *yoso*.

The principle governing the uses of *uchi* and *yoso* (Principle A):

The domain or range *uchi* refers to is the egocentric one that an ego judges emotionally to be especially relevant to

himself or herself at the moment of speaking. The domain or range delimited by an ego is very subjective. The domain or range outside of it is *yoso*.

Although too much emphasis seems to be put on the subjectivity of the terms *uchi* and *yoso* in defining Principle A, it may be argued that subjectivity is an essential notion, as is already discussed in the analysis of modality and deictic expressions by Lyons (1977) and (1981), as well as that of conditionals by Akatsuka (1985). In the following, I'd like to show how important the notion of subjectivity is in the analysis of the terms *uchi* and *yoso*, in addition to the applicability of Principle A.

2.2 Abstractness

Now, let us investigate the examples (11) and (12) to ascertain the adequacy of Principle A.

11. Hako no **uchi* / *naka* ni takusan gengogaku no hon ga atta.
(in the box) (many books on linguistics) (were)

'There were many books on linguistics in the box.'

12. Gekijo no **uchi* / *naka* ni wa Takusan no choshuu ga ita.
(in the theatre) (many audience) (were)

'There were many audience in the theatre.'

As is already pointed out in Makino (1978 : 217-8) and Kunihiro et al (1982), *uchi* doesn't co-occur with concrete spatial expressions such as *hako* 'box' and *gekijo* 'theatre', though *naka* does. The same phenomenon can be observed in the above examples (7) and (8). The reason for the unacceptability of *uchi* in these examples may be explained by the fact that the box and the theatre are not usually perceived by an ego to be a subjective domain or range. That is, they are so objective and concrete that they cannot

changes, depending on the moment and situation of speaking from our family or home through our colleagues, etc., to our country. This characteristic is much like that of the deictic expression *here* in English, though the term *uchi* also makes us feel emotional proximity intuitively, which is defined as a property of secondary deixis by Lyons (1981 : 235). The latter connotation may arise from the fact that a speaker delimits emotionally the domain especially relevant to himself or herself at the time of using the term *uchi*. At any rate, the deictic characteristic may be represented symbolically by the following figure.

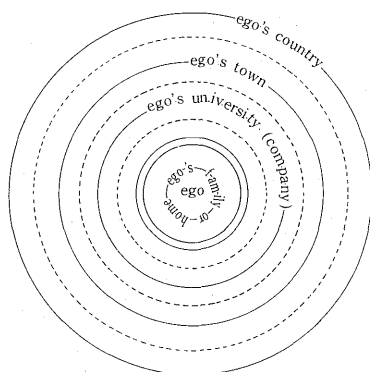


figure 1⁽⁴⁾

As the reader will understand from the above explanation, Principle A can cover all the characteristics of this sort of usage of *uchi*. For instance, when a speaker judges that the domain of his or her family is especially relevant to him or to her at the moment of speaking, he or she uses the term *uchi* to refer to his or her own family emotionally with the group consciousness that they belong to his or her domain. This explanation can be applicable to the

other cases in the same way.

Incidentally, in Kansai dialect, the term *uchi* can also refer to the first person 'I', like (18).

18. *Uchi tsukareta wa.*

(I) (to be tired) (!)

'I'm tired.'

The fact shows how egocentric and deictic the term *uchi* is.

The examples investigated above in this section were the cases in which the term *uchi* was used as a grammatical subject. Next, let us consider the cases where *uchi* is used as a possessive with the form *uchi no*. The approximate translation of *uchi no* into English in this usage is 'my' or 'our'. This evidence, therefore, makes us realize that also in this position, the term *uchi* has a strong sort of deicticity and egocentricity. To describe in details, the expression shows a speaker's strong feeling of affiliation to a certain domain which occurs as a head noun at the moment of speaking, in addition to the meaning as the first person possessive. Therefore, Principle A may be applied also to the kind of usage shown in (19).

19. *uchi no* hito (my husband) / *uchi no* yatsu (my wife) / *uchi no* kodomo (our children) / *uchi no* daigaku (my / our university) / *uchi no* kaisha (our / my company) / *uchi no* mura (our village) / *uchi no* terebi (our television set / the television set which is at our home)

Here, it should be noted that when *uchi* means 'family' or 'home', the term sometimes can be used without implicating the existence of an ego, like (20).

20 a. *Uchi e kaerinasai.*

(home) (to) (come back)

- b. Yamada san no *uchi* de wa kyo akachan ga umareta.
 (the family of Mr Yamada) (at) (today) (baby) (was born)
 'A baby was born to Mr Yamada's wife.'

These examples appear to be an exception for Principle A. However, when *uchi* is used referring to 'family' or 'home', the term almost always implicates the existence of a person to whom an ego is able to feel an emotional attachment, as was shown in Yoshikawa, H. and N. Yamada (1985). That is, these are the cases where an ego shows empathy with someone, so that he or she can speak in the position of a hearer or some other person. The cases in (20) are, therefore, not an exception of Principle A.

To sum up this section, the following points may be mentioned.

Firstly, the space which the term *uchi* covers is an egocentric domain a speaker judges emotionally to be especially relevant to himself or herself at the moment of speaking, as is defined in Principle A. Moreover, the term *uchi* is usually used subjectively, since it has one of the characteristics of secondary deixis. *Uchi*, therefore, cannot usually refer to a concrete space, whether it occurs as a postposition, or as a noun.⁽⁵⁾⁽⁶⁾

Secondly, with Principle A, we were able to explain the characteristic of the term *uchi* which changes its domain or range it covers.

Thirdly, it was argued that the examples like (20), which appears to be an exception to Principle A, might be explained by the notion of empathy.

Consequently, in spite of the frequent reference of the correspondence between *uchi* and *inside*, the term *uchi* as a spatial ex-

pression shows a very different characteristic from the corresponding expression *inside*.

2.4 Antonyms

Although *soto* 'outside' is treated as an antonym of *uchi* in most of the literature, I'd like to argue that this analysis may well be incorrect. In our view, the true antonym of *uchi* is *yoso*, which is usually translated as 'other', or 'another place'. The reason is that in examples (21), the term *yoso* makes us feel the existence of a person or a group of persons, in addition to the coldness of each expression. That is, the domain *yoso* refers to is the rest of the egocentric and subjective sphere that *uchi* covers.

21. *yoso mono* (a stranger) / *yoso no musume* (others' daughters) / *yoso no obasan*

(a strange lady)

(Yamashita, 1974 : 26)

On the other hand, when an objective space is referred to, *uchi-gawa*, which was discussed formerly, and *soto* show an antonymous relation, as will be understood if *soto* is substituted for *yoso* in (21). Besides, *naka*, which is defined as the space enclosed by all the sides by Morita (1979 : 45) can be treated as having an antonymous relation with *soto*.

Consequently, the semantic field of the interior space and the exterior space may be represented as table 1.

	Japanese		English	
	interior space	exterior space	interior space	exterior space
+ subjective	uchi	yoso	ϕ	ϕ
- subjective	uchigawa/naka	soto	inside	outside

3. *Uchi (ni)* as a time expression

3.0 An introduction to a temporal expression *uchi*

It should be noted here that *uchi (ni)* can also be used as a time expression like that of an English subordinate conjunction. According to Kuno (1973a : 153), its literal meaning is 'in the interval in which something is happening'. In this section, I'd like to study whether Principle A presented concerning the spatial of *uchi* is applicable even to this usage, or not.

Incidentally, the correspondence between English expressions and Japanese expressions relevant to the present discussion is described by S. Yamada (1981 : 88) in (22) and (23).

22. (i) Y before X : X mae (ni) Y

(ii) Y while X : X aida (ni) Y

23. (i) Y before X : X uchi (ni) Y

(ii) Y while X : X uchi (ni) Y

He has argued that the correspondence in (22) is the commonest one. He has added, however, that the correspondence in (23) is also observable. In fact, *uchi (ni)* often occurs as a temporal conjunction in our daily conversation, inspite of the fact that *inside* and *outside* in English don't function as subordinate conjunctions.

Now, let us consider the meaning of the temporal expression *uchi (ni)* in details. The most well-known definition of *uchi ni* and *aida ni* in Japan is that of Kunihiro (1981 : 264). He defines these conjunctions as follows.

S_1 uchi ni S_2 :

(i) In the interval described in S_1 , an event described in S_2 occurs.

(ii) The starting point or the terminal point of the interval represented by S_1 is vague and not definite.

(iii) The speaker presupposes the existence of the interval for which S_1 is not true.

S_1 aida ni S_2 :

(i) In the interval described in S_1 , an event described in S_2 occurs.⁽⁷⁾

(ii) The starting point and the terminal point of the interval represented by S_1 are clear and definite.⁽⁷⁾

3.1 Applicability of Principle A

Firstly, let us consider (24) and (25), which are examples quoted from Kuno (1973a : 154).

24a. Sensei ga *konai* *uti ni* asobimasho.

(teacher) (come-not) (before) (let's play)

'Let's play before the teacher gets here.'

b. Sensei ga kuru *mae ni* asobimasho.

(teacher) (come) (before) (let's play)

'Let's play before the teacher gets here.'

According to Kuno (1973a, b), *uchi ni* and *mae ni* are often interchangeable, though there is 'a subtle difference in meaning'. To summarize his claim, (24a) has the connotation that 'the teacher is about to come, though the speaker does not know exactly when, and he urges the hearer to play with him in the short interval before the teacher arrives'. Therefore, (24a) has 'the connotation' of 'immediacy' or 'tension'.

25. Ame ga (a. *hura nai* *uti ni* / b. *huru* *mae ni*) kaerimasho.

(rain) (fall-not) (before) (fall) (before) (let's go home)

'Let's go home before it rains.'

(Kuno, 1973 : 155)

(25a) also makes us feel, intuitively, immediacy or tension, be-

cause the exact time when rain will start is not predictable, though Kuno hasn't shown his interpretation on this sentence. On the other hand, each example of *b* is an objective temporal expression which corresponds to English translations.

The point mentioned above makes us realize that Principle A is also applicable to the case of a temporal use of *uchi (ni)*. To elaborate on this, the immediacy or tension can be felt from these examples, because *uchi (ni)* represents an egocentric range on the time line that he or she judges emotionally to be especially relevant to himself or herself at the moment of speaking. That is, *uchi (ni)* refers to a subjective range focussed on the time line. The argument made by Kuno (1973a : 156) that 'when some definite event, which is known to have occurred, is referred to, *mae ni* can be used, but not *negative + uchi ni*'. This further strengthens our argument, since it is usually more difficult for us to grasp subjectively of the past event known to have happened than that of future, due to the fact that the past event is usually an objective fact.

26. *Jane-taihuu ga konai uti ni tabemono no kaidame o
 (typhoon-Jane) (come-not) (before) (food) (s') (stockingup)
 siteoita.

(did (in advance))

'I stocked up on foods before Typhoon Jane got here.' (Kuno, 1973 : 157)

Incidentally, Miller/Johnson-laird (1976 : 424) has described the meaning of *before* clauses as follows, citing examples like (27).

27. He jogs before he eats breakfast.

We will assume that sentences of the form "S before S'" are interpreted to mean that there is some moment *t* such that S has been realized but S' has not yet

been realized.

If we hypothesize that the expressions *neg+uchi* in Japanese and *before* in English refer to the same temporal range, according to Miller / Johnson-Laird as quoted above, then it may be argued that *neg+uchi ni* reflects some aspect of the deeper structure of meaning, while *before* doesn't. In the case of *uchi ni* in Japanese, however, the range of S' is defined subjectively by a speaker, so that the corresponding expression (28) with (27) often has the connotation that if we go jogging after breakfast, we will have a stomach ache, etc.

28. Choshoku o tabenai uchi ni jogging o shimasu.

(breakfast) (not-eat) (before) (jogging) (do)

At any rate, the expression *uchi (ni)* has a subjectivity which cannot be described exhaustively, only with posteriority or anteriority as in the definition of *before* by Leech (1969 : 111), who has defined the meaning of *before* as 'at the time preceding the time at which'.

Though we have been discussing *negative+uchi (ni)* until now, which is often translated into *before* in English, next, let us study the cases that *uchi (ni)* corresponds to *while* in English.

I'd like to claim that in this case also, the subjectivity can be observed, despite the fact that the subjectivity in this use of *uchi (ni)* isn't felt so strongly, compared to that of the former use. The following are examples from Kunihiro (1981).

29. Akachan ga neteyu uchi ni / aida ni sentaku o sumaseta.

(baby) (is sleeping) (while) (washing) (completed)

'I did laundry while my baby was sleeping.'

30. Hanashiteiru *uchi ni / aida ni* dandan ochitsuite kita.

(to be talking) (while) (gradually) (was relaxed)

'I gradually became relaxed while I was talking to others.'

31. Tokyo ni sundeiru *uchi ni / aida ni* Osaka-ben o wasureta.

(I was living in Tokyo) (while) (Osaka dialect) (forgot)

'I lost my command of Osaka dialect while I was living in Tokyo.'

Concerning (29), it may be argued that the *uchi ni* clause makes us feel the speaker's fear that the baby should wake up, while the *aida ni* clause describes an objective interval. In (30), moreover, only the *uchi ni* clause has the connotation that I became relaxed without noticing the time when this happened. And (31), also has the implication that, to my surprise, I lost my command of Osaka dialect without noticing it. These connotations may be said to have arisen from the subjectivity of the expression *uchi ni*, which covers the interval defined emotionally from the speaker's egocentric viewpoint, reflecting the semantic characteristic summarized in Principle A.

The following two points may be mentioned as a summary of this section.

Firstly, it may be claimed that the English expressions *before* and *while* are usually objective expressions, though they may be able to be used subjectively by means of an intonational feature or by other means. On the other hand, Japanese has both the subjective temporal expression *uchi ni* and objective expressions like *aida ni*, *mae ni* in referring to the corresponding temporal range of the English expressions.

Secondly, what is more important is that Principle A, which is applicable to the spatial expression, is also applicable to the tempo-

ral expression of *uchi ni*. I'd like to argue that the two temporal definitions of the expression *uchi ni* in Kunihiro (1981) can be explained by Principle A.

For instance, Kunihiro's second definition states that 'the starting point or the terminal point of the interval represented by S_1 is vague and indefinite'. About this definition, it may be claimed that it is the reflection of a general characteristic of the word *uchi*. That is, the boundary of the interval is abstract and indefinite, because the range which is relevant to a speaker is not defined objectively, but defined by the speaker egocentrically and subjectively, as is shown in Principle A.

Concerning the third definition of Kunihiro (1981), it may be argued that a speaker extracts and focuses particularly on the relevant interval for which S_1 represents egocentrically and subjectively like the way defined in Principle A, as a natural result, the existence of the interval for which S_1 is not true is perceived by the speaker or the hearer. The immediacy of the expressions including *uchi ni* may be explained in the same way.

Consequently, it may be claimed that, although Kunihiro's definitions of the meaning of *uchi ni* seem to be adequate, there is still a deeper principle which controls the usage of *uchi*, namely Principle A.

4. A set for selection or judgement

Uchi has another use which means a set for selection or judgement. Therefore, *uchi* in this case approximately stands for 'among', 'of' like in 'the best driver of all', etc. Corresponding to this usage of

uchi, there is another term *naka* which is often interchangeable with *uchi*, as is mentioned in Kunihiro, et al. (1982 : 229).

32. Kono Sansatsu no hon no (a. *naka* / b. *uchi*) de dore ga
 (these) (three) (books) (among) (which)
 ichiban omoshirokatta ka.
 (the most) (was interesting) (?)
 'Which book was the most interesting of the three?'

Kunihiro, et al. (1982 : 229) also claimed that 'there is a slight difference in connotations between *uchi* and *naka*'. To summarize the discussion in Kunihiro, et al., *naka*, compared with *uchi*, makes us focus especially on individual and concrete items of a set as well as on the set itself, while *uchi* makes us focus especially on a set itself as a whole abstractly without really taking the individual items of the set into consideration. Therefore, for example, when we select the dishes we'd like to have on a menu at a restaurant, (33a) is more natural, because we select them from a list which is present in front of our eyes. In other words, the selection is made from a set of individual items that are listed concretely.

33. Kono (a. *naka* / b. *uchi*) no dore ni suru ?
 (this) (among) (of) (which) (do (select))
 'Which dish do you like to have on this menu?'

If the above argument in Kunihiro, et al. (1982) is adequate, then the inappropriateness of *uchi* in (33b) will be explained by Principle A. To expand on this point, no one will usually look at a menu in front of our eyes subjectively when he or she selects a dish from it, so that it is not appropriate to use *uchi* instead of *naka*. In other words, the menu, a list of the names of dishes, in front of our

eyes is so objective and concrete that it cannot be taken to be an object to be judged emotionally. That is, the objectivity conflicts with the subjectivity of the term *uchi*.

34. Are demo gakusha no *uchi* / **nakn* ni hairu no kane. ?
(that) (even) (scholar) (among) (to be counted) (tag question)
'How can a man like him be a learned man?/Can he be count-ed among our scholars?'
(Shimizu. et al. 1978)

35. Sorera no *uchi/naka* kara tekitoona mono o erabi
 (these) (of) (among) (from) (adequate) (thing) (select)
 nasai.
 (imperative)
 'Choose the best one among them.'
 (Morita, 1979 : 35)

In this paper, it has been argued that all the uses of *uchi*, which are usually treated separately as spatial, temporal, and selectional

usages, can be explained simply by Principle A.⁽⁸⁾

Moreover, of the spatial expressions, it has been pointed out that, at least linguistically, the true antonym of *uchi* is not *soto* but *yoso*, though in almost all the literature except Yamashita (1974), the antonym of *uchi* is considered to be *soto*, of which term I have claimed that the true antonym is *naka*.

Incidentally, although I have not had enough time to study the corresponding expressions of *uchi* in English such as *inside*, *outside*, *before*, *while* and *among*, etc., it is likely that all of them are objective expressions. On the other hand, Japanese has both subjective and objective terms as is shown in table 2.

	English	Japanese	
	objective	subjective	objective
spatial	inside	uchi	naka
	outside	yoso	soto
temporal	before	neg + uchi ni	mae ni
	while	nchi ni	aida ni
selectional	among/of	uchi	naka

table 2

Notes

- (1) This paper was read at the colloquium of the University of Sussex on 5 th December 1985. I'd like to express my thanks to Professor G. Gazdar for reading this paper and giving me useful advice.
- (2) (*Uchi*) and (*soto*) are added by the author.
- (3) According to Makino, *inside* in (4) is unacceptable, because 'the town' is usually perceived to be two-dimensional. On the other hand, (5) shows that *inside* cannot take a noun referring to an abstract

notion as its grammatical object.

- (4) To be more precise, each translation into English in the above examples and in figure 1, such as 'our family' or 'ego's company' should be interpreted as the family an ego belongs to, or the company an ego belongs to, etc. More generally, it should be interpreted as the circle or group to which an ego belongs.
- (5) As an idiomatic expression, the postpositional *uchi* can be sometimes used like *kokoro no uchi* 'in one's mind' and *hara no uchi* 'at heart'.
- (6) Although for Morita (1978 : 30), some concrete space can be referred to, using *uchi* like *kuruma o uchi ni tomeru* 'to park a car inside', for me it is unacceptable as colloquial Japanese. *Uchi* should be replaced with *uchi-gawa* or *naka*. Nevertheless, the sentence *uchi mo soto mo makkura da* 'Both inside and outside are dark' is acceptable even to me. The reason may be that a concrete and objective meaning of *soto* has transferred to *uchi* because of coordination. Alternatively, the expression may be said to be idiomatic and therefore exceptional.
- (7) The above translation from the book written in Japanese is not a literal translation. However, I tried not to deviate from the writer's intention.
- (8) In Kunihiro (1981), a possibility of relatedness between the temporal usage and spatial usage of *uchi* has been tentatively suggested. Besides, in Makino (1978), the relationship between the spatial usage and selectional usage has also suggested. Neither of them, however, tried to describe the relatedness concretely and exhaustively.

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