

HIROKO STORM
Lafayette College, Easton, PA

Women in Japanese Proverbs

Abstract

By examining proverbs about women one can see to some extent how women are perceived in a certain culture. This paper discusses traditional Japanese proverbs about women, as well as newer sayings that appeared after World War II. It then presents the results of a questionnaire survey on such proverbs. The survey, which sought to clarify contemporary Japanese attitudes on women, indicated which of the eighteen proverbs on the questionnaire were considered to describe women correctly and which incorrectly; it also showed how the image of Japanese women differs from that of women in general, and what influence the respondent's age and gender have on his or her views.

Key words: Japanese proverbs — women's status — questionnaire/perception of women

PROVERBS, it is said, are the fruit of a people's wisdom.* Based on accumulated experience and transmitted from generation to generation, they reveal many hidden aspects of a people's culture and way of thought. In this paper I use the word "proverb" in a rather broad sense, including not only maxims and popular sayings but certain clichés and idioms as well.

Japanese proverbs, like those in other languages, contain a number of examples pertaining to women. My chief references—SUZUKI and HIRATA (1963) and SUZUKI (1962)—list a combined total of approximately 17,500 proverbs, of which 817 concern women.¹ This paper presents a number of these proverbs and discusses what they reveal regarding traditional Japanese attitudes toward women; it then considers the results of a 1988–89 study I conducted in which a questionnaire on women's proverbs was given to a group of Japanese in order to clarify contemporary perceptions of women.

A perusal of the proverbs on women reveals many with negative connotations, "negative" meaning that they deal with women's undesirable characteristics or oppressed situation. Proverbs that describe women positively are few: among the 817 proverbs mentioned above, 331 are negative in nature and only 29 positive.² The rest describe women either neutrally, neutrally-negatively, or neutrally-positively, depending on how they are interpreted.

I will first present some traditional proverbs dating from the pre-World War II era, and then a selection of those that appeared after the war.

TRADITIONAL PROVERBS ABOUT WOMEN

Traditional proverbs about women can be classified as follows:

- A) Women in general: a. inferiority; b. stupidity; c. changeability; d. ill-nature; e. talkativeness; f. weakness; g. miscellaneous.
- B) Women in specific roles or situations: h. wives; i. mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law; j. widows; k. prostitutes; l. intelligent wom-

en; m. beautiful women.

Examples from each category are as follows:

a) Inferiority

1. 女は三界に家なし *Onna wa sangai ni ie nashi*
(A woman does not have her own fixed home in the three periods of her life [because she obeys her father when she is young, her husband when she is married, and her son after her husband dies].)
2. 男尊女卑 *Danson jōhi*
(Men are treated with respect, women are treated as inferior.)

b) Stupidity

3. 女人に賢人なし *Nyonin ni kenjin nashi*
(There are no wise women.)
4. 女の話は一里限り *Onna no hanashi wa hitozato kagiri*
(Women's talk does not go beyond one village [because their talk is trivial and narrow].)

c) Changeability

5. 変わりやすきは女の心 *Kawariyasuki wa onna no kokoro*
(Easily changed is a woman's heart.)
6. 秋の日和と女の心日に七度変わる *Aki no hiyori to onna no kokoro hi ni shichido kawaru*
(Autumn weather and a woman's mind change seven times a day.)

d) Ill-nature

7. 女の情に蛇がすむ *Onna no nasake ni hebi ga sumu*
(In women's hearts there dwell serpents.)
8. 女は魔物 *Onna wa mamono*
(Women are devilish.)

e) Talkativeness

9. 女三人よれば、かしましい *Onna sannin yoreba, kashimashii*
(When three women get together, it is noisy.)
10. 女は口さがないもの *Onna wa kuchisa ga nai mono*
(Women talk about things senselessly.)

f) Weakness

11. 弱き者よ、汝の名は女なり *Yowaki mono yo, nanji no na wa onna nari*
(Frailty, thy name is woman.)³

12. 女はこわれもの *Onna wa kowaremono*
(Women are fragile things [they must be handled carefully].)

g) Miscellaneous

13. 世界に余った女はない *Sekai ni amatta onna wa nai*
(In the world, there are no women who are left alone.)
14. 女の心は女知る *Onna no kokoro wa onna shiru*
(Only a woman can understand another woman's mind.)

h) Wives

15. 夫唱婦隨 *Fushō fuzui*
(The husband initiates, the wife obeys.)
16. 夫の七度去るまでは家を出ぬもの *Otto no nanatabi saru made wa ie o denu mono*
(Even though a husband orders a wife to leave [because he wants to get divorced], she should not leave him until he orders her seven times.)

The status of wives was particularly low among the upper classes; in the lower classes, such as the farmers and merchants, husbands and wives worked together to earn a living, so the wife's position was important (HARADA 1981, 89). Proverb 17 refers to the household of a strong dominating wife:

17. かかあ天下 *Kakādenka*
(A wife-ruled house.)

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Meiji government changed the political and social structure of Japan drastically in an attempt to catch up with the more advanced nations of the West. Although it made efforts to modernize the country in various respects, it was not concerned with the position of women. In the civil code drawn up during this time, the wife was regarded as a legal incompetent, just as before. These civil codes were in effect until the end of World War II.

There were a few women's rights movements by people who proclaimed the equality of men and women. Fukuzawa Yukichi 福沢諭吉 (1835–1901), a prominent educator, modernist thinker, and social leader, was one such person. Even he maintained the idea of the division of labor between husband and wife (HIROTA 1982, 14), however, as indicated in the following proverb:

18. 男は外, 女は内 *Otoko wa soto, onna wa uchi*
(A man's place is outside [the home], a woman's place is within.)

Proverbs 19 and 20 are also based on an idea similar to that expressed in proverb 18:

19. 女房は家の大黒柱 *Nyōbō wa ie no daikokubashira*
(The wife is the main supporter of the household.)
20. 内助の功 *Naijo no kō*
(The painstaking hidden assistance of the wife helps the husband to succeed.)

i) Mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law

21. 嫁とわらはたたいて使え *Yome to wara wa tataite tsukae*
(Use daughter-in-laws and straw by beating them.)
22. 秋かます嫁にくわすな *Akikamasu yome ni kuwasu na*
(Don't let the daughter-in-law eat pike caught in the autumn [because it is very delicious].)
23. 嫁と姑, 犬と猿 *Yome to shūtome, inu to saru*
(The daughter-in-law and the mother-in-law are like a dog and a monkey [they do not get along well].)

There are a large number of proverbs describing the relationship between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law. Among the proverbs in SUZUKI and HIRATA (1963) and SUZUKI (1962), I found 85 proverbs in this category. It was often the case that mothers-in-law treated their daughters-in-law harshly, perhaps because they felt they had suffered as wives and daughters-in-law themselves when young and wanted their daughters-in-law to suffer similarly (HARADA 1981, 136). Proverb 24 indicates the reaction of a harshly-treated daughter-in-law upon becoming a mother-in-law herself.

24. 姑のかたきを嫁が討つ *Shūtome no kataki o yome ga utsu*
(The daughter-in-law who was bullied by her mother-in-law bullies her daughter-in-law in revenge.)

In modern times, mother-in-law versus daughter-in-law conflict has diminished, partly because of the increase in the number of nuclear families. But as contemporary TV dramas often show, the two women frequently find it hard to get along well together (cf. proverb 49).

j) Widows

25. 三度の火事より一度の後家 *Sando no kaji yori ichido no goke*
(It is worse to become a widow once than to encounter three fires.)
26. 後家の見せかけ数珠はおくもみ *Goke no misekake juzu wa okumomi*
(A widow pretends that she mourns for her dead husband [but

in her heart, she seeks for another man].)

27. 女やもめに花が咲く *Onna yamome ni hana ga saku*⁴
(A widow decorates herself beautifully [so that she can attract a man].)

To become a widow is a sad event, as proverb 25 says. Proverbs 26 and 27 show that a widow tries to find another man soon after her husband's death, implying that a woman cannot live alone and has to rely on a man. LAKOFF shows how the same assumption is at work in English (1976, 34). She points out the asymmetry of the following sentences:

- A. *Mary is John's widow.*
B. *John is Mary's widower.*

Sentence A is a well-formed sentence, but sentence B is odd. Lakoff explains that a woman is always defined in terms of the man to whom she is related, but not vice versa.

k) Prostitutes

28. 傾城と行灯昼は見られず *Keisei to andon hiru wa mirarezu*
(One is not supposed to see a prostitute or a lamp in the daytime [because neither is beautiful then].)
29. 傾城と辻風には会わぬが秘密 *Keisei to tsujikaze niwa awanu ga himitsu*
(Gusts of wind and prostitutes are best never met [once a man meets such a woman, he will be enslaved by her].)
30. 傾城の誠と卵の四角はない *Keisei no makoto to tamago no shikaku wa nai*
(Sincere prostitutes and square eggs do not exist.)

The generally miserable existence of a prostitute has been described in numerous literary works. Poor farmers sold their daughters so that the rest of the family could eat, and in many cases the girls who were sold had to work as prostitutes. This practice was abolished in 1872, but licensed prostitution remained legal. Women activists engaged in a long-continued struggle to abolish the practice, finally succeeding in 1956. Clandestine prostitution still exists, however (TAKEMURA 1985, 32-37).

l) Intelligent women

31. 女の知恵は欲がもと *Onna no chie wa yoku ga moto*
(Women's wisdom is born of greed.)
32. 哲婦城を傾く *Teppu shiro o katamuku*
(A smart woman ruins the castle.)

33. 女さかしくて牛売り損なう *Onna sakashikute ushi urisokanau*
 (If a woman is smart, she will fail to sell cows [women's intelligence leads to failure in various matters].)

Though women are often portrayed as unintelligent, as in proverbs 3 and 4, when they *are* intelligent men seem not to be pleased. LAKOFF, in a detailed analysis of "women's language," notes that if a girl learns to speak stereotypical women's language she is accepted as properly feminine, but, at the same time, is not taken seriously. She is just a "woman," and has no responsibility for important ideas. However, if she does not learn to speak women's language, she is ostracized as unfeminine. In other words, Lakoff says, a woman is damned if she does and damned if she does not (1976, 61). We can see this paradox reflected in the proverbs relating to women's intelligence.

m) Beautiful women

34. 美人の終わりは猿になる *Bijin no owari wa saru ni naru*
 (When a beautiful woman becomes old, she becomes ugly like a monkey.)
35. 美人薄命 *Bijin hakumei*
 (A beautiful woman does not have a fortunate life.)
36. 色で迷わず浅漬なすび *Iro de mayowasu asazuke nasubi*
 (Fresh pickled eggplants tempt people because they look delicious [likewise, a beautiful woman tempts people].)

Men are often concerned about the beauty of women. In literature, the heroines created by male authors are usually beautiful. The many proverbs concerning beautiful women reflect men's feelings towards beautiful women.⁵

PROVERBS ABOUT MEN

Proverbs about men are much fewer in number than those about women. In SUZUKI and HIRATA (1963) and SUZUKI (1962), the ratio is 0.38: 1.

a) Dignity

37. 箸に目鼻を付けても男は男 *Hashi ni mehana o tsuketemo otoko wa otoko*
 (Even a seedy-looking man is a man.)

b) Reliability

38. 男一匹 *Otoko ippiki*
 (A full-fledged man.)

c) Strong intention

39. 男子の一言金鉄のごとし *Danshi no ichigon kintetsu no gotoshi*
(Once a man gives his word, he never takes it back.)

d) Inexpressiveness

40. 男は三年に一度笑う *Otoko wa sannen ni ichido warau*
(A man laughs once in three years.)

e) Reasonableness

41. 彼岸過ぎての麦の肥え, 三十過ぎての男に意見 *Higan sugite no mugi no koe, sanjū sugite no otoko ni iken*
(It is not effective to fertilize wheat after the equinoctial week, and likewise, it is not effective to give advice to a man after he becomes thirty [because he behaves with a rational mind].)

f) Toughness

42. 男子家を出ずれば七人の敵あり *Danshi ie o izureba shichinin no teki ari*
(When a man goes out, he has seven enemies.)

Proverbs about men in certain roles can also be found:

g) Widowers

43. 男やもめにうじがわき, 女やもめに花が咲く *Otoko yamome ni uji ga waki, onna yamome ni hana ga saku*
(A widower grows maggots, a widow, flowers.)

Proverb 43 compares widowers and widows. As seen above, proverb 27 implies that a widow is unable to live without a man. In order to find one, she has to decorate herself and make herself beautiful. A widower, on the other hand, becomes unclean, as if maggots were growing on his body; when his wife was alive, she took care of his needs.

Certain proverbs indicate a low status for a certain group of men. These concern the adopted sons-in-law known as *muko* 婿 (families which lacked sons would often adopt their daughter's husband in order to perpetuate the family line).

44. 婿ののんきは山にあり *Muko no nonki wa yama ni ari*
A *muko* can relax only when he is in the mountains [he cannot relax at home].)
45. 婿の飯くうか, なたで首切るか *Muko no meshi kū ka, nata de kubi kiru ka*
(To become a *muko* is as bad as chopping one's head off with a hatchet.)

As indicated in these proverbs, the *muko* was in a weak position within the family. This was not because his wife was stronger, however, but because of the influence of the family, which held the status and controlled the assets (HARADA 1981, 162).

The proverbs considered above were all in existence prior to World War II. Let us now look at a few recent proverbs and expressions that appeared after the war.

THE POST-WORLD WAR II STATUS OF WOMEN

Immediately after World War II drastic changes occurred in the social structure of Japan. The new constitution of 1947 proclaimed equality between men and women: women were henceforth to be legally regarded as full-fledged human beings. Following this rise in the legal status of women, proverbs like the following appeared:

46. 戦後強くなったのは女性と靴下 *Sengo tsuyoku natta no wa josei to kutsushita*
(What became stronger after the war were women and socks.)
47. うちの女房にやひげがある *Uchi no nyōbō nya hige ga aru*
(My wife has a mustache.)

Nevertheless, the postwar equality between men and women has been in the legal sense only. In reality the status of men and women remains quite different, with one of the most conspicuous areas of discrimination being the workplace. Women have been seeking equal pay for equal work and an end to forced retirement (in many places women have to leave their jobs following marriage or childbirth). Although the overall situation of the working woman has improved, many problems remain—the male-dominated nature of Japanese life makes it difficult for women to play an active role in society. Most women accept this situation as the way things are, and thus end up relying on men. This is reflected in the following expressions, all rather recent:

48. 永久就職 *Eikyū shūshoku*
(Permanent employment [women's marriage].)
49. 家つき, カーつき, ばばぬき *Ie tsuki, kā tsuki, baba nuki*
(A woman wants a future husband who has a house and a car, and who will not live with his mother after marriage.)
50. 三食テレビ昼寝つき *Sanshoku terebi hirune tsuki*
(A wife who gets three meals, watches TV, and takes naps.)

Proverb 48 implies that, through marriage, a wife is employed by her husband. By relying on a man she guarantees herself a secure

position, exchanging housework for food, shelter, and the other necessities. Proverb 49 refers to a woman's desire for a comfortable life through marriage to a prosperous man who does not live with his parents (hence freeing her of the obligation to care for a mother-in-law). Proverb 50 also describes a woman who relies on a wage-earning husband to provide her with three meals a day and free her from the need to work. Modern conveniences like washing machines leave her plenty of free time, which she spends watching TV and taking naps.

QUESTIONNAIRE ON PROVERBS ABOUT WOMEN

The purpose of this questionnaire was to clarify Japanese attitudes on women as reflected by the reactions of modern Japanese to a selection of the proverbs mentioned above. The three specific aims of the study were: 1) to see which proverbs were felt to express the actual situation of women; 2) to see whether Japanese perceive Japanese women differently from women in general; 3) to find out whether individuals view such proverbs differently depending on their gender, age, and whether or not they have lived abroad.

In selecting proverbs for the questionnaire, I attempted to obtain a representative sampling from the various categories mentioned above. One traditional proverb was taken from each category, *a* through *m*, except for "miscellaneous" (*g*) and "prostitutes" (*k*). Proverbs in the latter category were excluded since most deal with the situation of prostitutes in former times, and are thus unfamiliar to contemporary Japanese. Attitudes regarding the present status of women were investigated by including several of the post-World War II proverbs: 46, 48, 49 and 50. Proverbs in praise of women, such as 19 and 20, were also included so that respondents would not get the impression that all proverbs describe women in negative terms. Altogether the questionnaire listed the following eighteen proverbs:

1. In women's hearts there dwell serpents.
2. Frailty, thy name is woman.
3. When three women get together, it is noisy.
4. Easily changed is a woman's heart.
5. Women's wisdom is born of greed.
6. Men are treated with respect, women are treated as inferior.
7. A wife who gets three meals, watches TV, and takes naps.
8. Permanent employment [women's marriage].
9. The husband initiates, the wife obeys.
10. A woman wants a future husband who has a house and a car, and who will not live with his mother after marriage.
11. The wife is the main supporter of the household.

12. There are no wise women.
13. The painstaking hidden assistance of the wife helps the husband to succeed.
14. A beautiful woman does not have a fortunate life.
15. A widow decorates herself beautifully [so that she can attract a man].
16. A wife-ruled house.
17. What became stronger after the war were women and socks.
18. The daughter-in-law and the mother-in-law are like a dog and a monkey [they do not get along well].

A total of 105 Japanese respondents were found at random using the snowball method. Some were living in the U.S. and the others in Japan at the time they answered the questionnaire. The respondents were asked to give their sex, age, and length of residence abroad (if applicable). The following four requests were then made regarding the eighteen proverbs listed above:

- A) Please put down the numbers of the expressions which you think are, completely or to some extent, true for Japanese women.
- B) Please put down the numbers of the expressions which you think are, completely or to some extent, true for women in general.
- C) Please put down the numbers of the expressions which you think do not describe Japanese women correctly.
- D) Please put down the numbers of the expressions which you think do not describe women in general correctly.

The questionnaire was written entirely in Japanese.

TABLE 1
Breakdown of Respondents

		N
Sex	male	47
	female	58
Age	-24	12
	25-34	36
	35-44	29
	45-54	15
	55-	13
Residence abroad (years)	none	44
	-5	35
	5-10	11
	10-	15

Among the eighteen proverbs, proverb 3 (talkativeness) received

the highest ratings on questions A and B, and the lowest ratings on questions C and D.

TABLE 2
Proverb 3 (Talkativeness)

Question A (true for Japanese women)	63.82%
Question B (true for women in general)	60.00%
Question C (incorrect for Japanese women)	0.95%
Question D (incorrect for women in general)	4.76%

Being talkative seems stereotypical of women, whether Japanese or otherwise. In fact, many proverbs concerning women's talkativeness can be found in other languages as well:

Women's chief weapon is the tongue, and they will not let it rust. (English; UENO 1986, 44)

Wänd balä bälät, set bamäc bamät. (Amharic; TSUGE 1986, 66)
(When a man talks, it takes one day, and when a woman talks, it takes one year.)

Kvindfolk har ingen skæg på grund af, at de ikke ken tie mens de bliver raget. (Danish; JIN 1986, 83)
(The reason why women do not have beards is that even while shaving themselves, they cannot shut their mouths.)

One can also see how in certain respects Japanese women are regarded differently from women in general. This observation applies to the aspects of women touched upon in the proverbs in table 3:

TABLE 3
Comparison of Question A (True for Japanese Women) and
Question B (True for Women in General)

	Proverb #	Question A (%)	Question B (%)
Being treated as inferior	6	37.14	10.48
Easygoing life attitude and reliance on men	7	33.33	4.48
	8	43.81	11.43
	10	38.10	10.48
Obedience	9	30.48	9.52
Hidden strength assisting men	13	55.24	20.00

Table 3 clearly reveals the differences in perception regarding Japanese women and women in general.

A comparison of the responses from men and women revealed many similarities in the response patterns of the two groups. Great similarities in the response patterns between males and females were seen especially for question A (true for Japanese women), as shown in table 4.

TABLE 4
Gender Comparison for Question A (True for Japanese Women)

	Proverb #	Male % (N=47)	Female % (N=58)
No wise women	12	0 (lowest)	1.7 (second lowest)
Beautiful women's ill-fortune	14	4.26 (second lowest)	0 (lowest)
Ill-nature	1	6.38 (third lowest)	5.17 (third lowest)
Intelligence based on greed	5	6.38 (third lowest)	5.17 (third lowest)
Talkativeness	3	59.57 (highest)	67.24 (highest)
Hidden strength assisting men	13	51.06 (second highest)	58.62 (second highest)
Postwar women's gain in power	17	51.06 (second highest)	41.38 (fourth highest)
Permanent employment	8	44.68 (third highest)	43.10 (third highest)

One noticeable difference in view does occur between the sexes, however:

TABLE 5
Gender Difference for Proverb 2 (Weakness)

	Male (N=47) (%)	Female (N=58) (%)
Question A (true for Japanese women)	6.38	15.52
Question B (true for women in general)	8.51	10.35
Question C (incorrect for Japanese women)	44.68	12.07
Question D (incorrect for women in general)	42.55	27.59

Women, in other words, are more likely than men to regard women as weak.

Furthermore, views on women vary somewhat according to age.⁷

TABLE 6
Age Comparison for Question A

	Proverb #	Age (44 or younger) (N=77) (%)	Age (45 or older) (N=28) (%)
A Weakness	2	9.09	17.88
Being treated as inferior	6	33.77	46.43
Obedience	9	22.08	53.57
Hidden strength assisting men	13	53.25	60.71
B Easy-going life attitude and reliance on men	7	33.77	32.14
	8	45.46	39.14
	10	41.56	28.57
Wife's supremacy over husband	16	20.78	10.71

As we can see, the older generation gave higher ratings to the characteristics in group A, which portray Japanese women as weak, inferior, and obedient, yet strong in the sense that they support men in an inconspicuous way. The younger generation, however, gave higher ratings to the less sentimental image of women presented by the group B characteristics.

I had hypothesized that people who had resided abroad would, depending upon the duration of their stay, respond to the proverbs differently than those who lacked such experience. This was not the case: the responses from both groups were basically the same. This does not rule out the possibility for such differences, however. Most of the respondents who had lived abroad probably did so after reaching maturity; people raised in foreign countries might have responded differently. Furthermore, the questionnaire did not ask when they lived abroad, raising the possibility that such experience might have occurred long in the past. Still other respondents still reside abroad and have been separated from contemporary Japanese society for a long time. The responses to the proverbs may differ according to the time (rather than the duration) of residence abroad.

The Japanese women's liberation movement—which became active around 1970 following the emergence of the American women's liberation movement—never achieved the popularity that the movement did in other industrialized nations. FUJIEDA (1985, 76–80) proposes two reasons for this. One is that in Japanese society the prevailing view is still that the male sphere of activity is outside and the female sphere is inside the home (according to various statistics, more than 70% of the Japanese public agrees with this view [CHIBA 1989, 201]). The other reason is that Japanese society is not tolerant of those

who fail to follow the majority.

Although the general conservatism of Japanese society makes radical transformation unlikely, one cannot deny that gradual change is occurring. For example, there are an increasing number of couples in which gender-based role distinctions are becoming blurred (KASHIMA 1989). Thus attitudes toward women may change as time goes by, a change already reflected in the data in table 6, where opinions vary according to age. Proverbs reflect the views and temper of the times, and can thus be expected to evolve as social conditions alter. We have seen that such proverbs as "There are no wise women" and "A beautiful woman does not have a fortunate life" are no longer regarded as true. With the passage of time, say in ten or fifteen years, the perception of women may (or may not?) be different from what it is now.

NOTES

* This is a revised version of a paper presented at the 1988 Rocky Mountain/Southwest Seminar: Symposium on Women in Japan. I am grateful to the participants for their helpful comments.

1. This figure includes proverbs which contrast men and women, such as: 男は度胸, 女は愛嬌 *Otoko wa dokyō, onna wa aikyō* (Men should have courage, women should have charm), but does not include ones about men and women's relationships that do not specifically comment on women, such as 似た者夫婦 *Nitamono fūfu* (Couples are alike).

2. These figures are based on my judgment of what is negative and positive. Other researchers may arrive at different figures.

3. Proverb 11 is from Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. The sources of Japanese proverbs vary. Some are from literary works (particularly Chinese), while others evolved among the common people. According to SUZUKI (1962, 436), the degree of foreign influence on proverbs is high in Japan compared to other countries, with proverbs of Chinese origin and those of native Japanese origin coexisting without friction. During the modern period, proverbs of Western origin have also appeared; proverb 11 is one.

4. Proverb 43, in which proverb 27 is contained, contrasts the lot of widowers and widows.

5. In addition to these categories, proverbs from other categories were found, though fewer in number. They concern mothers, daughters, aunts, ugly old women, etc. Although I expected to find many proverbs about mothers, SUZUKI and HIROTA (1963) and SUZUKI (1962) mention only fourteen.

6. The difference between the responses to questions C (incorrect for Japanese women) and D (incorrect for women in general) were not as noticeable as the difference in responses to questions A and B.

7. The responses to question B (true for women in general), question C (incorrect for Japanese women), and question D (incorrect for women in general) did not show as much variation according to age as the responses to question A (true for Japanese women).

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