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Part II. Historical characteristics and geographical distribution of standard Japanese forms

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0. Introduction

In this part of the paper the years of the first appearance in historical documents of present standard Japanese forms will be discussed, and the relation of geographical distribution and historical changes on the basis of lexical characteristics will be quantitatively treated. The shift of the main cultural center of Japan from the west to the east was found reflected in the geographical distribution patterns, and in the frequency of usage of older and more recent standard Japanese forms.

1. History of dialectology and characteristics of the data

1.1. Research history of dialectology and language history

Japanese dialectology developed independently, but if taken in a wider historical context, basic tendencies of change of interest moved in a similar fashion with western dialectology (Inoue : 1999). Linguistic geography based on actual field collection of dialectal data flourished in Japan after the Second World War partly through linguistic works by Father Willem Grootaers, the son of Belgian dialectologist Professor L. Grootaers. His close friend and co-worker Takesi Sibata opened the road for the LAJ (*Linguistic Atlas of Japan*) (NLRI : 1966-1974), and works on perceptual dialectology also flourished early in Japan (see Preston : 1999) because of their pioneering works. One aspect of Sibata's originality was his application of statistical methods to dialectology. Sibata also wrote on various sociolinguistic aspects of Japanese dialects. Thus, interest in social factors of dialects appeared earlier in Japan as can be illustrated by his translated works (Sibata : 1998), but the Japanese studies were not so influential internationally as Labov's work in New York City (Labov : 1966).

The decline of local dialectal forms owing to language standardization often leads to a search for more genuine historical sources of dialectal differentiation in the past. This tendency can be discerned both in Europe and in Japan. However dialectological studies in both parts of the world seem to have been individualistic

(5) This is a concise translation of the following article : INOUE (Fumio), « Hyojungokei no keiryoteki seikaku to chiriteki bunpu patan [Quantitative characteristics and geographical distribution patterns of standard Japanese forms] », *Gengo Kenkyu*, 97 (1990) 3, pp. 44-72 later included in INOUE (Fumio), *Keiryoteki Hogen Kukaku [Quantitative Dialect Classification]* (Meiji Shoin : 2001).

Dr. Daniel Long kindly checked English, but Inoue is solely responsible to any unnatural expressions.

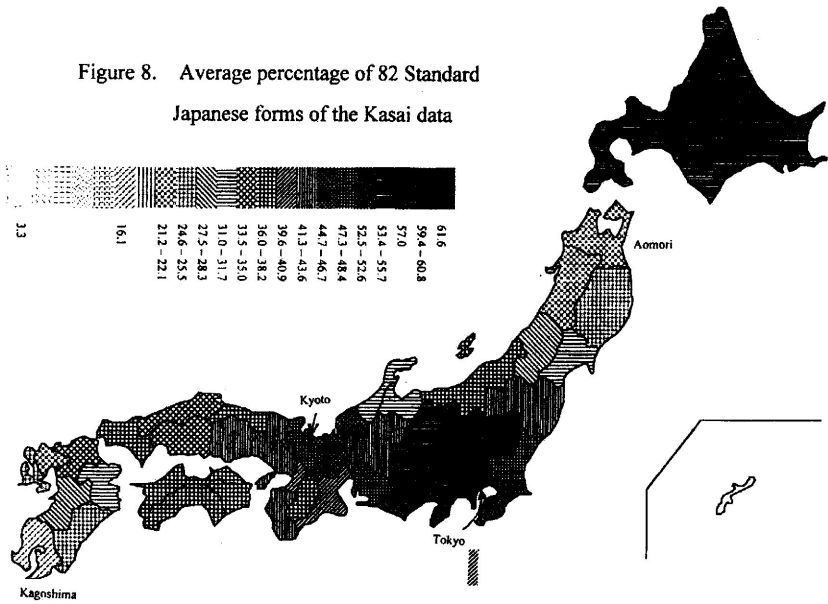
or atomistic in the sense that more attention was paid to individual distribution of words on maps. It is hoped that the integrated treatment of many words as a whole will overcome this shortcoming.

In this article, quantified data from LAJ will be treated, taking historical standpoint into consideration. The relation of actual usage of standard Japanese forms in all the prefectures in Japan and the first appearances in documents in the past will be discussed by applying multi-variate analyses. The cultural center of Japan was situated in western Japan near Kyoto (literally meaning « Capital ») for nearly one thousand years, and then moved east to the present capital Tokyo (former Edo, literally « Eastern Capital »), which has been culturally central only for about two hundred years. It is pointed out by (Abe : 1997) that scrutiny of the distribution patterns of several dialectal forms in LAJ shows the following main historical trends.

Periods	Linguistic Distribution Data	Cultural Centers	Distribution Areas
Before Literature	Archaic Nationwide stratum	near Kyoto	All Japan
Classical and Medieval	Western Japan stratum	Kyoto	Western Japan
Late Medieval	Eastern Japan stratum	Edo	Eastern Japan
Modern	Modern Nationwide stratum	Tokyo	All Japan

1.2. Utilization of Kasai data

The calculations below utilize the so-called « Kasai data » which is a quantified matrix of Standard Japanese forms appearing in LAJ (Inoue and Kasai : 1989). Percentage of usage of the standard forms was calculated for each form and for all the prefectures of Japan (Tokyo prefecture was divided into mainland area and the islands area). This quantified data lead to various quantificational approaches (Inoue : 1996). Though the data is Standard Japanese forms, they are forms used within the systems of individual dialects and their agreement with the standard is not the result of recent borrowing from Standard Japanese, but only a coincidence for the dialects in question. Thus it is permissible to discuss Japanese dialects as a whole on the basis of this data.



The overall result of distribution of all the standard forms is shown in Figure 8. This is a more precise representation of the ratios than the figures shown in (Inoue and Kasai : 1989). The standard Japanese forms are distributed mainly near Tokyo. This pattern coincides with the common-sense thinking that standard Japanese was based on Tokyo (uptown area) speech. However application of Factor analysis to the same data showed that the first factor (that is the stronger factor) is western, centering around the old capital Kyoto, and that the second factor is eastern, centering around the modern capital Tokyo (Inoue and Kasai : 1989).

In the next section we will divide the standard Japanese forms into four groups according to the centuries of the first appearance in the literature, thus taking historical characteristics of the forms into consideration.

1.3. Preparation of historical information

The first appearances of the forms were determined on the basis of *Nihon Kokugo Daijiten* [Great Dictionary of the Japanese Language] (Shogakukan), the largest dictionary at that time which cites historical examples. There are some problems in regarding the first appearance in documents as the first usage of the forms in question.

- (1) Colloquial or vulgar forms are late in appearing in documents.
- (2) Considering ages of the writer, the precise age of appearance of the words in the past is difficult to determine.

- (3) There are forms which were born outside the cultural center and introduced there later as « new dialect forms », which are actually observed at present (Inoue : 1993).

Thus, not years but centuries were used here to divide the forms into groups. The forms used as the headwords in LAJ are treated as standard Japanese forms. When exactly the same form was used in the same meaning in the dictionary, this was considered as the age (or century) of its first appearance.

Only 80 standard forms were examined here, but even from this data it can be inferred that the first appearance is influenced by characteristics of the historical documents in the past. In the 8th century various historical documents appeared and the Japanese language was widely recorded for the first time. In the 17th century a large dictionary was made by Christian missionaries. But centuries between them did not offer enough variety of documents. The table below lists all the forms for each century.

Cent.	Numb.	Words
8	13	<i>amai</i> « sweet », <i>iru</i> « to stay », <i>niru</i> « to boil », <i>suteru</i> « to throw away », <i>kazoeru</i> « to count », <i>yaru</i> « to give », <i>kooru</i> « to freeze », <i>tsumuji</i> « whirl of hair on the head », <i>kuchibiru</i> « lip », <i>ie</i> « house », <i>sumire</i> « violet », <i>koori</i> « ice », <i>nanoka</i> « seven days »
9	3	<i>nuka</i> « rice-bran », <i>namekuji</i> « slug », <i>tsumujikaze</i> « whirlwind »
10	9	<i>karai</i> « hot, spicy », <i>osoroshii</i> « scared », <i>kao</i> « face », <i>onna</i> « female », <i>aze</i> « ridge between rice-fields », <i>tokage</i> « lizard », <i>matsukasa</i> « pine-cone », <i>nioi</i> « smell », <i>ototoi</i> « the day before yesterday »
11	2	<i>usui</i> « thin », <i>kemuri</i> « smoke »
12	3	<i>shiokarai</i> « salty », <i>tosaka</i> « cockscomb, crown », <i>mamushi</i> « viper »
13	3	<i>sekirei</i> « wagtail », <i>tsukushi</i> « horsetail », <i>shiasatte</i> « two days after tomorrow »
14	0	
15	5	<i>da</i> « to be », <i>yodare</i> « slaver », <i>nasu</i> « eggplant », <i>kinoko</i> « mushroom », <i>tsuyu</i> « long rainy season »
16	4	<i>tsuba</i> « spittle », <i>setomono</i> « porcelain », <i>tategami</i> « mane », <i>tsurara</i> « icicle »
17	17	<i>ikura</i> « how much », <i>bikkuri suru</i> « to be astonished », <i>fuke</i> « dandruff », <i>monomorai</i> « sty in the eye », <i>kusuriyubi</i> « third finger », <i>shimoyake</i> « chilblain », <i>kakato</i> « heel », <i>tako</i> « kite », <i>kakurenbo</i> « hide-and-peek », <i>kabocha</i> « pumpkin », <i>toomorokoshi</i> « corn », <i>toogarashi</i> « red pepper », <i>toriodoshi</i> « scarecrow », <i>fusuma</i> « sliding door », <i>uroko</i> « scale, shard », <i>kamakiri</i> « praying mantis », <i>dokudami</i> « <i>Houttuynia cordata</i> »

18	8	<i>uso</i> « lie », <i>ago</i> « jaw », <i>kataguruma</i> « pickaback », <i>satsumaimo</i> « sweet potato », <i>kakashi</i> « scarecrow », <i>mogura</i> « mole », <i>tonbo</i> « dragonfly », <i>yanoasatte</i> « three days after tomorrow »
19	9	<i>mabushii</i> « dazzling », <i>suppai</i> « sour », <i>ii</i> « good », <i>otedama</i> « chucks », <i>onigokko</i> « tag, prisoner's base », <i>uruchi</i> « nonglutinous rice », <i>otamajakushi</i> « tadpole », <i>katatsumuri</i> « snail », <i>oishii</i> « tasty »
20	4	<i>kogekusai</i> « have burning smell », <i>momigara</i> « chaff », <i>jagaimo</i> « potato », <i>toge</i> « thorn »

In the calculation below, the centuries of the first appearance were grouped in order to ensure statistical reliability. Several patterns of grouping of the centuries were attempted, thus a certain number of forms were assembled in one group. Considering also the shift of the cultural center from west to east, the result of four periods below was found to be most reliable. It coincided with the classification formerly made by (Abe : 1997). Maps were drawn on the basis of this data.

2. Century of the first appearance and geographical distribution pattern

2.1. Individual maps according to the first appearance

In order to grasp the historical characteristics of lexical forms, the centuries of the first appearance will be treated at first. Figure 9a-9d shows the results.

Figure 9a shows the forms that appeared in the 8th century. This map shows that the forms in the oldest documents have now spread all over Japan. However it should be taken into account that the forms must have been in use long before being recorded in the documents of the 8th century (according to one theory, Japanese language was first introduced in Southwest Japan in the beginning of the first millennium AD). Dense distribution around Kyoto and neighboring prefectures was expected, but actually the thickest distribution of more than 50 % is found more east, near Tokyo. The prefectures of more than 50 % are distributed also in the western half of Japan, indicating the possibility that these oldest forms were once prevalent widely in central Japan, later receding near the cultural center Kyoto. The lower ratio in Kyoto and its environs may be explained by the possibility that Kyoto later produced newer expressions and propagated to the surrounding areas. Relatively older forms remained in areas far from Kyoto, including Edo, and it was these which centuries later became modern-day Standard Japanese.

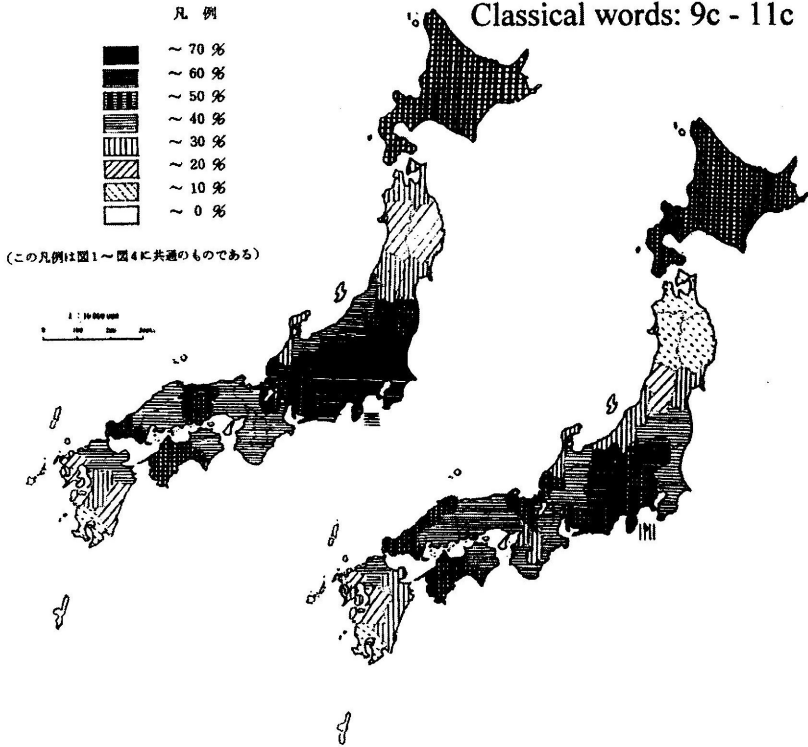
The northern island of Hokkaido should be treated separately because it was a pioneer island for the Japanese language, being inhabited by aborigine Ainu

people until modern ages. A kind of koineization may have occurred among the colonists, giving rise to highly standardized new dialect (Sibata : 1998).

Figure 9a. Archaic words: 8c

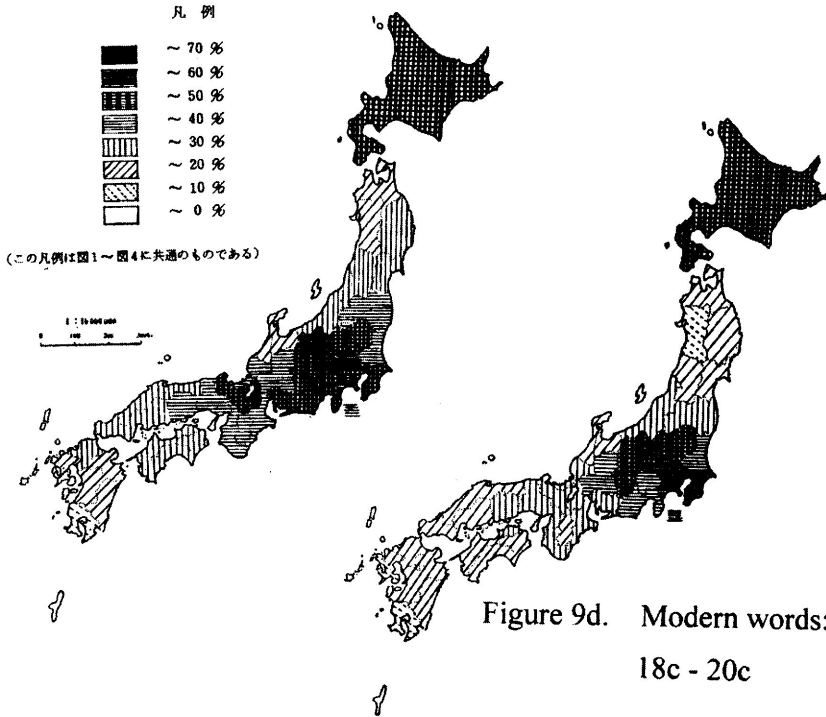
Figure 9b.

Classical words: 9c - 11c



In Figure 9b forms are represented which appeared from the 9th to 11th centuries, that is, almost in the classical Heian era. These are the centuries when Kyoto culturally flourished most. The general distribution pattern resembles that of the 8th century. However, the percentage is generally a little lower, especially in the prefectures neighboring Kyoto. A little higher ratio of standard forms is observed in the western tips of the largest Honshu Island and smaller Shikoku Island, and also in the east near (what was later) Tokyo. Kyoto and its environs look like a hollow area between them.

Figure 9c. Medieval words: 12c -17c



In Figure 9c, the forms from the 12th to 17th centuries are shown. This period corresponds to the medieval ages of the Kamakura, Muromachi and (early) Edo eras. The overall ratio of usage is significantly lower than the preceding periods. Areas of more than 50 % are also smaller and limited only to central Japan. The cultural center of these centuries is said to have been Kyoto, but the general distribution pattern is shown to be eastern-centered. This can be explained if we hypothesize that the forms which later extended from Kyoto to the east became standard forms because of the prestige of the newly developing city of Edo.

Figure 9d shows the forms recorded in the documents from the 18th to 20th centuries, that is, after the latter half of the Edo era, when the cultural center of Japan moved to the city of Edo. After the Meiji Restoration in 1868 Edo became the capital and the name was changed to Tokyo. The area of more than 50 % is smaller and almost limited to the area surrounding Tokyo. Only Tokyo is more

than 70 %, and the ratios of other prefectures are significantly lower. This seems to show that the power of geographical dissemination of modern Tokyo has not been so great. As to this period, the relation of the distribution pattern and the century of the first appearance coincides with predictions made beforehand.

2.2. Two interpretations of the standard forms in the periphery

The overall results acquired from the four figures above will be interpreted next. It is noteworthy that the two peripheral areas of Japan have lower ratios of usage of standard Japanese : that is, in the north, the northern tip of Honshu island, and in the south, Kyushu and the Okinawan islands. Two interpretations are possible for this tendency. Both interpretations are probable on the basis of individual maps of LAJ. Some concrete examples will be added.

- (1) Forms the same as the standard have been used since the time of the parent language of Japanese, but different forms were produced independently in the peripheral areas of Japan, e.g. a variety of dialectal forms for « to throw away » and « icicle ».
- (2) Standard forms born in Kyoto (the focal area) have not been disseminated to the periphery (relic areas), e. g. variety of dialectal forms for « sweet » and « dragonfly ».

If (2) is applicable, it means that older forms than the standard had been in use in the peripheral areas of Japan. The sparse distribution of the 8th century words in northern and southern areas in Fig. 8 may be explained by this second possibility of the non-dissemination of standard forms. This means that older forms were in use in the past that had existed before the literary tradition of Japanese. However cases of this type are rarely actually ascertained. In the meantime the standard forms which first appeared after medieval or modern periods (Figs. 9b, 9c, 9d) are almost surely possible cases of (2). Forms which appeared later in the history of the Japanese language (late Medieval and Modern) have not had enough time to constitute vast geographical areas covering the whole of Japan. Fig. 9c of the forms from the 12th to 17th centuries can also be interpreted as showing that their dissemination was mostly limited to the area along the main roads between the old capital of Kyoto and the newer center of Edo.

2.3. Hollow distribution near Kyoto and geographical diffusion velocity

It is further worthy of note here that Kyoto itself which must have been the center of cultural diffusion does not show higher ratios of standard forms except in Figs. 9b and 9c, in the periods when Kyoto was the cultural center. Rather, the prefectures neighboring Kyoto showed a kind of hollow distribution between eastern Edo and the western tip of Honshu Island in Figs. 9a and 9b. This can be explained by the interpretation that many new forms were later born in the Kyoto

area but that they did not acquire the prestigious status of standard Japanese because the cultural center moved east to Edo in the latter half of the 18th century.

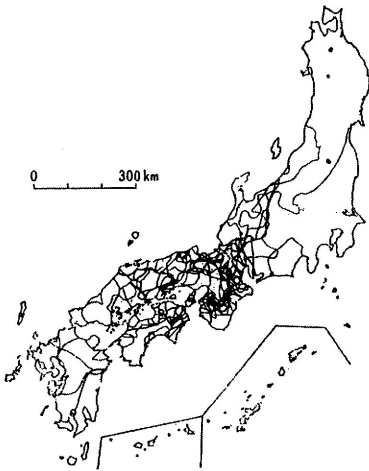


Figure 10a. Medieval Kyoto focal area:
first 14 forms (Tokugawa 1993)

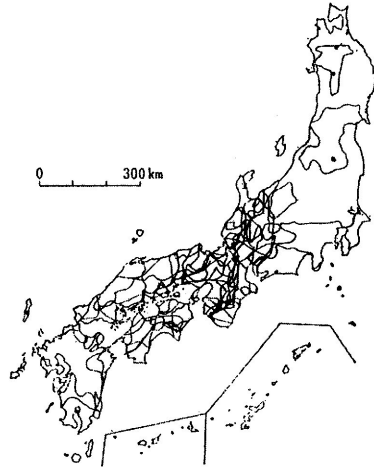


Figure 10b. Medieval Kyoto focal area:
latter 12 forms (Tokugawa 1993)

This power of the Kyoto area in the late medieval ages has been pointed out by (Tokugawa : 1993), who compared the farthest isoglosses from Kyoto along the main roads in LAJ with the first appearance of these words in historical documents. Isoglosses of the 26 forms are reproduced from his work in Figs. 10a and 10b. Only the isoglosses were represented here, without legends, in order to show all the words at a glance, but it should be clear that the central hollow area near Kyoto is actually filled with newer forms born here and diffusing outward in many directions.

Tokugawa calculated « geographical diffusion velocity » from this material. He concluded that this was about 1 km per year on average, or 100 km per century (with large variations according to the individual words and the locations of the isoglosses). As the distance between Kyoto and Edo (Tokyo) is about 500 km, linguistic diffusion from Kyoto would have taken about 500 years. As the distances from Kyoto to the northern tip of Honshu island and southern tip of Kyushu island are both nearly 1000 km, a millennium would have been enough (or necessary) for the linguistic diffusion to cover the whole Japanese mainland. Thus the forms which were already in use in early documents in the 8th century would have had enough time to disseminate. This conjecture mostly coincides with distribution patterns shown in Figs. 9a through 9d.

26 forms treated by Tokugawa are mostly non-standard forms, and most forms (all but 7) appeared first after the 16th century. 13 forms among 26 are dialectal forms common in meaning with the LAJ standard Japanese forms (Kasai data) calculated above. This means that the standard forms in the past were pushed away from the Kyoto area by newly born dialectal Kyoto forms.

Figs. 10a and 10b explain the hollow distribution of central Japan in Figs. 9a and 9b. The oldest standard forms born in earlier periods were invaded and driven away by the newer forms that were produced in Kyoto in the middle ages. However the forms born near Kyoto after the late medieval ages have since lost the prestige of being the standard for the Japanese language as a whole. This explains why Kyoto and its environs show hollow distribution for the standard Japanese forms.

2.4. Dialect distribution areas of the four periods

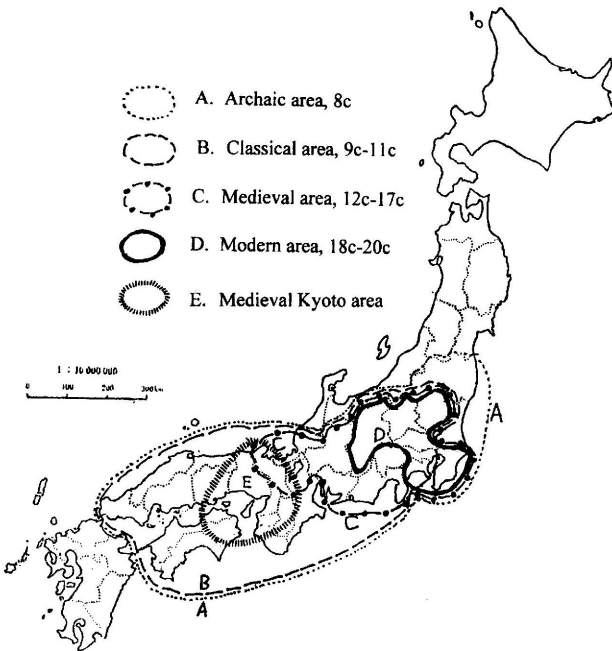


Figure 11. Integrated map of Standard Japanese forms of each stage (Outskirts of 50% areas)

Taking the factors above into consideration, Fig 11 was drawn as a general map of the four periods of standard Japanese forms. Farthest outskirts of prefectures with more than 50 % of standard forms were encircled. Hokkaido in

the north was excepted from this manipulation. The prefectures near Kyoto which show less than 50 % (but more than 40 %) were considered to have once shown the ratio of more than 50 % based on the discussion above. The four periods (or stages) above can be named as A. Archaic, B. Classical, C. Medieval, and D. Modern language areas.

In comparing the four periods, the following tendencies can be discerned:

- (1) The areas become smaller in the later periods.
- (2) The center of distribution moves east in the later periods.

(1) has often been maintained on the basis of individual examples of linguistic geographical distribution, but here it has been quantitatively ascertained on the basis of many examples. (2) has often been pointed out in descriptive works and textbooks of Japanese language history.

Fig 11 also shows the domain of « E » as the approximate extent of the central Japan focal area (Kyoto and its environs) on the basis of isoglosses of Figs. 10a and 10b. This can be called « Medieval Kyoto area » in opposition to « Medieval Edo area » (corresponding to « C »).

Thus far we have considered geographical distribution patterns of the standard Japanese forms according to centuries of the first appearance in the documents, and found historical aspects of geographical tendencies on the map.

3. Statistical characteristics of the first appearance in literature

3.1. Characteristics of « added information » to the standard forms

Next we shall consider the other quantificational (statistical) characteristics of the standard Japanese forms in question, that is, frequencies of usage and related factors. It has been surmised that the forms documented early in history tend to have certain tendencies regarding frequency of usage, semantic field and parts of speech, which may be surmised even from the table above. These kinds of added information were assembled from various statistical data, including several dictionaries and a thesaurus.

3.2. Application of Hayashi's Quantificational Theory Type 3

The added information consists of nominal (non-numerical) variables like parts of speech and semantic field, and of continuous numerical variables like frequencies of usage in newspapers, periodicals and ranking in dictionaries. In order to treat them in the same way, Hayashi's Quantificational Theory Type 3 (hereafter Hayashi 3) was first applied to the whole data including both the nominal and numerical variables. Hayashi 3 is applicable to nominal (non-numerical) variables and brings similar results to Factor analysis (Inoue : 1996). Several techniques of calculation were attempted. The result showed that early forms are mostly verbs and adjectives in the basic semantic field of « existence »

and « human activity », with higher frequency of usage. In contrast, recent forms are mostly nouns in the semantic field of « things, body, fauna and flora », with lower frequency of usage. On the basis of Hayashi 3, numerical values can be allotted to the nominal variables of parts of speech and semantic field either in the form of actual value calculated by Hayashi 3 or in the form of simple numerical orders of variables. As the results of use of the two values showed no significant differences, the simpler value of orders was utilized below.

3.3. The results of Factor analysis

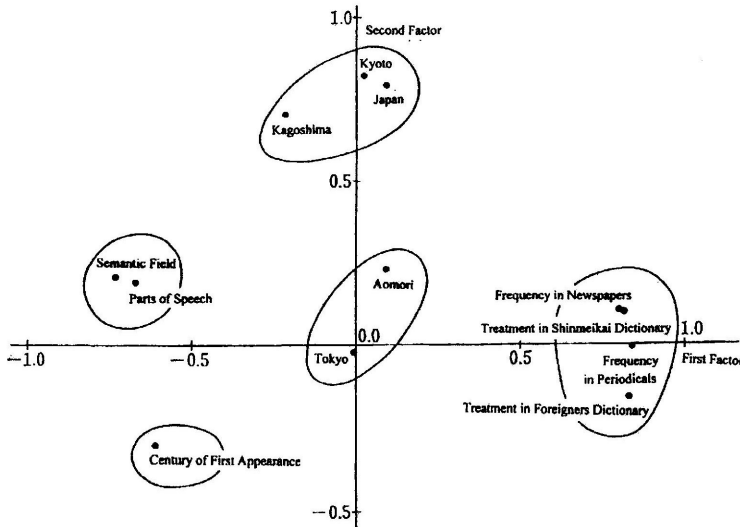


Figure 12. Factor analysis of the first appearance, distribution and lexical characteristics

Cluster analysis and next Factor analysis were applied to the whole data. Fig 12 shows the result of Factor analysis. The Principal factor technique was applied. The eigenvalues after the varimax rotation were 4.18 for the first factor and 2.33 for the second factor.

The first factor is shown on the horizontal axis. Centuries of first appearances were plotted on the left-hand side together with parts of speech and semantic field. Frequency of usage and treatment of dictionaries were plotted on the right-hand side as opposing factors. This means that the forms which appeared early in history are used more frequently, treated as more important in dictionaries, have more basic meanings according to semantic field, and are verbs and adjectives. Frequencies of usage for several representative prefectures did not show significant tendency with the first factor.

The second factor on the vertical axis shows that centuries of the first appearances are inverse to the frequencies of usage for several representative prefectures. Japan as a whole (on average), central Kyoto, and western Kagoshima plot above, while eastern Tokyo and northern Aomori show only a slight relation to this factor. Since the centuries of first appearances become the minus values (the lower side of this graph), we can make the following interpretation. The forms appearing early in literature have a tendency to be used more frequently in western Japan and the whole of Japan, while prefectures in eastern Japan do not show significant relations with centuries of first appearances (or at least, recent forms are used more frequently in eastern Japan).

The third factor, which is not represented in the figures, shows a high value for eastern prefectures as Tokyo, and also shows a close relationship to the centuries of first appearance and frequencies of usage in dictionaries. This means that the standard forms whose distribution is limited to eastern Japan are mostly recent words and are frequently listed as literary words.

4. Summary of the first appearances and dialect distribution

When considered historically and geographically, the area near Kyoto has been the center of diffusion for a long time. However the dialect spoken here began to lose its connection with the literary standard language from the late medieval period on. The new city of Edo became the cultural center of Japan instead. However, Edo did not have enough power to enact geographical diffusion into the areas surrounding Tokyo, because not enough time had passed since the cultural center moved there from Kyoto. Forms, which disseminated from modern Tokyo, seem to be « literary » standard which were accepted nationwide on the basis of school textbooks, which means that they were accepted regardless of their geographical inclinations.

Thus, the centuries of the first appearances in literature are reflected in the geographical distribution, and also have a close relationship with parts of speech, semantic field and frequencies of usage. This tendency can be applied to dialectal distribution as a whole. Quantificational study can give a concrete basis to several tendencies which have been pointed out in the past, and can open a new field of study.

Geographical phenomena often show certain tendencies which can be treated statistically. Geographical distribution patterns and centuries of first appearance must reflect some universal characteristics in common with humanities not only linguistics. Linguistic geography was once admonished for its atomism, paying too much attention to the distribution of individual words. This study has aimed at generalization by ignoring trivial matters. General tendencies, which can be applied to various phenomena, have been treated in this paper. If similar tendencies are found in other languages, some universal rule-governed nature of

dialects may be maintainable. Dialectology has tended to pay too much attention to domestic matters, and an international, interlingual point of view has been lacking. By paying more attention to dialects of foreign languages and by facing more theoretical tendencies, dialectology can develop in a new direction in the new 21st century.

Further microscopic inspection will be necessary for individual forms, taking into consideration stylistic differences and so on. The mapping of individual dialectal forms making use of local historical documents has already been done for English and French dialects. This will add still more fruitful concrete results to the present type of quantificational study. It would be a marriage of dialectology and philology.

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