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SOZIOLINGUISTISCHE VARIATION
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BILINGUALISMUS, MULTILINGUALISMUS, SPRACHKONTAKT, SPRACHVERGLEICH
BILINGUALISM, MULTILINGUALISM, LANGUAGE CONTACT AND LANGUAGE COMPARISON
BILINGUISME, PLURILINGUISME, CONTACT DE LANGUES, LINGUISTIQUE COMPARÉE

DIALEKTGEBRAUCH UND EINSTELLUNGEN ZU SPRACHVARIETÄTEN
DIALECT USE AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS LINGUISTIC VARIETIES
UTILISATION DU DIALECT ET ATTITUDES ENVERS LES VARIÉTÉS LINGUISTIQUES

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Classification of Dialects by Image – English and Japanese

1. Introduction

In this paper non-linguists' images of various dialects and accents will be quantificationally treated. This study is based on Japanese and English data and has three purposes.

a) It aims at opening up a new field of study which has been ignored, the field of *perceptual dialectology*.

b) It is an attempt at *interlingual dialectology*, which can be characterized as a contrastive study of dialects across languages, the ultimate aim being a universal theory.

c) It presents a model showing the usefulness of multivariate analysis in dialectological studies.

1.1 Definition of a dialect image

The topic of this study, dialect image, can be defined as the socio-psychological image of a (geographical or social) dialect. The study of dialect images can be approached through a quantitative method which is similar to the Semantic Differential Method (Osgood et al. 1957).

1.2 Theoretical and social background

Perceptual dialectology is a branch of *social dialectology*. As the study of dialect images is concerned with practical (social) problems, this study is also part of *applied dialectology*. In this paper we will show the usefulness of the perceptual study of dialects through concrete examples.

A dialect is not only an abstract entity for intellectual communication; it has also an emotional aspect, and it should be treated as a social phenomenon. Social discrimination because of the dialect one speaks is sometimes reported. *Dialect (inferiority) complex* is a term coined by T. Sibata (1958). Several examples are given in his book, e.g. cases of people becoming neurotic because of their accents, and even an extreme case of a person committing suicide. These kinds of phenomena are not limited to Japan; similar cases have been reported in England (Crystal 1988, Honey 1989). Dialect images have been studied in Japan as a source of this kind of dialect discrimination.

Not to be impartial, it should be pointed out that the situation of dialects in Japan today is changing owing to the rapid standardization of language. Changes in the socio-psychological status of dialects can be observed. One

such change is the appearance of a dialect (inferiority) complex. *Dialect realism* in the form of the use of dialect in TV dramas seems to have accelerated the use of dialects. Competitions of performances in dialect held every year in a small town in northern Japan are a further example of this.

1.3 Multivariate analysis

A multivariate analysis which will be mentioned frequently in this report is *Hayashi's quantificational theory type 3* (hereafter referred to as *Hayashi 3*). This method is applied to non-numerical (categorical) data, and analyzes the data just like factor analysis. The method is also called quantification for grouping, or a method for gathering similarities (Hayashi 1954, Inoue 1986).

2. Previous studies of Japanese dialect images

2.1 The study of dialect images in Japan

Before moving to an analysis of English dialect images, it may be useful to review the studies undertaken in Japan, because in the present study we have employed a similar method to study English in Great Britain.

Precursory studies were conducted for three main dialects at high schools in three corresponding areas using 17 word-pairs. Three Japanese dialects were clearly differentiated, and the 17 word-pairs were also classified into three groups through the application of multivariate analyses. In order to ascertain that the selected evaluative words were appropriate and that this method is applicable to other dialects of Japan, another study was also carried out. University students from various parts of Japan were asked whether 200 evaluative words were applicable to their own accents. By applying multivariate analyses, 16 representative evaluative words were selected, which served to classify Japanese dialects according to their image. The data of the university students was then utilized for a division of Japan by dialect image.

The result of the application of *Hayashi 3* to the data can be recapitulated as follows: Japanese dialect images were shown to be composed of two dimensions.

The evaluative words can be divided into four groups by crossing the two dimensions. Meanings of the evaluative words suggest that the horizontal (first) axis is related to intellectual (mental) judgement, and that the vertical (second) axis is related to emotional reaction. Socio-psychological studies also show that the composition of these two dimensions is almost universally found in studies related to human images.

Fig. 1 shows a dialect classification by image (Inoue 1988, 1989). In applying *Hayashi 3*, values can also be calculated for the informants. The average values according to the native prefectures of the informants suggest that at least four types of dialect image can be distinguished in Japan. The division

intellectual image shown
by boldness of lines
■ extremely negative
≡ negative
⊐ neutral
⸾⸾⸾ positive

emotional image shown by angle of lines
horizontal———negative
diagonal————neutral
vertical————positive

Tohoku dialect

Kyushu dialect

Kanto dialect

Kansai dialect
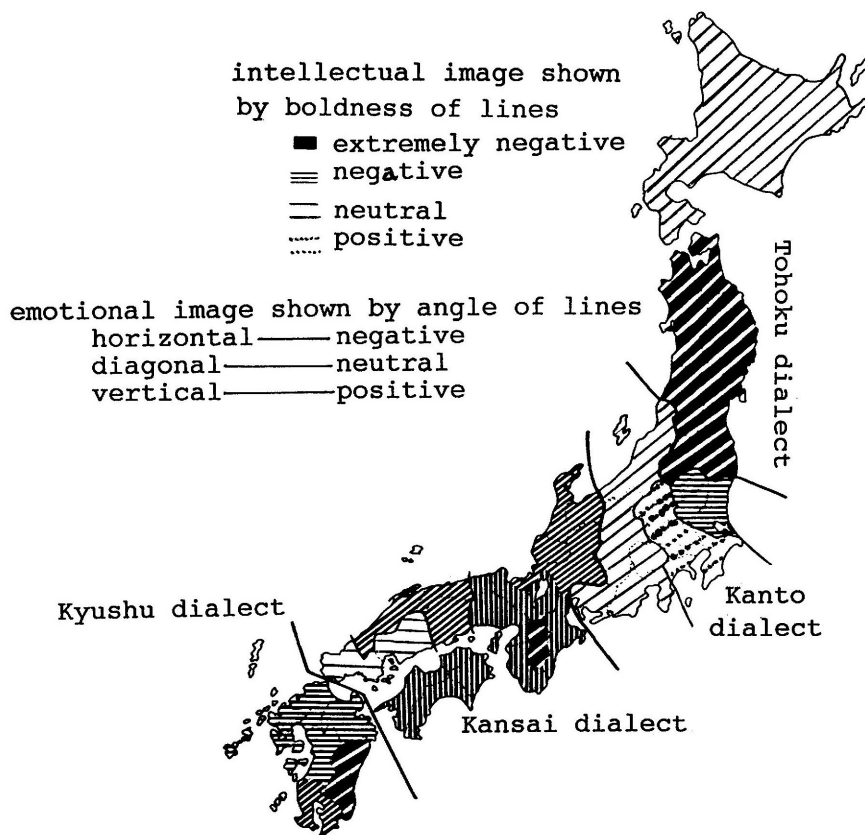
Fig. 1: Dialect classification by image using Hayashi 3 – Japan

of dialects into East/West seems essential, and the subdivision into North and South is also important.

This result of dialect division by image is plausible and persuasive, because it matches quite well both with the actual dialect distribution and with people's common sense or intuition. The borderline between Eastern and Western Japan can be explained by dialect boundaries. Linguistic evidence of the appropriateness of dialect images and especially of dividing Japan into East and West can be shown in Fig. 2.

Fig. 2 shows a dialect classification which is based on cluster analysis. The application of factor analysis also presented similar results, and the application of *Hayashi 3* to grammatical and lexical data also provided similar results (Inoue/Kasai 1989).
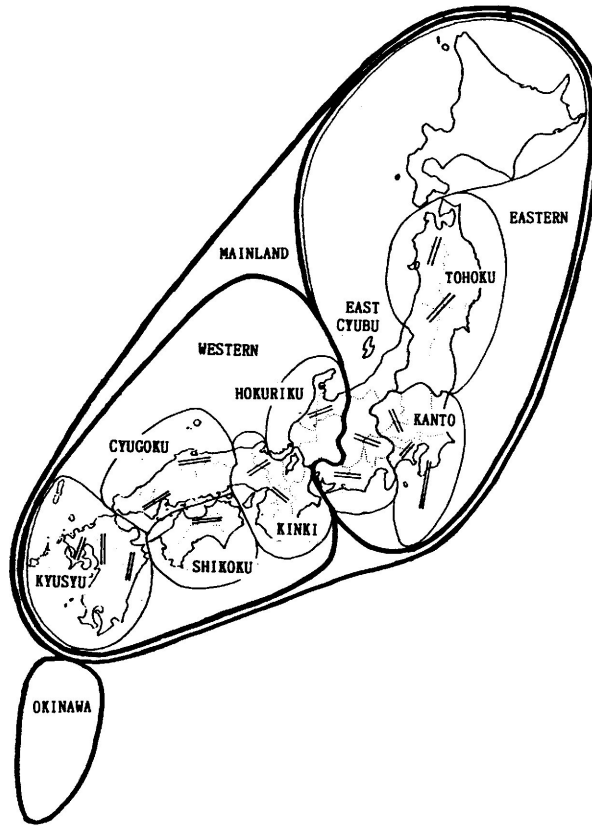
Fig. 2: Dialect classification using cluster analysis of Standard Japanese
forms — Japan

2.2 Evaluation of the methodology

The above study of dialect images brought about very clear results. The
applied methodology has both merits and demerits. The drawback is that the
image investigated is not based on linguistic data, but on a kind of common-
sense knowledge, stereotypes, superstitions and traditions. The method only
clarifies the image of the word naming the dialect; it does not directly treat
the image of spoken dialects themselves. In order to observe people's re-
actions when actually listening to the dialects, a comparison with studies based
on recorded speech is necessary. Several pre-tests have been carried out. But
there are also problems involved with recorded speech. It is difficult to obtain
exactly comparable recorded speech, and the influence of the speakers'
personality is often inevitable. These are problems which arise in the studies

of mutual intelligibility or matched guise tests (Giles 1971, Lambert et al. 1975, Chambers/Trudgill 1980). Our method of dialect image is free from this kind of influence.

3. Methods for English dialect images

3.1 Starting point: difference from Japan

The success of the analysis of Japanese dialect images inspired us to apply the same methodology to another language to see whether the basic structure of dialect images is similar. The application to another language would verify the validity of our methodology and would open up a new field of *interlingual dialectology*.

Anecdotal descriptions of English dialect images are found in several books (Trudgill 1975, 1983, Shuy/Fasold 1973, Crystal 1988 and Honey 1989). The pattern of English dialect images seems a little different from Japan. At least the low status of urban dialects in England pointed out in the above books is a phenomenon we do not find in Japan. This indicates that different mechanisms may be at work in England. Surface phenomena certainly show differences but an investigation may show that the deeper mechanism is the same. But the information on English dialect images is fragmentary and scarce. Thus it seems necessary and worthwhile to investigate English dialect images.

3.2 Methods of research

The actual research was planned while the author was staying at Essex University in England in 1989. A revised English version was made with the adoption of new evaluative words which were found to describe dialects and accents in England. The collection of data was carried out by several university staff members at various places in Great Britain in 1989, and in Australia in 1990.

3.3 Procedure of analysis

First, in order to grasp the overall pattern of the answers, *Hayashi 3* was applied to the whole data from both the British and the Australian students. The interpretation of the results was difficult because the resulting pattern was unclear. The same method was later applied to British and Australian students separately. A very clear pattern then appeared, especially for British students. In this paper, the results of the British students will mainly be discussed. The Australian data showed a pattern which is a little different from that of Great Britain. The results will be briefly mentioned later.

4. Results

4.1 Results of *Hayashi 3*

The application of *Hayashi 3* offers two kinds of results: one for evaluative words, another for the dialects.

(a) classification of evaluative words

Fig. 3 renders the evaluative words into four clear groups by means of the first and the second axes. (The function of the third axis was found similar to the first axis.) The meanings of the words on the right-hand side are related to standardness. But interestingly enough, they do not always have positive nuances; for example, "snobbish" is included in this group. Meanings of the words on the left-hand side are related to accentedness, they are mostly adjectives with negative meanings, except one positive evaluation "animating". The two words in the lower central area show urbanity, while those in the upper central area are related to pastoral (rural) meanings.

Thus, the first axis (right-left direction) is related to a class-related distinction, and the second axis (upper-lower direction) is related to urbanization. Application of *Hayashi 3* was thus successful in that the inherent structure of the data (answers) was made clear.

The pattern shown in Fig. 3 does not correspond with the Japanese pattern consisting of intellectual and emotional factors as noted above. Moreover, plus and minus (positive and negative) answers were not distinguished in the British analysis. This surface difference from Japanese data may be explained by a deeper mechanism working on the dialect image.

(b) classification of dialects

Evaluated dialects can also be characterized by *Hayashi 3*. Fig. 4 shows that two main groups are formed on the first axis. They are further classified into four when the second axis is taken into consideration. Theoretically Fig. 4 shows patterns corresponding with Fig. 3 in relative distribution. Thus by comparing the two figures the main dialects can be characterized as follows:

1. Cambridge University: standard but snobbish
2. BBC (News announcer): standard
3. Scotland and villages in Norfolk: pastoral and accented
4. London, Liverpool, USA (western) and Australia: urban but accented
   Hawaii and Informants' own: neutral

This result shows that, for our student sample of Great Britain, differences in images of dialects within British English are greater than among varieties of English in other countries.
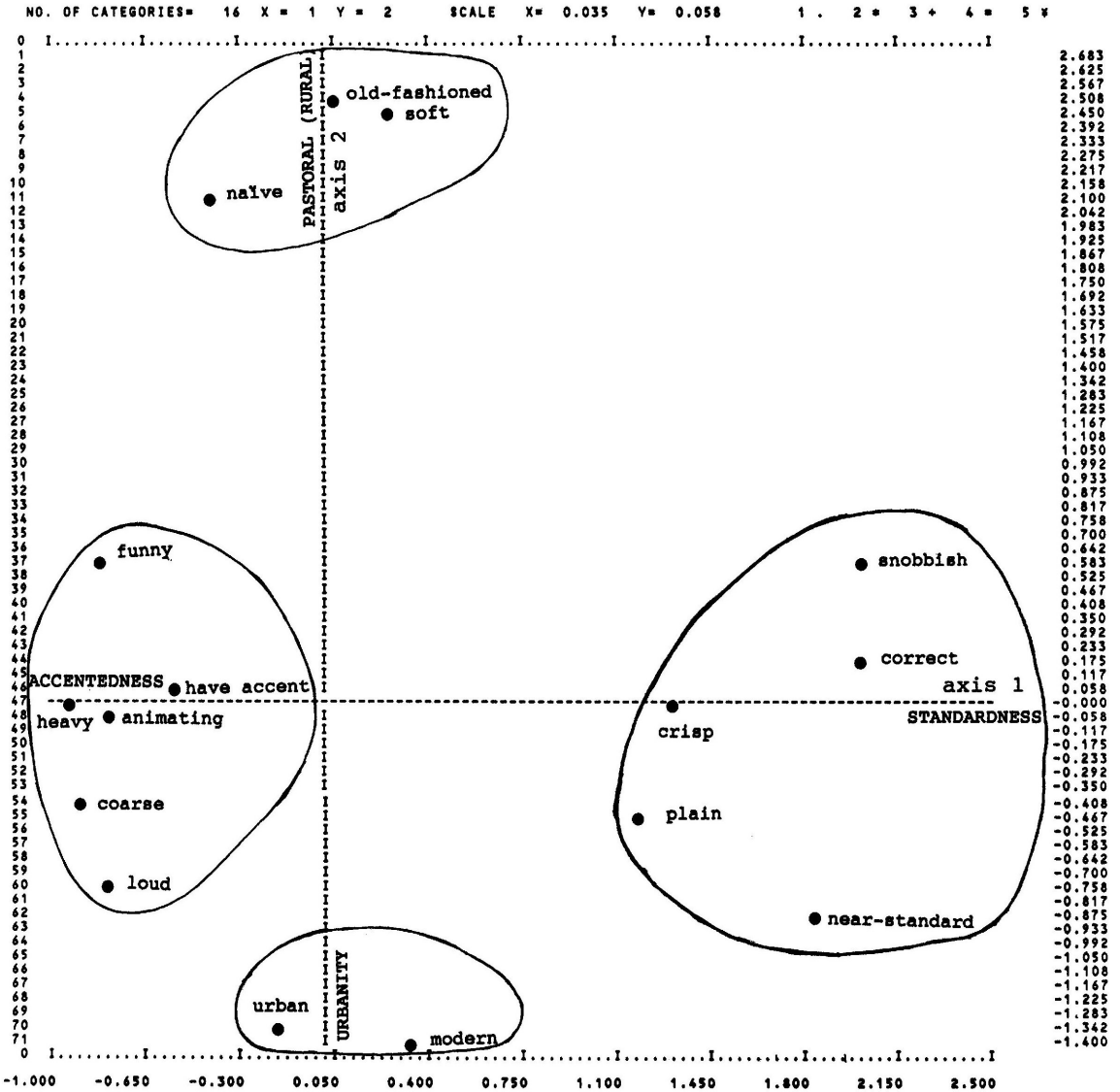
Fig. 3: Distribution of evaluative words as a result of *Hayashi's quantificational theory type 3* for British students (first and second axes)
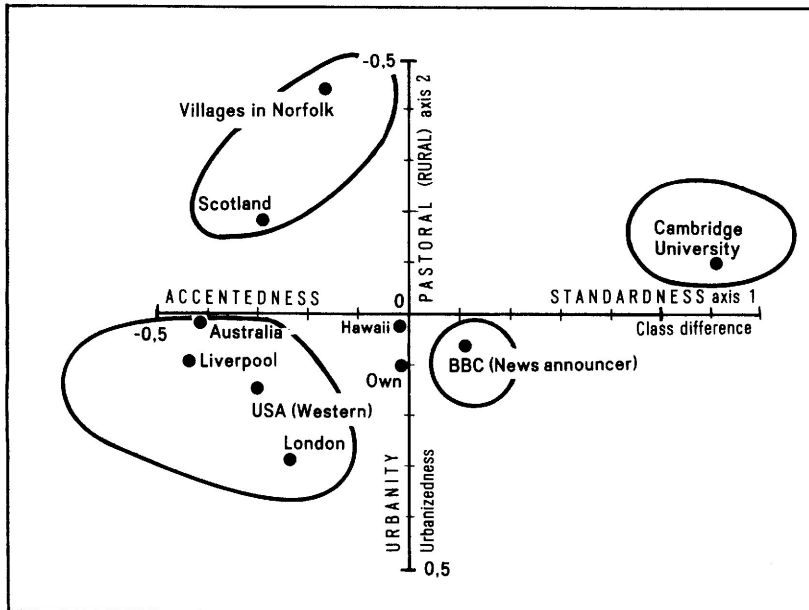
Fig. 4:   Distribution of dialects as a result of *Hayashi's quantificational
          theory type 3* for British students (first and second axes)

4.2 Counting

The faithful presentation of percentages of answers in numerous graphs
would be easier to interpret than the above graphs of multivariate analysis,
but the information is too complicated to allow us to grasp the overall pattern
at once. Thus, a method which allowed us to count the numbers of similar
answers for each informant was applied to the data. The evaluative words
were divided into four groups as shown in Fig. 3. As two groups are in
contrast on both the first and the second axes, the average values for
"standardness - accentedness" (first axis) and "urbanity - ruralness" (second
axis) were calculated by subtracting the values of the corresponding group. As
the number of evaluative words included in each group is different, a simple
formula was used to calculate the two main factors:

        Standard sum   =   Standardness x 6/5 - Accentedness
        Urban sum   =   Urbanity - Ruralness x 2/3

Fig. 5 shows average values of standardness and ruralness. Answers from
connecting lines. The overall distribution of Fig. 5 approximately reproduces
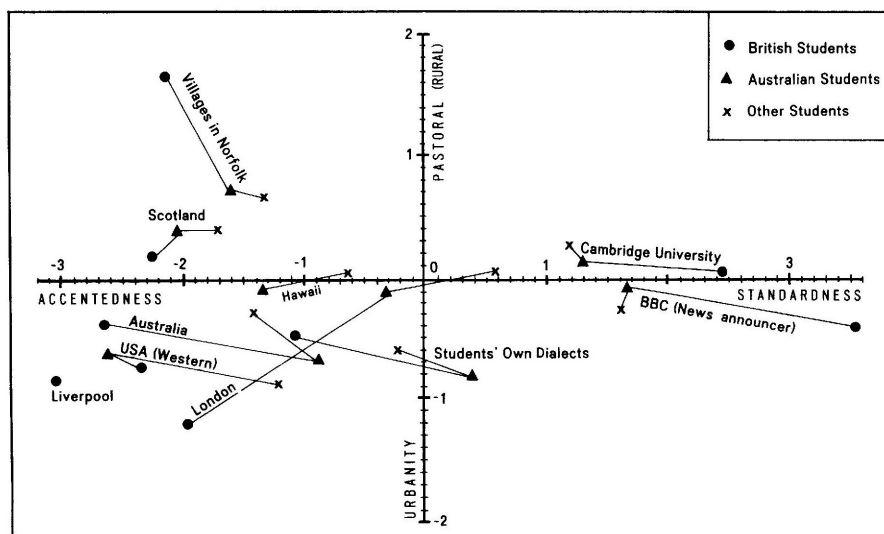British, Australian and other students are shown in the same graph by

Fig. 5: Average values of standardness and ruralness for British and Australian students (including their own dialects)

the resulting graphs of *Hayashi 3* shown by Fig. 4. Thus once a multivariate analysis was applied and the inherent structure made simple, the structure can be recapitulated by simple calculations. Similar successful results have been obtained in the analysis of Japanese dialect images.

4.3 Analysis of students' own dialects

By adopting the simple formula given above, the informants' replies for their own dialects can be calculated in the same way.

In Fig. 6, a classical dialect division by Brook (1963) is used to show average values. But the Eastern Dialect was subdivided into two, because the average values by counties showed that the eastern half and western half (near London) tend to have different images. East Anglia was thought to have a heavy accent. The border shows an approximate agreement with linguistic phenomena like the preservation of "h" or the distribution of certain phonological and grammatical items (Wells 1982, Trudgill 1974, Viereck 1985).

Evaluation of the Midland Dialect is intermediate. The value of the informants' own image can be explained by its distance from London. It is interesting that the values for Central England were not as low as stated by Trudgill, Honey or Crystal. However, cities like Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham are not rated as high as we expected. We expected these large cities to receive a higher evaluation because of their degree of urbanization.
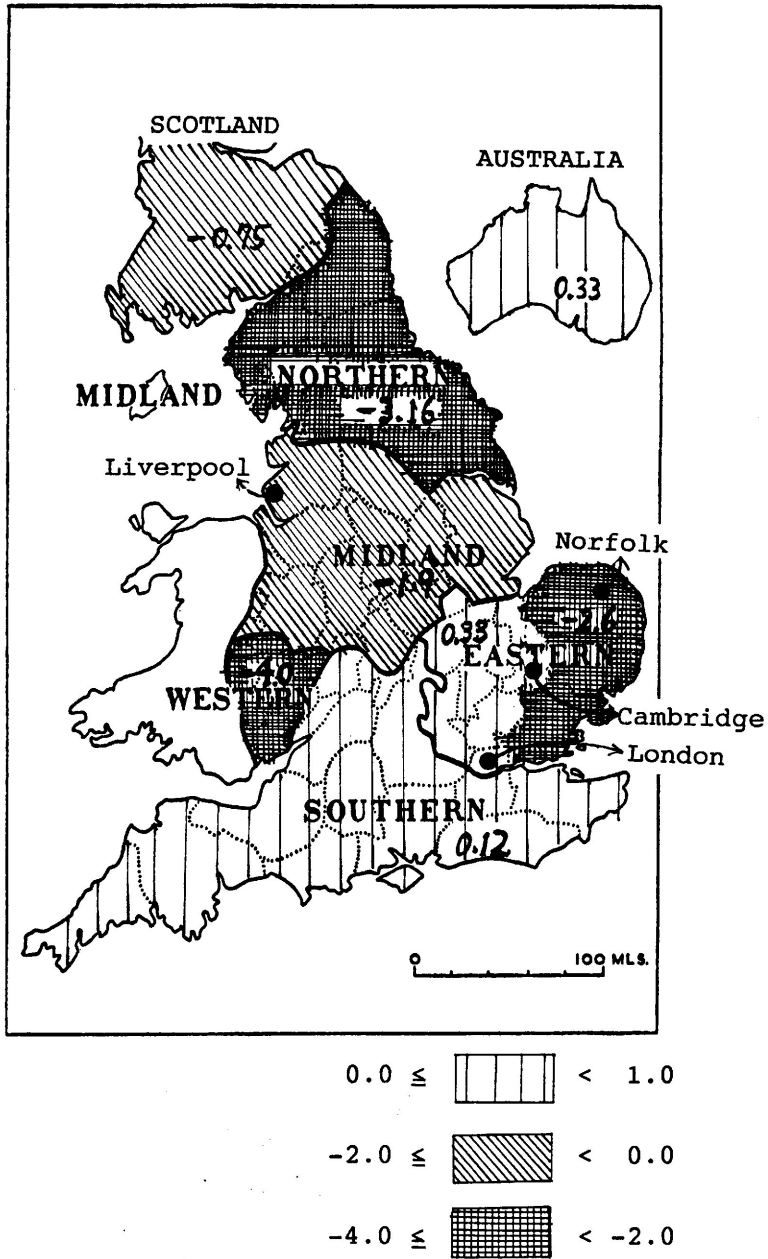
Fig. 6:   Geographical distribution of students' own dialect image
            (average values of standardness by informants)

5. Discussion

5.1 Social differences

The map in Fig. 6 shows that non-linguists' images of dialects are reliable and worth studying. Apparent differences between Japanese and English dialect images were found. These may be partly due to differences in our research method. Socially determined accents like "BBC (announcer)" or "Cambridge University" accents in the English version seem to have influenced our results. The Japanese version investigated only geographically determined dialects. But recent studies of images including "standard language" in Japan showed that the "standard language" is thought to have an image similar to the Tokyo dialect. These results suggest that dialect images are more socially determined in England than in Japan, but that the basic structure of dialect image is the same in both countries.

There is occasionally some indication in the literature that the status of urban dialects in Great Britain is different from that in Japan, at least, if the speech of working class people is taken into consideration. Urban dialects tend to be evaluated higher in Japan than in Great Britain, partly because language standardization is rapidly going on among young cultivated speakers in large cities (Inoue 1988). It has often been pointed out that the function of social class in the two countries is different; the distinction between social classes is more vague in Japan, and social movement freer.

Thus, although surface differences were found between Japan and Great Britain, the basic mechanism seems to be the same. The mechanism of the formation of dialect images depends on two kinds of sources:

(a) linguistic distance from the centre of the standard language,
(b) extra-linguistic social prestige of (the residents of) the given area.

Theoretically, the formation of a dialect image can be explained as illustrated in Table 1. A dialect image is formed by the influences of dialects themselves and stereotypical areal images or residents' images. A dialect image can then influence changes and the diffusion process of language, and can also create a dialect inferiority complex. Dialect images should be studied in this wider perspective in the future (Inoue 1989).

There are some other findings which deserve special mention. The evaluation of American English was unexpected. The influence of American-isms on the English language is often reported in Great Britain. This is per-haps because of the frequency of contact with American English in the mass-media and because of the high evaluation of American culture by young people. The low status of American English according to our samples is seemingly contradictory. The relation between prestige and image is not so simple.

5.2 Prospects for future research

In order to interpret the results of our study of dialect images, it is necessary to measure the linguistic distance of dialects from Standard English. A simple method of counting standard forms is also helpful. Preliminary research with the *Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* (Mather/Speitel 1975 and 1977) showed that the Edinburgh area is lexically nearer to the standard than other areas of Scotland and northern England. As to phonological data, if the method of Funk (1990) is applied to more phenomena in more dialects, the result must be more fruitful and inspiring. The data of Viereck (1985) will also yield a much clearer picture of English dialects.

Once computerized, various treatments are possible. Multivariate analysis of English dialects will be rewarding. It is effective because it allows us to consider all the possible information. Correlation of dialects and dialect images can be calculated in the future.

The success of the characterization of English dialects invites us to progress further by gathering more data from all over Great Britain. The only information necessary is information about informants' own dialects (as to the evaluation of other dialects, we seem to have acquired enough data). This simplified method is perhaps applicable also to other countries. Contrastive studies with other languages, for example, German dialects would be interesting. By this kind of contrastive study, it will become possible to compare the typology of dialect images in many languages, as was done in the study *The Measurement of Meaning* (Osgood et al. 1957).

In multilingual societies like Canada, the measurement of language images would also be interesting. The measurement of language images is possible even in monolingual societies like Japan, where discriminatory treatment of foreign languages is observed in the form of impersonal (institutional) bilingualism. The study of dialect image can then proceed to a study of language images all over the world.

Acknowledgements

Dialects   Change and diffusion of dialects

              dialect image

                           (linguistics)

                           (social-psychology)

           mental map of dialects

Areal image   Dialect (inferiority) complex

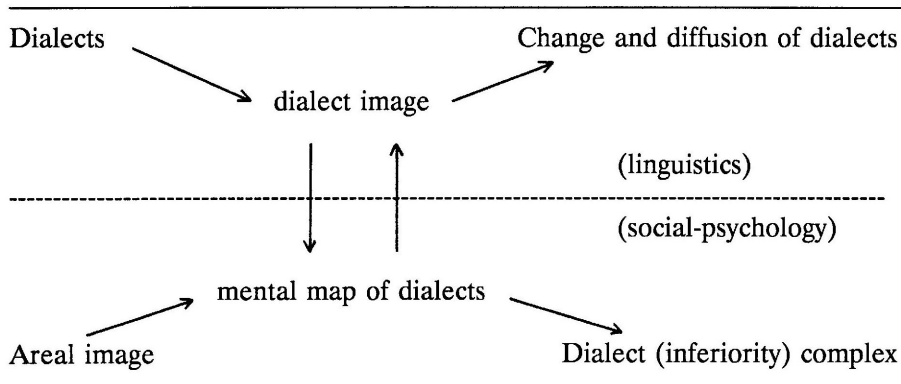*Table 1:* Dialect image and its environments

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