VERBS OF LOVE AND DEPENDENCE

IN THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE

by

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ERRATA.

I affirm that this dissertation "VERBS OF LOVE AND DEPENDENCE IN THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE" is my own work, and all resources used have been acknowledged.

J. Hanrahan.
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"Linguistic knowledge entails understanding many different beautiful systems of logical analysis. Through it, the world as seen from the diverse viewpoints of other social groups, that we have thought of as alien, becomes intelligible in new terms. Alienness turns into a new and often clarifying way of looking at things."

Benjamin Lee Whorf 1956:(1)

The Japanese psychologist Takeo Doi created a stir among psychologists, anthropologists and linguists when in 1971, he produced, his book *Amae no Koozoo*. This was translated by John Bester and published in English by Kodansha International in 1973, under the title *The Anatomy of Dependence*. This book centres around the concept of amae, a word which is difficult to translate into English without some explanation, but which, according to Doi, forms the key to understanding the Japanese personality structure.

Having lived for some time, in rather unusual circumstances, on Sado Island, off the western coast of Honshu, I had an opportunity to observe and become involved in its culture, a culture, which my Sado friends proudly assured me, represents the Japan of eighty years ago. This personal experience as the only foreigner residing in a community where few had met a native speaker of English before my arrival affected me profoundly. In examining a group of Japanese words of emotion which are related to the concept of amae in this thesis, I have tried to decipher an unusual psychological experience, which, during my stay on the island, I sensed but did not fully understand.
Apart from the natural curiosity that the islanders felt for a mature student, alone in a foreign land, who by Japanese standards, should have been at home supported by her family, there was, in my relationship with those around me a mutual and practical need, which gradually grew into a kind of interdependency that seemed completely natural to me, and to the people who became my firm friends. They were keen to improve their English, and I was in search of information which would enable me to complete an honours thesis dealing with the problems that Japanese students of English experience when studying in a totally Japanese environment. Also, I was as curious about their culture as they were about mine.

During the coldest winter on the island for forty five years, I became entirely dependent on the islanders. Even though I was unaware, at the time, of the concept of amae, I was aware that between these people of varying ages and occupations, there was a particular empathy; a relationship of which I became a part. I do not suggest that a gaijin (foreigner) could ever be a participant in the concept of amae, but by deliberately immersing myself in the atmosphere around me, I found that my reactions to situations which arose were entirely alien to those to which I would have responded in my own environment.

Doi's book, which I read shortly before leaving Japan, helped me to partially understand the reasons for my reactions. It further fuelled my curiosity, and set me on a fascinating path of discovery. To fully understand the significance of many unusual experiences on Sado became an absorbing interest. In this climate of search and discovery, the decision to produce this further thesis was made.
Sado has had a tragic and colorful history as an island of exile for intellectual dissidents. These have included an emperor Jintoku Joku, a religious leader Nichiren, and the Noh expert Zeami, all of whom contributed to the cultural spirit of the islanders in the days of the ruling Shogunates. It is an island where the vagrants of ancient Edo were sent as slaves to work in the gold mines during the Tokugawa period; an island where the traditional culture of ancient Kyoto is still practiced and preserved.

This thesis is an attempt to convert some very personal feelings into intellectual evidence and to consider different ways in which the universal human need for communication is realized through cultural concepts within the language. It is hoped that through semantic analysis of common verbal expressions of "dependency", "commitment", and "love", some degree of understanding will be reached.

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life on the campus.
"Operational functions involve more than merely proper sequencing of elements in the linguistic code. They also involve the cultural definition of stage and events. An interaction opening, for example, is a culturally defined social event as well as a linguistic event - the two cannot, in fact, be conveniently separated, but must be considered simultaneously.

William O Beeman. 1986:(1)

This thesis examines a group of Japanese words which express emotion, at the heart of which is the concept of amae, the desire for love and attention from another person. The emotions expressed by the words discussed herein are common to all human beings and form the core of all cultures. It seems that human feelings of fondness vary, depending on the depth of the relationship existing between the people concerned. It is in the expression of these emotions that peoples differ. It is suggested that the differences are not in the way people feel, but in the way their culture conditions them to behave in communicating their feelings.

Only the prototypical use of the verbs in which the concepts are expressed will be defined in semantic primitives, although the peripheral uses will be commented on separately. In defining the prototypical use of these concepts, it is hoped that the ethnocentric connotations of the semantic primitives used in the definitions will be minimised.
I believe that language and culture are equal partners, each affecting the other. As a culture progresses and therefore changes, so the language develops to accommodate and reinforce that change. To study language divorced from its cultural implications, would be to impose one's own cultural concepts on the results. In an attempt to minimise the imposition of Western ethnocentric interpretation of the results arrived at, this thesis contains a degree of sociological and anthropological content. Background cultural knowledge may serve to remind us that we all have a tendency to see through the grid of our own culture.

As would be the case in the study of meaning in any language, the information received is relative to the age and intellectual background of the informant. The data used in this thesis was supplied by native speaking informants doing graduate or post graduate studies at A.N.U., wives of postgraduates, and students attending C.C.A.E. Their ages range from twenty to thirty five. These informants come from various prefectures in Japan.

The fieldwork was conducted by lengthy discussions on the appropriate contexts in which these verbs would be used and the contexts in which their use would be inappropriate. The informants were asked to provide suitable sentences used in everyday conversation. As individuals sometimes differ in their choice of expressions in specific circumstances, each item of information was discussed with other informants in an attempt to arrive at a generalization. They were asked to keep to the simplest grammatical structures where possible, to avoid semantic complications.
Young intellectual native speakers of Japanese, living in a Western culture may have a different concept of the nuances of meaning than may older Japanese, living in a traditional Japanese environment. Furthermore, a problem exists in soliciting opinions from native speakers of a "politeness culture" in that there is a tendency by the informant to proffer opinions which he or she feels the researcher would like to hear, rather than opinions that may disagree with a former hypothesis. In an effort to overcome these problems, each informant's data has been counter-checked and discussed with other informants.

Starred * sentences indicate inappropriateness in the sense that interpretation of these requires a culturally abnormal situation. Sentences marked with a question mark ? indicate cultural appropriateness only in highly restricted contexts. All sentences used are considered to be grammatically correct. I have attempted to arrive at some definitions, using Anna Wierzbicka's method of semantic analysis which she describes as follows:

"Semantic analysis...consists in translating the meaning of utterances or expressions from natural language into the postulated metalanguage, or into an expanded version of it, containing not only semantic primitives, but also near-primitives which have previously been defined in terms of the primitives."

Many Japanese/English and English/Japanese dictionaries merely define words in terms of loose equivalents. Some give sample sentences in which a particular word can be used, but few give the necessary cultural information of the relationship of speaker to hearer, the context in which certain words can be used, or the cultural restrictions which are placed on culturally specific words in the language.
In analysing sentences isolated from the context in which they are spoken, many nuances of meaning are lost when no indication is given of the shared knowledge of speaker and hearer. Nevertheless, by attempting to semantically compare words of similar meaning in similar contexts with their English translations, it is hoped that some of the different ways in which people of vastly different cultures express themselves, will become apparent.

Chapter Two contains relative cultural information which forms a basis for understanding the concepts which the words discussed represent. E.g. the importance of Japanese mythology in forming the basis of the culture; the influence of religion, history, and contact with other countries; the hierarchical nature of Japanese society; the importance of silent communication; social and personal obligations; modern research carried out in the area of interpersonal communication, and the Japanese concept of dependency.

Chapters Three to Five contain discussion of a group of words which have similar semantic components but which differ fundamentally in their use within society. These groups will comprise words dealing with "dependency" and its "response", and words of "love" which are relevant to the concept of amae. Data from native speakers is used in specific cultural contexts to highlight contrasts of meaning. Tables of various kinds relating to cultural usage are used in conjunction with specific cultural and semantic definitions. Chapter Six comprises a summary of the conclusions arrived at during this process.
CHAPTER II

JAPANESE LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

"English is a language intended strictly for communication. Japanese is primarily interested in feeling out the other person's mood, in order to work out one's own course of action based on one's impressions."

Masao Kunihiro.1975.(1)

2.0. MYTHOLOGICAL & RELIGIOUS INFLUENCES

All cultures have myths which, to some extent, are kept alive. Greek and Roman mythology is studied by an intellectual minority in Western cultures. If one includes in the term "mythology" the teachings of Christian religions, these beliefs have formed the basis of Western individualistic concepts and are the foundation stones upon which Christian ethics and equity law are based. The celebration of Christmas, Easter, Thanksgiving and other religious commemorations in Western culture is also based on these ancient beliefs. It seems that in all cultures, myths are the basis of all beliefs. In the West, the extent to which these ancient teachings are significantly remembered or believed in is dependent on the individual's intellectual preferences or religious beliefs.

In Japan they form an integral part of the culture. Japanese myths are kept alive in literature, in the performing arts, in festivals, and in the folklore and mores of every section of society. Pelzel, in his article, "Human Nature in the Japanese Myths." discusses the ways in which ancient myths have been kept alive as a basis of Japanese culture.
He states:

"... in spite of many additions to Japanese eschatological literature and numerous fluctuations of fashion, the myths have not been rewritten nor have they ceased to be well-known and viewed with at least some measure of respect by even moderately well-educated Japanese. They are thus the most persistent, and at least one of the basic sources of native literary views on these matters." (2)

According to Peizel, who quotes from the myth portions of Kojiki and Nihongi, early Japanese mythology, like early Christianity, was concerned with the origins of mankind. To explain this phenomenon, three distinct cycles are mentioned, viz: "Before the Creation of the Earth", "The Creation of the Earth", and "The Ordering of the Earth". Little is known of the first two stages, but by the third stage, heaven is already in existence and the earth is a "formless thing, floating about below heaven, "like drifting oil." The first "precursor of creation" was a "thing like a reed shoot", which, after multiplication, eventually gave rise to a pair of gods in human form, who rose to heaven to become the "creator siblings".

After stirring the formlessness below with a heavenly jewelled spear to form the island Onogoro, the "brother and sister" deity pair descended from the "floating bridge of heaven" to erect the "pillar of the center of the land" and to begin their work of creation. On this subject of the concept of heaven in relation to earth, Doi states:

"In a discussion on "The Japanese and Japanese Thinking" held recently by Izumi Seiichi, Inoue Mitsutada and Umesao Tadao, the participants discussed the "heaven" of the Japanese as something "continuous" as opposed to the "separate" heaven of the nomadic peoples" (3)
Unlike the Creator in Genesis, who made the earth and its first inhabitants in seven miraculous days, the creators in Japanese mythology, working as a team had discovered sexual procreation by simple observation of their own human form. Ritual accompanied each act of procreation. At one stage, a "breach of etiquette" in this ritual produced deformity.

Over a considerable time, the parent pair created a large number of deities by sexual procreation, and by a type of parthenogenesis or "symbolic incest", i.e. by swallowing each other's symbols of sexuality, (swords and jewels respectively), and regurgitating them as offspring. These, in turn, became the founders of the natural elements. One, the Sun Goddess, became the founder of the Japanese race as ancestor of the Emperor. In this way, the process of putting the earth in order was carried out by the group, rather than by a single deity.

From these myths, the idea of the Japanese as descendants of the creators of the world and therefore a superior species, has remained consciously or unconsciously within the Japanese psyche. Just as Christians believe that the bible shows the only truth, as Roman Catholics believe in the exoneration of sins by Confession, and as some minority break-away Christian religions believe in the imminent end of the world in which only they will survive because they are the only true believers, so the Japanese believe that they too, are unique.

These myths also seem to explain the different values which Japan places on morality, compared with the West. A breach of ritual etiquette was believed to produce deformity. This recognises conformity to established norms and group cooperation as the
important criteria governing social life, in comparison with the Western concept of one almighty God to whom the unworthy individual prays for guidance. The development of these opposing principles resulted in different cultures, one ruled by rigid conventions, the other being individualistic.

According to these myths, the world took some time to become ordered to a habitable stage.

Peizel states:

"At this point, the sources vary considerably. It is clear from all that the earth was still untamed. As one variant says, "This central land of reed-plains had always been waste and wild. The very rocks, trees, and herbs were all given to violence."...There were also trees and herbs, all of which could speak....all texts make clear that the progeny of the Sun Goddess, who were eventually to rule Japan, did not want to take on so noisome a place until it had been made habitable." (4)

It seems feasible to assume that to a Japanese, the environment is therefore symbolic of the gods, as heaven is part of the world and nature the benefactor. Violence is a natural phenomenon, not caused by human sinfulness. Japanese children are not taught to fear the gods as are Christian children.

Ruth Benedict states:

"Nothing in the child's experience makes him fear the gods or shape his conduct to satisfy just or censorious gods. They should be graciously entertained in return for their benefits. They are not authoritarian." (5)

Religious beliefs of the Western culture were influenced by Greek mythology and Judaism culminating in Christianity. Comparing these beliefs with the Japanese core of beliefs, the two could not be more dissimilar. The mythological Greek gods and demi-gods, seem to bear a similarity to Christianity's "Son of God", born of the "Virgin Mary."
The doctrines taught by the Book of Genesis contain the seeds of a different reality. The creation of the world by an almighty God in seven days; of Eve created from Adam’s rib, already predestined to be his sinful temptress, the instrument of his banishment from Paradise; of progeny born of lust and sinful passion, ever to be considered "unworthy" in the eyes of the Lord. There is no distinction made between "mortal" and "immortal", or "worthy" and "unworthy" in Japanese myths.

In Japanese mythology, as Pelzel states:

"The quality of the Sun Goddess is not morally upright in any self-conscious sense. Rather she shows understanding of how to mold herself with the people around her in a harmony that still does not deny the individuality of each. It seems no accident that she is typically termed "bright", a sign perhaps more of her humane than her astral attributes.... It thus does not seem amiss to say that morality lies in the total sympathy of one person for another, in the desire to give, not humanitarian "rights", but human fulfillment, even as he receives the same common and essential gift. In a real sense, morality derives from the forms of love." (6)

It seems feasible to suggest that these "forms of love" are related to the concept of AMAE, the need for reassurance of "passive love" and to that of AISURU, the verb used to express the deepest feeling of love in the Japanese language. Pelzel's article, which discusses these myths in great detail, demonstrates the importance of considering the effect of cultural conditioning which shapes the basic codes of behavior regarded as normal within a given society. This "cultural core" of beliefs into which the individual is born, moulds that individual's concept of right and wrong, good and bad, in short, it shapes his view of reality.
2.1. ENVIRONMENTAL AND HISTORICAL INFLUENCES

The cultures of Britain and Japan can be said to have exhibited xenophobic and self-defensive attitudes, throughout their histories. Both cultures have developed through a hierarchical system which has exercised control over the masses. Here the similarities end. Britain’s relatively flat terrain and close proximity to a vast European continent has engendered turbulent conflict with its neighbours, resulting in invasion by conquering enemies which submerged and changed the culture.

The language and culture of Japan has developed in vastly different ways and under totally different circumstances. Japan can be assessed in terms of the geographical environment of a cluster of four mountainous islands, with the only way out being the open sea. Interlaced with narrow triangular valleys, each is secluded from sight of the other, thus forming a series of closed communities in which nationalism, religion and culture are one and the same and at the heart of which is ancient Shintoism, ancestor worship. As an archipelago of inward-looking mountainous terrain where less than twenty five per cent of the land is suitable for human habitation, and being separated from conquering nations by a vast ocean, Japan has developed in comparative isolation.

The influences of China on Japan between 300 A.D. and 900 A.D. were lasting indeed, but they were welcomed rather than forcibly imposed. Not only did they strengthen the Japanese vocabulary with the acquisition of the Chinese linguistic symbols, but they introduced new concepts, and strengthened the Japanese animistic religion, Shintoism.
Jared Taylor maintains that hierarchy first came to Japan in the fifth century with the teachings of Confucius. He states:

"Confucius had taught that all men are morally bound to submit to elders and superiors. These teachings had a natural appeal for Japan's ruling class and were used to justify the inflexible social hierarchy of Japan's feudal period." (7)

It would appear that the introduction of this system diminished the cultural impact of the Sun Goddess as "mother-deity" and introduced a patriarchal concept. This is evidenced by the decreased status of the Emperor during that period and the subsequent restoration of his godlike status during the Meiji Period.

Buddhism, when it arrived from China in 538 A.D. had a profound effect on Japanese society. Used as a means of strengthening the hierarchical system, it enabled the ruler to consolidate power through priesthood. Unlike the methods of Christian salvation, which were tuned to the saving of individual souls, Buddhism was imposed upon the people in the form of "Temples of Learning" to which all had to subscribe. These were attended by the upper classes and introduced the first systematic thought and higher knowledge of other cultures to Japan. As, in the past in Japan, the teachings of Confucius had been bent and moulded to suit the requirements of the culture, so was Buddhism employed, having a profound effect on Japanese society.

P.A. Herbert explained the principles of Buddhism as follows:

"The Buddhist teaching of KARMA explains life and character in this way. "What you are is the sum total of your deeds in your past lives and what you do in this life will affect what happens to you in your next life. You will go on being reborn at various levels of existence, as a human being, or more likely as a lower form of life, so long as you continue to have desires, but when you reach enlightenment, you will cease to have desires and you will cease to be reborn." (8)
This doctrine, successfully imposed upon the existing updated Shintoism, resulted in a glorification of heroic suicide in the interests of the nation. To die gloriously in battle in a state of "no mind" gave the ultimate honor to one's ancestors. Understandably, Christianity did not receive the same high level sanctions when it arrived in Japan via trade with Spain and Portugal in the sixteenth century. Within fifty years it converted some three hundred thousand people out of a population of around twenty million. When it began to pose a danger to the hierarchical system, it was outlawed.

By 1838, the trading post of Nagasaki was serving as a small window to the world. The rest of Japan was effectively sealed off to all but a minority of traders. The Tokugawa period was a time of the consolidation of the culture without outside influences; a time when homogeneity was restored and the hierarchical elements strengthened after a violent period of Shogunate rivalry and civil wars. This deliberate isolation ended in relatively modern times. While other countries were expanding their perimeters and changing with global contact, Japan was closed and consolidating. As a consequence, Japan has spent two thirds of the last 300 years in isolation. Changes are now rapidly taking place in a controlled society.
2.2. THE JAPANESE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

In every culture there are restrictions on the way one should feel about people and things. The language of the culture contains words which describe the varying depths of these emotions and the culture dictates how we should use them.

As Barnlund states:

"One acquires a personality and a culture in childhood, long before he is capable of comprehending either of them. To survive, each person masters the perceptual orientations, cognitive biases, and communicative habits of his own culture. But, once mastered, objective assessment of these same processes is awkward since the same mechanisms that are being evaluated must be used in making the evaluation." (9)

In some cultures, speaker/hearer relationships are more important than in others. In Japanese, the language strongly reflects the importance of these relationships, constantly reminding the speaker of the need to behave according to the accepted hierarchical order. This is evident in the common use of kinship terms and status terms in normal conversation, in the limited use of personal pronouns, and in the choice by the speaker of particular lexical and grammatical forms to indicate recognition of the stratified relationship between speaker and hearer. It is also evident in the restricted use of some words by some speakers, some of which will be discussed in detail in Chapter V.

In Japanese, the choice of inflectional forms, the use of honorification, or the use of status or kinship terms, grammatically encode aspects of the social relationship in the speech situation, where in English, personal pronouns would be used. In addition, many lexical items refer to the hierarchical position of the participants involved. Each person is placed in a comfortable and identifiable position on the scale of importance.
to both speaker and hearer. This position is constantly acknowledged in interpersonal communication, clearly defining the speaker/hearer relationship via the chosen form of each speech act with its appropriate gestures to indicate conscious recognition of the system. It is this superior/inferior acknowledgement that forms the core of Japanese culture.

The Japanese hierarchical system is an intricate vertical ranking system which has distinct relevance to every speech situation. The conscious recognition of the relevance of the relationship of the participants in interpersonal conversation is constantly reinforced in the language. Chie Nakane states:

"A Japanese finds his world clearly divided into three categories, SEMPAI (seniors), KOOHAI (juniors) and DOORYOO. DOORYOO, meaning "one's colleagues", refers only to those with the same rank, not all who do the same type of work in the same office or on the same shop floor; even among DOORYOO, differences in age, year of entry or of graduation from school or college contribute to a sense of SEMPAI and KOOHAI. These three categories would be subsumed under the single term "colleagues" in other societies."

(10)

Every Japanese person is sometimes "inferior" and at other times "superior", depending on the situation involved. Each person automatically assumes the appropriate role with comfort and ease, to signify his or her ability and willingness to conform to normal social behavior. It is possible for a person to be superior in the work-place or in public, and inferior in family life, or the reverse may apply. This is because a person's position in the social strata is only relevant to the group in which he or she is functioning at a particular time.

Nakane states:

"In everyday affairs a man who has no awareness of relative rank is not able to speak or even sit and eat." (11)
In comparing the Japanese hierarchical system with the caste system of India, she uses the terms "attribute" and "frame". By "attribute" she means "any specific quality as an individual in his social context", e.g. descent or hereditary status, academic background, social standing or occupation. By "frame" she means groups formed to share a common situational position, e.g. living in the same house, or working for the same company. She maintains that Japan's emphasis is on "frame", while India's is on "attribute". She states:

"The nature of this firmly rooted, latent group consciousness peculiar to Japanese society is expressed vividly in the traditional and ubiquitous concept of IE, the household, a concept that penetrates every nook and cranny of Japanese society." (12)

She suggests that, unlike Indian society and, to some extent, Western society, where birth-ties are of paramount importance, Japanese society is established on the basis of living together or working together, i.e. "an established frame of residence and/or managerial body." (13) She further states:

"The fact that the household may be seen as a common denominator of the entire population of Japan...affords ground for picking out, as a specific feature of Japanese social structure, the formation of groups by setting up of frames." (14)

This "frame" of reference is vital to the definitions of the words discussed in this thesis, as their prototypical use involves recognition of relevant speaker/hearer relationships.
2.3. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SILENCE.

Japanese society places a lower value on verbal expression than do societies in the Western world, where the cultivation of the art of persuasive rhetoric was established by the early Greek philosophers. Japanese culture considers verbalization of inner feelings, ideas, and debate or argument as disagreeable, and therefore, threatening to group harmony. As will become apparent in Chapter Five, many Japanese do not use words which express strong emotion, even to those close to them, preferring to rely on the ability of other Japanese to guess what is in their minds.

This disdain for unnecessary discourse is captured in proverbs such as "Iwanu ga hana" (To say nothing is a flower), and "Kuchi wa wazawai no moto" (Words are the root of all evil).

(15) Dean C Barnlund has this to say on this subject:

"This discrepancy in verbal disclosure appears both as a cause and consequence of cultural values. Speech, to many Japanese, is not a highly regarded form of communication. Words are often discounted or viewed with suspicion. Talk is disparaged. It is the realities, not words, that regulate human affairs."(16)

Thus the culture has a very important ingredient, "silence"; ISHIN DENSHIN: "heart speaks to heart", which is demonstrated by smiles, bows and other polite formulae in conjunction with subtle forms of the language to show recognition of the strata of the person being addressed. Lebra states:

"The Japanese glorify silent communication, ISHIN DENSHIN ("heart-to-heart communication") and mutual "vibrations" implying the possibility of semitelepathic communication. Words are paltry against the significance of reading subtle signs and signals and the intuitive grasp of each other's feelings. The ultimate form of such communication is ITTAIKAN ("feeling of oneness"), a sense of fusion between Ego and Alter. Ego then feels Alter's pleasure and pain as though they were his own."(17)
Shoozoo Takemoto suggests that, in the Western world, according to the Japanese mind, words have become a weapon of persuasive logic to protect speakers. In an individualistic society where every man is for himself, there is a tendency to say what is explicit in the mind to overcome a natural communication handicap. In Japan, all are responsible for the society in which they live. If things go wrong, it is not the society they blame but themselves. It is essential to conform or to remove the problem, "oneself". This thinking is reflected in the implicit nature of the Japanese language. Takemoto quotes Ozaki as saying:

"In Japan someone who speaks well and colorfully is regarded as belonging to the entertainment world, not the realm of sublime human relations." (18)

Lebra suggests that the language provides for this "implicit" rather than "explicit" expression because being a verb-final language, it allows the speaker time to guess the listener's attitude or response. Given that half the world's languages are verb-final, this implicit use in the Japanese language stems from deeper cultural attitudes. Japanese speakers tend to allow the sentence to trail off before coming to the verb, in an effort to avoid deviating from the listener's viewpoint. (19)

The Japanese tendency to silence does not come from the worship of silence as such, but from the effects of a rigid hierarchical system which inhibits the individual from stating his thoughts and opinions until he is aware if the opinions of those around him. There are many Japanese proverbs which reinforce this. e.g. "Derugugi wa utareru" (The nail that sticks up is hammered down), and "Mizu wa hoo enno utsuwa ni shitagau" (Water conforms to the shape of its container). (20)
No one is encouraged to show leadership qualities or to take full responsibility or full credit for an idea. Suggestions are discussed and added to and decisions are made by group consensus so that when things go wrong, responsibility is felt by all and credit is shared when success is achieved.

Robert Christopher states:

"As the Japanese see it, plain speaking has one overwhelming drawback: it tends to commit the speaker to a hard-and-fast position, and thus can easily provoke direct confrontation - which all Japanese dread. Accordingly, straight talk disturbs the typical Japanese." (21)

For this reason, Japanese people prefer to avoid verbal communication when unwanted attention is likely to be drawn to them or when a total commitment is involved. This becomes apparent in the use of some words of emotion dealt with in this thesis. As Lebra states:

"The message of a conversation is not in what is said but what is not said; silence is communication." (22)

To overcome this problem, society recognises and promotes the art of HARAGEI, which Christopher translates as "visceral communications" or "belly language". Peter Dale refers to it as "belly art", "a term used in reference to the idea of acting on the strength of one's personality, rather than on argument, to achieve a difficult consensus." (23) A highly developed system of non-linguistic signs and gestures indicate inner thoughts and feelings to the initiated, which allow a person to accurately gauge another's thoughts and feelings. This places the other person in the position of relying on his own powers of perception and to some degree sharing a joint responsibility in which both feel comfortable.
This cultural reciprocity is explained by Christopher thus:

"The essence of HARAGEI is that because of the racial homogeneity and almost identical social and cultural conditioning of the Japanese people, it is often possible for one Japanese to determine the reaction of another to a particular situation simply by observing the second man's facial expressions, the length and timing of his silences and the ostensibly meaningless grunts he emits from time to time. Among Japanese of the same generation and occupation, this process can become so sophisticated that words are expended only on courtesies and badinage, and the art of direct verbal communication almost atrophies." (24)

Peter Dale looks at the use of HARAGEI in much harsher terms. He states:

"HARAGEI is only non-verbal because open declaration of intent is explosive. This suggests an outlook marked by intolerance and suspicion rather than cosy symbiosis, and "harmony" here is a very tenuous, fragile matter."(25)

Whether this is so or not does not alter the fact that Japan's racial, social and cultural homogeneity results in a close-knit kinship system, which extends outward from the household where an unrelated person is likely to be treated like a family member. Belonging to the same group is like belonging to the same family.

2.4. SOCIAL OBLIGATIONS AND HUMAN FEELINGS:

The Japanese language abounds in words and expressions which involve the concept of "human feelings" and the conflict between "outer" and "inner", or "public" and "private" self. e.g. "Omote o tateru" (to put up a front), "Omote o tsukurou" (to keep up appearances), "Ura o miru" (to see what is behind). It is vital to interpersonal communication to know where one stands within the prevailing frame of reference. The sense in which URA: "the rear" and OMOTE: "the face", SOTO: "the outside" and UCHI: "inside" govern one's actions, is present in the concept of IE, "the
household". GIRI, one's bond of moral obligations to people outside the framework of the household, is separate yet entwined with NINJOO, one's inner feelings.

Dore maintains that GIRI relationships occur more often and are given greater social importance than in the West because formalized behavior which affects the individual's material well-being has higher priority in Japan than the notion of individual integrity as it is conceived in the West. He maintains that, as a general rule, acts of GIRI have the following characteristics:

"1. They spring from a sense of obligation rather than from spontaneous inclination.
2. The obligation is spoken of as an obligation towards a specific person or group of persons.
3. The immediate sanction which would attend non-fulfilment of the obligation is the displeasure or the distress of this specific person or group of persons." (26)

Lebra describes NINJOO as "an indulgence in sentimental desires...and tolerance of such indulgence in others". (27) Just as the awareness of one's role in society is a conscious part of the daily life of a Japanese, so the subjective realization of deep emotional feeling is recognized as part of one's inner rather than outer life. In a social structure which demands strict controls over one's behavior, the recognition of selfhood must be subjective and introspective. The observance of protocol is the protective coating around one's inner world.

Pelzel traces this concept to the Japanese myths, stating:

"...even in later ages Japanese were not attracted to the Chinese habit of trying to produce moral behavior through conscious obedience to abstract principles. Moreover, in GIRI - a duty to a specific person - and in the compulsions ascribed to NINJOO, as in the legal importance given confession, the Japanese have shown an interest in morality as a matter of the emotional commitment of the individual to others." (28)
Doi elaborates on this thus:

"In my interpretation, NINJOO means specifically knowing how to AMAERU properly and how to respond to the call of AMAERU in others. Japanese think themselves especially sensitive to these feelings, and those who do not share that sensitivity are said to be wanting in NINJOO." (29)

In-laws, neighbours and close associates in society or in the workplace are within the boundaries of GIRI relations. This feeling of duty to the group is closely connected with the inner feelings of NINJOO in as much as the response to another’s need for attention can fall into either category or be a combination of both. A Japanese may be called upon to respond to another’s AMAERU not because he is fond of that person, but because GIRI demands it. Doi describes the relationship between the concept of ON, "the receiving of some kindness or favor" and GIRI. He maintains that although ON implies the receiving of a kindness which is an act of NINJOO on the part of the giver, this results in "a kind of psychological burden" for the receiver and calls into existence a GIRI responsibility. An ON is reciprocated, even against one’s own will.

Within these complex relationships is the concept of TANIN, "someone who has no connection with oneself" which Doi describes as follows:

"Thus the essential meaning lies in the absence of blood relationships, and it is the parent-child relationship that obviously lies farthest from TANIN....Parents and children, however, cannot become TANIN, since the ties binding them are considered to be unbreakable; and indeed there would seem to be a tendency in Japan to look on this parent-child relationship as the ideal yardstick in judging all other relationships. A relationship between two people becomes deeper the closer it approaches to the warmth of the parent-child relationship and is considered shallow unless it becomes so." (30)
He further states:

"In other words, it is the most natural thing in the world for AMAE to exist in the parent-child relationship, while other cases where AMAE comes into play would seem to be either quasi-parental relationships or relationships in which there is some element of this basic relationship." (31)

Doi suggests that when dealing with people who are TANIN, there is a feeling of ENRYO, "restraint" on the part of the persons involved. In situations on which a person in a TANIN relationship shows the appropriate degree of ENRYO, there is no social criticism. However, to demonstrate excessive ENRYO is to stifle one's feelings of AMAE. It is this delicate balance which everyone tries to maintain. To do otherwise would incur social criticism.

Doi expresses this situation "diagrammatically" in describing the "three worlds" which a Japanese finds himself or herself constantly juxtaposing, as follows:

"The parent-child relationship where AMAE arises naturally is the world of NINJOO (spontaneously arising feeling); relationships where it is permitted to introduce AMAE form the world of GIRI (socially contracted interdependence); the unrelated world unaffected by either NINJOO or GIRI is inhabited by TANIN, "others". (32)

This GIRI/NINJOO concept forms the essential model for behavior within the hierarchical system of Japanese society. Relationships within the household are extended to relationships with neighbours and to within group situations which constantly occur throughout society. From kindergarten to the grave, Japanese people are constantly being made aware of their role in group behavioral patterns.
The Japanese person is in a permanent state of what Lebra terms "role orientation" of which she says:

"role orientation for the Japanese takes two forms: extreme role commitment and versatile adjustment. Role is internalized in one, while it remains external in the other. In the former, the self is absorbed in the role, whereas in the latter, the self is not affected by the role. These two forms are different manifestations of the ethos of social relativism; which form predominates depends on the social situation and on the mutual expectations between Ego and Alter." (33)

Ruth Benedict states:

"Romantic love is another "human feeling" which the Japanese cultivate. It is thoroughly at home in Japan no matter how much it runs counter to their forms of marriage and their obligations to the family....Sex, like any other "human feeling", they regard as thoroughly good in its minor place in life. There is nothing evil about "human feelings", and therefore no need to be moralistic about sex pleasures.... They fence off one province which belongs to the wife from another which belongs to erotic pleasure. Both provinces are equally open and aboveboard." (34)

Eiichiro Ishida, in discussing the Japanese feelings of "love" and "hate" states:

"The European is far more conscious of the distinction between friend and foe than the Japanese....The Japanese are by contrast far more willing to compromise. The reverse side of willingness to compromise, however, is half-heartedness. For example, love is portrayed in Western literature as deep, intense, and full-blooded in a way that leaves far behind the gentle pathos of its Japanese counterpart; it has its roots in the very nature of Western civilizations, with its thoroughgoing loves and hates." (35)

Isao Takino describes the Western concept of "love" as "active love" which contains an element of self-assertion. He contrasts this with the "passive love" of the Japanese, stating:

"Being passive itself is a negative thing in Western society. This is true in all fields, particularly in interpersonal relationships....It is active love which promotes contact with people. This author feels that "love" in Western languages contains a component of self-assertion." (36)
Doi believes that in modern times, the problems of GIRI and NINJOO are becoming increasingly difficult for most Japanese. He states:

"There is, for instance, an increased self-assertion or pursuit of self-interest emerging out of the conflicts over GIRI and NINJOO. This new trend is usually associated in the minds of the Japanese with individualism, one of the Western ideologies imported into Japan. It seems to me, however, that this trend amounts in most cases to what I would describe as an extreme pursuit of the desire to AMAERU, accompanied by another emotion, that of suspicion and mistrust towards others. At any rate, the postwar trend has made one crucial conflict manifest, that is, the conflict over AMAERU or that whether one is loved or not." (37)

2.5. COMPOSITE CULTURAL PROFILE.

Dean C Barnlund conducted experiments in Japan, using one hundred and twenty-two Japanese College students and forty-two Americans studying in Japan to discover their opinions of each other. He devised a list of twenty-three appropriate English adjectives with which to describe the "communicative characteristics" of people of both cultures as seen from two perspectives: their opinion of their own characteristics and their opinion of the characteristics of those of the other culture. His instructions to each subject were to "best describe what Americans are like talking to each other" and to "best describe what Japanese are like talking to each other." (38)

In drawing up a graph of the "Composite Cultural Profile" of both the Japanese and the American interpersonal characteristics, he came to the following conclusion:
"The qualities most frequently attributed to the Japanese are "Reserved", "Formal", "Cautious", "Evasive", "Silent", "Serious", and "Dependent". All score above forty on the Role Description Checklist which means that roughly one-fourth or more of all respondents chose these as typical of Japanese communication. American scores on these same attributes ranged between zero ("Reserved", "Silent".) and five ("Serious".) at the very highest.(39)

The same conclusion draws support from an examination of the composite profile of Americans. The qualities most attributed to them are "Self Assertive", "Frank", "Informal", "Spontaneous", "Talkative", "Humorous", "Independent", and "Relaxed". All these adjectives score above forty and were also chosen by at least one-fourth of all respondents. On only two of them, "Relaxed", and "Independent", do the Japanese score above five.

"In short, the distance that divided these two cultures is so enormous along the same interpersonal dimensions that it is difficult to avoid concluding that they are nearly exact opposites. The qualities that one society nurtures—reserve, formality and silence in one case, and self assertion, informality and talkativeness in the other—are the same qualities that the other society discourages." (40)

2.6. INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION.

Barnlund's method of arriving at his conclusions was to use Jourard and Lasakow's "Self Disclosure Scale", in which he "identified six potential communicative partners: Mother, Father, Same Sex friend, Opposite Sex Friend, Untrusted Acquaintance, and Stranger."(41) A questionnaire was given to one hundred and twenty Japanese and one hundred and twenty American College students, aged between eighteen and twenty four years, all single and equally divided between the sexes.
In it, he listed for discussion, six broad subjects which were:

"(1) Opinions about political, religious and social issues. (2) Interests in food, music, television, and books. (3) Work goals and difficulties, special talents and limitations. (4) Financial status, including income, savings, debts and budget (5) personality, specific assets and handicaps, sources of pride and shame (6) Physical attributes, including feelings about one's face and body, illness, sexual adequacy." (42)

In requesting information as to the depth of disclosure on these subjects, he listed four guidelines with accompanying symbols i.e.

"O - Have told the person nothing about this aspect of myself; 1 - Have talked in general terms about this item; 2 - have talked in full and complete detail about this topic; X - Have lied or misrepresented myself to this person.(43)

The results of this detailed research indicated that in interpersonal encounters between Japanese they should:

1. "interact more selectively and with fewer persons."
2. "prefer regulated to spontaneous forms of communication."
3. "communicate less of themselves verbally and prefer a lower degree of personal involvement across a variety of topics."
4. "tend to limit physical as well as verbal expression."
5. "prefer to cope with threatening interpersonal situations by adopting predominantly passive rather than active forms of defense."
6. "be less wellknown to themselves since they expose and explore inner reactions less often and less thoroughly." (44)

Using the same variables, he predicted interpersonal encounters between Americans as follows: The American should:

1. "communicate with a larger number of persons and less selectively."
2. "prefer more spontaneous forms of communication to more ritualized ones."
3. "communicate their views more fully and on a more personal level accross a variety of topics."
"cultivate physical, as well as verbal intimacy."

"prefer to cope with adopting predominantly active forms of defence."

"be better known to themselves since they expose their inner reactions more frequently and fully." (45)

He suggests that one has an "unconscious self", "a private self", and a "public self". The "unconscious self" represents the "nearly inaccessible psychic assumptions and drives that comprise the unconscious", i.e. those motives or feelings that are rejected or denied. The "private self" represents the thoughts and wishes that are known only to the individual, and which are deliberately kept from others by careful monitoring and censoring of words and acts. The "public self" shares one's thoughts and motives with others in interpersonal communication.

It is in this latter realm of social behavior that a person acts according to the conventions of the culture to which he belongs. Barnlund maintains that the "private self" and the "public self" of a typical Japanese differs markedly from that of a typical American. He believes that the cultural rules concerning the type of information which a person normally discloses to associates in interpersonal communication, are a source of confusion and misunderstanding in intercultural communication. Based on his previous findings outlined in section 1.7., he concluded that the area of "public self" that a Japanese shares is much less than that which an American shares.

Barnlund produced a scale, based on these criteria for each nationality from which he constructed figures showing the "Precise Boundary of Public Self" for Japan and the U.S. as follows:
In normal interpersonal communication between associates within a common cultural environment, similar cultural rules apply, resulting in a minimum of misunderstanding, this being due mainly to personality traits of the people concerned. These negative and positive reactions are indicated in his figures by + and - in the lighter shaded areas denoting interpersonal contact. The + signs indicate satisfactory communication and the - signs show the normal degree of misunderstanding which occurs in most interpersonal communication. Using this criterion, he illustrated the way in which Japanese interpersonal communication is conducted within a Japanese environment, and the way in which American interpersonal communication is conducted within an American environment as follows:
The figures represent hypothetical conversations between people. + and - signs show normal areas of agreement and disagreement that can be expected to occur in any discussion. In Figures 2 and 3, (interpersonal communication between people of the same culture), the normal areas of agreement and disagreement are equal because both follow a similar set of cultural conventions.

He suggests that a Japanese may experience acute embarrassment when participating in interpersonal communication in a totally American environment. The Japanese may consider his privacy to be invaded by American behavior which seems to be "flippant".
"insensitive", "unnatural" and "prying". Barnlund states "In the Japanese culture these are the meanings that would be attached to such behavior." (49) In comparison with the attitudes he experiences in his own environment, in which differences of opinion, direct questions, and lack of awareness of the other person's status are critically evaluated, the Japanese may find his normal means of communication severely handicapped.

The American is similarly frustrated by what he may interpret as "pointless", "childish", "evasive", and "inexcusable", when attempting to communicate with a Japanese in a Japanese environment. Barnlund states: "What seems to be clear to one is patently unclear to the other. And what seems to be clear may actually be misunderstood." (50) By superimposing the Japanese boundaries on those of the American boundaries, Barnlund demonstrated the intrusion into the Japanese private self by Americans when conversation is conducted in an American environment, and the frustration that Americans may experience in a conversation conducted in a Japanese environment:

Figure 4. Intercultural Communications: American Style.
In Figures 4 and 5, (interpersonal communication between people of different cultures), the area of disagreement is shown by the darker shading. In Figure 4, it illustrates an intrusion into areas of self that the Japanese does not normally share with anyone, while in Figure 5 it illustrates the frustration that an American may feel in not being able to gain satisfaction from the conversation. The - signs in both figures indicate the negative result of intrusion into the private self of the Japanese and the negative result of being unable to penetrate those areas which to the American may be essential for effective communication.

Barlund states:

"These two countries appear to differ sharply in the depth of conversation they feel is appropriate in interpersonal encounters. Among Japanese there is substantially less disclosure of inner experience while among Americans substantially greater disclosure on all topics and with all persons. Where the former share their private thoughts in a general way, among the latter these are revealed much more completely." (53)

These results point to the great differences existing between the two cultures and to the need to look appraisingly at the source of these differences. Barlund suggests that all human beings are born with similar sensory and nervous capabilities. Each culture
cultivates certain behavioral patterns which identify its members as being part of that culture, but the most basic tendencies are present in all people, regardless of origins. No two persons are exactly alike, nor are any human beings totally foreign to each other. To say that all Japanese, all Americans or all Australians act in a manner typical of their cultural stereotype would be foolish.

It is natural, however, to assume that these fundamental differences in culture would be echoed in the language of each culture as fundamental differences in meaning. If a rock or a tree was once thought to have animate life in one culture and not in another, then there must be a difference in the concept of the meaning of the words in each language for rock or tree. If such labels for concrete things in a culture can have different connotations, then abstract labels which define our emotions must also bear scrutiny.

2.7. AMAE: THE CONCEPT OF DEPENDENCE

In all cultures, mothers are instrumental in the forming of our basic concepts. The system of maternal care lays the foundation for the social order in any society. Caudill and Weinstein, in their research into maternal care and infant behavior in Japan compared with those in America stated:

"We predicted that our American mothers would spend less time with their infants, would emphasize verbal interaction rather than physical contact, and would have as a goal an active and self-assertive baby. Underlying these predictions is the assumption that much cultural learning takes place out of awareness of the participants, and although the Japanese mother does not consciously teach her infant specifically to become a Japanese baby, nor does the American mother specifically teach her infant to become an American baby, such a process does take place." (54)
Their experiments led them to the following conclusion:

"In summary, in normal family life in Japan there is an emphasis on interdependence and reliance on others, while in America the emphasis is on dependence and self-assertion. The conception of the infant would seem to be somewhat different in the two cultures. In Japan, the infant is seen as a more separate biological organism who from the beginning, in order to develop, needs to be drawn into increasingly interdependent relations with others. In America, the infant is seen more as a dependent biological instrument who, in order to develop, needs to be made increasingly independent of others." (55)

For purposes of comparison, these assumptions can be broadly applied to Western culture in general. Ruth Benedict, in discussing child-rearing in Japan, explains the difference in "the arc of life" of Japanese compared with that of Americans.

She describes this as:

"a great shallow U-curve with maximum freedom and indulgence allowed to babies and to the old. Restrictions are slowly increased after babyhood till having one's own way reaches a low just before and after marriage. This low line continues many years during the prime of life, but the arc gradually ascends again until after the age of sixty men and women are almost as unhampered by shame as little children are.....It is difficult for Americans even to fantasy a life arranged according to the Japanese pattern. It seems to us to fly in the face of reality."(56)

She suggests that in America the opposite occurs. Discipline is gradually relaxed as the child grows and maximum freedom occurs in the prime of life. It seems natural to assume that extremes of indulgence as a small child, and strict discipline in the growing years must produce in a Japanese a strong urge for constant reassurance that one "belongs" to a supportive group.

In Japan, it seems, speech is of secondary importance to correct behavior. Speech reinforces behavior. The child is taught how to incline its head in deference to its elders before it is taught to speak, thereby instilling into the child the importance of paralinguistic features above mere words. Regular visits over a
period of some months to the house of an informant, the mother of a small son, made this point very clear. In the early stages, the mother gently inclined the child's head in greeting when I arrived, and whenever the child was offered anything from a visitor. This inclination of the head gradually became his natural reaction when confronted with an older person. When confronted with a stranger, he often clung tightly to his mother's skirt or tried to draw her attention from the visitor. The mother assured me that this was AMAE behavior.

According to John Bester, who translated Doi's book into English:

"The Japanese term AMAE refers, initially, to the feelings that all normal infants at the breast harbor toward the mother—dependence, the desire to be passively loved, the unwillingness to be separated from the warm mother-child circle and cast into a world of objective "reality". It is Dr. Doi's basic premise that in a Japanese these feelings are somehow prolonged into and diffused throughout his adult life, so that they come to shape, to a greater extent than in adults in the West, his whole attitude to other people and to "reality"(57).

When Japan adapted the visual symbols of the Chinese language to form the basic vocabulary of the written form of the Japanese language, there was no ideograph to match this concept. They used the Chinese character meaning "sweet". This meaning is retained in the Japanese adjectival form AMAI, but with specifically Japanese connotations.

Doi explains:

"...the adjective AMAI....is used not only in the sense of "sweet to the taste, but also as a description of a man's character: thus if A is said to be AMAI to B, it means that he allows B to AMAERU, i.e. to behave self-indulgently, presuming on some special relationship that exists between the two....(if) a person's view of the situation is AMAI...it is excessively optimistic, without a proper grasp of realities at stake, the cause of this misapprehension, presumably being that the person concerned is allowing wishful thinking (a form of self-indulgence) to get the better of his judgement."

(58)
The following sentence illustrates this point:

1. WATASHI NO CHICHI WA YOKU WATASHI NI ITTA
   I (poss) father(top)often I (dat)say(past)

"OMAE NO KANGAE WA AMASUGIRU"
   child (poss)thinking (top)amai-excessive

My father often said to me "You are too optimistic".

In his article "AMAE", Doi states that:

"...there is a social sanction in Japanese society for expressing the wish to AMAERU. And it must be this social sanction that has encouraged in the Japanese language the development of the large vocabulary relating to AMAERU. In other words, in Japanese society parental dependency is fostered, and this behavior pattern is even institutionalized into its social structure."(59)

AMAERU is a verb of emotional intent which seems to lie at the core of the interdependency concept of the Japanese culture. Chie Nakane calls this "the traditional and ubiquitous concept of IE". (see 2.2.). Doi believes that this concept lies behind the understanding of the Japanese personality structure. As a practicing psychoanalyst, Doi was concerned with finding the cause of the mental and emotional problems of his patients. Being a follower of the Freudian method of analysis, he related all psychological problems to the concept of AMAE. Doi's opinions are relevant because as a native speaker of Japanese, he has carefully examined a large group of words in relation to this concept.

Takie Sugiyama Lebra considers Doi's application of the concept of AMAE to be too broad, giving the impression that all Japanese behavior can be explained by the motivation of AMAE. She restricts its meaning to "an indulgence relationship", stating:

"The role of expressing AMAE, called AMAERU must be complemented and supported by the role that accepts another's AMAE."(60)
She lists four significant key dependency relationships:

(a) The "Mother and Child Relationship" where the mother remains the lifelong object of attachment.

(b) The "Heterosexual Relationship", where the husband and wife alternate the dependency roles depending on whether they are in private or in public.

(c) The "Physical Dependency Relationship" where the sick, the aged and the dead are considered wholly and justifiably dependent upon others.

(d) The "Parthenogenetic" Independence Relationship in which the apprentice may suffer for a time but expects his hardship to be eventually rewarded by becoming IPPONDACHI (independent). and thus assume the status of "employer-master-parent" with his own dependent employee-apprentice-children".(61)

These interdependent relationships do not exist discrete from one another; each blends with the other with varying degrees of emphasis depending on the particular context. Lebra goes on to state:

"The dependency of one generation on another thus involves role reversal in conjunction with one's stage in life: a child is dependent on his parent, while the latter in his old age becomes dependent on his child and successor, who is now mature."(62)

However, dependency also implies responsibility. It is not a one-way trade, as Lebra further points out:

"A culture that extols empathy must tolerate or even promote dependency, since an empathetic actor needs a dependent partner and vice versa. Indeed, empathy and dependency stimulate and sustain each other. The Japanese concept of dependency should not be understood as implying unilateral passive reliance upon another without reciprocal exchange. The right to be dependent must be "bought" by acts fulfilling obligations or by making concessions....When two persons are unequal in status or power, the inferior becomes dependent upon the superior for help and support. The latter is expected to exercise his power in favor of the dependent, thus forming a patron-client tie." (63)
In this climate of social dependency lies the concept of emotional dependency, the concept of AMAE. Sonya Salamon, in her article "Male Chauvinism", states:

"AMAERU, a concept for which we have no word in the West, is an active verb which designates the seeking or causing of oneself to be loved, nurtured and indulged by others." (64)

She suggests that if a husband deliberately makes unnecessary or childish demands upon his wife, he is "doing AMAERU". This behavior is considered the normal way for a man to behave in Japanese family society, indicative of the role reversal of the husband and wife within the home.

Frank Gibney, in his book "Japan, The Fragile Superpower." states:

"The urge to depend shows itself in many and sometimes wondrous ways - from the indulgence which the Japanese give to badly behaved children to the unnerving reliance of big business on their bankers or the righteous indignation of trade unionists when management weakly attempts to discipline them for half-wrecking the plant during a boisterous demonstration. It also appears, from time to time, in Japan's conduct of international relations: in ancient days with China and Korea; in recent times with the United States." (65)

In relating this behavior to the concept of AMAE, he maintains that:

"When the Japanese say someone is AMAETE IRU,...they mean that the person in question has an excessive need to be catered for, protected or indulged, but not by just anybody. The person you depend on, the object of your passive AMAE is invariably your senior. He may be your father or your older brother or sister....But he may just as well be your section head at the office, the leader of your local political faction, or simply a fellow struggler down life's byways who happened to be one or two years ahead of you at school or university....The AMAE syndrome is pervasive in Japan." (66)
Gibney's use of the word "senior", which suggests age difference to the Western mind seems misleading in this context, as the Usage Tables in section 3.3 demonstrate. It would seem that the word "superior" used in the Japanese sense as outlined in Chapter II, section 2.2., would be more applicable.

Gibney describes an often prevailing situation in Japanese companies of requests for promotion being based on seniority and loyalty rather than efficiency. A departmental head can argue for the promotion of an inefficient workman on the grounds that this promotion will give him (the boss) peace of mind so that he can work more vigorously on the company's behalf. Gibney describes this type of situation thus:

"Such requests, based on an awareness of AMAE, have tremendous feeling behind them. ("After Mr. Yamamoto has worked so hard and so sincerely in preparing this plan, how can the president disregard it, even if it is almost unworkable?") A rejection creates great resentment." (67)

This form of expressing AMAERU was also mentioned by Doi, who suggests that the expression "AMAETE IRU" is used in the context of "taking advantage of their position" (68)

It seems that after marriage the home is the wife's domain in which she is superior, outside the home the husband is superior, thus the public image is different from the private image.

As Lebra states:

"Outside the house, it is the wife who is dependent, as if she were unable to make any judgement independent of her husband's opinion....A step inside the house, the dependency role is reversed." (69)
According to my informants AMAERU is used in the context of "inferior" to "superior".

Doi states:

"First, I suspect that AMA, the root of the word AMAE, may be related to the childish word UMA-UMA indicating the child's request for the breast or food, which is the first word that almost all Japanese speak. DAIGENKAI recognizes that AMASHI (sweet) can have the same sense as UMASHI (pleasant tasting), which makes my fancied connection between AMA and the UMA of UMA-UMA still more likely." (70)

Doi also suggests that the notion of environment being considered as one's "superior" may have its origins in ancient times. While he maintains that the concept evokes association with infant behavior, the word is widely used in reference to adults.

He then attempts to relate the AMA of AMAE to AMA meaning "the heavens" which, for the ancient Japanese, was not something separate from earth to be feared but something which "chiefly conferred blessings on man." (71)

He further states:

"AMATERASU OOMIKAMI, the Sun Goddess who was believed to be the ancestress of the Japanese nation, is for the most part an extremely maternal, human goddess. This suggests that the origins of AMAE and the myth of the Sun Goddess spring from the same roots." (72)

It would seem that the prototypical use of AMAERU is within relationships between people but, according to my informants, the concept of AMAE can also include the relationship between people and their environment. A person can AMAERU towards his environment. He can depend implicitly on a set of circumstances, having no inclination to change the way they affect his life. This peripheral use seems to be a natural metaphorical extension of the concept.
This quote from an article by Hayao Kawai reinforces Doi's opinion on this relationship:

"The Japanese have worshipped nature as a great mother-deity, the possessor of unlimited love. But the period of high economic growth, the rampant exploitation of the land has destroyed the natural environment. In Japan the mother-deity has died."

(73)

It seems that the Japanese language is in many ways a means of restoring and controlling the traditions of its speakers. The traditional system of rote learning and the importance of literacy in Japanese society, in contrast with Western traditions of encouraging debate and self-expression, strengthens Kunihiro's claim of the Japanese language being one which is "primarily interested in feeling out the other person's mood" rather than one of "communication." (quote (1), this chapter.)
CHAPTER III

VERBS OF DEPENDENCE

"The core of the Japanese family, ancient and modern, is the parent-child relationship, not that between husband and wife. So the family today also reflects the pre-dominance of vertical relationships."

Chie Nakane. 1979. (1)

3.0 AMAERU

This chapter discusses and defines a group of words related to interdependence in Japanese society. The central theme is a definition of the verb AMAERU.

Because there are no words in English which precisely cover all the meaning components inherent in these verbs, they are glossed interlineally in their Japanese form, relying on free translation to indicate the meaning in a particular context. As noted in Chapter II, the terms "appropriate" and "inappropriate" are used to indicate cultural acceptability or otherwise in specific situations. All sentences are grammatically acceptable.

Kenkyusha's New Pocket Japanese - English Dictionary (Revised Edition) glosses AMAERU thus:

AMAERU: behave like a small child; play the baby (to); coax; be coquettish; fawn on (a person); avail oneself of another's kindness. (2)
Shinmeikai Kokugo Jiten (2nd. Edition) defines it as follows:

AMAERU: AITE GA YURUSHITE KURERU-DAROO TO IU other person (subj) forgive/permit give -(prob)
KOTO O KITAI SHITE SETSUDO O KOETA fact (obj) expect-ing appropriateness (obj) exceed (past)
KOODOO O TORU behavior (obj) take

(Lit:) To act in a manner exceeding appropriateness in the expectation that the other person will allow this. (3)

These two definitions seem to contain negative value judgements which, in some areas of use, appear to be contradictory to the discussion of this concept in section 2.7. SHINMEIKAI's definition includes a component of expectation on the initiator's behalf which is lacking in Kenkyusha's gloss. The glosses and definitions above illustrate negative connotations of the action implied when it is considered as "imposing on another's good nature". Therefore, it seems that the degree to which the action of AMAERU is criticized by society in general is dependent on its particular social context. When used in the context of an infant's behavior towards its mother, it contains no such negative connotations as this is the natural behavior of all infants. As discussed in section 2.7, the "prototypical" use of AMAERU is in relation to the feelings that all normal infants have towards their mother, the desire to be passively loved:

1. KODOMO GA AMAETE IRU
child(ren) (subj) amaeru-ing be (pres)

The child is seeking attention (from its parents)
(Impl: The child is behaving in a way which indicates its need for immediate attention.)
On this basis, the extension of these feelings in their use after infancy through the life of a Japanese is considered herein as "peripheral" use. In Japanese society, the relationship between teacher and student or between boss and employee is an extension of IE, the household. Gibney states:

"As a perceptive diplomat-turned-writer, Kawasaki Ichiro, noted "In Japan work is a ceremony....For the Japanese worker, life and job are so closely interwoven that it cannot be said where one ends and the other begins." (4)

It is considered commendable to aim for good relations with one's superior. Once these are established, it is culturally acceptable to then try to satisfy one's AMAE needs. In this "peripheral" sense, animals are said to AMAERU towards their owners. Doi mentions that he once remarked to a Japanese friend that the concept of AMAE seemed to be peculiar to the Japanese language. He replied, "I wonder, though - Why, even a puppy does it."(5)

In comparing this verb with the verbs TORIIRU and TAYORU, which while having some common components, are used prototypically in the extended perimeters of IE, the household, it is hoped that some important distinctions will become clear.

3.1. TORIIRU

Kenkyusha's dictionary glosses TORIIRU thus:

TORIIRU: get into favor with; ingratiate oneself with (a person); curry favor (with a person); win (another's heart). (6)

TORIIRU is a verb of deliberate, rather than emotional intent, which is prototypically used outside the home where hierarchical status is strictly delineated. It denotes an action by an initiator to gain a particular response from an appropriate person who is in a position of power over the initiator. Whereas
AMAERU indicates demanding attention to one's emotional needs by sometimes aggressive behavior. TORIIRU refers to the ingratiating of oneself with a superior for self-gain. Both are subject to social criticism when used in specific circumstances.

Doi defines TORIIRU in this way:

"TORIIRU means to curry favor with the other man as a means of achieving one's own ends; it is a method of permitting oneself to AMAERU while appearing to allow it to the other man." (7)

He further states:

"TORIIRU...means "to take in", (it) describes the behavior of a person who skilfully maneuvers another into permitting him to AMAERU." (8)

Thus, if a person curries favor with his superior by doing things that would attract his admiration, he may then be in a position to take advantage of his superior's kindness, to impose on his good-will, as the following examples illustrate.

2. ANDO WA SHIBASHIBA SHOKUINSHITSU O OTOZURE
   Ando (top) frequently teacher's office (obj) visiting
   SHITSUMON O SHITE SENSEI NI TORIITTA.
   question (obj) doing teacher (dat) toriiru (past)
   Ando ingratiated himself with his teacher by frequently visiting his office and asking questions.

As a consequence:

3. SENSEI WA ANDOO O KAWAIGARU YOO NI NATTA.
   teacher (top) Ando (obj) cherish come to (past)
   ANDOO WA SHUKUDAI O SHITE KONAKATTA.
   Ando (top) homework (obj) doing come (neg) (past)
   KARE WA SENSEI NI AMAETE IRU KARA DA.
   He (top) teacher (dat) amaeru-ing be because be
   (Because of this) the teacher made a pet of Ando. Ando didn't do his homework. It's because he is seeking indulgence from his teacher.
TORIIRU does not seem to carry such strongly negative connotations as its English translation, i.e. "to curry favor", "to ingratiate oneself" etc. In Japanese society, kinship and group connections are widely used in obtaining enrolments in schools and universities, and in obtaining employment. This is often done via GIRI, the concept of repaying debts of honor to one's in-laws or to one's neighbours, or via the concept of GIMU, the heartfelt need to help a blood relation (see 2.4.). If these avenues of personal connections prove fruitless, then it is considered quite normal to resort to acts of TORIIRU. Dore outlines this procedure in discussing a journalist's contribution to a Japanese book entitled "How I Got My Job":

"He describes how he began planning his "job-getting strategy" in a mood of despair...His first move was to ingratiate himself with key officials in the appointment bureau by helping to stick on stamps and address envelopes...Presents were presumably taken to each, and he describes how each piece of "inside news" about his chances which the manager vouchsafed him...was faithfully reported back with grateful expressions of thanks to the two intermediaries in his chain of introductions." (9)

In modern Japan, competition is very keen. Preliminary decisions are often made by examination but the final choice is made by group decision. This is where the concept of TORIIRU is most applied.

As Dore states:

"The competition was to grow keener in the succeeding years, the chances of failure more apparent, the confident self-helper less and less common than the anxious climber "who has no fixed principles and knows only to ingratiate himself with people by smooth words and a smiling face." (10)
3.2. TAYORU:

Kenkyusha's Dictionary glosses TAYORU thus:

TAYORU: rely (depend, count) on (upon); look (turn) to (a person) (for help, assistance); resort to; have recourse to. (11)

The verb TAYORU can be thought of as the third angle of a triangle on which to base comparisons, i.e. one which has few restrictions on its use. Like AMAERU and TORIIRU, it describes an action by an initiator and as such demands a response. Its meaning comes close to the English word "rely". In Western culture one tends to rely on someone who, in the course of association, has indicated that he or she would be of assistance, should this be required. While this seems to be the prototypical use of this word, it can be said that one "relies" on information obtained from books, documents, or weather forecasts etc. This meaning will be referred to as "peripheral". There are no social restrictions of relationship of speaker to hearer placed on the use of this word. TAYORU can be used by anyone towards anyone to whom they believe they can turn for assistance.

A possible context for the comparison of AMAERU and TAYORU would be a situation in which parents have children old enough to be self-reliant. The parents may want to rebuild their house but do not have enough money. They may approach their children to help with the finance. The children may agree to their request and provide finance, or they may offer help of their own accord. Knowing that they will receive help even if their children impoverish themselves in the process, the parents may say:

4. KONKAI WA KODOMOTACHI NI AMAEYOO
   this time(top) children (dat) amaeru(hort)

   This time, let's depend on the children.
If there has been no discussion with the children, and they are not sure whether they can help, they may say:

5. **KONKAI WA KODOMOTACHI NI TAYOROO**
   
   this time (top) children (dat)tayoru(hort)
   
   This time, let's turn to the children. (Implication: for assistance)

In this situation, Sentence [4] expresses a general emotional strategy indicating confidence in the fact that their children will help, even if their request is excessive. i.e. "Y should do what X wants Y to do" Sentence [5] implies anticipation but suggests doubt as to whether they will or will not help. i.e. "I don't know if Y will do it"

It thus appears that to compare AMAERU with TORIIRU is to indicate the difference between demanding attention to one's emotional needs by any means, and the ingratiating of oneself with one's superior for the purpose of self-gain. AMAERU is an emotional need signalled by childish behavior, and TORIIRU is a deliberate action carried out with the hope of being especially favored. Unlike AMAERU and TORIIRU, TAYORU contains no social relationship restrictions. It expresses reliance of a general kind which can include financial, physical or emotional dependency, regardless of the hierarchical relationship between the participants.
3.3. USAGE TABLES:

**TABLE 1: CULTURAL USAGE.**

Table 1. shows the prototypical social relationship and the peripheral extension in the use of these words between participants involved in the processes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOCIAL IDENTITY: RELATIONSHIPS OF PARTICIPANTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(child ) (parent ) (prototypical)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(weaker ) (stronger ) (peripheral )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMAERU: (inferior) (superior)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{younger} (older) &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{student} (teacher) &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{animal} (human) &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TORIIRU: {subordinate} (boss)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{student} (teacher) (prototypical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAYORU: human (animal) (peripheral )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(human) (prototypical)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(animals) (situations) &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. identifies the relationship of the initiator and the recipient of the action. In all cultures, it is considered to be natural and normal for a child to emotionally depend on its mother. Therefore, this behavior does not contain any negative value judgement. In the use of AMAERU, the child-to-parent relationship use is prototypical because it utilizes the universal feelings that all infants and small children have towards the mother (see 2.4.). As the child becomes aware of this feeling and begins to use AMAERU behavior with deliberate intent, its use enters the area of the peripheral, where these actions are tolerated but sometimes criticized.

As discussed earlier in this thesis (see 2.2.), the speaker/hearer relationship is an important frame of reference in Japanese
social communication. for the appropriate use of AMAERU. In the context of the "role reversal" referred to by Lebra. (see 2.7.), the elderly parent assumes the role of the "weaker" even though he or she may also be the "older" and/or the "superior" in another context. Likewise, the husband who may assume the role of the "superior" in public becomes the "inferior" within the frame of reference of AMAERU behavior within the home.

In Japanese society, when this behavior is initiated by adults, negative value judgement depends entirely upon the strength of the relationship and the empathy that is aroused in the recipient by the initiator. If the expectations of the initiator are not fulfilled, or unnecessary strain is placed on the recipient in responding, the behavior is considered excessive and a negative value judgement is placed upon it.

In the use of TORIIRU, the prototypical behavior is its use in areas where the hierarchical rules firmly apply. It is rarely used in the home because deception is unnecessary where prototypical AMAE reciprocity exists.

Where the use of the verb TAYORU is concerned, the recipients "things" and "situations" occur only in the peripheral use of the word. Reliance on trained "animals", i.e. seeing-eye dogs or working dogs is likewise considered as peripheral use.
TABLE 2: IMPLIED EXPECTATIONS.

Table 2. deals with the implied expectations of positive response in the use of words by the initiator of the action towards the recipient of the action.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AMAERU: initiator</th>
<th>recipient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TORIIRU: initiator</td>
<td>recipient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAYORU: initiator</td>
<td>recipient</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Index:

<table>
<thead>
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<th>SEEKING.</th>
<th>RESPONDING.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>emotional gain</td>
<td>spontaneous (emotional)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>material gain</td>
<td>solicited material</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gain without obligation</td>
<td>personal choice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. illustrates expectancy on the part of the initiator. A person who emotionally depends on another (AMAERU), expects a spontaneous emotional response by the recipient of the action. A person who initiates TORIIRU behavior does this with the expectation of a material response. Because TAYORU behavior is not bound by cultural restrictions as shown in Table 1., a response is considered possible, otherwise assistance would not have been sought, but whether the recipient responds or not is a matter of personal choice.
Table 3 shows the type of motivation behind the action of the verbs discussed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPONTANEOUS EMOTIONAL</th>
<th>CONSIDERED SELF-GAIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AMAERU</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TORIIRU</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAYORU</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 illustrates the motivation which prompts the initiator's action. A person who initiates AMAERU behavior is motivated by spontaneous emotional feelings. Therefore the term "spontaneous emotional" in this context refers to the kind of motivation which prompts a child to cry for its mother's attention (prototypical) or an adult to demand special services from someone he presumes will respond (peripheral). One who initiates TORIIRU behavior is motivated by the incentive of calculated or "considered self-gain", which lies behind actions designed to please the recipient and therefore convince that person that the initiator is worthy of special attention. The initiator of TAYORU behavior is not bound in this way and can therefore be motivated by spontaneous emotion or by reasons of considered self-gain.

3.4. DEFINITIONS:

In analysing these verbs, an attempt has been made to include all important components of prototypical meaning, based on universal concepts, the anthropological information included herein, and the evidence of native speakers. Usage tables
clarify the cultural restrictions placed upon the words discussed. In defining AMAERU, the prototypical definition is that of universal infant-dependency, i.e. the intuitive emotional feelings a normal infant has towards its mother. In Japanese society this feeling is consciously extended, as the usage tables indicate, to the peripheral boundaries which are demonstrated by the data in section 2.6. The participant "environment", in line with Kawai's explanation of nature as "mother-deity" has been personified. These peripheral extensions will be discussed in the section on Comparative Data.

AMAERU:

X WA Y NI AMAERU.

Because X wants Y to do something for X, X does something
X feels towards Y like an infant feels towards its mother
Y feels towards X like a mother feels towards her infant
Because of this:

(a) Y feels something good towards X
(b) Y does what X wants Y to do
(c) When X is with Y nothing bad can happen to X

X wants to always feel this
People would think that to do this is good

The first component, "because X wants Y to do something for X, X does something", reflects the desire expressed by an action which is spontaneously initiated and motivated by emotional need. It is an action of demand.

6. KODOMO WA OYA NI AMAERU
   child (top)parent (dat) amaeru

Children seek attention from their parents.
7. *KODOMO GA OYA NI KIMAHEYOKU AMAERU
    child(ren)(subj)parents(dat)generously amaeru

    Children generously seek attention from their parents.

    The above sentence is inappropriate because KIMAHEYOKU, generously,
    implies "giving" while AMAERU implies "taking".

    The component "X feels towards Y like an infant feels towards its
    mother" defines "inferior" in this context, reflecting the
    prototypical mother/child relationship which is "prolonged into
    and diffused throughout the adult life of a Japanese" (Doi.)(see
    2.7.), and thus becomes archetypal of the Japanese social group
    as members of a household. This is expressed in the crying of an
    infant, the helpless attitude of a child, the complaints of an
    elderly parent, (all prototypical), the demands of an irate
    husband, the disobedience of a student, the "unnerving reliance of
    big business on their bankers"(Gibney)(peripheral)(see 2.7.). As
    Salamon states: "behavior which demands services, attention, and
    indulgence".(see 2.7.)

8. AKACHAN GA AMAETE IRU
    infant(subj) amaeru-ing be

    The baby seeks attention

    (Impl: The infant is behaving in such a way as to
    indicate its need for its mother's love, care
    and attention.)

    In Japanese society, AKACHAN refers to an infant up to the age of
    approximately six months. Therefore, it can be assumed that
    "crying" would be typical infant behavior when hungry, disturbed
    or in discomfort. For this reason, sentence [9], in this context
    is over-stated.
9. **AKACHAN GA AMAETE NAITE IRU**
   infant(subj)amaeru-ing cry-ing be
   The baby is crying for its mother's attention.

   However, this sentence is appropriate when discussing the reason for the baby's crying. i.e. AMAERU-ingly crying as opposed to "crying in anger or pain". e.g.

10. **AKACHAN GA OKOTTE NAITE IRU**
   infant (sub) become angry-ing cry-ing be
   The baby is crying in anger.

   The above sentence does not feature the verb AMAERU because "anger" does not demand a response. The following sentence is inappropriate because "laughing" negates the meaning of AMAERU in this context, as an action which provides pleasure and suggests contentment rather than an action which demands immediate response to emotional need.

11. **AKACHAN GA AMAETE WARATTE IRU**
    infant (subj)amaeru-ing laugh-ing be
    The baby is laughing for its mother's attention.

    The component "Y feels towards X like a mother feels towards her infant" defines "superior" in this context, reflecting the complementarity which Lebra stresses, the "fostered" and "institutionalized" parental dependency which in the peripheral use of AMAERU forms the "patron-client tie". (see 2.7.)

12. **OYA GA AKACHAN NI AMAETE IRU**
    parent(s)(subj)infant(s)(dat)amaeru-ing be
    Parents seek attention from their infants.

    This sentence is inappropriate because parents are never the inferior initiator in an AMAERU relationship in this context.
The component "Because of this: (a) Y feels something good towards X" refers to the instinctive love that a normal mother feels towards her child. This is a universal feeling between all normal mothers and their infants.

13. MOSHI AKACHAN GA AMAENAKATTARA HAHAOYA WA SHIMPAI
if baby (subj)amaeru(cond)(neg)mother(top) worry
SHIMASU
do(pol)

A mother worries if an infant does not seek attention. (Impl: the child may be retarded.)

The sub-component (b): "Y does what X wants Y to do" reflects the instinctive obligations attached to motherhood. the concept of dependency between the participants in AMAERU behavior "the confident assumption that her parents will indulge her "(Doi). (see 2.7.). This component can be illustrated by the following sentence which indicates that the child is now aware of the response to AMAERU behavior and knows that the mother will respond even if the action results in criticism.

14. SONO KO WA RYOOSHIN NI YAKYUU NO BATTO O
that child(top)parents (dat) baseball(poss)bat (obj)

KATTE MORAU TAME - NI DADA - O - KONETE
buy receive in order to throwing a tantrum

MADOGARASU O WATTA. ARE WA RYOOSHIN NI AMAETE
window (obj)break(past)that(top)parents(dat)amaeru-ing

IRU NO DA.
be (nom)(cop)

To force his parents to buy him a baseball bat, the boy defied them and broke the window. This is because he is a demanding child.

55
15. *SONO KO WA RYOOSHIN NO IITSKE O YOKU
that child(top) parents(poss) instruction(obj) well
MAMORU. ARE WA RYOOSHIN NI AMAETE IRU NO DA.
observe that(top)parents(dat)amaeru-ing be(nom)(cop)
He always does what his parents want. This is
because he is a demanding child.

The above sentence is inappropriate because good behavior is not
compatible with the demanding sense in which AMAERU is used.

The sub-component (c) : When X is with Y, nothing bad can happen
to X " implies a sense of trust, the expectation of being
"loved, nurtured and indulged by others" (Salamon). (see 2.7.)

16. SONO KODOMO WA SAIKIN ISSHO - NI SUMU
that child (top) recently together(adv) live
YOO NI NATTA GIBO NI AMAETAGARANAI
come to(past) stepmother(dat)show signs of wanting to
amaeru(neg)
The child is reluctant to seek attention from the
stepmother who has recently come to live with them.

In the above context, no relationship or expectancy of the return
of "passive love" has yet developed between them.

17. TAROO WA KARE NO GIBO GA DONNA - NI
Taro (top) he (poss)stepmother(subj)however (dat)
YASASHIKU SHITE MO AMAENAKATTA
kind (adv) do-ing even amaeru(neg)(past)
Taro didn't seek attention from his stepmother
however kindly she treated him.

This sentence implies that the security of mother-love and trust
is absent from the relationship.
18. *TAROO WA KARE NO GIBO GA KARE O KIRATTE
Taro (top) he(poss)stepmother(subj)he(obj)dislike-ing
IRU KOTO O SHITTE IRU. DAKARA KARE WA KANZO
be fact(obj)know-ing be therefore he(top)she
NI AMAERU.
(dat)amaeru

Because Taro knows his stepmother hates him, he seeks
her attention.

This sentence is inappropriate because the use of AMAERU suggests
that trust exists between the participants.

The component, "X wants to always feel this" refers to "the
unwillingness to be separated from the warm mother-child circle
and cast into a world of objective "reality", the feelings which
are "prolonged & diffused" into adult life. (Doi) It
implies the security of the knowledge of the "life-long object of
attachment". (Lebra). In Japanese culture, this prototypical
behavior becomes valid again in old age or infirmity. The person
becomes a child again. (see 2.7.)

19. OYA WA ROOGO WA KODOMO NI AMAERU
parents(top)in old age(top)child(ren)(dat)amaeru

In old age, parents seek attention from their children

The last component, "People would think that to do this is good"
reflects the universal, natural instincts of "mother-love" and
therefore is culturally appropriate in the prototypical use of
AMAERU. As its use moves into the area of the peripheral meaning,
cultural value judgements tend to affect appropriateness.
Society expects boys of around ten years of age to have begun to
acquire self-discipline. If a boy behaves like a spoilt child,
he is ridiculed rather than physically punished. A mother may say:
20. TAROO CHAN, AMAERU N JANAI WA YO
Taro(adr) amaeru (nom)(cop.neg)(sentence-final particles)

Taro, don’t act like a baby!

TORIIRU:

The use of AMAERU and TORIIRU both have the cultural restrictions of "inferior" to "superior" reference. TORIIRU is not used within the prototypical boundaries of AMAERU, i.e. within the family framework. It is used within the peripheral boundaries of AMAERU, the school, university, workplace and the social environment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X WA Y NI TORIIRU.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X wants Y to do something for X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X thinks of Y as someone who has the power to cause things to happen to X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X wants Y to think good things about X that Y doesn't think about other people like X.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X thinks: I will do something that Y would want me to do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y will think I am good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y will not know that I do it because of this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This will be good for me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some people would think that to do this a lot is bad</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The component "X wants Y to do something for X" refers to the motivation which stimulates X to act in such a way as to gain Y's favor.

21. BUKA WA JOOSHI NI TORIITTE SHOOSHIN subordinate(top) boss (dat) toriiru-ing promotion

SHITA do(past)

The subordinate ingratiated himself with his boss and received promotion.
The component "X thinks of Y as someone who has the power to cause things to happen to X" reflects the "inferior" to "superior" relationship of the participants.

22. ANDOO KUN WA SENSEI NI TORIITTA
Ando (adr) (top) teacher (dat) toriiru (past)
Ando ingratiated himself with his teacher.

23. *SENSEI WA ANDOO KUN NI TORIITTA
teacher (top) Ando (adr) (dat) toriiru (past)
The teacher ingratiated himself with Ando.

The above sentence is inappropriate because the teacher is always superior to his student.

The component "X wants Y to think good things about X that Y doesn't think about other people like X" reflects the competitive sense in which TORIIRU is used. "permitting oneself to AMAERU" (Doi)(see 3.1.)

24. TAROO WA JIBUN GA SHOOSHIN - SURU TAME - NI
Taro (top) himself (subj) promotion do in order to
JOOSHI NI TORIITTA
boss (dat) toriiru (past)
Taro ingratiated himself with the boss to be promoted.

25. *TAROO WA RAIBARU O SHOOSHIN SASERU TAME - NI
Taro (top) rival (obj) promotion do (caus) in order to
JOOSHI NI TORIITTA
boss (dat) toriiru (past)
Taro ingratiated himself with the boss to promote his rival.

The above sentence is inappropriate because it negates this component.

The subcomponent "X thinks:" reflects conscious awareness of TORIIRU as an act of deliberate thought.
The component "X thinks: I will do something that Y would want me to do" reflects the deliberation with which the act is conceived.

26. JOOSHI NO KODOMO O HOMERU KOTO NI YOTTE BUKA
boss(poss)child(obj)praise(nom)by means of subordinate
WA JOOSHI NI TORIITTA
(top) boss (dat) toriiru(past)

By praising his boss's child, the subordinate ingratiated himself with the boss.

27. *JOOSHI O CHUUSHOOSURU KOTO NI YOTTE BUKA
boss (obj) slander do(nom)by means of subordinate
WA JOOSHI NI TORIITTA
(top) boss (dat) toriiru(past)

By slandering his boss, the subordinate ingratiated himself with him.

The above sentence is inappropriate because to slander someone is to do something that that person would not want done.

The component "X thinks: Y will think that I am good" reflects the motivation which prompts the act.e.g. "a method of permitting oneself to AMAERU etc"(Doi)(see 3.1.)

28. TAROO WA JOOSHI NI YOKU OMOWAREYOO TO
Taro (top)boss(dat)good(adv)think(pass)(hort)(quote)
TORIITTA
toriiru(past)

Taro ingratiated himself with the boss so that he would think he was (a) good (worker).

39. *TAROO WA JOOSHI NI WARUKU OMOWARE YOO TO
Taro (top)boss(dat)bad(adv)think(pass)(hort)(quote)
TORIITTA
toriiru(past)

Taro ingratiated himself with the boss so that he would think he was (a) bad (worker).
The above sentence is inappropriate because it negates this component.

The component "X thinks: Y will not know that I do it because of this" implies the hypocrisy essential to the success of the action. e. g. "the person who skilfully maneuvers another" (Doi) (see 3.1.)

30. AITE NI UMAKU TORIIRU KEIKAKU O MIYABUTTA
opponent(dat) skilful(adv) toriiru plan(obj) see through (past)
I saw through the plan to ingratiate himself with the other person.

31. *ANDOO KUN WA SENSEI NI "SENSEI NI TORIITTE
Ando (adr) (top) teacher(dat) teacher (dat) toriiru-ing
II DESU KA" TO KIITA
okay(pol) Q (quote) ask(past)
Ando asked his teacher "May I ingratiate myself with you, Sir."

This sentence is inappropriate because the action of TORIIRU is in the main undesirable, and hence covert rather than overt.

The idea of self-gain is reflected in the component "X thinks: This will be good for me", the "means of achieving one's own ends." (Doi)(see 3.1.)

32. JOOSHI NI UMAKU TORIITTE SHOOSHIN O HAYAMETE
boss(dat) skilful(adv) toriiru-ing promotion(obj) make quick
MORATTA
receive(past)
I got into my boss's favor (good books) and got my promotion accelerated.
The subordinate ingratiated himself with his boss in order to be dismissed.

The cultural value judgement placed on this behavior is reflected in the last component, "Most people would think that to do this a lot is bad". This component, in contrast with the component in AMAERU, indicates a degree of cultural criticism. AMAERU behavior is more socially appropriate than TORIIRU behavior, but as Doi suggests, TORIIRU tends to be a "covert" excuse to AMAERU.

TAYORU:

When asked to indicate which of the following uses of TAYORU first comes to mind i.e. "reliance on people" or "reliance on things", my informants suggested that the former seemed to them more prominent. For this reason, it has been decided to consider the prototypical meaning of TAYORU to be "reliance on people" and its use in relation to "animals" and to "things" such as money, books etc. to be termed its peripheral meaning. This decision is confirmed by the consideration that the human element is present in these recipients of TAYORU behavior.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X WA Y NI TAYORU</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X wants Y to do something for X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X thinks: Y can do this for me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If Y does this something bad will not happen to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This will be good for me</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

62
The component "X wants Y to do something for X" reflects, in common with AMAERU and TORIIRU, the desire for benefit from an action.

34. KARE WA OKANE NI KOMATTE ITA NODE
he (top) money(dat)be in difficulty be(past)because
RYOOSHIN NI TAYOTTA
parents (dat) tayoru(past)

He relied on his parents because he was in financial difficulty.

35. *KARE WA OKANE NI KOMATTE INAKATTA NODE
he(top)money(dat)be in difficulty be(neg)(past)because
RYOOSHIN NI TAYOTTA.
parents (dat)tayoru(past)

He relied on his parents because he wasn't in financial difficulty.

The above sentence is inappropriate because it negates the reason for relying.

The subcomponent "X thinks" reflects conscious awareness of the action, present in TORIIRU, but not in AMAERU demonstrating the difference between a deliberate and an instinctive action.

The component "X thinks: Y can do this" refers to the initiator's belief that Y has the potential to act as a benefactor.

36. KARE MO KOMATTE IRU NODE, WATASHI WA KARE
he also be in difficulty be because I (top) he
NI WA TAYORENAI
(dat)(top)tayoru(pot)(neg)

Because he is also in financial difficulties, I can't rely on him.
37. *KARE WA OKANE NI KOMATTE ITA NODE
he (top) money (dat)be in difficulty be (past) because

AKANBOO NI TAYOTTA
baby (dat)tayoru(past)

He relied on his baby because he was in financial difficulty.

The component "If Y does this something bad will not happen to me" implies the need for assurance inherent in the use of the word.

38. KARE WA KEIMUSHOIKI O NOGARETAKATTA NODE
he (top) going to jail (obj)avoid want(past) because

JOOSHI NI TAYOTTA
boss (dat)tayoru(past)

He relied on his boss because he wanted to avoid going to jail.

(Context: He had been discovered taking money from the cash register and hoped that his boss would receive his apology and not take further action)

39. *KARE WA KEIMUSHO NI ITTE MO II TO OMOTTA
he (top) jail (dat)go-ing even okay(quote)think (past)

NODE JOOSHI NI TAYOTTA
because boss (dat) tayoru(past)

He relied on his boss because he thought he would not mind going to jail.

The above sentence is inappropriate because the initiator is not trying to avoid misfortune.

The component,"X thinks: This will be good for me" refers to the expectation of gain or benefit X feels will come from Y.
40. JIDOOSHA NO SHUURIHI GA OMOTTA YORI KAKATTE car (poss)repair cost(subj)think(past)than cost-ing SHIMATTA NODE MOCHIAWASE NO OKANE DE WA compleitive(past)because at hand(poss)cash(instr)(top) MANIAWANAI. OOTOOT O TAYORU KOTO NI SHITA be enough(neg)younger brother(dat)tayoru(nom)(dat)do (past)
As the car repair cost more than I had expected, I had not enough ready cash. I decided to rely on my younger brother.

The verb TAYORU does not contain any cultural value judgements or restrictions on use between participants, hence the absence of components such as "People would think", and "X feels towards or thinks of Y as" etc., which TORIIRU and AMAERU contain. nor does it contain the instinctive need of the AMAERU component, "Because of this: Y feels something good towards X" because good feeling is not a necessary component, and TAYORU can be responded to out of a sense of duty. e.g.

41. KAURA NO SENSOO-HORYO-SHUUYOOJO DE WA NIHONJIN- Cowra (poss) war prisoner camp at (top) Japanese HORYO WA OOSUTORARIAJIN KANSHU NI TAYOTTA prisoner(top) Australian guards (dat)tayoru(past)
At Cowra Prison Camp, the Japanese prisoners relied on their Australian guards.

The competitive TORIIRU component, "X wants Y to think good things about X that Y doesn't think about other people like X" is absent in TAYORU because a third party is not implied. The deliberation of a conceived act in the components, "X thinks: I will do something that Y would want me to do" and "Y will think I am good because of this" in TORIIRU does not occur in TAYORU. All three share a desire for assistance, i.e. "X wants Y to do something for X" and AMAERU shares with TAYORU a sense of trust, i.e. "When I am with Y nothing bad will happen to me" and "If Y does this
something bad will not happen to me". AMAERU and TORIIRU share
"inferior" to "superior" relationship. TORIIRU shares with TAYORU
the notion of self-gain, i.e. "X thinks: This will be good for me"
In its peripheral use TAYORU extends to "things" and "situations"
as discussed in Comparative Data.

3.5. COMPARATIVE TABLES:

Table 4: distinguishing semantic components.

Table 4 distinguishes the semantic components inherent in
each of the words discussed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AMAERU</th>
<th>Because of this:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a) Y feels something good towards X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Y does what X wants Y to do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>X wants to always feel this</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TORIIRU:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X wants Y to think good things about X that Y doesn't think about other people like X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X thinks: I will do something that Y would want me to do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y will think I am good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y will not know that I do it because of this</td>
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</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAYORU:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X thinks: Y can do this for me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 5 shows the semantic components that AMAERU and TORIIRU have in common and those which are shared with TAYORU.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>INFERIOR - SUPERIOR RELATIONSHIPS.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AMAERU:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TORIIRU:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TAYORU:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>DEPENDENCE.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>AMAERU:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TORIIRU:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TAYORU:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>EMOTIONAL SECURITY.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>AMAERU:</strong></td>
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<td><strong>TAYORU:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>SELF GAIN.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TORIIRU:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TAYORU:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>CULTURAL EVALUATION.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AMAERU:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TORIIRU:</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.6. COMPARATIVE DATA:

In this section, the peripheral use of these verbs will be explored by means of comparison and substitution. Compare the following sentences:

42. {AKACHAN} {AMAERU}
   (KODOMO) WA OYA NI {TAYORU}
   infants (subj) parent(s) (dat) amaeru child(ren) tayoru

Babies/children seek attention from (by appropriate behavior)/rely upon (for their needs)/their parents.

43. *OYA WA {AKACHAN} NI {AMAERU}
   parent(s) (obj) infant(s) (dat) amaeru

Parents seek attention from/curry favor with/rely upon/their infants.

Sentence [43] is inappropriate in that the roles cannot be reversed. An infant cannot be a recipient of these actions.

44. *AKACHAN GA {TORIIRU} IRU.
   baby (subj) toriiru-ing be

The baby is currying favor.

This sentence is also inappropriate because a baby's actions are spontaneous, signalling an emotional need, not consciously conceived to gain special favor.

45. *KODOMO WA OYA NI JIBUNKATTE-NI {AMAERU}
   child (top) parents (dat) selfish (adv) (dat) amaeru

The child ingratiates itself with/seeks attention from/its parents.
The use of TORIIRU is inappropriate in the above sentence because it is an over-statement. TORIIRU is an action for self-advantage. The use of AMAERU is also inappropriate because AMAERU is a spontaneous action without thought, while JIBUNKATTE suggests deliberate thought.

46. OYA WA KODOMO NI AMAERU
    parent (top) child (dat) amaeru

    Parents seek attention from their children.

In the context of KODOMO as young children, the above sentence is inappropriate because parents do not seek attention from their young children. However, if the parents are old and infirm and their children are adults, it is culturally normal for parents to seek this kind of attention from their offspring (see 2.7.).

47. OYA WA KODOMO NI TAYORU
    parent (top) child (dat)tayoru

    Parents rely on their children.

My informants consider that this sentence is appropriate in the sense that parents can depend upon their children to perform simple duties. In their later years parents may also depend on their children for financial and physical care. This dependency has no expectation of total commitment, as the component "I don't know if Y will do it" indicates.

48. *KODOMO WA OYA NI TORIIRU
    child (top)parent (dat)toriiru

    A child curries favor from its parent.

The above sentence, interpreted as a general statement is inappropriate because TORIIRU is not commonly used when referring to the conduct of family members. The expression KI NI IRARERU
YOO NI SURU: "seek to be loved by; seek to gain another's favor; seek to find favor with (one's master)" would be used instead.

e.g.

49. KODOMO WA OYA NI KI-NI-IRARERU YOO NI SURU
child (top) parent (dat) like (pass) so as to do

The child behaves so as to find favor with its parent.

According to Doi, the absence of AMAE behavior in young children indicates psychological problems. The following sentence was taken from his example of a mother's statement concerning her daughter, his patient.

50. KONO KO WA AMARI AMAEMASENDASHITA
this child (top) much amaeru (neg) (past) (polite)

This child didn't AMAERU much.

This means, according to Doi: "She kept to herself, never made up to her parents, never behaved childishly in the confident assumption that her parents would indulge her." (12)

A sentence given by an informant which is similar in structure to the above sentence contains no value judgement. According to the informant, this sentence indicates a personality trait.

51. KARE WA AMAEZUNI SODATTA.
he (top) amaeru-ing (neg) grow up (past)

He didn't demand attention as child.

(Implication: he was an undemanding child)
(He didn't feel the need to AMAERU towards others)

52. KARE WA OYA NI TAYORAZUNI SODATTA
he (top) parents (dat) tayoru-ing (neg) grow up (past)

He didn't depend on his parents as he grew up.
The above sentence implies that he may have supplemented his parent's income by, for example, taking a part-time job which paid for his living expenses. As previously discussed, TORIIRU is not normally used within the family.

The following sentence is inappropriate when expressed in the first person.

53. *ROOGO WA KODOMO NI AMAERU TSUMORI WA in old age(children)(dat)amaeru intention (top)

NAI exist(neg)

In old age, I have no intention of seeking attention from my children.

People in the prime of life generally do not consider that they will become old and infirm or that they will act childishly in the future, but in the context of two people speaking about a third, the use of AMAERU or TAYORU is appropriate.

54. KARE NO KODOMO WA MAZUSHII. KARE MO ROOGO he (poss)child(ren)(top) poor he also in old age

NO TAKUWAE GA NAI. DEMO KARE WA ROOGO (poss)savings(subj)exist(neg)however he(top)in old age

(AMAERU)

WA KODOMO NI (TAYORU) TSUMORI WA NAI. (top)child(ren)(dat)amaeru/tayoru intention(top)(neg)

His children are poor. Furthermore, he has not saved for his old age. However, he has no intention of turning to his children for help.

The use of AMAERU in this context suggests that he has no intention of making unreasonable demands upon his children because his children will feel honor-bound to comply, in spite of their poverty. AMAERU demands the appropriate response in this relationship. The use of TAYORU in this context, involves less obligation where his children are concerned.
In comparing the following sentences, used in the peripheral sense of AMAERU:

55. GAARUFURENDO WA BOIFURENDO NI AMAERU
girlfriend (top) boyfriend (dat) amaeru

A girl seeks attention from her boyfriend.

In public, a female is expected to show that she feels the male to be superior. Therefore the use of AMAERU is regarded as normal in this context.

56. BOIFURENDO WA GAARUFURENDO NI AMAERU
boyfriend (top) girlfriend (dat) amaeru

A boy seeks attention from his girlfriend.

The above sentence would only appropriately apply in private or when the boyfriend is affected by drink and therefore excused for behaving inappropriately. In normal circumstances, this behavior in public would seem effeminate or weak.

57. TANAKA GA SHACHOO NI TORIIROO TO SURU
Tanaka (subj) president (dat) toriiru (hort) try

KEIKAKU O MIYABUTTA
plan (obj) see through (past)

(I) saw through Tanaka's plan to ingratiate himself with the president of the company.

In the above sentence TORIIRO has a sense of deliberate deception, which clearly illustrates all components.

58. *TANAKA GA SHACHOO NI AMAEYOO TO SURU
Tanaka (subj) president (dat) amaeru (hort) try

KEIKAKU O MIYABUTTA
plan (obj) see through (past)

I saw through Tanaka's plan to seek attention from the president of the company.
The substitution of AMAERU in the above context is inappropriate because AMAERU, an action of emotional need is incompatible with the word KEIKAKU "plan".

59. TANAKA GA SHACHOO NI TAYOROO TO SURU Tanaka (subj) president (dat) try KEIKAKU MIYABUTTA plan (obj) see through (past) (I) saw through Tanaka's plan to rely on the president of the company.

The above sentence seems to suggest a particular context in which Tanaka intends to rely on the president in some way. The value judgement which sentence [58] conveys is absent, i.e. "Y will not know that I do it because of this", because the act of TAYORU does not imply pretence or deceit.

60. KARE WA MAIASA TOMODACHI NI MUKAE NI he (top) every morning friend (dat) meet for KITE MORATTE IRU KARE WA TOMODACHI NI come receive-ing be he (top) friend (dat) {AMAETE IRU} {TAYOTTE IRU} {amaeru-ing} be {tayoru-ing} be

Every morning he has his friend call for him. He relies on his friend/ needs/ his friend.

61. *.....KARE WA TOMODACHI NI TORIITTE IRU he (top) friend (dat) toriiru-ing be .... He ingratiates himself with his friend.

The above sentence in the same context as sentence [60] is inappropriate because TORIIRU suggests behavior which pleases the recipient. To have a friend call for him is incompatible with this as it does not imply the component "X thinks: I will do something that Y would want me to do."

73
The customer relied heavily on the salesperson when selecting a coat.

AMAERU and TORIIRU cannot be used in the above sentence because the salesperson is an "inferior" in this context.

People in English culture can be said to depend on circumstances which imply human surroundings, e.g., parental care etc., or those which imply a religious faith, e.g., faith in prayer, etc. In Japanese culture, the same senses can apply. In addition, there is the sense in which nature, as well as the aesthetic and nationalistic elements in the Japanese culture are associated with the "mother-deity", the "maternal, human" Sun Goddess, AMAERU can be used in relation to a person's environment or circumstances. (see 2.0.) It is suggested that this be considered to be a metaphorical use of AMAERU.

A person who was depending on his situation.

(Context: He doesn't make an effort - or his parents may be rich and he doesn't try to succeed on his own.)

The above sentence is inappropriate because the range of permitted indirect objects in relation to TORIIRU does not include "situations".
AMAERU can also be used to describe a pet's dependence on humans.

65. **WATASHI NO INU WA AMAETE, WATASHI NO ATO O I (poss)dog (top)amaeru-ing I (poss)after(obj)**
    **TSUITE KURU.** follow-ing come

    My dog fawns on me by following me around.

TORIIRU or TAYORU cannot normally be substituted for AMAERU in this context, because animals are assumed not able to act with conscious motives as humans are.

66. **{TAYOTTE}**

   *WATASHI NO INU WA {TORIITTE}*. WATASHI NO ATO O I (poss)dog (top) {tayoru -ing} I (poss)after(obj) {toriiru-ing}
   **TSUITE KURU.** follow-ing do

   My dog relies on/ ingratiates himself with me by following me around.

However, in the following general statement:

67. **NEKO WA NINGEN NI { AMAERU / TAYORU}**
    cat(s)(top)people (dat) amaeru / tayoru

    Cats fawn on/ depend on people.

TAYORU is appropriate because animals depend on humans for food and physical care.

68. **{NEKO WA NINGEN NI TORIIRU**
    cat(s)(top)people(dat) toriiru

    Cats ingratiate themselves with people

In the above sense, TORIIRU is inappropriate, because it is assumed that animals are not capable of devious thought.
69. *NINGEN WA NEKO NI {AMAERU} 
people (top)cat (dat) amaeru/toriiru/tayoru 

People seek attention from (curry favor with) rely on cats.

In the above sentence the use of TORIIRU and TAYORU would be inappropriate because the components "X wants Y to think good things about X that Y doesn't think about other people like X." and "I think: This will be good for me" would not apply. The use of AMAERU is inappropriate because the roles are irreversible.

The peripheral use of TAYORU extends to things and situations:

70. *(WATASHI WA) OTTO NO KASEGI NI TAYOTTE IRU 
I (top)husband(poss)salary(dat)tayoru-ing be 

I depend on my husband's salary.

71. *(WATASHI WA) OTTO NO KASEGI NI {TORIITE} IRU 
I (top)husband(poss)salary (dat)amaeru/toriiru be 

I seek attention from / ingratiating myself with my husband's salary.

The above sentence is inappropriate because the components of inferior/superior relationships are absent.

72. KONO HON NI TAYOTTE KENKYUU O SURU 
this book (dat)tayoru-ing study (obj) do 

I rely on this book for my study.

The above sentences refer to reliance on information to, e.g. pass examinations: the implication is that without it the speaker would fail. The component "X thinks: Y can do this for me" is present.
73. *KONO HON NI (TORITTE) KENKYUU O SURU.
   this book(dat)amaeru/toriiru study (obj) do
   I am seeking attention of/ ingratiating myself with/
   this book for my study.

In the above sentence both AMAERU and TORIIRU are inappropriate
because they can be used only when referring to people.

AMAERU can also apply to personal characteristics e.g. kindness,
good-heartedness, benevolence etc.

75. KARE NO SHINSETSU NI AMAERU.
   his (poss) kindness (dat) amaeru
   To take advantage of his kindness.

75. *KARE NO SHINSETSU NI (TORIIRU)
   his (poss) kindness (dat) (toriiru)
   To ingratiate oneself with his kindness.

Neither TORIIRU nor TAYORU can be substituted in this context,
because it does not contain the component "X wants Y to think
good things about X that Y does not think about other people like
X":

76. HITO NO SHINSETSU NI AMAESUGIRU NO WA
dperson(poss) kindness (dat) amaeru to excess(nom)(top)

YOKU NAI KOTO DA
good(neg)thing(cop)

It is not good to take excessive advantage of people's kindness.
A common idiomatic use of AMAERU in the following expression:

77. O-KOTOBA NI AMAERU
(hon)word (dat) amaeru

Lit: to spoil oneself on another's honorific word.
(i.e. To take someone at their word and accept the offer of a favor.)

as in the following sentences:

78. O-KOTOBA NI AMAETE ONEGAISHIMASU
(hon)word (dat)amaeru-ing request(humble,polite)(pres)

That's very kind of you.
(Lit; (I) want to spoil (myself) on your (honorific word.)

(Shared information: Because you say you'll do something for me.)

79. O-KOTOBA NI AMAETE UKAGAIMASHITA
(hon)word (dat)amaeru-ing visit (polite)(past)

(I) have taken you at your word and come.
(Shared information: because you asked me to.)

This is commonly used when replying to an invitation or an act of kindness. TORIIRU or TAYORU cannot be substituted in these contexts.

3.7. SUMMARY.

AMAERU in its prototypical use represents an infant's demands for its mother's love and attention, and the demands of aged or infirm parents for their adult children's love and attention. It contains no social value judgement. In its peripheral use, it represents the overt emotional behavior of a person of "inferior" status in demanding attention from a person of "superior" status who shares or who is assumed to share a special relationship. If used to excess, it contains critical social value judgement.
TORIIRU represents the calculated behavior of an "inferior" towards a "superior", in the hope of receiving material benefit. It is performed surreptitiously in the expectation of being favored over others of equal status by the "superior" who has the power to do this. If performed overtly, it contains critical social value judgement.

TAYORU describes the behavior of a person who is in need of material help, towards a person who it is believed is capable of supplying that need. There is no "inferior" to "superior" relationship involved in its use, and reciprocation is hoped for but not demanded. It contains no social value judgement and is used peripherally when referring to reliance on things.
CHAPTER IV

VERBS OF INDULGENCE

"Despite the(se) negative implications of AMAERU, the AMAERU-AMAYAKASU relationship is a desirable and often irresistible one. The person who knows how to AMAERU has an easier time in Japan than does the one who does not, for the AMAERU role player is readily responded to and accepted by the AMAYAKASU role candidate."

Takie Sugiyama Lebra. 1976.(1)

4.0. AMAYAKASU

In the prototypical context of mother-infant relationship, AMAYAKASU is the natural response to AMAERU. As Christopher states:

"...Japanese children when they are very small bask in maternal love that is utterly supportive and uncritical...little children are rarely given cause to cry, and if they do are automatically picked up and comforted." (2)

AMAYAKASU is a transitive verb of the same root as AMAE. Kenkyusha's New Pocket Japanese-English Dictionary glosses it as follows:

AMAYAKASU : be indulgent to; indulge (one's child); coddle.(3)

It covers actions which range from simple indulgence, tolerance, obedience to demands or requests, to the giving of affection, of security, and of reassurance. It is the natural response a mother gives to her infant.

80
1. **HAHAOYA WA AKACHAN O AMAYAKASU**
   mother (top) infant(obj)amayakasu
   
The mother attends to her baby's needs.

   Used in the context of its peripheral meaning, e.g. its extension beyond the frame of the mother-to-infant relationship, to normal household relationships of parents to growing children, and to the further extension of school, university, workplace, and social environment, an **AMAERU-AMAYAKASU** relationship is subject to value judgement according to the degree of indulgence given within a particular framework. In circumstances in which a special relationship is presumed or assumed when it does not exist, the behavior it represents incurs social criticism. In this context it is a culturally specific response to a culturally specific need, not necessarily given out of affection but out of a sense of responsibility to the younger, weaker or the culturally dependent.

2. **KODOMO O AMAYAKASHI SUGITE WA IKENAI**
   child(ren)(top)amayakasu to excess(top)good(neg)
   
   A child (children) should not be coddled too much.

3. **SEITO WA (KYOOSHI GA) AMAYAKASU TO TSUKEAGARU**
   student(s)(top)teacher(subj)amayakasu(quote) grow impudent
   
   If the teacher indulges his students they become impudent.

As discussed in Chapter II, section 2.7., Japanese people tend to indulge their small children and their aged. In preparation for adulthood, the child through the disciplines of a harsh education system and an ambitious mother, is thrust into a life of hard work and self-discipline in preparation for the responsibilities of life in a highly competitive society. The child's future role is
to improve the status of the family and thus satisfy the wishes of ancestors. Only when they reach old age is the pressure eased and they can again demand indulgence. Takie Sugiyama Lebra maintains that all Japanese are socially oriented, the main aim in all interpersonal encounters being to maintain pleasant social relationships. She states:

"Dependency is also an emotional state that appeals to and is fulfilled by another's indulgence."(4)

In stressing the necessity in Japanese culture of reciprocity and complementarity between the initiator and the recipient in interpersonal conversation, she uses the term "Ego" and "Alter" to differentiate between the central self (Ego), which in Japanese would be expressed as JIBUN: "self" and the social object (Alter) which she describes by the Japanese word HITO: "person or other person". She states:

"If the actor is primarily concerned with a social object, as the Japanese are, his actions will be governed by something far removed from unilateral determinism. The Japanese Ego acts upon or towards Alter's responses, and Alter in turn, by responding according to or against Ego's expectations, influences Ego's further actions." (5)

This action and reaction within the boundaries of cultural reciprocity, she terms "interactional relativism", which she contrasts with the concept of "unilateral determinism" of Western culture.

She points out that this complementarity is clearly seen in the AMAERU-AMAYAKASU concept between the actions of one who initiates an action of AMAERU and the recipient's response, and maintains that AMAERU and AMAYAKASU can take both active and passive forms. She draws up a four-fold definition as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTIVE (Initiating)</th>
<th>PASSIVE (Accepting)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AMAERU</td>
<td>To accept Alter's indulgence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMAYAKASU</td>
<td>To accept Alter's wish for indulgence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

She states:

"There are no fewer candidates for an AMAYAKASU role than for an AMAERU role in Japan. When it goes too far, the AMAERU-AMAYAKASU relationship is criticized because it involves a lack of discipline on the part of the dependent person." (7)

In discussing dependency relationships in the workplace, Chie Nakane states:

"The relationship between employer and employee is not to be explained in contractual terms. The attitude of the employer is expressed by the spirit of the common saying "the enterprise is the people". This affirms the belief that employer and employee are bound as one by fate in conditions which produce a tie between man and man often as firm and close as that between husband and wife." (8)

As Christopher states:

"...no organization that hopes to function effectively in Japan or in cooperation with Japanese can safely ignore the claims of AMAE. Even if it means carrying a certain amount of deadwood, honoring the obligations that a Japanese executive feels toward his proteges is one of the costs of doing business in Japan.....At the core of Japanese behavior is the notion of reciprocity - the idea that people are not good or bad in any absolute sense but good or bad in light of their relationships with others." (9)

When the rigid social disciplines placed upon a Japanese by the constant awareness of the need to conform to the rules of the hierarchical system are considered, it is understandable that occasional emotional indulgence can be expected. It seems that the AMAERU-AMAYAKASU syndrome provides this outlet.
4.1. MEOKAKERU

MEOKAKERU is glossed in Kenkyusha's dictionary as: look after; take a kindly interest in; be kind to. (10)

The verb MEOKAKERU is used with respect to formal situations, e.g., the educational environment or the workplace, where power and authority are clearly defined between the participants. MEOKAKERU reflects the way in which the Japanese work-ethic is encouraged in school and in the workplace. It is a natural expression of the hierarchical nature of Japanese society. It is no disgrace to be favored in Japanese society, whether as a result of TORIIRU, carried out surreptitiously (see 3.2.), or as a result of the ability to perform better than one's peers. One who does not make an effort does not succeed in a highly competitive society where progress can only be made within a restricted sphere which is bound by age and by professional status.

A student may seem genuinely interested in his studies and may succeed in being favored by asking questions designed to impress his teacher. The teacher may then find himself well disposed to the particular student, and be inclined to forgive his misdemeanors more readily than he would forgive other students. This relationship then has the potential to promote AMAERU-AMAYAKASU behavior. The same situation may occur in the workplace when a boss finds himself more favorably disposed to one employee than to another, if a decision of preference has to be made.

The interaction between TORIIRU and MEOKAKERU can be illustrated by using sentence [2] of Chapter III, with different consequences:
4. ANDO WA SHIBASHIBA SHOKUINSHITSU O OTÖZURE
   Ando(top)frequently teacher's office(obj)visit-ing

   SHITSUMON O SHITE SENSEI NI TORIITTA.
   question (obj) do-ing teacher (dat)toriiru(past).

   Ando ingratiated himself with the teacher by
   frequently visiting his office and asking questions.
   [2](Ch III.)

5. SENSEI WA ANDOO O KAWAIGARU YOO NI NATTA
   teacher (top)Ando (obj)kawaigaru(dat)become(past)

   The teacher came to make a pet of Ando.

6. IE NI KOJIN TEKI- NI MANEITARI SHITA.
   home (dat) privately (adv) invite do-(past)

   SONO KEKKA SENSEI WA KARE NI MEOKAKETA.
   that result teacher (top) he (dat)meokakeru(past)

   He privately invited him to his home. As a result,
   the teacher favored him.

In sentence [4], the acts of TORIIRU are carried out by Ando
with the object of having the teacher consider him above the
other students. In sentence [5], the covert behavior was
successful and sentence [6] indicates the achievement of the
desired result.

This type of behavior is also evident in the workplace. For
instance, a company representative interviewing an applicant for a
position cannot favor the applicant on the evidence of only the
interview. Apart from the fact that in Japan decisions are made
by group concensus (see 2.0.), informants suggest that the use of
MEOKAKERU in this context implies decisions made after
considerable thought.
7. NYUUSHASHIKEN NO MENSETSU NO TOKI BUUCHOO 
company exam(poss)interview(poss)time division-chief 
WA SONO OTOKO NI MEOKAKETA. 
(top)that man (dat) meokakeru(past)

The division chief favored that man at the company interview.

After a period of time a superior comes to a conclusion that a person has future potential and will decide to help him to realize that potential. A teacher may decide to help a slow student; a boss may promote a subordinate if he considers him worthy of promotion. A teacher or boss may say of a student or employee:

8. WATASHI WA ANO HITO NI MEOKAKETE IMASU. 
I (top) that person (dat)meokakeru-ing be

I believe that person will succeed.

This opinion is not a necessary result of a subordinate's action of TORIIRU; in fact, if TORIIRU is suspected it may negate MEOKAKERU as TORIIRU implies trickery or deceit for self-gain, as we have seen.

As discussed in Chapter III, AMAERU behavior and TORIIRU behavior are closely related. Similarly, the relative responses to these acts of communication are interrelated. In Japanese society the criterion for success in life is judged on ability and seniority rather than status.(see 2.2.). The Japanese education system motivates parents to improve the status of the family by encouraging their children to take their education seriously. Japanese mothers enrol their children in the highest standard kindergartens they can afford, to prepare them for upward mobility through society. Society encourages this discipline.
R. P. Dore mentions that the edict of 1872 established a "unified non-discriminatory school system" (11) which, by the end of the century was catering for 95% of Japanese children. He states:

"The new education was the means by which everyone could theoretically gain a means of self-improvement, and by improving himself improve the nation. And, although status consideration in the early period and economic consideration throughout the whole period prevented the poorer peasants from taking advantage of the higher reaches of the educational system, as far as the overt intentions of the central Government were concerned, "everyone" included commoners too." (12)

In this climate of competitiveness, the importance of good relationships with superiors in every walk of life is paramount over laudable achievement. To be favored by one's superiors is considered commendable.

Primary and secondary education in Japan is standardized, and students are graded according to ability, but universities are graded in prestige terms. Matriculation to a high prestige university is the ultimate aim. The parent who can afford to send a child to a high standard private school or provide extra tuition to reinforce the Government system, improves the child's chances of gaining entrance to a high prestige university. Graduation from a good university and the ability to pass examinations guarantee a successful future.

As Dore suggests, these are the "overt" intentions of the central Government. The undeniable fact is that personal connections based on relationships which develop between "inferior" and "superior" are also vital. In these circumstances, covert TORIIRU behavior, if it results in the desired MEOKAKERU behavior can as Doi suggests, lead to the AMAERU-AMAYAKASU concept of dependency, and has real value in achieving upward mobility.
4.2. KAWAIGARU

KAWAIGARU is a word which Kenkyusha's Dictionary glosses as:

"love; pet; make a (great) pet of (a dog); be affectionate to; treat (a person) with love (affection) etc. Its adjectival base, KAWAII is glossed as: "dear; darling; pet; sweet; pretty; bonny; cute." (13)

KAWAIGARU refers to the feelings of fondness that an older person can have for a younger person; that a strong person can have for a weak person; that a human being can have for an animal. It expresses a natural protective instinct towards the helpless and refers to affectionate feelings someone can have towards a pretty, gentle or fragile person or an attractive animal, and to the physical care and attention an animal lover may lavish on a pet.

9. TONARI NO KODOMO O KAWAIGARU

He/she is fond of the neighbour's child.

A dog-owner, going on holiday, may say to a friend:

10. WATASHI GA BESSOO NI ITTE IRU AIDA KONO INU

I lodge (dat) go be while this dog

O KAWAIGATTE KUDASAI

Would you please take care of this dog while I am at the lodge.

It seems that the verb KAWAIGARU contains an element of good feeling for the helpless and an element of the physical action of supplying care for the recipient. Less cultural restrictions are placed on its use than on AMAYAKASU and MEOKAKERU. Unlike AMAYAKASU, which is a response to an action, and MEOKAKERU, which can be an unknowing response to an action, KAWAIGARU is a
personal feeling. However, all three verbs are used to express the feelings of a "superior" towards and "inferior". The underlying adjective KAWAI, is appropriately used to describe a child, a young person or an animal having characteristics which appeal to the speaker's feelings of protectiveness which promote gentle treatment towards the recipient. e.g.

11. KANOJO WA KAWAI! KODOMO GA DEKITA NODE she (top) cute child (subj) be produced (past) because

IMA WA SHIAWASE DESU
now (top) happy (copula, polite)

Now that she has a cute baby, she's happy.

4.3 USAGE TABLES

As in Chapter III, the following tables indicate the cultural use of the words under discussion and the implied expectations which are inherent in their use.

TABLE 1

Table 1 shows the typical social relationships between participants involved in the peripheral use of the verbs discussed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SOCIAL IDENTITY : RELATIONSHIPS.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AMAYAKASU</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{parent }</td>
<td>{child } (prototypical)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{stronger }</td>
<td>{weaker } (peripheral)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{superior }</td>
<td>{inferior } &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{older }</td>
<td>{younger } &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{teacher }</td>
<td>{student } &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{human }</td>
<td>{animal } &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEOKAKERU</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{teacher}</td>
<td>{student } (prototypical)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{boss }</td>
<td>{subordinate} &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAWAIGARU</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{older }</td>
<td>{younger } (prototypical)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{stronger}</td>
<td>{weaker } &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{human }</td>
<td>{animal }</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1 identifies the relationship of the initiator and the recipient of the action and the circumstances surrounding its use. The context in which the words are used determine the frame of reference. The prototypical use of AMAYAKASU implies family relationships which are NINJUU relationships (see 2.4.) and extends into the hierarchical domain of GIRI relationships. The prototypical use of MEOKAKERU is exclusively in the domain of GIRI relationships outside the household. The concept of "role reversal" referred to by Lebra in section 2.7., applies here as it does in the use of AMAERU and TORIIRU, discussed in Chapter III. AMAYAKASU is a direct response to AMAERU, and MEOKAKERU, although not a direct response is a desired result of covert TORIIRU. As with AMAERU and TORIIRU, value judgements apply on the degree of use under particular circumstances.

**TABLE 2: IMPLIED EXPECTATIONS**

Table 2 deals with responses to implied expectations in the use of the words by the initiator of the action towards the recipient.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AMAYAKASU</th>
<th>initiator ←→ recipient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MEOKAKERU</td>
<td>initiator ←→ recipient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAWAIGARU</td>
<td>initiator → recipient</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key to symbols:
- → indulgence (with obligation)  ← response to AMAERU (total commitment)
- ←→ favoritism (without obligation)  → response to TORIIRU (covert action)
- → personal preference

Table 2 illustrates the reciprocity and complementarity of the participants involved in regard to AMAYAKASU and MEOKAKERU in
contrast to KAWAIGARU. AMAYAKASU is the natural response to AMAERU behavior. MEOKAKERU can be a response to covert TORIIRU behavior or be a natural response to the capabilities of a subordinate in the school or workplace. Like TAYORU in Chapter III, KAWAIGARU is not bound by cultural restrictions of a specific relationship between initiator and recipient other than by age, as it is an emotional feeling of personal choice.

**TABLE 3: RESPONSE**

Table 3 illustrates the type of response described by the verbs under discussion. A person who exhibits AMAYAKASU behavior does so in response to a spontaneous action of AMAERU on the part of an emotionally dependent person. The person exhibiting MEOKAKERU behavior responds to the considered action or actions of a culturally dependent person, i.e. actions aimed at convincing the person that the initiator deserves special treatment. These actions may be deliberate TORIIRU behavior or a genuine display of efficiency or skill. KAWAIGARU behavior stems from admiration or sensitivity to the physical appearance, youth or fragility of a culturally dependent person rather than from cultural demands.
4.4. DEFINITIONS

In defining these verbs, an attempt has been made to separate the prototypical and peripheral components. As in Chapter III, these definitions are based on the prototypical meanings of the words discussed. The Comparative Data illustrates the peripheral meanings.

AMAYAKASU

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X WA Y O AMAYAKASU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X feels towards Y like a mother would feel towards her infant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y feels towards X like an infant would feel towards its mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X feels something good towards Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X does what Y wants X to do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X thinks : Y feels something good towards me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I should do what Y wants me to do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>when Y is with me nothing bad can happen to Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some people would think that to do this a lot is not good</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The component "X feels towards Y like a mother would feel towards her infant." is a definition of "superior" in this context and reflects the mother/child relationship which encourages "the prolonging and diffusing throughout the adult life of a Japanese", (Doi) "the archetype of mother as the central focus of the household". (Lebra) This component illustrates the reciprocity between AMAERU and AMAYAKASU.

The following general statement is appropriate:

12. OYA WA KODOMO O AMAYAKASU

Parents indulge their children.
13. *KODOMO WA OYA O AMAYAKASU
   child (top)parent(obj)amayakasu
   Children indulge their parents.

   The above sentence is inappropriate in the context of KODOMO as young children.

   The component "Y feels towards X like an infant would feel towards its mother" echoes the inferior component of AMAERU.

14. AKACHAN GA AMAETE NAITE IRU
   infant (subj)amaeru-ing cry-ing be
   The baby is crying for attention.

15. *OYA GA AMAETE NAITE IRU
   parent(subj)amaeru-ing cry-ing be
   The parents are crying for attention.

   The component "X feels something good towards Y" refers to feelings of kindness towards the recipient.

16. OYA WA KODOMO O AISHITE IRU NODE
    parents(top)child(ren)(obj) love-ing be because

   OYA WA KODOMO O AMAYAKASU
   parents(top)child(ren)(obj) amayakasu
   Because they love their children, parents indulge them.

17. *OYA WA KODOMO O KIRATTE IRU NODE
    parents(top)child(ren)(obj)dislike be because

   OYA WA KODOMO O AMAYAKASU
   parents(top)child(ren)(obj) amayakasu
   Because they dislike their children, parents indulge them.

   The above sentence is inappropriate because to "dislike" is to express "bad feelings" and this conflicts with the "good feelings" which are expressed in an action of AMAYAKASU.
The component, "X does what Y wants X to do" describes the action. i.e. "a response to a basic desire." (Doi) (see 2.7.)

18. HANAKO WA KODOMO O AMAYAKASHITE (KODOMO NO) Hanako (top) child (obj) amayakasu-ing child (poss) SUKI-NA OKASHI BAKARI TABE-SASE-TE IRU like sweets only eat (caus)-ing be

Hanako indulges the child and gives her/him lots of sweets, which she/he likes.

20. "HANAKO WA KODOMO O AMAYAKASHITE (KODOMO NO) Hanako (top) child (obj) amayakasu-ing child (poss) KIRAI NA NINJIN BAKARI TABE-SASTE IRU dislike carrots only eat (caus)-ing b

Hanako indulges the child and gives her/him lots of carrots, which she/he hates.

The component "X thinks : Y feels something good towards me" refers to the culturally specific relationship between the participants. i.e. reciprocity and complementarity (Nakane) (see 2.7.)

20. HANAKO WA MAGO GA KAWAIKUTE TSUI Hanako (top) grandchild (subj) cute unconsciously AMAYAKASHITE SHIMAU amayakasu-ing (completive)

Because Hanako's grandchild is cute she unconsciously indulges her.

21. "HANAKO WA MAGO GA NIKUKUTE TSUI Hanako (top) grandchild (subj) hateful unconsciously AMAYAKASHITE SHIMAU amayakasu-ing (completive)

Because Hanako's grandchild is hateful she unconsciously indulges her.

The component "X thinks : I should do what Y wants me to do" reflects cultural responsibility towards the recipient.
Mothers in Japan tend to indulge their infants.

The component "X feels that when Y is with me nothing bad can happen to Y" refers to the universal protective feeling all normal mothers have for their infants.

The last component "Some people would think that to do this a lot is not good" reflects a cultural value judgement concerning the degree of acceptability under specific circumstances as in the corresponding component in AMAERU.

The component "X wants to always feel this" which seems essential to AMAERU (see 3.4.) is less apparent in AMAYAKASU because, according to informants, while AMAERU is commonly used to describe elderly parents' dependence on their adult offspring, AMAYAKASU is not normally used to describe the response to this action, because it would seem disrespectful for people to use this word in reference to their elders. According to my informants, the following sentence is quite commonly used in reference to parents who have become old and in need of care:

22. NIHON DE WA HAAOYA WA AKACHAN O AMAYAKASHI
Japan mother(s)(top) infant (obj) amayakasu

GACHI DA
tend (copula)

Mothers in Japan tend to indulge their infants.

The component "X feels that when Y is with me nothing bad can happen to Y" refers to the universal protective feeling all normal mothers have for their infants.

The last component "Some people would think that to do this a lot is not good" reflects a cultural value judgement concerning the degree of acceptability under specific circumstances as in the corresponding component in AMAERU.

23. HAHAOYA WA NAISHIN DE WA TAROO O AMAYAKASU
mother (top) heart at(top)Taro (obj)amayakasu

KOTO WA AMARI YOKUNAI KOTO O SHITTE IRU KEREDO
fact(top)too good(neg)fact (obj)know-ing be although

YAMERU KOTO WA DEKINAKATTA
stop thing (top)can(neg)(past)

The mother knows in her heart that it is not good to spoil Taro too much but she couldn't resist it.

The component "X wants to always feel this" which seems essential to AMAERU (see 3.4.) is less apparent in AMAYAKASU because, according to informants, while AMAERU is commonly used to describe elderly parents' dependence on their adult offspring, AMAYAKASU is not normally used to describe the response to this action, because it would seem disrespectful for people to use this word in reference to their elders. According to my informants, the following sentence is quite commonly used in reference to parents who have become old and in need of care:
Lately, my elderly parents have begun to depend on me/demand more of me than before.

The adult son or daughter would be reluctant to respond to this observation with the following sentence:

25. WATASHI WA RYOOSHIN O AMAYAKASU YOONI SHITE IRU
I (top) parents (obj)amayakasu do-ing be

I make it a rule to indulge them.

He or she would be more inclined to say:

26. WATASHI WA RYOOSHIN O DEKIRU DAKE KAMATTE
I (top) parents (obj)can to extent care-ing

YARU YOONI SHITE IRU
give do-ing be

I try to take care of them as much as possible.

MEOKAKERU

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X WA Y NI MEOKAKERU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X has the power to cause things to happen to Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X thinks good things about Y that X doesn't think about other people like Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When X thinks about Y for some time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X thinks: I will cause good things to happen to Y this will be good for Y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first component "X has the power to cause things to happen to Y" reflects the "superior-inferior" relationship of the participants in the context of this word. The following general statement is acceptable:
Superiors always favor inferiors.

Inferiors always favor their superiors.

This sentence is inappropriate because the situation it portrays is culturally unacceptable as Usage Table 1 illustrates.

The component "X thinks good things about Y that X doesn't think about other people like Y" refers to conscious awareness of the feeling of favoritism that X has for Y.

The subcomponent "When X thinks about Y for some time" reflects cultural obligation after considerable thought.

One year ago, Mr. Watanabe, the boss, transferred Taro to work for him. Because Taro has worked very eagerly since then, the boss has favored him.

The component "X thinks : I will cause good things to happen to Y" implies a sense of benevolence inherent in MEOKAKERU behavior.
31. KACHOO GA MEOKAKE TE KURETA NODE TAROO WA
boss (subj) meokakeru (past) give (past) because Taro (top)
RAKU-NA SHIGOTO NI TSUITA
easy work (dat) occupy (past)

As the boss favored Taro, he has an easy job.
The last component "X thinks: this will be good for Y" refers to
the element of benefit or gain that is the outcome of favoritism.

KAWAIGARU

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X WA Y O KAWAIGARU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X thinks about Y as one would think about a pet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X feels something good towards Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X wants to do good things for Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X thinks: I will do this because Y can't do this</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first component "X thinks about Y as one would think about a pet" implies the protective feeling of a superior in this context.

32. TONARI NO KODOMO O KAWAIGARU
neighbour (poss) child (obj) kawaigaru

He/she is very fond of the neighbour's child.

33. *TONARI NO KODOMO WA OBASAN O KAWAIGARU
neighbour (poss) child (top) aunt (obj) kawaigaru

The neighbour's child is very fond of my aunt.

The component "X feels something good towards Y" refers to
emotional feelings of fondness inherent in the word.

34. OBASAN WA IMOOTO O SUKI NA NODE
aunt (top) younger sister (obj) like because
IMOOTO O KAWAIGARU
younger sister (obj) kawaigaru

Because my aunt likes my little sister, she makes a pet of her.
35. *OBASAN WA IMOOTO O KIRATTE IRU NODE
aunt (top)younger sister(obj)dislike-ing be because

IMOOTO O KAWAIGARU
younger sister(obj)kawaigaru

Because my aunt dislikes my little sister, she makes a pet of her.

The component "X wants to do good things for Y" reflects the element of physical care of, and attention to the recipient.

36. KAZUKO WA NIHIKI NO PUUDORU O KAWAIGARU
Kazuko (top) two (poss)poodles (obj)kawaigaru

Kazuko is very fond of/takes great care of her two poodles.

37. *KAZUKO WA PUUDORU O BOO DE BUTTE KAWAIGATTA
Kazuko (top) poodle (obj)stick by hit-ing kawaigaru (past)

Kazuko hits her poodle with a stick and is very fond of it.

The component "X thinks: I will do this because Y can't do this" reflects the compassionate feeling one has for the helpless.

4.5. COMPARATIVE TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 4: DISTINGUISHING COMPONENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Table 4 distinguishes the semantic components inherent in each of the words discussed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AMAYAKASU:</th>
<th>X does what Y wants X to do</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>X thinks : this will be good for Y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| KAWAIGARU: | X thinks : I will do this because Y can't do this |

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Table 5. shows the semantic components that AMAYAKASU and MEOKAKERU have in common and those which are shared with KAWAIGARU.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUPERIOR - INFERIOR RELATIONSHIP.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AMAYAKASU: X feels towards Y like a mother would feel towards her infant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y feels towards X like an infant would feel towards its mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEOKAKERU: X has the power to cause things to happen to Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAWAIGARU: X thinks about Y as one would think about a pet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GOOD FEELINGS.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AMAYAKASU: X feels something good towards Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAWAIGARU: X feels something good towards Y</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BENEVOLENCE.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MEOKAKERU: X thinks: I will cause good things to happen to Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAWAIGARU: X wants to do good things for Y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.6. COMPARATIVE DATA

In Japan society expects children to be indulged. Most Japanese have tender memories of their childhood, which are used as models for parenthood and as assurance of reciprocal care in their old age.

Parents indulge their children.
(Impl: give in to all their demands)

Parents are fond of their children.
(Impl: give them love and attention when they don't demand it.)

This sentence is inappropriate as a general statement because as KODOMO is either singular or plural the context does not imply a comparison.

Children indulge/ favor/ are fond of their parents.

The above sentences are inappropriate because the verbs can only apply in a "superior" to "inferior" relationship. Mothers often have a preference for their first-born, particularly if it is a son.
When KANOJO refers to the mother.

42. KANOJO WA KODOMO O AMAYAKASHITE IRU.  
   she (top)child(ren)(obj)amayakasu-ing be  
   She spoils her child (children).(she lets them have and do anything they want.)

43. KANOJO WA KODOMO O KAWAIGATTE IRU.  
   she (top)children (obj)kawaigaru-ing be. child  
   She is fond of her children.(she shows them a lot of affection and gives them things.)

Sentence [44] and [45] are appropriate as general statements because they apply to situations within the household:

44. HITORIKKO WA TONIKAKU AMAYAKASARERU.  
   only child (top) often amayakasu(pass).  
   An only child is often pampered.(by its parents) (Impl: a response to the child's needs, i.e. X thinks: I should do what Y wants me to do")

45. HITORIKKO WA TONIKAKU KAWAIGARARERU.  
   only child (top) often kawaiagaru(pass)  
   An only child is often treated with affection. (by many people) (Impl: unsolicited feeling of fondness for the child i.e. X thinks about Y as one would think about a pet")

46. HITORIKKO WA TONIKAKU MEOKAKERARERU.  
   only child (top) often meokakeru(pass)  
   An only child is often given special attention.

Sentence [46] is considered awkward because "only child" applies to the household situation and MEOKAKERU is usually used outside the household, i.e. in a school or work situation where the hierarchical rules of "power over another person" apply. My informants agree that in the context of the household, parents naturally favor their children over other people's children.
The negative imperative of AMAYAKASU can be appropriately used as an admonishment for someone's treatment of a child.

47. KONO KO O AMAYAKASANAIDE KUDASAI.
this child(obj)amayakasu(neg) please

Please don't spoil this child.

48. *KONO KO O KAWAIGARANAIDE KUDASAI.
this child(obj)kawaigaru(neg) please

Please don't show too much fondness towards this child.

The above sentence is inappropriate because the feelings of KAWAIAGARU cannot be governed, and in the absence of a specific context, KAWAIAGARU could refer to physical care.

49. KANOJO WA KODOMO NO YOOKYUU-DOORI OMOCHA she (top) child (poss) demand according to toys

O KATTARI OKASHI O TABESASETARI SHITE IRU. (obj) buy sweets (obj) eat (caus) do-ing be

ARE WA KODOMO O AISHITE IRU NO DEWANAKU that (top) child (obj) love-ing be (nom) be (neg)

AMAYAKASHITE IRU NO DA. amayakasu-ing be (nom)(cop)

She buys toys and gives her child sweets whenever the child wants them. That is not loving her child but just spoiling him.

The above sentence contains a negative value judgement of AMAYAKASU in relation to AISURU: "to love deeply" and an opinion of the detrimental effect of over-indulgence.

If we substitute KAWAIAGARU or MEOKAKERU for AMAYAKASU in sentence (49), the difference becomes clearer:
50. **KANJO WA KODOMO NO YOYKYUU DOORI OMOCHA**

she (top) child (poss) demand according to toys

O KATTARI OKASHI O TABESASETARI SHITE IRU.

(obj) buy sweets (obj) eat (caus) do-ing be

ARE WA KODOMO O AISHITE IRU NO DEWANAKU

that (top) child (obj) love-ing be (nom) be (neg)

{MEOKAKETE }

{KAWAIGATTE} IRU NO DA.

(meokakeru-ing) be (nom)(cop)

{kawaigaru-ing}

She buys toys and gives her child sweets whenever the child wants them. That is not loving her child but just favoring/caring for him.

The sentence becomes a tautology with this substitution.

AMAYAKASU can be applied to oneself because it implies the closeness of the mother-child relationship. However, cultural restrictions apply when used in this context and it implies a sense of guilt.

51. **WATASHI WA KONOGORO JIBUN O AMAYAKASHITE TADANA**

I (top) recently self (obj) amayakasu-ing idle

SEIKATSU O OKUTTE IRU.

life (obj) lead-ing be

I have been spoiling myself recently and leading a lazy life.

52. **WATASHI WA KONOGORO JIBUN {O KAWAIGATTE} .....**

I (top) recently self (obj)

I have been favoring /loving myself......

The above sentence is inappropriate because neither KAWAIGARU nor MEOKAKERU can be applied to oneself.

While AMAYAKASU behavior can be criticised if carried to the extreme, insufficient AMAYAKASU behavior is also considered detrimental.
53. OYA NO SHITSUKE GA KIBISHIKUTE AMAYAKASHITE parent(poss)discipline(subj)strict amayakasu -ing MORAEZUNI SODACHIMASHITA. receive(pot)(neg) grow up(past)(polite).

My parents were strict and I grew up without them letting me AMAERU.

The above sentence implies the negative psychological affects of not having a normal childhood.

54. OYA NO SHITSUKE GA KIBISHIKUTE KAWAIGARAREZUNI parent(poss)discipline(subj)strict kawaigaru(pass)(neg) SODACHIMASHITA. grow up(past)

My parents were so strict that they didn't take enough care of me.

The above sentence implies the negative physical effects of inadequate care. MEOKAKERU cannot be substituted for KAWAIGARU.

55. OYA NO SHITSUKE GA KIBISHIKUTE MEOKAKAERAREZUNI parent(poss)discipline(subj)strict meokakeru(pass)(neg) SODACHIMASHITA. grow up(past)(polite)

My parents were so strict that they didn't favor me much as a child.

When these words are used to apply to siblings, the relationship is from older to younger, or from stronger to weaker.

56. OTOOTO WA ANI NI AMAERU younger brothers(top)older brothers(dat)amaeru

Younger brothers seek attention from their older brothers.

57. ANI WA OTOOTO O AMAYAKASU. Older brother (top)younger brother(obj)amayakasu

Older brothers pamper their younger brothers.(give them anything they want).
58. ANI WA OTOOTO O KAWAIGARU.
Older brothers(top)younger brothers(obj)kawaigaru.
Older brothers care for their younger brothers. (they give them a lot of care and affection.)

59. ANI WA OTOOTO NI MEOKAKERU.
Older brothers(top)younger brothers(dat)meokakeru
Older brothers favor younger brothers.(over other brothers)

60. *OTOOTO WA ANI {NI MEOKAKERU}
{O AMAYAKASU}
{younger} (top) {older brother}(dat){meokakeru}
{brother}
{obj}{amayakasu}
{obj}{kawaigaru}
Younger brothers favor/spoil/ are fond of their older brothers.

The situation becomes complicated among adults of different sexes.

61. BOOIFURENDO WA GAARUFURENDO O {KAWAIGARU}
boyfriend (top) girlfriend (obj){amayakasu}
{kawaigaru}
The boy indulges his girlfriend.
(He spoils her in public and demonstrates his masculinity)
The boy shows fondness towards his girlfriend.
(He treats her as one would a lovable child)

62. *BOOIFURENDO WA GAARUFURENDO NI MEOKAKERU
boyfriend (top) girlfriend(dat)meokakeru
The boy favors his girlfriend.
According to my informants, the above sentence is inappropriate because there is no clear indication of status, i.e. "X has the power to cause things to happen to Y." and there is no implication of "other people like Y".

63. ?GAARUFURENDO WA BOOIFURENDO O KAWAIGARU
girlfriend (top) boyfriend (obj) kawaigaru
The girl shows fondness towards her boyfriend.
This sentence would imply that the boy is somehow weak and effeminate and would contain a negative value judgement.

64. \( \text{SONO OTTO WA TSUMA O} \{\text{KAWAIGARU}\} \)
that husband(top) wife(obj) \{amayakasu\}
\{kawaigaru\}

That man indulges his wife.
(gives her what she wants in private)

That man shows a lot of fondness towards his wife.
(because she is small, pretty or fragile)

65. \( ?\text{SONO OTTO WA TSUMA NI MEOKAKERU} \)
that husband(top)wife (dat)meokakeru

That man favors his wife.

The above sentence is inappropriate in the context of a man having only one wife. However, an informant stated that if a man is rich enough to afford more than one household, he may keep a mistress. In this context the above sentence may be appropriate.

66. \( *\text{SONO TSUMA WA OTTO O} \{\text{KAWAIGARU}\} \)
that wife (top) husband(obj){meokakeru}
\{kawaigaru\}

That woman favors/ is very fond of her husband.

The above sentence is inappropriate because KAWAIGARU can only be used by the stronger when referring to the weaker, and MEOKAKERU can be used by a "superior" to an "inferior" for purposes of comparison.

In discussing the teacher/student, boss/subordinate relationship, it is necessary to consider the relationship between TORIIRU and MEOKAKERU, and its relevance to AMAERU, AMAYAKASU and KAWAIGARU.

As explained in Chapter III, Doi maintains that TORIIRU is sometimes a deliberate attempt to AMAERU in the guise of allowing someone else to AMAERU.
SENSEI WA HIGOROKARA SEITO O AMAYAKASHITE IRU.  
Teacher(top) usually student(obj) amayakasu-ing be

The teacher usually is indulgent to his students.

ANDOO WA SHUKUDAI O SHITE KONAKATTA. KARE WA  
Ando(top) homework(obj)do-ing come(neg)(past)he(top)
SENSEI NI AMAETE IRU KARA DA.  
teacher(dat)amaeru-ing be because (cop)

Ando didn't do his homework because he is AMAERU-ing on his teacher.

SENSEI WA ANDOO KUN NI MEOKAKERU.  
Teacher (top) Ando (male adr)(dat)meokakeru

The teacher favors Ando. (because he feels he will succeed if special attention is paid to him)

When A feels MEOKAKERU about B, the feeling or opinion is arrived at with time and deliberate thought. It cannot be arrived at spontaneously or be based on first impressions.

Informants differ on whether a teacher can be said to spoil a student. All agree that the teacher who does not discipline the students is criticized. As good behavior in school is fundamental to the Japanese school system of rote learning, the Japanese student is usually well-behaved. Mothers reinforce this type of behavior in preparation for the child's entry into the education system.

Where KARE refers to the boss:

KARE WA ICHIROO O AMAYAKASHITE IRU.  
He (top) Ichiro (obj) amayakasu-ing be

He spoils Ichiro. (he lets him do as he pleases)

KARE WA ICHIROO O KAWAIGATTE IRU  
He (top) Ichiro (obj) kawaigaru-ing be

He likes Ichiro. (he makes things easy for him)
KARE WA ICHIROO NI MEOKAKETE IRU
he (top) Ichiro (dat) meokakeru-ing be
He favors Ichiro. (above the other employees)

AMAYAKASU used in relation to older children does not always incur social criticism as the following sentence explains:

NIHON DE WA DAIGAKU NYUUGAKU SHIKEN WA SHIRETSU
Japan in (top) university entrance exam (top) competitive

DESU. TASHOO NO SHUPPI WA KAKUGO
(cop) a certain amount (poss) expense (top) be prepared

SHITE MO DAIGAKUFUZOKU NO SHIRITSU CHUUGAKU
even university attached (poss) private junior school

YA KOOKOO NI OYA WA KODOMO O NYUUGAKU
or senior (dat) parents (top) child (ren) (obj) enter

SASETE SOOSHTA KYOOSOO O SUKOSHI DEMO KEIGEN
do (caus) such competitive (obj) a little even decrease

SASETE YAROO TO SHIMASU. OYA WA KODOMO O
do (caus) give (hort) (quote) do parents (top) child (ren) (obj)

DEKIRU-DAKE AMAYAKASETE YAROO TO SURU NO WA
much as possible amayakasu-ing give (quote) do (nom) (top)

NINJOO TO IU MONO DESU.
human nature (quote) matter of (cop, pol)

In Japan, entrance exams to universities are competitive. Even if it means being prepared to spend more money, parents try to send their children to private junior or senior high schools attached to universities. In this way parents try to decrease the competition if only a little. It is human nature for parents to indulge their children as much as possible.

In the above context, neither MEOKAKERU nor KAWAIGARU would be appropriately used.

AMAYAKASU and KAWAIGARU can be appropriately used in some contexts in regard to pets.

SONO KO WA UMA O KAWAIGARU
that child (top) horse (obj) kawaigaru

That child shows fondness for horses. (she likes to pat them or feed them or generally take care of them)
75. *SONO UMA WA KO O KAWAIGARU
    that horse (top) child(obj) kawaigaru

    That horse shows fondness for children.

The above sentence is inappropriate because horses are considered as not capable of human thought.

76. {NEKO O KAWAIGARISUGITE }
{INU O AMAYAKASHISUGITE} WA IKENAI.
    (cat)(obj) kawaigaru excessive(top)no good.  
    (dog)       amayakasu excessive}

    Cats (dogs) should not be given too much affection/pampered.

In the above sentences these verbs seem to imply similar meaning.

77. ?NEKO NI MEOKAKESUGITE WA IKENAI.
    cat (dat) meokakeru excessive(top) no good

    Cats should not be favored too much.(over other cats?)

The above sentence is of doubtful appropriateness but may apply if several cats are involved.

78. SONO KODOMO GA KAWAIGATTE ITA INU GA SHINDE
    the child(subj)kawaigaru-ing be(past)dog(subj) die

    SHIMATTA.
    (completive)(past)

    The dog that the child was fond of died. (12)

In this sentence Kuno translated KAWAIGARU as "was fond of". Informants preferred to consider its meaning in this context as "take care of", "attend to".

79. ?SONO KODOMO GA AMAYAKASHITE ITA INU GA SHINDE
    the child (subj) spoil-ing be(past) dog (subj) die

    SHIMATTA.
    (completive)(past)

    The dog which the child spoiled, died.
To imply that a dog pined for a dead child, the following sentence was suggested.

80.  SONO INU GA SUKI DATTA KODOMO GA SHINDE
     that dog (subj)like (past) child (subj) die
     SHIMATTA
     (completive)(past)

     The child that the dog loved, died.

In regard to the use of these words in relation to "situations", sentence [63] of Chapter III, can be compared with the use of AMAYAKASU in the passive structure as follows:

81.  JIBUN NO KYOOGUU NI AMAETE ITA HITO.
     self(poss)situation(dat)amaeru-ing be(past)person
     A person who was too dependent on his situation.

82.  JIBUN NO KYOOGUU NI AMAYAKASARETE KITA HITO.
     self(poss)situation(dat)amayakasu(pass)come(past)person
     A person who has been spoiled by his situation.

Informants fail to agree on the appropriateness of the above sentence. One stated that treating "things" as "subjects" is usually avoided, but all agree that KAWAIGARU or MEOKAKERU would not be used in this context.

83.  *JIBUN NO KYOOGUU NI (KAWAIGARARETE) KITA HITO.
     self(poss)situation(dat){meokakeru-ing}come(past)person
     (kawaigaru-ing)
     A person who was liked or favored by his situation.

This sentence is inappropriate because the subject of the action is inanimate and incapable of emotional feelings.
4.7. SUMMARY

The prototypical use of AMAYAKASU represents the natural response of a mother to her infant. Its peripheral use extends to that of "superior" to "inferior" in school, university, the workplace and in social life when a special relationship exists between the participants. If used to excess it can incur social criticism.

The use of MEOKAKERU indicates that a "superior" favors an "inferior" over others of similar status. It can be used as an unconscious reaction to covert TORIIRU behavior, as a genuine reaction to a subordinate's capabilities, or as a social custom, i.e. "mothers often favor their eldest sons."

KAWAIGARU is a verb used to describe or express a "superior's" affection for a younger, weaker or a helpless person or an animal. It contains components of "physically caring" as well as a "feeling of fondness" for the recipient.
CHAPTER V

VERBS OF LOVE

"...love or marriage involves maternal nurturance. Marital harmony is often achieved or restored by the wife's taking a maternal role in relation to the husband. tolerating, as a mother would with a son, the husband's neglect of his marital responsibility. When sexual passion is replaced by maternal indulgence, the husband acquires more freedom but at the same time becomes more dependent on his wife. Maternal love can be shown even when marriage has broken down."

Takie Sugiyama Lebra. 1976.(1)

5.0. INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the way in which the verb AISURU and a group of words of similar meaning are used in interpersonal communication, and the way they are applied within the boundaries of Japanese cultural conventions. The words discussed herein are the verbs AISURU, KOISURU, and HORERU, and the adjective SUKI NA, which is usually translated into English by the verb "like" or "love". In a society in which the individual avoids the expression of strong opinions, lest group harmony be disrupted, implication by the use of non-committal expressions is prevalent, and understatement is preferred.

The noun form from which the verb AISURU is derived is AI, which is glossed in Kenkyusha's New Pocket Japanese-English Dictionary as: "love; affection; attachment; tender passion; parental (fraternal, conjugal) love." (2) This word entered the Japanese
language during the Nara Period of scholarly exchange between Japan and China around the seventh century with the teachings of Confucius (see 2.1.). In adapting this concept to the ancient animistic Shintoism, it represented to the Japanese the inner passive feeling human beings have for the weak and vulnerable.

According to the Japanese psychologist, Isao Takino, AISURU originally meant "think tenderly of small, fragile, beings" a meaning similar to the verb KAWAIGARU, which was discussed in the previous chapter. (3) Having no aggressive connotations, it became symbolic of "mother-love" as the core of IE, the household (see 2.0.). Modern influences of Western literature and of Christianity have since extended this meaning to include those of "adult love" between opposite sexes, and "love" of God.

The following sentence, given by a Christian informant, throws some light on the depth of meaning which AISURU can convey.

1. AI TO WA FUTATSU NO KARADA NI HITOTSU NO INOCHI GA ai (quot)(top) two(poss) bodies(dat) one(poss) life(subj)

YADORU KOTO DESU
abide fact (copula)(polite)

Love is the residing of one (a single) life in two bodies.

This implication of permanency, obligation and commitment seems to be strongly related to the Japanese concept of "belongingness". Lebra states:

"Alter does not only reciprocate Ego but comes to replicate Ego, much as a child replicates its parent. If Alter goes wrong, it is Ego's fault too, and Ego must share the blame....One step further and the boundary between Ego and Alter social echo ends up in social fusion, where one person joins another in ITTAIKAN, "feeling of oneness."" (4)
5.1. AISURU

AISURU is glossed in Kenkyusha's New Pocket Japanese-English Dictionary as: "to love: to have affection for, attachment to: to feel tender passion towards." (5)

Japanese omits information such as personal pronouns where this is clear from context. In the following sentence the personal pronoun and the possessive particle "NO", e.g. "WATASHI NO" KODOMO - "my child" is also omitted. This seems to suggest, contrary to the use of the English word "love" in similar contexts, that there is a cultural assumption that the use of AISURU implies an attitude toward's one's own children which does not apply to children in general, as the following examples illustrate.

2. KODOMO O AISHITE IRU.
   child(obj)aisuru-ing be
   I love my child (children).

When SUKI is substituted for AISURU, the meaning changes:

3. KODOMO GA SUKI DESU.
   child(subj)suki
   I love (all) children/ I like children.

This instinctive and obligatory commitment of parents to their own children is common to most cultures, including Western culture but it is interesting to note that it seems to be expressed in the Japanese language by a single word, rather than a phrase.

Doi states:

"Suzuki Daisetsu points out that whereas "at the basis of the ways of thinking and feeling of the Westerner there is the father," it is the mother that lies at the bottom of the Oriental nature. "The mother," he says, "enfolds everything in unconditional love. There is no question of right or wrong. Everything is accepted without difficulties or questioning." (6)
The origins of this basic concept are discussed in Chapter II, section 2.0. The indulgence that the average Japanese mother gives to her children and to her husband within the home environment has the effect of binding the household together in interdependency relationships. Takino suggests that when the word AISURU began to be used as a translation for the English word "love", it took on a new "active" meaning with the influence of Western literature. Consequently, he maintains that even though it is now used between men and women, it sounds awkward and in order to compensate for this, the word AMAERU, meaning "passive desire for affection" is frequently used. (7) As we have seen in previous chapters, "passive love" is very important to the Japanese psyche.

Informants have confirmed that AISURU was not used to describe feelings between man and wife prior to this century because marriages were traditionally arranged by parents using the criteria of social status and economic suitability. (OMIAIKEKKON). It was not considered necessary for two people contemplating marriage to "love" each other. It was a wifely duty to obey her husband and a husband's duty to be responsible for his wife and family. Influences of the English language and the embracing of Western concepts in the form of "love marriages" (REN'AIKEKKON) have widened the meaning of AISURU to include "conjugal love".

Some informants suggest that AISURU refers to the deepest feeling of devotion that a Japanese person can have for another. It is now used between adults of the opposite sex, only in private when contemplating marriage. Female informants seemed more inclined to use this verb than male informants, the latter suggesting that the cultural restrictions placed on the expression of strong feelings and the word's traditional associations with
the concept of passive "mother-love" could inhibit its use in this context.

It is suggested, therefore, that the prototypical meaning of AISURU as defined in this chapter be considered as fundamentally that of "mother-love"; and that the peripheral meaning be considered as an extension of this feeling between adults of the opposite sex. George De Vos states:

"Japanese men are apt to split their relationships with women into two groups: those with the wife and those with entertainers. Other evidence... supports the conclusion that for many men genuine affection is directed only toward maternal figures. Conversely, little deep affection seems freely available toward women perceived in a sexual role. Moreover, the Japanese male must defend himself against any passivity in his sexual relationship, lest he fall into a dependent relationship." (8)

It is generally considered appropriate to use AISURU only after a deep and sincere emotional involvement has developed, or after experiencing parenthood as this, to most Japanese, is the state which generally binds people together for life. For this reason AISURU is not used directly to or by children.

While agreeing that the use of AISURU has widened with Western influence, particularly that of the American film industry and the Japanese translations of Western romance novels, this situation does not necessarily extend to the concept of "AI". In English, when the word "love" is used as a noun, it usually refers to the concept of "deep devotion".

As Chie Nakane in her article "Criteria of Group Formation" states:

"Moral ideas such as "the husband leads and the wife obeys" or "man and wife are one flesh" embody the Japanese emphasis on integration." (9)
In proposing to a girl in private, a modern man may say:

4. \{KIMI\} ANATA \{ANATA\} 0 AISHITE IRU.
   you (obj)aisuru-ing be
   (I) love you (deeply).

Or if more conservative, he may say:

5. KIMI GA SUKI DA. KEKKON SHITE KUDASAI.
   you (subj)suki(copula) marry -ing please.
   (I) love you. Please marry me.

According to informants, both expressions would carry the same commitment. If we consider this interpretation, Sentence [4] implies, in effect: "I want to be one with you". It would not be used by a mother to her child, by a child to its mother, between sisters and brothers or between friends. In these relationships SUKI would be used, and this would also be appropriate between engaged couples when others are present, as the expression of AISURU used in public is considered to be embarrassing.

It seems that in the West, the concept of "love based on sexual attraction" is of paramount importance to young people contemplating marriage. This is evidenced by the tone of romantic novels, popular songs and television soap operas. Since contraception aids became freely accessible, the consideration of whether to have children or not has become a matter of choice or religious conviction. It seems to be less important in modern times than in the past to have a son to carry on the family name. The role of women as mainly child-bearers and housekeepers has generally been replaced by women's equality. In a stable marriage, the arrival of children is not necessarily expected to change a couple's attitudes to each other. Society does not
expect terms of address or endearment to change because of parenthood. This is a matter of choice rather than custom.

In Japan, the most important reason for marriage is to have children. A bride expects that she will become a mother within an appropriate period after marriage. In discussing their role in marriage, many Sado Island brides-to-be suggested that their short honeymoon would probably be their last holiday for some time, and that the following year their husbands would be on holiday without them as they would be preparing for motherhood. The awareness of parenthood is constantly recognised between husband and wife for precisely the same reason as the relationship between speaker and hearer is constantly recognised in all interpersonal communication in Japan. Each refers to the other by their newly acquired status rather than the terms of endearment previously used.

Sonya Salamon states:

"In the culturally dictated life course in Japan, when one marries it follows that one will have children and the sooner the better."(10)

She further states, that when children arrive:

"The couple no longer has the same time or inclination to cater for and woo one another; the husband increasingly is drawn away from his family by the demands of work, and the wife must care for the children and the house."(11)

Once married, a woman's life changes and self-discipline begins in earnest. Her main concerns must now be for her children and her duty to her husband. The terms of address or endearment they once used to each other tend to disappear from use and husband and wife begin to refer to each other as "father" and "mother".
The context in which the use of AISURU is extended to refer to "love of country, nature, culture etc" is common to many languages including English, but a sense of "belonging to", "possession of" or "being a part of" is implied in the following sentence.

6. KUNI O AISHITE IRU
country(obj)aisuru-ing is
I love my country.

5.2. KOISURU

Kenkyusha's New Pocket Japanese-English Dictionary glosses KOISURU thus:

KOISURU: "love; fall in love (with): have a tender feeling (towards): give one's heart (to)." (12)

Sanseido's Concise Japanese/English Dictionary glosses it as:

KOISURU: "to yearn after; long for; pine for one's love; to miss; to admire." (13)

The verb KOISURU, like AISURU, is derived from a noun form KOI. It is used extensively in literature but informants say it is also used in conversation. According to my informants, it has "passive" rather than "active" connotations, and is used mainly by women when speaking of their own feelings because traditionally women do not make the first advances in a romance. It has a similar meaning to the English "fall in love". If a man is attracted to a woman, whom he does not yet know well, he would be more inclined to use the word HORERU which has "active" connotations. The following example submitted by a female informant illustrates this point.
7. WATASHI WA KARE NI KOISHITE IMASU. DEMO KARE NO I (top) he (dat)koisuru-ing be(pres)but he (poss) KIMOCHI WA WAKARIMASEN. feelings(top)be clear(neg)

I am in love with him but I don't know what his feelings are.

This verb describes the first feeling of attraction that two people of the opposite sex have for one another, and contains a "getting to know you" component which could lead either to AISURU or to an ending of the relationship; therefore, it is a feeling which has a limited time span. Lebra describes KOISURU as "romantic love" which she discusses thus:

"The Japanese sense of beauty itself is so closely associated with universal evanescence that esthetic pleasure is sometimes found in things short-lived. .....Likewise, romantic love is regarded as beautiful, not only because it involves motivational purity but because it is destined to be short-lived." (14)

She further states:

"Pure romantic love, which is unconsummated and thus frustrating should ideally be transformed into serenity. not necessarily resignation. and moral dedication should generate self-contentment. The Japanese are indeed concerned with maintenance of the contented, serene, happy, mentally healthy self, and confident that this state of self can be attained through self-dedication.....(Romantic love thus is clearly separated from marriage, which entails permanent obligations and. above all. the perpetuation of the household.)" (15)

It seems that "romantic love" can turn to "permanent commitment" but only under culturally appropriate circumstances, as Lebra states:

"The social sensitivity of the Japanese often extends to sensitization to interpersonal vibrations, an echo effect whereby Ego and Alter share feelings and thus influence each other.....Initially one-sided love will eventually be accepted and returned, or will die down if not reciprocated. It is not that a Japanese never experiences lost or thwarted love but that his suffering in a romantic relationship owes not so much to lack of reciprocation as to intervention by a third party or other social obstacle."(16)
Eiichiro Ishida, in his article, "A Culture of Love and Hate" mentions the Japanese expression HAKANAI KOI, which he describes as "fleeting love". (17) Kenkyusha's Dictionary glosses it as "a short-lived love."

The following sentence is more likely to be used by a woman than by a man when referring to the opposite sex:

8. (KANOJO) (KARE ) NI KOISHITE IRU (she/he)(dat) koisuru-ing be
I am in love with her (him).

5.3. HORERU

HORERU: "fall in love (with); be attached to; take a fancy to; fix one's affection on; lose one's heart to (a girl)."
(18)

HORERU is a verb which is prototypically used in the first person exclusively by men in expressing sexual desire, a spontaneous feeling of physical attraction towards another person. For this reason it is considered OTOKOKOTOBA "a man's word". It is considered by some informants to be an old-fashioned word which tends to be used less frequently in modern times than in the past. The following expression can only be used by a man:

9. "KIMI NI HORETE IRU" you (dat) horeru-ing be
I am infatuated with you.

As suggested by de Vos (see section 5.1.), Japanese men tend to separate their sexual impulses from their role as parent and provider. Their feelings for a mistress are perceived in a different light from their feelings for their wives. (see 2.4.) It
seems that homosexual relationships i.e. sexual activity between men, are not considered in the same way in Japan as they are in the West. As Christopher states:

"In Western societies, under the lingering influence of Christianity, "illicit" sex is still surrounded in the minds of many people with overtones of guilt, acknowledged or unacknowledged. But in Japan sex is not a moral issue per se: even homosexuality does not disturb Japanese in the way that it still does many Westerners."(19)

It is suggested that HORERU could be used in the context of homosexual attraction but as homosexual relationships are not as identifiable in Japanese society as they are in the West, data in the form of sentences to illustrate this use is not available. In discussing male companionship in Japan, Miller states:

"Instead of enjoying ourselves alone we tend to enjoy the feeling of unity that comes from sharing the pleasures of others. Association among men illustrates this well: indeed, to Western eyes Japan appears to be an unusually homosexual society."(20)

The derived expressions HOREBORE: "fondly, affectionately," and HITOMEBORE : "love at first sight", are commonly used by men and women. A male informant suggested that HORERU may be used by women working exclusively in men's company, e.g. a barmaid, but in mixed company when speaking of her own feelings, a woman would probably use the verb KOISURU instead. Another suggested that women could use HORERU when speaking of other people's feelings.

10. ANO ONNA WA OTOKO NI HORENAIDE KANE NI
HORETE IRU
horeru-ing be
She has fallen more for his wealth than for him.

In the above sentence, the speaker can be either a man or a woman because the reference is to a third person.
Jared Taylor discusses HORERU in relation to the passionate loyalty that KOBUN (henchmen), lit. "child figure", in underworld gangs hold for their OYABUN (leader), lit. "parent figure".

"Loyalty, once given, is for life. The word for the passion a KOBUN feels for his OYABUN is HORERU, the same word used to describe erotic love between men and women. In return for his KOBUN's love and loyalty, the OYABUN is sworn to care for and look after his dependents, just as a father would cherish his sons." (21)

In this quote, Taylor discusses two concepts, one of "loyalty", the other "passion". An informant suggested that "passion" is related to HORERU, but that "loyalty" is related to the ritual ties which underworld gangs use to unite the groups, and thus is related to GIRI: "one's duty to others" according to custom. (see 2.4.) Without these strong ties of mindless loyalty in return for protection, the gang's effectiveness against their enemies would be weakened. In hierarchical terms, the OYABUN is at all times the KOBUN's superior. This would also stimulate life-long loyalty from the KOBUN.

Because it is used to express instantaneous reaction to the senses of sight, touch or hearing, which does not require logical explanation, its peripheral use extends to "aesthetic responses" to: a work of art, the talents of an entertainer, a stage performer, a singer, a dancer, or a storyteller.

11. WATASHITACHI WA KARE NO GIJUTSU NI HORETA
we (top) he (poss) skills (dat) horeru (past)

We were impressed by his skills.

Although it seems that social restrictions do not prevent women from using HORERU in the sense of "aesthetic appreciation", the implications of the prototypical component could inhibit its use in this context.
5.4. SUKI

The word SUKI has a wide semantic range. SHINRUIGO JITEN: The New Dictionary of Synonyms, lists the following glosses with sample sentences:

SUKI: (a) "preference"

12. HARU YORI AKI GA SUKI DA
   spring rather than autumn (subj) suki (copula)
   I prefer Autumn to Spring.

SUKI: (b) "like; as is liked"

13. MINA SUKI - NA KOTO O IU
   everyone suki thing (obj)say
   Everyone says whatever they like.

14. SUKI - NI NASAI
   suki (adv) do
   Feel free (to do as you wish).

SUKI: (c) "have an interest in". (idiomatic use of SUKI as a noun.)

15. KORE WA WATASHI NO SUKI DE SHITE IRU KOTO DESU
    this (top) I (poss)suki(part)do-ing be thing(cop,pol)
    I am doing this in my own interests.

SUKI: (d) "like; is attracted; think that is good."

16. WATASHI NI WA SUKI- NA HITO GA ARU
    I (dat)(top)suki person (subj) exist
    There is a person whom I love. (22)

Kenkyusha's Dictionary glosses it as follows:

SUKI:  (a) liking; (a) fondness; love; (a) taste; (a) fancy; a bent.(23)

According to my informants SUKI implies a much stronger feeling than the English word "like". It can be compared to the English expression "like very much" and in some contexts, to the English
word "love". My informants agree that the words SUKI, KOISURU and AISURU range in strength of meaning from relatively strong - SUKI (stronger than English "like") -through very strong - KOISURU - to total commitment - AISURU. While both KOISURU and AISURU imply a controllable feeling over a period of time, HORERU implies uncontrolled immediate action. It seems that KOISURU implies "passive attraction" for a person of the opposite sex, of the kind a young Japanese woman would appropriately express. HORERU, on the other hand, implies "active passion" with the potential for aggression attributable only to males in Japanese society. AISURU implies the total commitment that is inherent in the feeling of "belongingness" or of "oneness".

SUKI has none of these connotations. It has a wider, less specific range of meaning and thus can be used when the use of a more specific word would be inappropriate, e.g. AISURU, used in the presence of other people, KOISURU, used when the speaker feels inhibited. HORERU when a feeling of sensuality is aroused in inappropriate circumstances. The use of SUKI causes no embarrassment to the speaker and is strengthened or weakened in meaning according to the context or accompanying paralinguistic features.

SUKI can be used to refer to things, food, activities, animals, people, situations, ideas and anything which can be said to be liked, in much the same way as the English verb "like" and the adjective "likeable" can be used. In saying that something or someone is "likeable", there is a sense in which the commitment to a personal opinion is avoided in favor of the uttering of an established social opinion.
### 5.5. USAGE TABLES

#### TABLE 1

Table 1. shows the social relationship between the participants involved.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>RECIPIENT</th>
<th>DEFINITION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AISURU</td>
<td>Adult</td>
<td>{offspring} (prototypical)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>{opposite sex} (peripheral)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KOISURU</td>
<td>Adult</td>
<td>{Opposite sex} (prototypical)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>{about unmarried couples}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HORERU</td>
<td>Adult</td>
<td>{Adult female} (prototypical)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>{erotic}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>{aesthetic use} (peripheral)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUKI</td>
<td>Human</td>
<td>{Human}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>{Animals}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>{things}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>{Food}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>{Activities}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. deals with the social identity of the participants and the objects. With the exception of SUKI, the above words are used only by adults, with the use of HORERU restricted to men. The relationship of the participants in each case differs, except in the use of SUKI, which can be used in all types of relationships.
Table 2 deals with the strength of feeling expressed in the use of the words and the expectations implied in their use.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AISURU</th>
<th>Initiator ←————————→ recipient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KOISURU</td>
<td>Initiator ←————————→ recipient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HORERU</td>
<td>Initiator ←————————→ recipient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUKI</td>
<td>Initiator ←————————→ recipient</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Index:
- Strong feeling, with total commitment
- Strong feeling without commitment
- Expected return of strong feeling
- Hoped for, but not expected return
- Spontaneous feeling without commitment
- + strong feeling without commitment

Prototypically AISURU is used only to refer to one's child, indicating that a "special relationship" exists. Peripherally, it is used by adults to adults of the opposite sex in private in the expectations of the feeling being reciprocated. KOISURU is used only by adults to adults of the opposite sex or to refer to adults in a relationship in which a "hoped for" return of feeling would be appropriate. The use of HORERU refers to a one-way feeling of physical attraction and does not necessarily demand a return of similar feeling. In the use of SUKI, the strength of feeling can vary over a wide range of meanings and no return of feeling is expected.
TABLE 3

Table 3 shows the type of feeling which the use of the words imply.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PERMANENT EMOTIONAL</th>
<th>SEMI-PERMANENT EMOTIONAL</th>
<th>SPONTANEOUS PASSION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AISURU</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KOISURU</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HORERU</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUKI</td>
<td>±</td>
<td>±</td>
<td>±</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The term "Permanent Emotional" refers to the prototype of "mother-love" which, in most cultures, is a life-long emotional commitment. KOISURU is an emotional feeling which may last for some time but is not a life-long commitment, hence this is termed "Semi-permanent Emotional". HORERU, on the other hand, is a "Spontaneous Passion" which is the result of stimulation of the physical senses. As SUKI can be substituted in most contexts for each of the other words in the group, it can apply in the positive or in the reverse where applicable.
5.6. DEFINITIONS

The following definitions are based on the prototypical meaning of this group of words. **AISURU** is defined as universal "mother-love".

**AISURU**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X</th>
<th>WA</th>
<th>Y</th>
<th>O AISURU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X feels something good towards Y of the kind one would feel towards one's own child</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X thinks : Y and I are as one</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I want to cause good things to happen to Y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I will always want this</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X feels something good because of this</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People would think that to think this is good</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The component "X feels something good towards Y of the kind one would feel towards one's own child" reflects the intimate relationship that must exist between the participants when using the verb AISURU. Similar to the components in the definition of "superior" in AMAERU and AMAYAKASU in previous chapters, it reflects the love a mother has for her child and forms the prototypical AMAE relationship.

The following would not be used, unless the grandmother is assuming the role of the mother in rearing the child, due to particular circumstances. The use of AISURU in this instance would suggest those special circumstances.

17. **OBAASAN WA MAGO O AISHITE IRU.**
   grandmother(top)grandchild(obj)aisuru-ing be
   The grandmother loves her grandchild.(whom she has reared as her own child)

18. **MAGO WA OBAASAN O AISHITE IRU**
   grandchild(top)grandmother(obj)aisuru-ing be
   The child loves his grandmother.
The sub-component "X thinks" reflects conscious awareness, and the component "X thinks: Y and I are as one" refers to the "feeling of oneness" referred to by Lebra in 4.1. The essence of "being a part of". The word "person" has not been used in this definition as this word has different connotations within different cultures, and an abstract expression seems in keeping with the component.

19. AKACHAN O AISHITE IRU
infant (obj)aisuru-ing be
I love my baby.

20. TONARI NO KODOMO O AISHITE IRU
next door(poss)child(obj)aisur-ing be
I love the (my) neighbour's child.

The component "X thinks: I want to cause good things to happen to Y" contains the implication of benevolent feeling. This component is common to KOISURU.

21. KANJOJO WA KODOMO O AISURU ONNA DA
she (top)child(ren)(obj)aisuru woman(copula)
She is a woman who loves her children.
(Impl: She is a good mother)

Life-long commitment is reflected in the component "X thinks: I will always want this".

Pleasant feeling, which accompanies feelings of love for another is implied in the component "X feels something good because of this".

22. KAZUKO WA AISURU AKACHAN GA DEKITA NODE
Kazuko(top)aisuru baby(subj)has produced(past)because

IMA WA SHIAWASE DESU
now (top)happy (copula,polite)

Kazuko is happy now that she has a baby to love.
The final component "People would think that to think this is good" refers to the cultural acceptance in the appropriate hierarchical situation of AISURU within Japanese society, as a binding quality of the hierarchical system. This is demonstrated in the following sentence taken from Chapter III.

23. KANOJO WA KODOMO NO YOOKYUU-DOORI OMOCHA
she (top) child (poss) demand according to toys
O KATTARI OKASHI O TABESASETARI SHITE IRU.
(obj) buy sweets (obj) eat (caus) doing be
ARE WA KODOMO O AISHITE IRU NO DEWANAKU
that (top) child (obj) aisuru-ing be (nom) be (neg)
AMAYAKASHITE IRU NO DA.
spoil-ing be (nom) (cop)

She buys toys and gives her child sweets whenever the child wants them. That is not loving her child but just spoiling him. [49] (Ch.III.)

In the above sentence, the pure properties of AISURU are shown clearly as being opposed to the excesses of AMAYAKASU, the latter being criticized as excessive because it implies a lack of discipline.

The prototypical definition of AISURU does not contain the component "X wants to be with Y" because "mother-love" is a lifelong commitment regardless of "physical presence". This is not an essential part of motherhood because "mother-love" is a selfless love in which the welfare of the offspring is the main concern. In its peripheral context, as an extension of KOISURU, it can seem to contain this component, as in the following sentence:
During my three years study in Australia, Hanako has written letters daily. I have grown to love her without realizing it.

The above sentence implies that there is a close interaction between the two and therefore a strong indication of return of feeling. My informant assures me that KOISURU is not appropriate in this context because KOISURU is not used in established relationships.

KOISURU

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X WA Y NI KOISURU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X feels something good towards Y, of the kind a man and a woman can feel towards each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When X thinks about Y, X wants to be with Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X thinks: I want to cause good things to happen to Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X feels something good because of this.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The component "X feels something good towards Y, of the kind a man and a woman can feel for each other" refers to the feelings of attraction that a person can have for the opposite sex.

He fell in love with the beautiful girl.

(an expression found in novels)
26. WATASHI WA KARE NI ZUTTO KOISHITE KITA
I (top) he (dat)long time koisuru(past)

I have been in love with him for a long time.
(Impl: I don't know if he felt the same)

The component "When X thinks about Y. X wants to be with Y" reflects conscious awareness of attraction between sexes: the notion of romantic love is reflected in the subcomponent "X wants to be with Y"

27. WATASHI WA OOSUTORARIA NI SANNENKAN RYUUGAKU
I (top) Australia (loc) three years study o/seas

SHITA. SONO AIDA HANAKO NI KOISHITE ITA
do(past)that period Hanako (dat)koisuru-ing be(past)

I studied in Australia for three years. During that time, I was missing (longing for) Hanako.

HORERU, which is a response to the senses and not to the mind, would not be used in this context nor would AISURU (in its peripheral sense) because it gives no indication of a return of feeling on the part of the recipient.

28. SONO AIDA KANOJO WA HIMPAN NI TEGAMI O WATASHI
dat period she (top)frequent(adv) letter(obj) I

NI KURETA UENI WATASHI NI AI NI NANKAIMO
give(past)furthermore I(dat)meet(purp) many times

OOSUTORARIA NI KITA. WATASHI WA KANOJO O ZUTTO
Australia (dat)come(past) I (top)she(obj)continuously

AISHITE ITA
aisuru-ing be(past)

During that time, she frequently sent me letters and came to Australia to meet me many times. I have loved her for a long time.

The component "X thinks: I want to cause good things to happen to Y" refers to the benevolent nature of "being in love", the sense in which KOISURU is often used.
29. HANAKO WA TAROO NI KOISHITE IRU NODE HANAKO
Hanako (top) Taro (dat) koisur-ing be because Hanako
WA OKURIMONO O KATTE TAROO NO TSUKUE NO NAKA
(top) gift (obj) buy Taro (poss) desk (poss) inside
NI DARE-NIMO WAKARANAI YOONI OITEOITE.
(dat) anybody be known (neg) left

Because Hanako is in love with Taro, she bought a gift and secretly left it inside his desk.

The above sentence is normally used by a female speaker to refer to a female because a man would expected to be more direct in his approach than a woman.

The final component "X feels something good because of this" reflects the pleasure the initiator experiences in being "in love". This component is common to all words in this group.

30. KANOJO WA KOISURU ONNA DA.
She (top) koisuru woman (copula)

She is a woman in love.

31. KOISURU ONNA WA KIREI DESU
koisuru woman (top) beautiful (copula) (polite)

A woman in love is beautiful.

One may say of a young girl:

32. KANOJO WA KOI NI KOISURU TOSHIGORO DA.
she (top) love (dat) koisuru age (cop)

She is at the age when she is hoping to fall in love.
(Lit: falling in love with love) (a romantic notion of love.)
HORERU

X WA Y NI HORERU

X feels something good towards Y of the kind one can feel if one is a man or a woman.

When X sees, hears or touches Y, X feels something good towards Y that X doesn't feel towards other people.

X wants to be with Y.

X feels something good because of this.

The component "X feels something good towards Y, of the kind one can feel if one is a man or a woman" reflects the sexual feelings associated with the word. It is suggested that these feelings can be homosexual or heterosexual.

33. KARE WA KANOJO NI ZOKKON HORERU IRU.

He (top) her (dat) deeply horeru-ing be

He has fallen madly in love with her.

The component "When X sees, hears or touches Y, X feels something good towards Y that X doesn't feel towards other people" refers to the sense in which HORERU can be used in situations of "erotic love relationships" between opposite sexes, the uncontrollable reaction to the physical senses. Only a male can say this about himself.

34. "HORETE SHIMATTA NO DAKARA SHIKATANAI."

horeru-ing (past) (poss) reason way (neg)

I have fallen uncontrollably in love with you.

A male informant submitted the following sentence:

35. A: OMAE ANO KO NI HORETE IRU DAROO.

you that girl (dat) horeru-ing be (cop, presumptive)

You're infatuated with that girl, aren't you.
The above component is also predominant in the peripheral use of HORERU, in the sense of appreciation of the aesthetic.

The component "X wants to be with Y" refers to the attraction a person can have towards the opposite sex.

35. BOKU WA ONAJI SHOKUBA NO KEIKO SAN NI HORETE I (top)same workplace(poss)Keiko(adr)(dat)horeru-ing SHIMATTA. KEIKO SAN O EIGA NI KINOO (completive)(past) Keiko (adr)(obj) film(dat) yesterday SASOTTA N DA KEDO TOTEMO TANOSHIKATTA invite(past)(nom)(cop) but very pleasant(past)

I have fallen in love with Keiko who works with me. Yesterday I invited her to see a film with me. It was very pleasant.

The above sentence was given by a male informant who assured me that it would be inappropriate for a woman to use HORERU because the word has active implications compared with KOISURU which has passive implications. If a man used KOISURU in talking about himself in public, it would sound effeminate. A female speaker would use the following sentence in which it would be inappropriate to use HORERU.

36. WATASHI WA ONAJI SHOKUBA NO TAROO SAN NI I (top) same workplace(poss) Taro (adr)(dat) KOISHITE IMASU. WATASHI NO KIMOCI O koisuru-ing be(polite) I (poss) feeling (obj) TSUTAERU KOTO GA DEKIZU JIRETTAKU let know thing(subj) be possible(neg) frustrated(adv)

KANJIMASU.
feel(pol)

I've fallen in love with Taro who works with me. I can't let him know how I feel so I feel frustrated.
The final component "X feels something good because of this", is the common component in this group of words. The pleasant feeling attached to "liking something or someone". The following idiomatic phrase demonstrates this:

37. HORETE KAYO EBA SENRI MO ICHIRI horeru-ing travel 1,000 ri even 1 ri.

Infatuation makes a visit of one thousand ri (four thousand kilometers) (seem) only one ri (four kilometers).

The subcomponent "X thinks" does not appear in this definition as it is a spontaneous feeling over which a person has no control.

SUKI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>X WA Y GA SUKI DESU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>When X thinks about Y for some time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X thinks good things about Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X feels something good because of this</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Because SUKI covers such a wide range of meaning it can only be vaguely defined to allow for its substitution in so many contexts.

The component "When X thinks about Y for some time" reflects awareness of one's opinion of a person, or an animal, an activity, a situation, a condition, after considerable thought.

My informants agree with A.Miura (22) in his statement that SUKI cannot refer to "momentary" liking.

38. *KINOO MITA EIGA GA SUKI DESU. (Miura's (6)

(yesterday see(past)movie(subj) suki(copula)(polite)

(Lit) I like the movie I saw yesterday.

They agreed that the preferred sentence would be:
The movie I saw yesterday was very interesting.

The component "X thinks good things about Y" refers to the good feelings which are generated in "liking" something or someone.

I prefer Autumn to Spring.

The above sentence conveys an objective opinion. If AISURU is substituted the opinion becomes more subjective, i.e. sentimental implications of personal experience give the expression more commitment:

I prefer Autumn to Spring.

(Impl: I have a sentimental memory of Autumn.)

The component "X feels something good because of this" in common with a similar component in definitions of all words in the group refers to general "good feelings" which arise from thinking pleasant thoughts about a person or thing.
## TABLE 4: DISTINGUISHING SEMANTIC COMPONENTS

Table 4 distinguishes the semantic components inherent in each of the words discussed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AISURU</td>
<td>X feels something good towards Y of the kind one would feel about one's child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>X thinks: Y and I are as one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>People would think that to think this is good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KOISURU</td>
<td>X thinks: I won't always feel this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HORERU</td>
<td>When X sees or touches woman Y, X wants to do good things with Y that X wouldn't want to do with other people</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The word SUKI does not have any distinguishing components because, when used in a similar type of sentence structure, it can be substituted for any of the three above verbs, if preferred.
TABLE 5: COMPONENTS IN COMMON

Table 5 shows the semantic components which all the words in this group share, those shared by AISURU and KOISURU only and those shared by KOISURU and HORERU only.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SEXUAL ATTRACTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KOISURU</td>
<td>X feels something good towards Y of a kind a man and a woman can feel towards each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HORERU</td>
<td>X feels something good towards Y of a kind one can feel if one is a man or a woman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PLEASANT FEELINGS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AISURU</td>
<td>X feels something good because of this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KOISURU</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HORERU</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUKI</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BENEVOLENCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AISURU</td>
<td>X thinks : I want to cause good things to happen to Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KOISURU</td>
<td>X wants to cause good things to happen to Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUKI</td>
<td>X thinks good things about Y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CONSCIOUS AWARENESS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AISURU</td>
<td>X thinks :</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUKI</td>
<td>When X thinks about Y for some time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KOISURU</td>
<td>When X thinks about Y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PHYSICAL PRESENCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KOISURU</td>
<td>X wants to be with Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HORERU</td>
<td>X wants to be with Y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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5.8. COMPARATIVE DATA

42. KODOMO O AISANAI OYA WA INAI.
child(obj)aisuru(neg)parent(top)be(neg)
There are no parents who don't love their children.

43. *KODOMO NI (KOISANAI) OYA WA INAI
child(dat)horeru(neg)parent(top)be(neg)
koisuru(neg)
There are no parents who aren't infatuated/in love
with their children.

44. KANOJO WA KODOMO O AISURU ONNA DA
she(top)child(ren)(obj)aisuru woman(copula)
She is a woman who loves her children.
(Implication: She is a good mother.)

45. *KANOJO WA KODOMO NI (KOISURU) ONNA DA
she(top)child(ren)(dat)horeru woman(copula)
koisuru
She is a woman who is infatuated/in love
with children.

46. *(OJIISAN) (NI KOISHITE)
(OBAASAN) O AISHITE IRU
(OTOOSAN) (NI HORETE )
(OKAASAN)
grandfather(dat)koisuru-ing
(grandmother)(obj)aisuru-ing be.
(father )(dat)horeru-ing
(mother)
I love my grandparents/parents.

SUKI would be used here:

47. *(OJIISAN) GA SUKI DA
(OBAASAN) (subj) suki(copula)
(OTOOSAN),
(OKAASAN) grandparents/parents
I love my grandparents(parents).

or more emphatically:
48. TOTEMO CHICHIOYA GA SUKI DA.
very father (subj) suki (copula)

I like (respect) my father very much.

In describing grandmothers feelings for their grandchildren in normal circumstances the following common expression would be:

49. OBAASAN WA MAGO GA SUKI DESU
grandmother(top)grandchild (subj) suki (copula, polite)

The grandmother loves her grandchild. or Grandmothers love their grandchildren.

In contrastive contexts, SUKI and AISURU (used in the peripheral senses) can be compared with English "like" and "love", but with subtle differences. SUKI can generally be substituted for AISURU but not vice versa. The following sentences were submitted by female informants.

50. KARE O SUKI DESU GA AISHITE WA INAI.
him (obj)suki(cop)(pol) aisuru-ing(top)be(neg)

I like him but I don't love him.

This sentence, as in its English translation, indicates a difference type of feeling.

51. *KARE O AISHITE IMASU GA SUKI DEWAARIMASEN.
he (obj)aisuru-ing be(pol) but suki(cop)(neg)(pol)

I love him but I don't like him.

This sentence is inappropriate in Japanese because AISURU implies SUKI but the reverse does not apply. In English the statement "I love him but I don't like him." is appropriate in those special circumstances such as when a person is sexually attracted to a person of the opposite sex against their better judgement. This indicates the importance to the English world of sexual attraction. The verb AISURU does not contain this component.
This also demonstrates the stronger component of AISURU compared with that of SUKI, and the sense in which, SUKI is much stronger than English "like".

The following set phrase features AISURU. SUKI cannot be substituted, nor can KOISURU or HOREURU:

52. AISURU FUTARI WA MUSUBARETA.
    aisuru two(people)(top)join(pass)(past)

The loving couple have been married.

53. *(SUKI NA) FUTARI WA MUSUBARETA.
    {horeru} two(people)(top)marry(past)
    {koisuru}
    {suki}

The loving couple have married.

The above sentences are unintelligible.

According to my informants, children of divorced parents are disadvantaged in employment opportunities. Companies will tend to reject them in favor of those who have been reared in stable marriage situations. The following sentence illustrates the components of commitment and responsibility in the use of AISURU:

54. MOSHI KANOJO GA HONTOO NI KARE O AISHITE IRU NARA
    if she (subj)really(dat)him (obj)aisuru-ing be if
    KANOJO WA KARE TO WAKARERU BEKI DA.
    she (top) he with break(pass)must(emph)

    If she really loves him, she should break off with him.
    (Context: She is having an affair with a married man
    whose children may suffer if he left his wife.)

A male informant's interpretation of the following sentence was that the male speaker, speaking in the first person, was impressed by the talents of another person (male or female) as in (a)
"KIMI NI HORETA."
you (dat)horeru(past)

(a) You impressed me very much.
(b) I fell in love with you.

Another informant's interpretation of the same sentence in the absence of a specific context, was that of (b), associating it with a "love affair".

The following sentences are not ambiguous:

56. ANATA NO ENGI NI HORETA
you (poss)performance(dat)horeru (past)
I was very impressed with your performance.

57. WATASHITACHI WA KARE NO GIJUTSU NI HORETA.
we (top) he (poss) skill(dat)horeru(past)
We were impressed by his skills.

58. *WATASHITACHI WA KARE NO GIJUTSU {NI KOISHITA}
we (top) he(poss) skills(obj){aisuru :(past)
(dat){koisuru}
We were in love with/ loved his skills.

59. *WATASHITACHI WA KARE NO GIJUTSU GA SUKI DESU.
we (top) he(poss) skills(subj)suk i(cop,pol)
We are impressed by his skills.

60. WATASHI WA KANOJO NO SUBETE GA SUKI DESU
I (top) she (poss) everything(subj)suki(cop,pol)
I like everything about her.

61. WATASHI WA KANOJO NO SUBETE NI - TSUITE HORETA.
I (top)her(poss)every respect concerning horeru(past)
I was attracted to everything about her.

Of the words in this group, only SUKI can be used when referring to animals, because SUKI does not contain the components which distinguish AISURU, KOISURU, and HORERU, as shown in section 5.7., Table 1.
62. WATASHI WA NEKO GA SUKI DESU.
   I (top)cats (subj) suki (copula, polite)

   I like (love) cats.

63. *WATASHI WA NEKO (NI KOISHITE) IRU.
   I (top) cats (obj) aisu-ing (be)
   (dat) horeru-ing
   (dat) koi-ing

   I love cats.

SUKI can also be used in reference to colors.

64. WATASHI WA AKA GA SUKI DESU
   I (top) red (subj) suki (copula, polite)

   I like red.

65. *WATASHI WA AKA (NI HORETE) IRU
   I (top) red (obj) aisu-ing (be)
   (dat) koi-ing
   (horeru-ing)

   I love red.

The above sentence is inappropriate for the same reason as sentence [63] is inappropriate.

AISURU is used in the following sentence which refers to being in harmony with nature, and with the aesthetic elements of Japanese culture, or in a nationalistic sense.

66. WATASHI WA (NIHON) O AISHITE IRU.
   I (top) (music, autumn, Japan) (obj) aisu-ing (be)

   I love nature (music) (Autumn) (Japan).

This is also reflected in the following sentence:

67. (HARU)
    (KUNI) O AISHITE IRU
    (Spring) (obj) aisu-ing is
    (country)

   I love (my) country.
   I love Springtime (in my country).
The use of AISURU in this sentence implies "belonging", and represents perfect mental and physical harmony between man and woman, perfect harmony with nature and the cultural environment and genetic responsibility.

4.3. SUMMARY

By using all four words in similar structures, different depths and kinds of emotion are expressed. The following would be used by adults when referring to children.

68. (WATASHI WA) KODOMO O AISHITE IRU
(I) (top) child(obj) aisu-ru-ing be
I love my child (children). (commitment)

69. (WATASHI WA) KODOMO GA SUKI DESU.
(I) (top) child (subj)suki(copula,polite)
I love (all) children. (general)

70. *(WATASHI WA) KODOMO NI KOISHITE IRU.
(I) (top) child (dat) horeru-ing be
I'm infatuated /in love with children.

The following sentences are used by adults when referring to adults:

71. (WATASHI WA) ANATA GA SUKI DESU.
(I) (top) you (obj)suki(cop,pol)
I like you very much. (any situation, any speaker)

72. (WATASHI WA) ANATA NI KOISHITE IRU
(I) (top) you (dat)koisuru-ing be
I am in love with you. (romantic situation)
(expressed by a woman)
I am infatuated with you (expressed by male only) (spontaneous, uncontrolled)

I love you deeply (expressed only by adults, in private)

The following sentences are used to describe other people's feelings.

He likes the beautiful girl very much. (any situation)

He fell in love with the beautiful girl. (romantic) (expressed only by a woman)

He was infatuated with the beautiful girl. (spontaneous) (expressed by a man or a woman)

He loved the beautiful girl. (commitment)

The foregoing sentences demonstrate the types of feelings expressed in the use of the words AISURU, KOISURU, HORERU, and SUKI. These illustrate the cultural restrictions on their use in different situations.
"Amae is first and foremost an emotion which partakes of the nature of a drive and with something instinctive at its base....In its characteristic form it represents an attempt to draw close to the other person....in the first place, the craving of a newborn child for contact with its mother, and in the broader sense, the desire to deny the fact of separation that is an inevitable part of human existence, and to obliterate the pain that this separation involves."

Takeo Doi. 1985. (1)

Infant dependency and mother-love are the foundations of humanity because they represent the procreation of the species. In Japanese society these concepts are AMAE and AI. As Doi suggests, the AMAERU-AMAYAKASU syndrome is basically the behavior of an infant towards its mother and her response to this behavior. AI is the instinctive "mother-love" with which the mother responds. In examining the use of, and defining the verbs by which this basic concept of universal or prototypical behavior is described, and comparing the prototypical use with its peripheral manifestations in Japanese society, some different ways in which the Japanese culture conditions its people to communicate their feelings have been demonstrated.

Discussion of this group of words used in normal conversation has demonstrated that in the Japanese culture, the fundamental concept, AMAE, is consciously extended from the boundaries of the household to all sections of society, forming a family-like code of nationalism which preserves and maintains the rigid
hierarchical system. When a Japanese child has passed the infant stage, appropriate paralinguistic behavior and verbal communication skills are developed with equal importance. If a child misbehaves, it is disciplined by ridicule rather than by the physical discipline which occurs in many cultures. The child soon learns that he or she must behave according to the social conventions, or be made to feel ashamed. It is this behavioral pattern which has earned the name "shame culture" from many Western observers.

In Chapter III, the verb AMAERU was examined in comparison with the verbs TORIIRU and TAYORU. The former describes behavior which, to the Western mind, is merely a stage a child goes through in his or her development; the latter describe behavior which is attributable to people in all cultures. Evidence seems to indicate that the former behavior i.e., dependence on the group, is more readily recognised in Japanese culture as a necessary part of the hierarchical system than individual effort based on personal assessment. TORIIRU behavior though covert, is nevertheless subject to inferior-superior hierarchical rules. Only Tayoru behavior has some flexibility of relationship rules, but it too is governed by a person's capacity to be relied upon.

In discussing the verb AMAYAKASU and the verbs MEOKAKERU and KAWAIGARU in Chapter IV, the different ways in which the hierarchical system moulds and directs needs and their responses into a homogeneous whole are highlighted. Reciprocity in terms of obligatory response to another's behavior is evident in the AMAERU-AMAYAKASU syndrome. Lebra summarized this as "interrelated aspects of social action between two individuals (or groups), A and B" as follows:
"1. Bilateral Contingency

A acts in a certain way expecting B to respond in a certain way.

2. Interdependence for mutual Benefit

A gives something to B because B has something else that A needs.

3. Equality of Exchange Values

What A gives B is equivalent to what he receives from B." (2)

She further states:

"What is exchanged may well be of economic value, as in the exchange of gifts......However, if part of reciprocity, such an exchange is coupled with an exchange of noneconomic values such as love, respect, pride - the values that are the ingredients of a social relationship. The vocabulary of reciprocity is "giving," "accepting," and "returning," rather than selling, buying, and paying or borrowing or lending." (3)

Degrees of social acceptance are clearly defined in this society. Every Japanese becomes aware at an early age, of the types of behavior which result in acceptance or rejection. The "nail that sticks up" takes little effort to "hammer down", when this is a group effort. The degree to which a person's AMAERU behavior is sanctioned is proportionate to the rules of the hierarchy. In childhood the rules are simple; where "mother-love" prevails, the mother's disciplining of the child is tempered with a desire to maintain interdependence, and to equip the child for a place in a conformative society. Inside the home the mother's influence prevails. After infancy, the AMAERU-AMAYAKASU syndrome acts effectively as both a safety valve and a disciplinary tool. Everyone at some time has the role of "inferior", and finds himself or herself in a dependency role where respect of the other person's status must be recognised, and at other times in the role of "superior" in which a person has the clear guidelines of society's opinion with which to respond or otherwise.
The degree to which TORIIRU behavior, although covert rather than overt results in MEOKAKERU, is also governed by speaker to hearer rules. The person who unknowingly responds to TORIIRU behavior must always be the person with power over the speaker, as this behavior is prototypical where strict hierarchical rules are applied outside the household.

Chapter V. examines and defines the boundaries of human love in the verbs AISURU, KOISURU, and HORERU, which, in prototypical use have clear guidelines but which, due to the influences of Western culture, overlap in peripheral use. The word SUKI, as a substitute for the foregoing verbs, has the effect of allowing the speaker to be circumspect, thus avoiding drawing attention to himself or herself by the stating of strong opinions in public, thereby avoiding ridicule.

In defining AISURU as the prototype of the universal "mother-love", some clear guidelines have been developed. When AISURU is clearly present in the relationship, AMAERU-AMAYAKASU behavior has complete sanction. Its boundaries are influenced by the mother's cultural conditioning, which is contained in the traditional concept of the mother as symbolic of the Sun Goddess, revered in Japanese mythology as the ancestor of all Japanese. Within this concept lie responsibility and power of which all Japanese mothers are aware. It is this hidden power that strengthens and maintains the hierarchical system. Gibney refers to this as "the hidden matriarchy", stating:

"In the beginning Japan was a matriarchy. The fact that the legendary founder of the country was not a god but the sun goddess, AMATERASU-OMIKAMI accurately symbolizes the historic dependence of the Japanese upon women. Until the Heian Period, in the ninth century, it was the customary thing for men to move to their wives' houses when they married. . . . By the fifteenth century, Japan was totally ruled by the principle of might-makes-right."(4)
It would seem that to a Japanese individual when involved in interpersonal communication, there are three "states of mind" to be considered: (a) "personal feeling" as in NINJOO behavior which carries few social restrictions within the household; (b) "personal feelings within the boundaries of society's conventions", feelings which induce a blend of NINJOO and GIRI behavior, and (c) "duty to one's in-laws and society without regard to personal feelings", GIRI behavior. All three fall within the boundaries of the AMAERU-AMAYAKASU syndrome. Doi describes these inner states as "three worlds" (see 2.4.), the third of which he relates to TANIN relationships, i.e. relationships with people who have no blood relationship ties and thus are outside the "frame" of reference of the household or the extension of the household.

In considering the first "state of mind", the prototypical AMAERU-AMAYAKASU relationship between mother and infant, which extends metaphorically to the relationship a Japanese has between self and the natural environment. This is both personally and culturally appropriate because it contains the elements of the prototypical concept of AISURU: the presence of "mother-love" or "genetic belonging". As can be seen in the definitions, AMAERU, the need for reassurance of total commitment to the wellbeing of the infant is reciprocated in the prototypical use of AMAYAKASU with full cultural acceptance because it falls within the boundaries of the instinctive urges of motherhood.

The second "state of mind" is the AMAERU-AMAYAKASU relationship within the household and the cultural framework of the Japanese hierarchical system. The child reaches a stage of development that must begin to include the restrictions imposed by society on
instinctive behavior. As the AMAERU-AMAYAKASU relationship extends beyond the mother/infant relationship, the instinctive response is tempered by the controls of the culturally appropriate "inferior" to "superior" relationship. In this situation, both mother and child are socially pressured to conform. The behavior within this relationship will then be a blend of the controls of GIRI, one's duty to others, and of NINJOO, one's personal feelings. It will also incorporate the prototypical use of these words, i.e. the instinctive emotional "response" and "reward" reaction (prototypical) and the culturally influenced consciousness of the action and its expected response.

The third "state of mind" is one in which the concept of AI does not exist within a relationship, such as in school, university, the workplace and the social environment. In this state of mind, the personal feelings of the individual are submerged in deference to the rules of the hierarchical system. The AMAERU-AMAYAKASU syndrome, though recognised as being in existence, is criticized and controlled by society. It is only when a person reaches old age and the roles of parent and child are reversed that the full acceptance of AMAERU-AMAYAKASU behavior is once more enjoyed without any sense of shame. These seemingly rigid rules of conformity appear to be the comfortable guidelines within which the Japanese person feels secure from ridicule or criticism. As Barnlund explained, the Japanese individual allows less of his or her inner feelings to be exposed to other people than does his or her counterpart in the West. In developing this self-discipline, it would appear that some outlet must be made available with which to attain the inner peace that all human beings strive for. It seems that the answer to this in Japanese culture is the AMAERU-
AMAYAKASU syndrome, which allows the "private self" to communicate with others on a level of understanding that all human beings crave.

As Barnlund states:

"There can be no inner dialogue without an outer one; no outer dialogue without an inner one. Mind and heart grow not only in social isolation but through confrontation with other minds and hearts... The more one human being resembles another, the more pleasant and effortless their relationship tends to be, but the less they learn from each other... The boundaries of our countries are no longer the boundaries of our minds. It is vitally important - perhaps even a matter of survival - that we come to comprehend and appreciate what other peoples feel and know. This kind of interpersonal empathy can enlarge human perspective and multiply opportunities for personal and cultural growth." (5)
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CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION.

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